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**SALISBURY (S.A.) IN TRANSITION**

**by**

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DECLARATION

This thesis contains no material written by me which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university, and to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material written by another person, except where due reference is made.

(signed) M. Allen

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ABBREVIATIONS

- S.A.H.T. - South Australian Housing Trust.
- C.W.W.H.T. - Commonwealth War Workers Housing Trust.
- A.A. - Australian Archives.
- A.A.M.P. - refers to files of the Australian Archives held at its Melbourne office.
- A.A.A.P. - refers to files of the Australian Archives held at its Adelaide office.
- C.H.P.A. - Cabin Homes Progress Association.
- S.A.A. - South Australian Archives.
- S.A.P.D. - South Australian Parliamentary Debates.
- S.D.A.C. - Salisbury Development Advisory Committee.
- L.R.W.E. - Long Range Weapons Establishment.
- S.N.P.A. - Salisbury North Progress Association.
- E. & W.S. - Engineering and Water Supply.
- G.M.H. - General Motors Holden.
- News Review - Elizabeth, Salisbury and Gawler News Review.

SUMMARY

During the years from 1939 to the mid-nineteen-sixties the township and district of Salisbury, in South Australia have been greatly changed by the policies and actions of 'planners'. The four most important changes which have been discussed, namely the wartime establishment of the munitions factory near Salisbury and of the Cabin Homes in the township, the development of the South Australian Housing Trust Estate at Salisbury North, the new Housing Trust town of Elizabeth and the subdivisions to the south of Salisbury, were all characterized by a lack of foresight on the part of those effecting them. The desire to find short term solutions for immediate problems, the desire on the part of governments to save money and on the part of private individuals to make money have all influenced the developments in Salisbury.

These years and these changes have seen the old township of Salisbury replaced by two cities in close proximity to each other. In the growth that has occurred insufficient attention has been given to the consequences and implications of the policies undertaken and little attempt has been made to integrate what remained of the district's long past into its new growth.



## INTRODUCTION

For a long time urban and local histories have been an important part of historical endeavour. Many of these histories have examined the relatively slow development of urban settlements and of districts. Few, if any, have examined changes brought about in a relatively short period of time as is attempted in this thesis on the accretions around Salisbury, South Australia, since 1939.

New and expanded towns and housing estates have been the subject of an extensive planning and sociological literature. This literature includes Ruth Durant's study of Watling,<sup>1</sup> P. Wilmott's study of Dagenham,<sup>2</sup> in Britain, Herbert Gans' Levittowners<sup>3</sup> in the United States of America, and T. Brennan's New Community: Problems and Policies<sup>4</sup> and L. Bryson, and F. Thompson, An Australian Newtown<sup>5</sup> in Australia. Many of these studies have been undertaken from a sociological and/or planning aspect, and have pointed out some of the problems and difficulties encountered within these new communities, namely the poor co-ordination and low-level of social and physical facilities for new residents, and their isolation from a range of employment opportunities.

The residents of these estates and new towns have also been the subjects of a great deal of discussion. Some estates contain people from a limited range of age and class groups. For example, in Watling Durant

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1. R. Durant, Watling A Social Survey of Social Life on a New Housing Estate. (P.S. King, London, 1939).
  2. P. Wilmott, The Evolution of a Community A Study of Dagenham after Forty Years. (Routledge, Kegan Paul, London, 1963).
  3. H. Gans, The Levittowners. (Allen Lane, London, 1967).
  4. T. Brennan, New Community: Problems and Policies. (Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1973).
  5. L. Bryson and F. Thompson, An Australian Newtown. Life and Leadership in a New Housing Suburb. (Penguin, Victoria, 1972).

found a concentration of young families of the skilled or semi-skilled occupation groups. She wrote 'The Estate . . . caters for certain phases of working-class life only.'<sup>1</sup> Similarly, Willmott described Dagenham as 'a vast one-class township.'<sup>2</sup> Some writers have criticized this tendency to make younger and poorer families the pioneers of these new areas. Brennan, writing about the New South Wales Housing Commission estate of Green Valley, commented upon the difficulties of making families with a relatively low-income the pioneers of new areas 'which do not have even the normal level of provision of social and physical facilities.'<sup>3</sup>

Stretton, in a discussion of Green Valley, also points out the undesirable social results of the concentration of poorer working-class people.

All Green Valley's poverties spring from the poverty of its people, hand picked . . . for their comparative incapacity to get on, or to get tough, or get well, or get rich, or get things moving; then dumped outside the city walls all together and all alone without work, allies, entrepreneurs, exemplars or defenders. When there were 25,000 of them, 33 were members of the Progress Association, and half of those were 'inactive'. Forty were members of the Labor Party and half of those were inactive too.<sup>4</sup>

He sees the selection and concentration of poorer people as having very distressing results. For example;

Some of the mothers have no husbands, some of the couples have no cars. Some of the families have no regular family doctor, some can't afford - or can't understand - medical insurance. So what happens when their baby gets sick on winter nights. There may be no doctor on duty within miles, nobody has a telephone and the distant public one is as usual smashed unusable by vandals. At times like that their neighbour's incomes do matter to them, they would be better off in normal suburban territory. The same is true of many less dramatic moments of their lives.<sup>5</sup>

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1. Durant, op.cit., p. 15.
  2. Willmott, op.cit., p. 107.
  3. Brennan, op.cit., p. 87.
  4. H. Stretton, Ideas for Australian Cities. (Orphan Book, North Adelaide, 1970). pp. 165-6.
  5. Ibid., pp. 161-2.

Another group of writers have questioned the assumptions underlying these criticisms of segregated neighbourhoods, and of the conclusion that a greater mix of class, age and other groups is desirable. H. Gans in an article 'The Balanced Community: Homogeneity or Heterogeneity in Residential Areas',<sup>1</sup> writes that both the case for heterogeneity and against homogeneity have been exaggerated. But as Etherington points out in a review of the literature on this facet of community life there is a need for a great deal of research to be done<sup>as</sup> at present, the arguments for and against social mix remain largely unsupported by empirical evidence.<sup>2</sup>

On the housing estates and the new town which have developed around Salisbury since 1942 there has been very little research done on these and similar questions. In his survey of planning in South Australia Stretton writes only in passing of the Salisbury North estate,

The Trust built a thousand houses there [at Salisbury] soon after the war, then regarded its handiwork with mis-giving. Here was neither good village, nor good suburb, but a vague place too far from town, without focus or identity of its own.<sup>3</sup>

He favourably compares the new town of Elizabeth with Salisbury North and with other Australian new towns and large estates, notably with Green Valley. Here, he found that in terms of social mix, employment opportunities, social facilities and clubs, transport and proximity to social service departments, Elizabeth was much better served than Green Valley. Sandercock also comments favourably upon Elizabeth. She notes the

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1. H. Gans, 'The Balanced Community: Homogeneity or Heterogeneity in Residential Areas' in People and Plans. (Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1972).
  2. W. Etherington, 'The Idea of Planned Residential Social Mix: An Historical Analysis'. Paper given to Section 27 (Sociology) A.N.Z.A.A.S. Conference, January 1975. Canberra.
  3. Stretton, op.cit., p. 155.

irony of the fact that it was

the South Australian Housing Trust [which] had come into being in the thirties as the principal instrument of Butler's industrialisation programme, had developed in the forties under the strict "anti-planning" auspices of the Playford government but yet produced in the fifties Australia's first "New Town".<sup>1</sup>

She argues however that this was consistent with the original intention of the Housing Trust, namely to keep the workers happy and therefore productive.<sup>2</sup>

While Elizabeth was planned as a largely self-contained community, its proximity to Adelaide has precluded the emergence of an independent town community life. Forster in a recent study of the journey to work in Elizabeth concludes:

. . . it is clear that both as a source of employment and as a residential area Elizabeth must be regarded as an integral part of the greater Adelaide region, rather than as a separate entity.<sup>3</sup>

Although there has also been a study done of the needs of young people in Elizabeth,<sup>4</sup> there has been no large-scale thorough study of Elizabeth as there has been of some English new towns and of Green Valley.<sup>5</sup>

These studies of new towns and new communities have concentrated upon the new, and few if any have turned their attention to the relationship between old established communities, and the new settlements created by planners. Although many British towns have been expanded since the second world war and although J.H. Nicholson in a survey of 'New Communities in

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1. L. Sandercock, Property, Politics and Planning. A History of City Planning in Adelaide, Melbourne and Sydney since 1900. (Ph.D. Thesis, A.N.U., 1974) p. 192.
  2. Ibid., p. 193.
  3. C.A. Forster, 'The Journey to Work and a Satellite Town: The Cautionary Example of Elizabeth.' Australian Geographical Studies. V. 12 No. 1. April 1974. p. 9.
  4. Help! A Short Report on the Elizabeth Youth Study (Australian Frontier, Adelaide, 1971).
  5. For example Durant, Wilmott and Brennan.

Britain' states that in the development of new towns,

. . . the balance of advantage lies with the inclusion of an old community,<sup>1</sup>

there is a scarcity of research upon the relationship between the old and the new communities. Orlans in his study of Stevenage<sup>2</sup> does examine the opposition to the expansion of Stevenage, on the part of long-established residents of that town. He lists a number of positions from which opposition to the scheme developed, namely the agricultural interest, the rural cult, the property interest and the feeling of a loss of freedom with planning. However, this study is concerned only with the opposition before building began and the first new residents arrived. Thus, he does not look at the relationships between the original and the new residents once they settled in, nor at the physical integration of the two areas.

Stacey, however, in her study Banbury: Tradition and Change<sup>3</sup> looks at the relationships between the market town's original residents and industrial workers who came to Banbury to work in a newly established aluminium factory. She found that the original residents regarded the newcomers as foreign and as a threat to the traditional values and way of life of Banbury. The new-comers found Banbury a slow, unsociable town, self-centred and self-important. Some years after the new residents arrived the town was divided not only horizontally in terms of class but also vertically between residents who continued the traditional Banbury life-style and those who could be described as 'non-traditionalists'. The traditional society was able to be maintained side-by-side with the new society because the new-comers had not outnumbered the original residents.

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1. J.H. Nicholson, New Communities in Britain. (National Council of Social Services, London, 1961). p. 73.
  2. H. Orlans, A Sociological Study of a New Town. (Routledge, Kegan and Paul, London, 1952).
  3. M. Stacey, Banbury: Tradition and Change. (Oxford University Press, 1960).

Before the aluminium factory was built, Banbury had a population of 13,000, by 1951 it had reached 19,000. Despite the new employment opportunities available in the aluminium factory, traditional forms of employment were still in existence. The retention of the old economic base enabled the traditional society to survive. This, of course, forms a marked contrast with Salisbury where the traditional pattern of life was relatively quickly overwhelmed by the large numbers of newcomers. However there are obviously some parallels between Banbury and Salisbury. In both towns, for instance, the old residents regretted the passing of the time when they knew, or felt they knew, everybody they saw in the street and the coming of the time when they felt themselves to be strangers in their own town.

The desirability of integrating the physical features of old settlements into new areas has been emphasized by many British planners, if one is to be guided by their practice. Frank Schaffer in a survey The New Town Story writes that in the expansion of Crawley (Sussex).

The old High Street, with its several sixteenth century buildings and old coaching inn has been carefully preserved. . . .<sup>1</sup>

In some towns, for example at Skelmersdale, older houses which were in a relatively run down condition and which had no outstanding architectural nor historical significance were restored because it was felt that the old area ' . . . would dovetail with the nearby new development yet provide a visually pleasing foil to it.'<sup>2</sup> The retention of these old buildings can give residents of a raw new area a sense of continuity with the past as well as providing a visual relief from the necessary, but overwhelming

1. F. Schaffer, The New Town Story (Paladin, London, 1970). p. 280.
2. I. Christie, 'Old Skem's rejuvenation scheme'. Town and Country Planning. V. 37 No. 7. July 1969. pp. 314-317.

newness of such areas. In many new towns, older settlements have not been allowed to be greatly altered by having great flows of modern traffic through their narrow streets. In a number of new towns, the main street of the old village has been turned into a pedestrian area. However, there has been as little research into this aspect of the integration of the old and new communities as there has been in the other aspects.<sup>1</sup> This thesis involves in part an exploration of the relationships between the old and the new in Salisbury.

This study must also be seen in the context of South Australian history and particularly of the programme of industrialisation set under way by Premier Butler in the 1930's and continued more vigorously by Thomas Playford, Premier of South Australia from 1938 to 1965. There have been a number of interesting studies which have illuminated important aspects of this transformation. Mitchell, in his thesis on J.W. Wainwright (a South Australian Auditor-General) and the industrialisation of South Australia,<sup>2</sup> argues that Wainwright played a central role in that process by converting Butler to the view that South Australia's future lay with increased industrialisation, and by his role as the driving force behind industrialisation in later years.

Mitchell, like T. McKnight,<sup>3</sup> R.F.I. Smith,<sup>4</sup> M. MacIntosh,<sup>5</sup> H. Stretton,<sup>6</sup>

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1. See Schaffer and Nicholson.
  2. T.J. Mitchell, J.W. Wainwright. The Industrialisation of South Australia, 1935-1940. (B.A. Thesis University of Adelaide, 1957.)
  3. T. McKnight, 'A Survey of the History of Manufacturing in South Australia'. Royal Geographical Society of South Australia - Proceedings 1965-6. p. 76.
  4. R.F.I. Smith, The Butler Government in South Australia 1933-39. (M.A. Thesis, University of Adelaide, 1965). p. 173.
  5. M. MacIntosh, Industrial Development Administration in South Australia. (B.A. Thesis, University of Adelaide, 1969). p. 66-7.
  6. Stretton, op.cit., pp. 148-9.

M.A. Jones<sup>1</sup> and L. Sandercock<sup>2</sup> point out that the South Australian Housing Trust was established and used by the State government as an important part of its industrialisation policy. At first the Trust assisted industry by building cheap accommodation close to factories, and later it extended its activities to building factories and workshops to attract and assist industry.

Although Mitchell's thesis only covers the years 1935-1940, he points that the South Australian government was aware of the possibilities for industrial development offered by the war. Blewett and Jaensch suggest that Playford used personal and political contacts to get as much as possible of the Commonwealth war - works for South Australia. They write,

He [Playford] appears to have exploited South Australia's excellent representation in the Federal non-Labor Cabinets of the early forties in order to secure the establishment of war industries in South Australia.<sup>3</sup>

Stretton, in his discussion of this issue emphasises the State government's interest in the long term benefits of the war time developments.

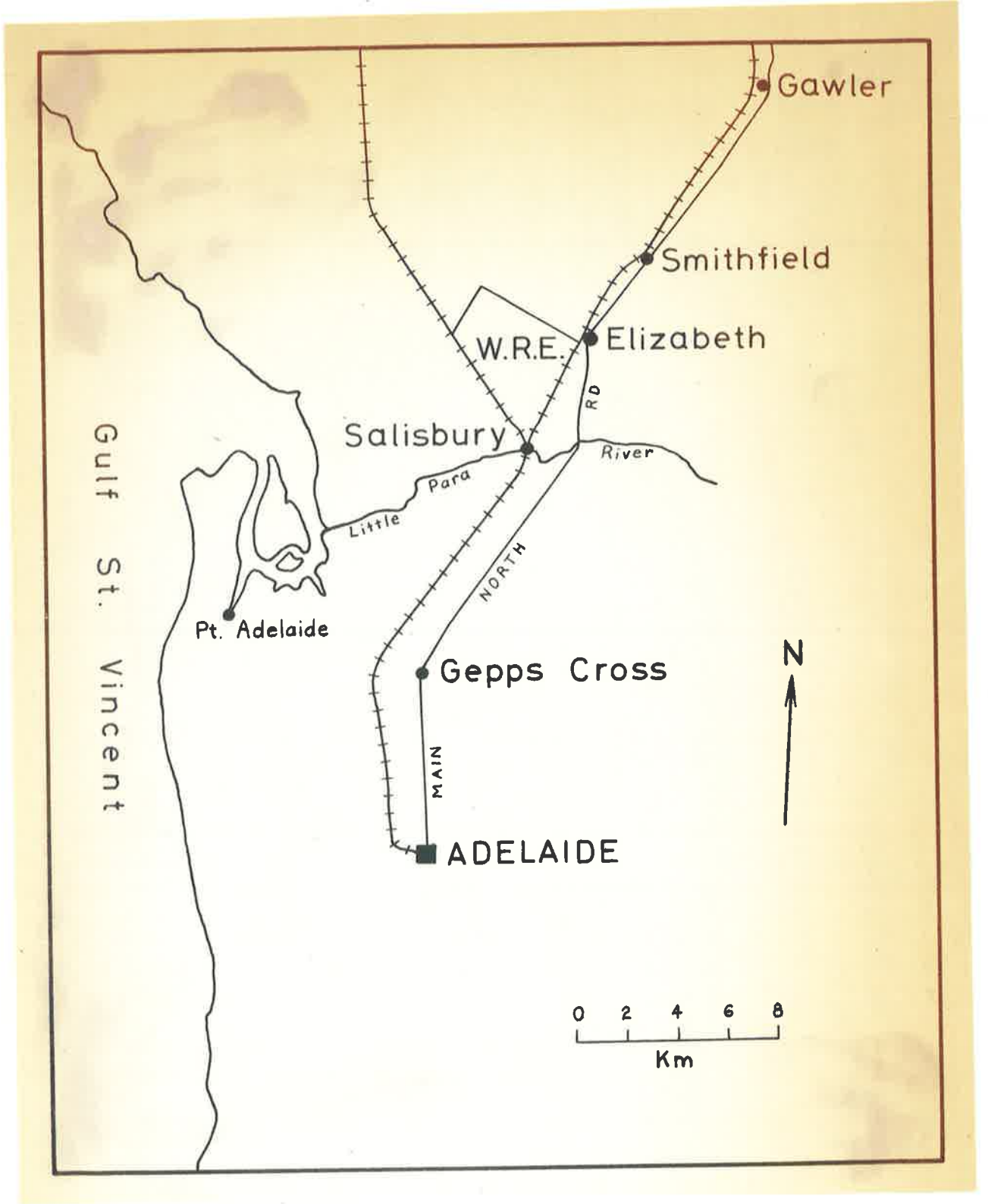
When war broke out the machine was ready to grab its share of defence work and to think ahead as far and coldly as ever.<sup>4</sup>

The changes in South Australia's economy during the war years were to mark a turning-point in the State's history, as MacKnight comments,

The most important industrial development resulting from the war, . . . was the construction of three major factory complexes for war production by the Commonwealth government.<sup>5</sup>

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1. M.A. Jones, Housing and Poverty in Australia. (Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1972). pp. 97-9.
  2. Sandercock, op.cit., p. 74.
  3. N. Blewett and D. Jaensch, Playford to Dunstan (Cheshire, Melbourne, 1971). p. 5.
  4. Stretton, op.cit., p. 150.
  5. T. MacKnight, op.cit., p. 76.





The location of Salisbury.

The greater priority given to tangible factors and particularly to economic growth by the Playford government is pointed out by both Jaensch and Blewett,<sup>1</sup> and by Stretton who notes additionally that Playford starved the social services.<sup>2</sup> Another less tangible factor neglected by the Playford government was protection of the environment. In a discussion of the post-war growth of Adelaide and the sub-division of former farm-lands Stretton<sup>3</sup> and Sandercock<sup>4</sup> both point out the long delays in updating planning legislation in the 1950's and 1960's as subdivision continued apace under the old legislation. Stretton for example, bewails the subdivision of parts of the face of the Adelaide Hills under this old legislation. Both these writers look at the detrimental effects of the State government's policies on the broad level of planning but neither look at the effect of such policies upon local government, and upon particular areas.

In fact, although the studies mentioned above have delineated the essential policies effecting the industrial transformation of South Australia under the Butler government and more particularly under the Playford government, there has been a dearth of detailed studies looking at the impact of these policies at the local level. This study is an attempt to fill that gap.

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1. Blewett and Jaensch, op.cit., p. 10.

2. Stretton, op.cit., p. 153.

3. Ibid., p. 172 ff.

4. Sandercock, op.cit., p. 187 ff.

CHAPTER ONE: TRADITIONAL SALISBURY

In 1939, Salisbury was a small country town with a population of approximately 1,500 people. It had been established in 1848 on the banks of the Little Para River as the service centre for the surrounding farms. Although wheat had been an important crop during the mid-nineteenth century, by the later years of the century, the demands of the city of Adelaide, had made the Salisbury district part of the hay-producing belt for horse-feed. The cultivation of the famed Salisbury oranges, along the gum-lined Little Para Valley, had also become increasingly important after the 1890's. In the 1930's, the citrus industry was flourishing and the local Citrus Growers Association, formed itself into a Co-operative in 1940 to pack and market the fruit. Hay, was still an important crop, accounting for approximately half the area cropped in 1939-40 in the Salisbury District Council area.<sup>1</sup> The farmers, on the plains surrounding the township also had sheep and dairy cows. The 1933 census showed that a large proportion of the male population of the Yatala North and Munno Para District Councils (amalgamated to form the Salisbury District Council later in 1933) were employers or self-employed.

TABLE 1 . 1

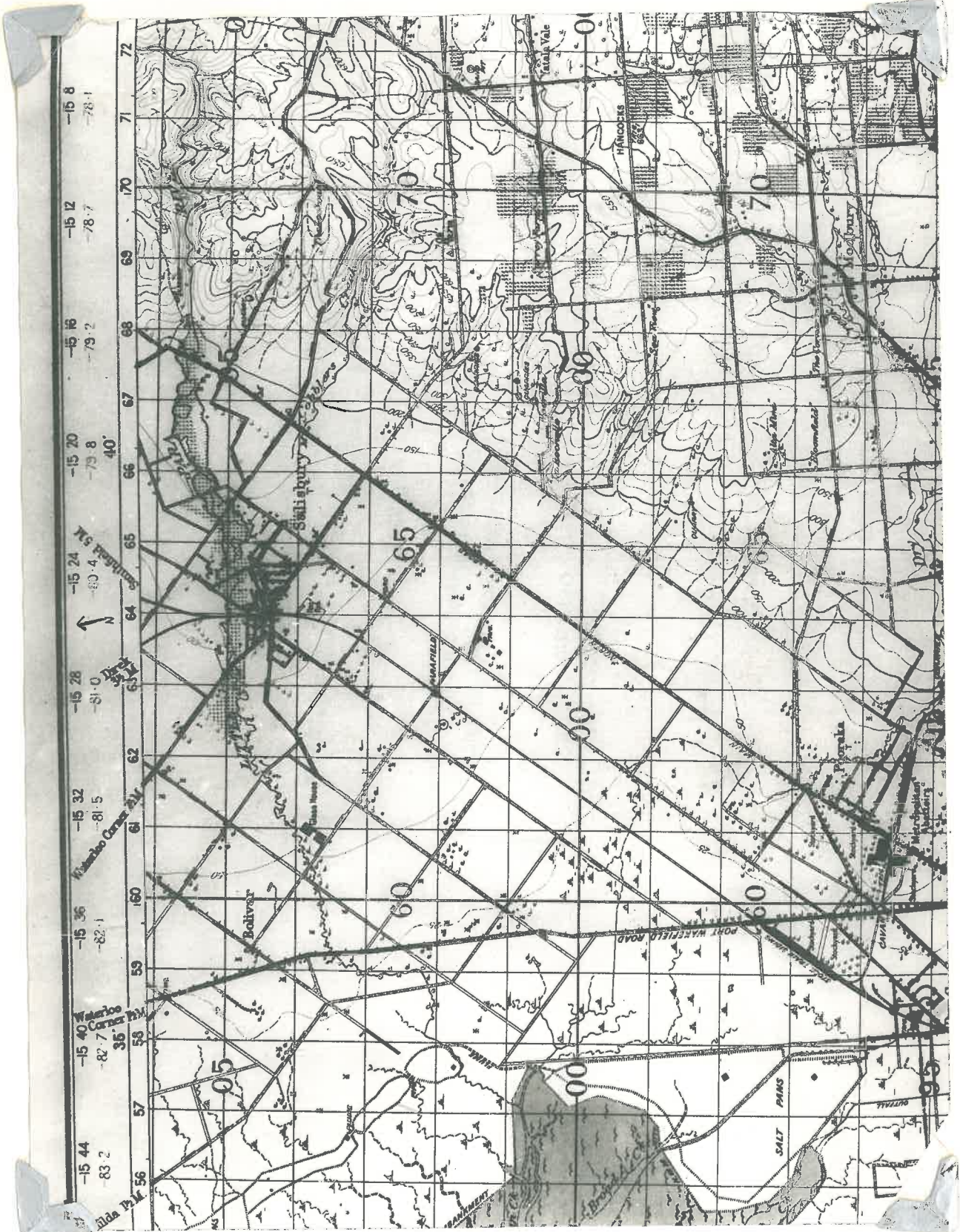
Proportion of male-work force, employers or self-employed.  
1933 Census.

Yatala North DC	29.3%
Munno Para West DC	47.2%

Many of these were orchardists and farmers, who cultivated the land held by their fathers and grandfathers before them. The holdings were small and their owners were comfortable rather than wealthy. Salisbury, in

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1. Statistical Register 1939-40.



Military Survey map showing Salisbury township and the area to the south (1937). Along the flats of the Little Para River, the orange orchards are shown by a series of dots.

these years, has been described as a 'peasant society' in that it contained many small individual proprietors.<sup>1</sup> However, some people were employed locally on the farms, and orchards, or at the flourmill. Others worked further afield, at the Gepps Cross Abattoirs, at the nearby Parafield Aerodrome, in industrial areas to the north of Adelaide or in the city itself. Despite this dispersion, society in the township and district was traditional in that it was like other small country town communities 'made up of a network of face-to-face groups, based on family, neighbours, occupations, association and status.'<sup>2</sup> One former resident commented

Before World War Two, Salisbury was a nice little country-town, where everybody knew everybody else, although there were some who wouldn't speak to some others - it was a good little community.<sup>3</sup>

The social and political life of the township was dominated by farmers and orchardists who had been settled long in the area. They had great pride in the institutions and traditions which they and their forebears had developed. This group was conservative, religious and patriotic. The value of tradition and patriotism to the community's leaders is illustrated by the District Council Chairman's welcome to two new Councillors in 1944,

The Chairman welcomed them and said it was pleasing to see the two new councillors following in the footsteps of their fathers and was extra pleased that these were both returned men from World War No. 1 and foundation members of the Local Branch of The Returned Soldiers Association.<sup>4</sup>

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1. Interview with former local Member of Parliament 1974.
  2. M. Stacey, Tradition and Change. A Study of Banbury. (Oxford University Press.) 1960. p. 16.
  3. Interview with former resident of Salisbury. December 1974.
  4. Salisbury District Council. Minutes 3 July, 1944.

Religion had long played an important part in Salisbury life and all the local churches dated back to the 1840's and 1850's. Although the Anglican Church, which the more substantial orchardists patronized was seen as being rather 'upper-crust', it was the values of the larger Methodist Church which had been imposed upon the community. No sport was allowed on Sunday, and the consumption of liquor was frowned upon. It was forbidden on the premises of the council - managed Institute, and even the local branch of the Returned Soldiers League was teetotal. One former resident commented upon this,

If you were seen going into or out of a hotel, no matter how moderate a drinker you were, there was henceforth a question mark after your name, with many people.<sup>1</sup>

Despite its proximity to the city of Adelaide, Salisbury was in many ways a traditional and parochial country town like many others in South Australia. Social life revolved, to a great extent, around the Churches and the Institute. Some of the events at the Salisbury celebrations of the State's centenary in 1936 illustrate this traditional element. They included tossing the Sheaf and catching a Greasy Pig.<sup>2</sup>

In the 1930's South Australia relied greatly upon primary production which in 1938 accounted for 59% of the total value of the State's production.<sup>3</sup> This reliance upon primary industry led to great suffering in South Australia during the depression of the 1930's. Blewett and Jaensch write,

Probably of all the States, South Australia had suffered most from that disastrous fall in the world prices for primary products. . . .<sup>4</sup>

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1. Interview with former resident of Salisbury. December 1974.
  2. Land Cruises to Salisbury. Programme Centenary Celebrations, 1936.
  3. Blewett and Jaensch, op.cit., p. 4.
  4. Ibid., p. 2.



The township of Salisbury from the air c. 1938. (Looking eastwards towards the hills.)

This led the State Government under the influence of J.W. Wainwright, the Auditor-General, and of industrialists like E.W. Holden and members of Parliaments like H.C. Hogben, to adopt policies to industrialise South Australia. Salisbury, only twelve miles from the city-centre, situated on a railway, reasonably close to Port Adelaide, and on flat land, was in many ways a place likely to be affected by this new government policy. Even before this new policy had been adopted two large institutions serving the city had taken over former farmlands close to Salisbury. These were the Metropolitan Abattoirs which had been established about 5 miles from Salisbury in 1911, and the Parafield Aerodrome just over a mile from Salisbury, which had begun operations in the late 1920's. Furthermore, in 1933, the Imperial Chemical Industries had bought over 400 acres of land on the St. Vincent's Gulf, some of it near St. Kilda, for the production of salt and alkalis by evaporation from the sea water.<sup>1</sup> By the late 1930's a number of Salisbury men were employed at these works.<sup>2</sup>

Mitchell in his study of Wainwright and the industrialisation of South Australia points out that in order to get industrial development for the state, the government campaigned for the decentralisation of industry throughout the commonwealth.<sup>3</sup> They also used this argument in their efforts to attract defence works to South Australia. From at least August 1937, the government had been asking the Commonwealth Government to build defence works in South Australia. In repeated submissions they spelt out the desirable benefits of decentralization and of its strategic advantage.<sup>4</sup> Apparently these requests did not fall upon entirely deaf

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1. T.J. Mitchell, 'J.W. Wainwright: The Industrialisation of South Australia. 1935-40'. Australian Journal of Politics and History. May, 1962. p. 33.

2. Interview Salisbury resident, 1973.

3. Mitchell, op.cit., p. 27.

4. Australian Archives. A. 1608. Prime Minister's Department. File P. 49/1/3.



ears for 'in the dark days of June 1940'<sup>1</sup> when Federal Cabinet decided to establish another Explosives and Filling Factory, it was built in South Australia, near Salisbury. It was reported that for reasons of strategy, military authorities felt that South Australia's potential for munitions production should be fully developed. The plains between Salisbury and Smithfield were chosen as the site because they were well served by railways, were far enough away from densely populated areas for work with explosives but were still close enough to Adelaide (12 miles away) to draw upon its population for workers.

The building of this factory marked the beginning of a process which was to change Salisbury fundamentally. In a state where the government was dedicated to a policy of industrialisation, the building of factories at Salisbury made it very likely that industrial activities would continue in the area after the war. In fact, in 1941, the Premier, Mr. Thomas Playford, revealed the government's intentions when he said that the factories at Salisbury and Smithfield would be used after the war by permanent industries.<sup>2</sup> Two of the major residential developments in the Salisbury area after the war, i.e. the Salisbury North Housing Trust estate and the town of Elizabeth both owed their location, in part at least, to the existence of the munitions plant and of the industries which used the plant after the war. Further industrial and residential development has since come to the Salisbury area in the wake of these developments thus changing the district even more.

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1. A.A.M.P. 438/3 Department of Supply and Development. Central Administration Historical Records Section. Draft Histories. File No. S 51. 'Explosives Factory'. 1940-45. p. 2.
  2. Advertiser 2nd September. 1941.

Work had begun on the building of the plant in 1940, and the transformation of farms to factories took place rapidly. These works, which were the greatest construction project ever undertaken in South Australia, and the other war-time projects in South Australia, which the State government, eager for industrial development, had undertaken, put a great strain on the state's rather limited labour supply. Many workers came from country areas<sup>1</sup> as well as from the city to work on the Salisbury factories. Many of the 2,000 or so tradesmen and labourers employed on the building site travelled each day by train from the city to Salisbury and Penfield. Others travelled daily by train from as far away as Kapunda and Eudunda (on the northern railway line to Penfield via Salisbury) and from Tanunda (on the line serving the Barossa Valley). Some of those attracted to the Salisbury area by the opportunities for employment took up lodgings in Salisbury or in Gawler. Those unable to find accommodation in permanent dwellings 'were living in caravans or open allotments and some were overcrowding in sheds'.<sup>2</sup>

The quiet stable atmosphere of Salisbury was threatened by the sudden influx of people, by the mushrooming of make-shift dwellings, and also by the presence of camps for men laying pipes, and building roads to and through the extensive munitions site. The peaceful, law-abiding nature of the town began to change. Late in 1940 and during 1941 the number of arrests for drunkenness within Salisbury increased.<sup>3</sup> These

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1. A study of the origins of some of those who later became tenants of the Cabin Homes at Salisbury (made through Electoral Rolls) revealed that a number of them left country areas during 1941 and 1942 to take up work at Salisbury. The records of the Local Court also show that people with country addresses were working at the munitions plant.
  2. Salisbury Local Board of Health. Minutes 4 August, 1941.
  3. In 1940, the Police Station at Salisbury laid approximately 40 criminal charges. In 1941 this had risen to at least 195.  
Source. Salisbury Police Court Records.

The main street of Salisbury (John Street) in 1940.



involved people from places such as Mount Lofty, the Barossa Valley, Eudunda and Kapunda who were working on the buildings at Penfield. The local authorities must have felt that order was being undermined by these activities for in March 1941 the Salisbury District Council appealed to the Police Commissioner for assistance for the local police officer ' . . . owing to so much extra work entailed by the Munitions Works now in progress.'<sup>1</sup> Although another police officer was stationed in the township in 1942 the Council addressed a further letter to the Police Commissioner in 1942 ' . . . concerning extra Police protection in Salisbury especially on wet days when there is considerable drinking'. It was pointed out that in Salisbury, 'Many characters are now very doubtful with such huge works in progress and a recent attack on Constable Neave calls forth for more protection. . . .'<sup>2</sup>

As the works were being built a great deal of heavy traffic travelled over the district roads and through the township breaking up the road surfaces and causing difficulties to local people. Henceforth Salisbury was to become a thoroughfare for traffic to the munitions works. A new branch line of the railway was constructed from near Salisbury into the munitions area. Throughout the war, trains were coming and going night and day, taking workers and goods via Salisbury, to and from the three Penfield sidings. The local railway station was a hub of activity with people from Adelaide and from the northern towns changing trains for Penfield.

The people of Salisbury were amazed to see the great munitions plant mushroom out of the familiar paddocks during 1940 and 1941. Until the man-proof fence enclosed the munitions area in February 1941, adults

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1. Salisbury District Council. Minutes 12 March. 1941.
  2. Salisbury District Council. Minutes 6 July 1942.

and children from in and around Salisbury would go out towards Penfield to look with awe at the great works taking shape. Sections of the factory at Penfield were gradually brought into operation, beginning with the Percussion Cap section in November 1941. At the end of that month there were 322 people employed at the factory, a number which had reached 1,240 by the end of March 1942. Numbers of these workers found accommodation in and around Salisbury in order, perhaps, to avoid a long journey by bus and/or train to and from the works. In 1941, and in later years there were reports of overcrowding in the township where 'Houses [were] filled in many instances to limit [sic] with Muniton workers'.<sup>1</sup>

The building of the great munition works (which was to employ approximately 6,000 at the height of its operations) in close proximity to Salisbury had noticeably affected the township in several ways: a number of farmers, some long-established in the area, had sold their farms and left the district, a large amount of traffic was passing daily through Salisbury on the way to and from the works, accommodation was overcrowded and the business of local hotels and the work of the local police had soared. However, these effects were relatively slight when compared with the changes wrought in the fabric of the township and its community by the development there of a temporary housing estate for munition workers and their families late in 1942.

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1. Report Salisbury Local Board of Health. 1943.

CHAPTER TWO: THE CABIN HOMES

The building of the temporary housing estate, known as the Cabin Homes, at Salisbury in 1942 was to be a very significant event in the transformation of the township. After the establishment of the munitions works a distant bureaucracy was charged with providing housing in Salisbury for munition workers. Its actions brought two different groups of people, namely the munition workers and the residents of Salisbury, into close proximity with each other, but failed to create an integrated community in Salisbury. It seems that those responsible failed to understand the social and human problems associated with their task. In fact it will be argued that the inefficiency and lack of sympathy of this bureaucracy exacerbated differences between the old and new communities.

The decision to build these temporary houses was made late in May 1942 after a long series of discussions within the Commonwealth government and its departments, particularly the Commonwealth War Workers Housing Trust (hereafter C.W.W.H.T.), and between it and the South Australian government and the South Australian Housing Trust (hereafter S.A.H.T.). Both governments, the departments, institutions and individuals involved in these discussions were subject to different pressures and also had different concerns and priorities. The determination of the South Australian government and more particularly of its Auditor-General, J.W. Wainwright, to secure Commonwealth funded housing for South Australia played a decisive part in the negotiations and the final decision. Other factors such as the war and the consequent need for economy together with the isolation of most of the responsible authorities from Salisbury were also influential.

In 1941, the South Australian government was prepared to construct, using the S.A.H.T., 300 permanent cottages for war workers in South

Australia, provided that Commonwealth loan funds could be made available and that these cottages could be exempted from sales tax.<sup>1</sup> The S.A.H.T. was also to build a further 200 houses for munition workers, financed from its own funds.<sup>2</sup> These houses were planned for Ridley Park, Kilkenny, Woodville Gardens, Kilburn and Islington Gardens, i.e. near already established industrial areas and were to house workers employed in the new Cheltenham, Hendon and Salisbury munition factories. The proposed programme seems, in fact, to have been merely a continuation of the Trust's normal activities but with substantial Commonwealth financial assistance. The Premier, Thomas Playford, was convinced of the necessity for South Australia to industrialize rapidly, and was aware of the possible dividends which the State could reap in the long term from any war-time industrial and residential developments.<sup>3</sup> It is interesting to note here that although the South Australian Premier had said that the Salisbury and Smithfield factories would be used after the war for permanent industries,<sup>4</sup> it seems that the S.A.H.T. was not prepared to back his plans with bricks and mortar. The Trust was prepared to build

. . . houses in areas where there would be a peacetime requirement

but

It was not proposed to build houses adjacent to the munitions works especially where the works were not located in industrial areas.<sup>5</sup>

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1. A.A.M.P. 67/1. Department of Labour and National Service. File 1040/1 'War Housing and Accommodation'. 16 October 1941.
  2. A.A.M.P. 312/1. Department of Defence Works Priority Sub-Committee Agenda 22 April 1942. A resume of correspondence between Commonwealth government and S.A.H.T. is in S.A.H.T. docket 459.
  3. See H. Stretton, Ideas for Australian Cities (H. Stretton, North Adelaide, 1970). pp. 150-151, and J. Miles and D. Coleman, A Richness of People. (S.A. Chamber of Manufacturers, Adelaide, 1969). p. 110, and A.A. CA68. CRS. A1308. File 772/1/82 at 31 May 1941. 2nd Interim Report.
  4. Advertiser, 2 September 1941.
  5. Advertiser, 4 October 1941.

This proposal showed the concern of the South Australian government to foster local interests while assisting with the national war effort. The implementation of this proposal would mean that Salisbury, which was not seen as an area of permanent need by the S.A.H.T., would gain no housing for munition workers. Some Salisbury residents, mainly local businessmen with some small-holders and labourers were disappointed by the implications of this policy. In December 1941, a number of these petitioned the Salisbury District Council requesting that a public meeting be held to protest against the building of houses for the Salisbury munition workers, at Islington, some miles away. They wanted houses for munition workers in the Salisbury district and were most indignant when their local M.H.R. told them at the meeting on 22 December 1941, that it seemed to be the policy of the S.A.H.T. to build houses, only, where a permanent need for housing existed. They formed a delegation 'to wait upon responsible authorities in connection with the building of Munition Workers Homes in the Salisbury area'.<sup>1</sup>

The worsening war situation, however, dramatically turned the course of these negotiations. The relentless southward advance of the Japanese forces through the Pacific late in 1941, and in early 1942, meant that neither the plans for S.A.H.T. houses in the northern suburbs, nor the hopes of some Salisbury residents for such houses in Salisbury were to be realised. The new Labour government had to conserve Australia's manpower and materials for more urgent defence works. In the Commonwealth moves towards stringency begun in mid-March 1942, the South Australian government was told that no sales taxes exemption for S.A.H.T. houses would be granted.

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1. Salisbury District Council Minutes 22 December 1941.



Early in March 1942, the C.W.W.H.T., influenced by the deteriorating war situation, began considering less expensive means of housing war workers. It saw the erection of temporary pre-fabricated houses, known as cottage homes, as the solution to the problem of housing the munition workers, while conserving Australia's manpower and materials. The Trust's desire to balance the needs and comfort of the tenant against the necessity for economy was reflected in the guidelines for the construction of Cabin Homes adopted on 11th March, 1942. They were:

- (a) Cabins should be separate units.
- (b) Every effort should be made to use pre-fabricated methods.
- (c) Provision should be made for bath and wash-basin, sink, fuel stove (or alternatively gas-stove and fire place) and a communal laundry for each group of 5 or 6 houses.
- (d) Inside lining should be provided if some cheap material for this purpose is available.
- (e) Fences should be provided, but the type of fence should be decided by local requirements.
- (f) Wherever possible no sewerage connections should be made.
- (g) Electric light should be provided.
- (h) Brown out provisions should be made. (As protection against air-raids.)
- (i) Fly-wire should be affixed where climate so demands.<sup>1</sup>

A possible site for 150 such Cabin Homes, in the township of Salisbury was inspected in March by the Trust's architect. However, before this project could proceed any further, the Trust was ordered in mid-March, to terminate its temporary building programme. The War Cabinet established

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1. A.A. M.P. 67/1. Department of Labour and National Service. File 1040/1/1. 'War Housing and Accommodation'. 16 October 1941.

machinery to determine priorities for all Commonwealth works, so that only those projects necessary for Australia's defence could continue. The C.W.W.H.T. had to submit all its proposed works including its plans for temporary houses and hostels, to the Defence Works Priority Sub-Committee of the Chief of Staff Committee for permission to proceed. In its application to this Sub-Committee, the C.W.W.H.T. pointed out that delays in the temporary housing programme would have a detrimental effect upon the munitions programme. It was particularly concerned about the cases where there was very little housing of any description available near the factories. This was of course applicable to the Salisbury factory, and in fact, on the schedule of temporary housing projects were

Project 1119 : 150 Cabin Cottages at Salisbury for housing employees at the Salisbury factory.

and

Project 1120 : 450 Cabin Cottages in the Northern and Western suburbs of Adelaide to house employees of the Cheltenham, Hendon and Salisbury factories.<sup>1</sup>

Despite this argument, the Defence Works Priority Sub-Committee, situated in Melbourne and concerned with such projects all over Australia, awarded Priority 'D' or indefinite deferral to the Salisbury housing projects.

It was the forceful protest of a South Australian public servant, J.W. Wainwright, to the Defence Works Priority Sub-Committee, which led to a change in priorities. Wainwright, the Auditor-General was a staunch advocate of the industrial development of South Australia, and as Deputy-Director of the Department of War Organisation of Industry in South Australia was concerned with the mobilization of South Australian resources for war needs. In a letter to the Director of the Commonwealth War Workers Housing Trust on 20 April 1942 he outlined the need for more housing for South Australia:

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1. A.A. M.P. 312/1. Department of Defence Works Priority Sub-Committee. Agenda. 8 June 1942.

I need hardly draw your attention to the fact that there is a serious shortage of homes for munition workers and their families.

I understand that you know that some five or six thousand men will be required at Salisbury spread over the next six to eight months. This is the most pressing need. . . .<sup>1</sup>

He was concerned about the grave housing situation in metropolitan Adelaide, where many people, including many coming from the country, were crowding into the available stock of houses. Numbers of these houses were of a very low standard.<sup>2</sup> Wainwright sent details purporting to show the crowded housing conditions of 342 families in metropolitan Adelaide. Although not all of the families could be said to have been living in overcrowded conditions, and although there was no evidence that any of the people listed were employed in munition factories, this protest appears to have been instrumental in having the debate re-opened. It is interesting to note here that the houses which were built at Salisbury, at Wainwright's insistence, were used after the war to house workers from the Long Range Weapons Establishment which had taken over the Salisbury munition factories. It is not unlikely that the realisation that some sort of housing was needed near the Salisbury works, if they were to be used after the war, influenced him to press the Federal government in 1942 for housing there.

When this matter was brought once more before the Defence Works Priority Sub-Committee on May 28th 1942, the Committee was informed that the Prime Minister was not happy with the awarding of a Priority 'D' to the housing project. Now it was given Priority 'B', which meant that it could be carried out. The difficulty that some workers had experienced in travelling the twelve miles between Adelaide and Salisbury led to a

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1. File cited above 20 April 1942.

2. See South Australian Parliamentary Papers. No. 30, 32, 34 of 1940. Report of Building Act Inquiry Committee.

revision of the schedule so that 300 of the cottages, (instead of 150) were to be built at Salisbury, while 300 (instead of 450) were to be built in the Northern and Western suburbs. Approximately 58 acres of land was now leased by the Commonwealth government between Park Terrace and the Two Walls Road. By early August, a start was made on the building of the Cabin Homes. Thus, among a web of conflicting pressures and against the background of a deteriorating war situation the decision to build at Salisbury was made.

The carrying out of this project meant the introduction of a large number of outsiders into the small, rather parochial township. Obviously, even in the best circumstances such an operation would lead to physical and social difficulties. The war-time situation and the Commonwealth government's consequent concern for economic stringency did not provide the best environment for such changes. The mean nature of the houses and the lack of facilities and services upon the new estate were evidence of the government's priorities at the time. These factors made more difficult the integration of the newcomers and of their estate into the life of the community. However, not all the problems and inadequacies of the estate can be ascribed to the crisis situation in which it was born. Poor administration and co-ordination on the part of the Commonwealth authorities caused problems both for the newcomers and for the established residents of Salisbury. The authorities displayed a singular lack of sympathy for the situation and interests of the original residents who found their township suddenly invaded by the newcomers. Similarly, they appeared to have no understanding of the position of the newcomers, thrust into a rather hostile environment. It will be argued in fact that the actions or inaction on the part of the Commonwealth authorities often exacerbated the already difficult situation presented by the building of the estate in Salisbury. Even towards the end of the war, when the need for financial

stringency was not as great, there seems to have been a total lack of appreciation on the part of the C.W.W.H.T. for the social and political consequences of the building of the estate in Salisbury. This neglect and lack of awareness had the effect of significantly worsening the situation of the tenants, and probably of increasing the hostility felt by local people towards the estate and its inhabitants.

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The Cabin Homes were seen by the C.W.W.H.T. as providing both . . . the Minimum and Maximum standard of housing which could be provided with the needs of the worker and of economy, time, materials, manpower both taken into consideration.<sup>1</sup>

The pre-fabricated houses did provide for the minimum needs of the munition workers in that they provided shelter close to the munitions factory. However the concern for economy was evident in the fact that the Cabin Homes and the estate itself were lacking in a number of services and facilities necessary for comfort, and in some cases, for good health. Although Salisbury experiences very hot summer weather, the Cabin Homes, built on an almost treeless site, had no protection on windows facing north and west. The houses had little flywire protection and it was impossible to ventilate them without letting in many flies from nearby paddocks. Health authorities considered the lack of showering facilities a serious omission.<sup>2</sup> The houses were small with insufficient storage space for wood fuel and bicycles.

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1. A.A. M.P. 312/1. Department of Defence Works Priority Sub-Committee Agenda. 14 May 1942.
  2. A.A. A.P. 563 File 2/114. Enclosure 481/1126. 'Building Schemes. S.A. Salisbury: Roads and Paths'. 13 September 1943.

A Cabin Home.



Like the rest of Salisbury, the estate was not connected to a sewerage system. However, the Cabin Homes area was much more closely settled than the rest of Salisbury with many more young children and thus there was a greater possibility of disease reaching epidemic proportions. In lieu of a sewerage system, pans were collected twice a week from the Cabin Homes. Waste water from each house ran out through a grease trap into a soakage pit covered with boards. Until 1944 there were no drains formed to carry storm-water to the streets. As the streets and footpaths in the area were unpaved, they became a quagmire during the winter months making it difficult for people to move around. The concern for economy was also shown by the subdivision itself which did not comply with the provisions of the South Australian Town Planning Act. Many of the blocks were well below the minimum allowed size of 7,500 square feet and all the roads running through the estate were narrower than the allowed 50 foot minimum. The subdivision did, however, leave some land vacant for play areas. Many of the shortcomings can be attributed to the need to meet only the minimum requirements of the tenants due to the exigencies of the war situation.

Other shortcomings can be traced however to poor organisation on the part of the distant C.W.W.H.T. When the first munition workers moved in at Christmas 1942 there was no garbage collection, no mail delivery, no public telephones and no street lighting on the estate. This must have made life on the estate even more difficult for the newcomers. The lack of streetlighting was particularly disadvantageous to those who worked nightshift and who experienced a certain amount of difficulty in finding their homes among streets of identical houses. The Trust itself regarded these facilities as essential for, after urging from the residents and the District Council, it provided them.

Poor administration on the part of the Commonwealth authorities was also evident in the selection of tenants and the allocation of houses. A Locality Committee was appointed late in 1942 to select the tenants and to allocate the houses. This committee, ultimately responsible to, and under the overall control of a Central Committee for South Australia, consisted of a representative of the Factory Manager, the property supervisor of the Salisbury Cabin Homes and a Welfare Officer from the Salisbury munitions factory. While it is impossible to determine precisely how the Locality Committee operated it appears likely however, that it soon met with some problems, for in November 1944 the factory Welfare Officer pointed out that the Locality Committee '. . . nominally, although not in practice has been responsible for the allocation of the cottages.'<sup>1</sup> Not only was the Committee system established to select the tenants passed by, but also the criteria for selection of tenants which had been laid down for the direction of the committee, had to be modified during 1943 due to an insufficient demand for the cottages.

In October 1942 it had been decided that half of the cottages should be reserved for key workers, nominated by the factory management, leaving the other half for factory employees with two or more children. The needs of this latter group were to be assessed after considering the nature and location of their present accommodation. However by the following January it was reported that '. . . applications are falling behind supply',<sup>2</sup> and the Works Director suggested that criteria for allocation could be relaxed. The factory management had allocated cottages to only three key

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1. A.A. A.P. 262 Series 1. Department of Labour and National Service: Industrial Welfare Division. Area 3. Accommodation and Housing of Workers in Government Areas. File 3131/2/1. 10 November 1944.
  2. A.A. A.P. 563. Series 6. File 2/114. Pt. I. Housing Matters General. Salisbury. Management of Housing Schemes involving temporary dwellings. 20 January 1943.



key workers and had then, in February 1943, forgone its right to nominate any more. By the next March the Locality Committee had recommended that

As war workers who freely qualify under the regulations to receive cottages have had ample opportunity, now, prescribed conditions might be relaxed.<sup>1</sup>

However, it appears that it was not until the end of June that the distant C.W.W.H.T. decreed that regulations could be eased and that war workers without children could be allocated houses.<sup>2</sup> Thus it was not until mid-July that all cottages were allocated.

The C.W.W.H.T. appears to have had no interest in the problems of the Cabin Homes community, which as one official later pointed out,

. . . was created suddenly and placed beside an old established community, predominantly of land-owners, with whom no real fusion seems possible.<sup>3</sup>

Nor do they appear to have had much knowledge of the background and previous experience of their tenants. Thus any consideration of the likely needs of these people based upon this information was not forthcoming. An examination of the Electoral Rolls showed that many of the munition workers coming to Salisbury in 1942-3 moved from the Adelaide metropolitan area. Of 280 heads of households, or their boarders, with Cabin Homes addresses entered on the Salisbury roll by the end of June 1943, 144 had been living in the Adelaide metropolitan area since 1941, 77 were from the South Australian country areas, 34 from Interstate and for 25 no information could be found. Thus these people had come from varied backgrounds. A number, at least 73, had moved once between 1941 and their arrival in Salisbury in 1943. Some had moved more often. Nine had made

1. File cited above 3 June 1943.

2. File cited above 18 June 1943.

3. A.A. A.P. 262. Series 1. Department of Labour and National Service. Industrial Welfare Division. File 3131/2/1. 12 May 1944.

two moves, and at least two had made three moves between 1941 and 1943 when they became resident in Salisbury. It is impossible to say whether these moves were due to difficulties in gaining suitable accommodation, or due to changes in employment. Nevertheless at least a quarter of those who became tenants in the Cabin Homes in Salisbury in 1943 had not been settled in the recent past.

Those going into the Cabin Homes were also a much younger group in comparison with the Salisbury population. In August 1944 the population of the Cabin Homes was,

Children	(0 - 4 years	343
	(5 -14 years	241
Adults		577
Total		<u>1,161</u>

Half of the total Cabin Home population was under 15 years of age.<sup>1</sup>

The only figures available for the Salisbury District Council show

1933 Census - 27% under 15 years of age.

1947 Census - 30% under 15 years of age.

Although the 1947 Census figure includes Cabin Home residents it is obvious that the original Salisbury residents were as a group older than the newcomers. Numbers of the newcomers had been unable to get work for sometime during the 1930's<sup>2</sup> and the job at the munitions was their first opportunity of regular work for years.

Thus in a number of ways these people were quite different from the rest of the Salisbury population. They came to a housing estate which was geographically separate from the old part of the township and which, in its

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1. A.A. A.P. 563. Series 7. Department of Interior. File CL 20228 Pt. I.

2. Interview with Salisbury residents 1973.



An aerial photograph of the township of Salisbury in 1949. The Cabin Homes are on the southern edge of the township. The former munitions works, in 1949 they were being used by the L.R.W.E., begin in the blank section, between the railway lines at the top of the photograph.

physical aspects was a blow to local pride even though all concerned saw it as a temporary phenomenon. The shift work involved at the munitions work and the very nature of the work done there was to divorce the munition workers even further from the local community. As a result of all these factors the Cabin Homes remained a separate part of the township throughout and even after the war years while their occupants even came to see themselves as outcasts or lepers. This feeling on the part of the Cabin Homes people that they were lepers can perhaps be more readily appreciated by looking at their work situation. Although they saw themselves as shouldering one of Australia's war time burdens by doing the job that had to be done at the munitions works this does not really seem to have been appreciated by the local Salisbury people. The work in the munitions factory was often unpleasant and dangerous and discipline was strict. Passes had to be shown before the workers were allowed on to the munitions area to start work on one of the three shifts which were operated for most of the war years. The function of the factory was

to manufacture service explosives and to fill and assemble ammunition including essential components such as caps, detonators, fuzes, primers and tracers.<sup>1</sup>

Although chemicals such as Nitric Acid, Tetryl, Nitroglycerine and T.N.T. were manufactured there was only one fatal accident during the factory's operation. This fact could be attributed to the care taken by the workers and to their strict surveillance by the Commonwealth Peace Officers.

The administering of the Regulations many of which related to industrial safety and war time security led in 1943 to the dismissal of no less than 160 employees for serious misconduct. The workers at the

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1. A.A. M.P. 438/3. Department of Supply and Development. Central Administration Historical Record Section. 'Draft Histories'. File no. S. 51. 'Explosives Factory Salisbury. 1940-45' p. 2.

factory were subject to quite rigorous discipline and while this may have been responsible for the virtual absence of spectacular mishaps the workers were still subject to certain occupational hazards. Some of the workers developed rashes due to their contact with T.N.T. and Tetryl. Some of those in contact with T.N.T. contracted T.N.T. toxæmia, or T.N.T. poisoning as it was commonly known. It is difficult to assess the incidence of these disorders. It has been claimed that some workers died due to the effects of exposure to T.N.T. Certainly some lost a lot of working time and wages due to this. One worker wrote in December 1943,

. . . on March 16 1943 I was put off from work on Compensation rates of £3.10.0 per week which lasted five months through effect of T.N.T. [sic]. I am still suffering from same and 4 weeks ago had another week off in Adelaide Hospital.<sup>1</sup>

Although at the end of a shift the workers had to shower and change their clothes, it seems that despite these precautions some of the unpleasant substances handled in the factory were introduced into the home environment. The wife of a munition worker commented that soon after her husband returned from the factory she was able to sense the T.N.T. in the air. The Salisbury residents appear to have had little understanding of or sympathy with the situation of the workers, while the C.W.W.H.T. did not appear to have been at all aware of these problems.

The attitudes of the Cabin Home people to Salisbury and towards their new home appear to have been mixed. As far as the homes themselves were concerned it appears that despite the limitations already discussed they represented a marked improvement in accommodation for numbers of the families. Replying to criticisms of the mean nature of the Cabin Homes voiced by two United Australia Party M.H.R.s in June 1943, one Cabin Home

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1. Letter included in Criminal Case no. 158 of 1943. Salisbury Police Court.

resident (who had moved to Salisbury from Grange) wrote

Our total floor area is almost double that of 2 smelly rooms I was paying £2 a week for permission to occupy before I came here. Mr. Stacey [one of the critical MHRs] would be dismayed if on canvassing cabin homers he found that 80% of them, while not claiming their homes as mansions, do emphatically declare that, compared to the rat infested, bug ridden, dingy rooms and flats in dingier slums which they formerly occupied the cabin homes have answered their prayers for better conditions.<sup>1</sup>

For this man at least, moving to a Cabin Home meant a reduction in rent and fares. At the same time, the President of the War Cottages Progress Association (which had been formed by the tenants soon after their arrival in Salisbury) replied to the charge that workers had refused to live in the Cabin Homes unless compelled to do so,

. . . nobody was compelled to live in them, in fact those who were allotted a home from the many hundreds of applicants considered themselves most fortunate.<sup>2</sup>

While nobody was compelled to live in Salisbury in the Cabin Homes, those working at the munition works were there at the direction of the National Service Office and thus for the sake of convenience were compelled to come to Salisbury. Although coming to Salisbury meant for many of the tenants their first home and for some families, the end of months of separation while the husband/father boarded in Salisbury or Gawler, it also meant having to live in a rather unfriendly community.

Many of the tenants coming to Salisbury from the metropolitan area found Salisbury, not only unfriendly but also lacking in services, facilities and entertainment to which they and their children were accustomed. Thus a former resident of Torrensville noted

I hated to have to come to Salisbury which had no roads, no gardens but plenty of dirty water, potholes and mosquitoes.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Advertiser. Letter to Editor. 26 June 1943.

2. Ibid.

3. Interview with former Cabin Homes resident. 1973.

Those coming to Salisbury from large country towns also found difficulty adjusting. One woman commented 'Kadina was such a busy place. In Salisbury there was nothing doing'.<sup>1</sup> Their attitudes towards Salisbury became even more critical as they encountered the hostility and unfriendliness of many of the townspeople, the farmers and the orchardists. One woman who had previously lived in various South Australian country towns found that it was the most unfriendly town she had ever known. One of the criticisms of the Cabin Home residents later voiced by some of the Salisbury residents was that they did not want to become involved in local affairs. How much this could have been precipitated by their original reception in Salisbury it is difficult to say, but this factor must surely have played a part.

In planning the estate at Salisbury no attempt was made by the C.W.W.H.T. to assess the reaction of local people, or to win their support for the project. Nor was any attempt made to facilitate the mixing of the old and the new residents at Salisbury. In fact there appears to be no evidence of any awareness on the part of the C.W.W.H.T. that any difficulty could arise. This was the case in the provision of a school for the Cabin Home children. This school, the only major amenity provided at the estate, was, like the area it served, of a temporary nature. There was of course already a primary school in Salisbury. However, as the South Australian Premier pointed out 'The existing school building and site are small and quite inadequate.'<sup>2</sup> for the increased population. Although after the war it was decided to enlarge the site of the Salisbury Primary School so that all local children could attend there, in 1942 a school for the Cabin Home children was built entirely separate from that for the

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1. Ibid.

2. A.A. A.P. 563. CL 20228. Playford to Prime Minister 28 August 1942.

rest of the township. The separation of the children in the two schools was to exacerbate social and economic differences between the two populations. The Salisbury Extension School (as the new school was known) had to rely upon the meagre resources of the parents to finance the equipment necessary for the school. In 1944 the Extension School Committee noted,

. . . it is indeed distressing for any thinking person to see how ill-equipped this School is. . . .<sup>1</sup>

The decision to have a separate school was made without any apparent consideration or even awareness of the consequences of this segregation in a township where the old community was hostile to the newcomers.

The residents of Salisbury in fact had not been at all pleased to see the erection of the 284 pre-fabricated homes in their town next to some of the best homes on Park Terrace. They saw the Cabin Homes as a 'slum' area. One farmer wrote

. . . they look like nice garages or fowlhouses for size, but quantity and little expense is the thing.<sup>2</sup>

These people returning to Salisbury by train were often heard to denigrate the Cabin Homes and their residents, as their carriage passed the rows of asbestos homes. They tended to see the Cabin Home tenants as a group, locally known as 'Cabin Homers' all sharing the same characteristics. Particularly in their first years in Salisbury the tenants of the Cabin Homes were blamed collectively for any crime or mishap etc. The tenants were seen as a group of 'poor types', the 'scum' of Adelaide, people who had for various reasons been rejected for army service and had thus been directed into the munitions industry. The official history of the Salisbury factory tends to support this last view when the point is made,

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1. S.A.A. G.R.G. 18 Schools Correspondence. File 1843/44.

2. Letter in Criminal Case no. 1 of 1943. Salisbury Police Court.



From the inception of the main recruiting in 1942, the supply of labour for Salisbury was much lower than the demand and consequently standards had to be revised.<sup>1</sup>

The Cabin Homers were also seen as being burdened with a great number of social problems.<sup>2</sup> The munition workers and often their wives also, were seen as spending far too much time drinking and betting in the hotels. It was believed that there was a great deal of fighting and arguing in the Cabin Home area both between husbands and wives and between neighbours etc. A local saying, indicative of these attitudes was that 'You were safer at the war than in the Cabin Homes on a Saturday night.'<sup>3</sup> How much truth there was in these allegations it is difficult to assess. However, one Cabin Home man who joined the Salisbury Bowling Club spoke of his embarrassment when on summer evenings the sounds of doors slamming and families arguing could be heard floating across the bowling green from the Cabin Homes area. The children of the Cabin Homes were seen as being poorly disciplined in comparison with the children of other Salisbury residents. Local authorities blamed these children first when trees and buildings in the Salisbury Recreation Park were damaged. Thus many people in Salisbury preferred the situation where their children and the Cabin Home children went to separate schools.

Despite the gravity of the war situation many of the Salisbury residents resented the intrusion of the Cabin Home people into their way of life, believing that the newcomers would change the whole nature of Salisbury and ruin its quiet and respectable character. Often these feelings were expressed quite forcefully. The Cabin Home residents were

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1. A.A. M.P. 438/3. Department of Supply and Development. File S51. 'Draft History Explosives Factory Salisbury'. p. 12.
  2. One Salisbury man commented in an interview 'Probably there was something wrong with many families'. (1973).
  3. Interview with Salisbury resident 1973.

seen as changing the time honoured patterns of Salisbury life by their lack of respect for Sunday, their poor church-going record, their illegal betting, their liking for alcoholic liquor and their desire to have it served at social functions in the traditionally 'dry' Salisbury Institute. It was felt that the moral standards of Salisbury fell with the occupation of the Cabin Homes. The records of the Salisbury Court House give some substance to these allegations as the number of cases heard rose with the occupation of the Cabin Homes.

TABLE 2 . 1

Cases heard at Salisbury Court House. 1939-45.

	<u>Criminal</u>		<u>Civil</u>
1939	- C.50	-	C.35
1940	- 40	-	C.37
1941	- 195	-	C.40
1942	- 142	-	C.40
1943	- 190	-	75
1944	- 115	-	56
1945	- 127	-	50 <sup>1</sup>

The magistrates, mainly local businessmen, farmers and orchardists heard police prosecutions against Cabin Home people for offences ranging from theft (including stealing oranges), riding bicycles without holding on to the handle-bars, drunkenness, disorderly behaviour, to the use of indecent language. Some of the Cabin Home people had left a trail of creditors behind them when they had arrived in Salisbury, and some of these creditors, and others from Salisbury and the city endeavoured to recover their debts

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1. The court records were incomplete for some years, however a fairly accurate estimate of the number of cases was made by taking the number of the latest case in the year, usually late in December, as the total number for the year. These figures show that the rise in cases which began with the building of the munition works during 1941, rose again with the occupation of the Cabin Homes.

from the Cabin Homers in the Salisbury Local Court. Local people also resented the overtaxing of facilities by Cabin Home tenants. It was alleged that more than half of the beds at the tiny local hospital were taken by these people who were paying no rates and thus making no contribution to the hospital.

Undoubtedly the local business people were those to benefit most from the building of the Cabin Homes, their awareness of where their advantage lay is shown by the part they played in the campaign to get S.A.H.T. homes for Salisbury late in 1941. In January 1943, soon after the first tenants had moved in 3 local businessmen offered £5 each for the purposes of 'encouraging and promoting neat gardens at the Cabin Homes'.<sup>1</sup> This move which led to a garden competition held annually among the Cabin Home residents can be interpreted as a move on the part of these businessmen to include the Cabin Home people in the life of the town. It may also have been intended to advertise local business to the new residents. Whatever the motive it is certain that local shops and hotels benefitted greatly from the settlement in Salisbury of about 300 extra families. The Cabin Home people were themselves aware of the part they played in boosting local business. Thus in July 1954, a Cabin Home resident wrote to the local paper,

I would point out the shops that were in the town 12 years ago could be counted on the fingers and were making a reasonable living but when the cottages came they changed hands several times and approximately 12 new ones have been built [sic].<sup>2</sup>

Despite this vital attachment between the shopkeepers and the Cabin Home customers, numbers of the latter often found their most negative

1. Salisbury District Council Minutes 4 January 1943.
2. Salisbury News. Letter to the Editor 30 July 1954.

experience in Salisbury in the shops. It seems that the Cabin Home tenants had little real alternative to shopping in Salisbury, as Gawler and Adelaide were too far away, especially for the many families with young children and for those families in which both the husband and the wife worked. In the Salisbury shops, they were at first met by rudeness, outright discrimination and sometimes by higher prices. Of course the wartime shortages increased the possibility of discrimination. One local shopkeeper at first took it upon himself to raise the standards of the tenants by refusing to sell tobacco to women from the Cabin Homes. The shopkeepers and their assistants, accustomed to working with a small group of known customers continued to operate in this personal world when the town's population grew rapidly. Thus, many a Cabin Home customer had to wait in the shop until all the older residents had been served. Naturally they deeply resented this system of privilege and discrimination and managed later in the war to introduce the rather impersonal system of 'first-in-first served' to the Salisbury shops.

Perhaps the shopkeepers felt that with so many customers from the Cabin Homes who had little real choice of shopping facilities, that they could afford to discriminate against them by not offering them the same services e.g. home delivery, which were extended to other Salisbury residents. Nevertheless that they were anxious to keep the business of the Cabin Home residents for themselves was shown in September 1943 when they took steps to do so by protesting to the Department of Interior against a man from outside the district ' . . . selling all kinds of goods on the Cabin Home property'. They asked that his permit to trade in the Cabin Homes area be cancelled ' . . . as it is detrimental to our livelihood in this district'.<sup>1</sup>

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1. A.A. A.P. 563. Series 6. Department of Interior. File 2/114.  
Part I. 24 September 1943.

The District Council was also affected by the building of the Cabin Homes. The Salisbury District Council, composed of local farmers and orchardists was opposed, like other community leaders to the establishment of the substandard residential area within the township. As farmers and orchardists they were more opposed, <sup>why?</sup> than the businessmen, to a rapid growth in the town's population. The council's responsibility for the health and well being of the town and district would also have coloured their attitude to the Cabin Homes. The council's ability to carry out its duties was hampered somewhat by the lack of foresight and cooperation on the part of the Commonwealth government in the development and maintenance of the Cabin Home estate.

The virtual doubling of the town's population could have meant that the council's duties would be greatly extended. However, as no rates to local government were payable upon Commonwealth controlled land, the council received no revenue whatsoever from the Cabin Home area. Thus it took no formal responsibility for this area. The fact that no rates were paid meant the tenants were not able to participate in local government. The council resented the fact that no rates were paid and some of the tenants felt that they had lost their civic rights.<sup>1</sup> One result was that despite the changed nature of the local population, the council continued to be elected by and to represent the interests of the old Salisbury.

However, the council could not ignore the existence of the Cabin Homes as their coming had meant the over taxing of rate-financed services e.g. the Institute, the Institute Library and the local hospital. The council also felt called upon to point out to the Commonwealth government the dangerous health situation at the Cabin Homes which had been created

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1. News 16 May 1944.

by the negligence of the latter. Thus in January 1943, the Secretary of the Local Board of Health wrote to the Federal Government pointing out that no arrangements had been made to collect garbage from the closely settled temporary housing estate and that the District Council's own arrangement with the Infectious Diseases Hospital at Northfield, to quarantine Salisbury residents, did not cover people from the Cabin Homes. Only late in March 1943 did the C.W.W.H.T. respond to the council's urgings by accepting a tender for the removal of garbage from the Cabin Homes. On the other issue raised by the Local Board of Health, a solution was finally arrived at only in September 1944, when the Commonwealth agreed to appoint a part-time Health Inspector for the Cabin Home area and to contribute to the Local Board of Health. Only then was health supervision of this area organized, even though there was a higher incidence of infectious disease than in the rest of the district.<sup>1</sup> Thus by the negligence of the Commonwealth the Cabin Home people had become something of a political football to be passed between it and the local council. In this situation it is not surprising that the council resented the rather half-hearted intrusion of the Commonwealth into the district and the burdens which the development had placed upon the council. Nor is it surprising to find a spokesman of the Cabin Home residents claiming in May 1944 that they were being treated as 'lepers'.<sup>2</sup>

It might be expected that having put the tenants of the Cabin Homes into a rather difficult physical situation and into a hostile social

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1. Infectious Diseases 1 July 1943 - 1 July 1944. Cabin Homes - 53 reported cases. Rest of Council area - 27 reported cases. At this time, the Cabin Homes accounted for 1,161 residents out of a total in the District Council of 3,000. Source: A.A. A.P. 563 series 7. Department of Interior - File CL 20228.

2. Adelaide News 16 May, 1944.

environment, the C.W.W.H.T. might have tried to remedy the situation when informed of it. Yet, the C.W.W.H.T. did not do this, and rather than encouraging and fostering the attempts of the tenants to improve their own situation, it in fact obstructed them. Throughout the war years the attitude of the C.W.W.H.T. to the Cabin Homes Progress Association, formed by some of the tenants in January 1943 to further the interests of those living in the Cabin Homes, was one of callous if not contemptuous neglect. Some months after the formation of the Progress Association, the members were to learn how little concern the authorities had for their interests. For example, a senior official of the Department of Interior did in fact attend the second meeting of the Association held in the old Salisbury Institute, on the 8th February 1943. At this meeting, Cabin Home residents complained that no arrangements had been made to collect garbage from the Cabin Homes. A month later, at the time of the next Progress Association meeting, nothing had been done to remedy the situation. One of the Factory Welfare Officers wrote to the official:

It was obvious that the meeting expected that some of these matters which were brought to notice at the meeting a month ago, when you were present would have been attended to by now.<sup>1</sup>

Broken promises, a failure to honour undertakings, and a lack of concern were evident on the part of the Commonwealth authorities throughout the war so that

. . . members [of the Progress Association] had a feeling of frustration in the efforts to interest the Trust in matters which they considered vital to their welfare as a community.<sup>2</sup>

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1. A.A. A.P. 563. Series 6 Department of Interior File 2/114 Pt. 1. 9 March 1943.
  2. A.A. A.P. 262 Series 1 Department of Labour and National Service. Industrial Welfare Division. File 3131/2/1. Correspondence Files 12 May 1944.

The frustration of the activities of the Progress Association must be seen against the background of a situation which made it appear highly probable that the Cabin Homes could not be demolished immediately after the war as planned. In January 1943, the Surveyor General and Chief Property Officer in the Department of the Interior made the point

The shortage of housing accommodation at the end of the war will probably be acute and it is considered that the cottages erected by the Trust will be required for an indefinite period,<sup>1</sup>

a point which was echoed by the Chief Medical Officer of South Australia in September of the same year.<sup>2</sup> The implications of this do not seem to have become apparent to the C.W.W.H.T. and the Department of the Interior in their administration of the Estate and in their dealings with its Progress Association in 1943, nor in 1944 and 1945 when the easing of the war situation made future planning more reasonable.

During the first year or so of its existence the Cabin Homes Progress Association (hereafter C.H.P.A.) was very active in furthering the interests of the tenants. Despite the fact that there was some turnover in the executive committee (there seems to have been 3 Presidents during the course of the first year) the Association brought forward many problems and complaints to the relevant authorities, formed sub-committees and engaged in fund-raising activities. It seems likely that there was some opposition on the part of the Commonwealth government officials in Adelaide to the Progress Association so that despite its very active record, a claim was made in August by Commonwealth officials that it was not '... functioning satisfactorily and is representing only a small percentage of tenants'.<sup>3</sup> Although it is difficult to assess accurately the truth of

1. A.A. A.P. 563. File CL 20302. 21 January 1943.

2. A.A. A.P. 563 Series 6, Department of Interior File 2/114. Part II. Enclosure 481/1126. 13 September 1943.

3. A.A. A.P. 563 Series 6. Department of Interior File 2/114 Part I. 25 August, 1943.



this allegation, the record of the Progress Association shows that it pursued both community interests (e.g. a Community Hall, roads) as well as individual interests (e.g. preventing the unauthorized entry of Trust officials to tenants' homes).

These officials sponsored another almost rival association known as the 'Advisory Council to the C.W.W.H.T.' (Salisbury) which began meeting late in September 1943. Ironically, any hopes on the part of the officials that this Council, elected by the tenants, would prove to be more amenable than the Progress Association were to be disappointed for the Council soon began to raise the same demands as the Progress Association. This latter organisation instead of becoming defunct, as it was described by the Supervising Architect for the Cabin Homes in September 1943,<sup>1</sup> continued to press for improvements for the tenants until at least July 1945. It is very easy to gain the impression that Commonwealth policy in this matter had not been very clearly formulated. Although officials of the Commonwealth in Adelaide had sponsored the development of the Advisory Council, in September 1943 the Surveyor General and Chief Property Officer in the Department of the Interior (Canberra) noted with some surprise in the following January the apparent existence of

. . . two separate organisations claiming to represent the tenants of this housing scheme.<sup>2</sup>

The C.H.P.A. was quite active in 1943 and made a number of complaints and requests to the C.W.W.H.T. On some issues, for example the lack of a public telephone, street lighting and of a garbage collection, its efforts were rewarded by government action. However on other issues, such as

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1. A.A. A.P. 563 Series 6. Department of Interior File 2/114. Part II. Enclosure 481/1126. September 1943.
  2. A.A. A.P. 563 Series 6. Department of Interior File 2/114. Part II. Enclosure 481/1126. 15 January 1944.

the unmade nature of the roads, the lack of fly-wire protection and the lack of doors on some bedrooms, the Progress Association was less successful. The paucity of recreational and social facilities for the Cabin Home residents was discussed by the Progress Association shortly after its formation. In May 1943 the establishment of a Community Hall, possibly incorporating a kindergarten, was raised by the Progress Association. Although this project was discussed with officials of the C.W.W.H.T. and although members of the Progress Association were told that the Trust was sympathetic to the idea, the Community Hall and kindergarten failed to materialise. Apparently the Trust decided to build wood-sheds for the tenants in lieu of a community hall! Some of the energies of the Progress Association were directed towards the great problem of meeting the needs of their children who formed a large proportion of the estate population. In August 1944, half of the Cabin Home residents were under the age of 15 years.<sup>1</sup> There was a lack of recreational and social activities for such a large number of children in Salisbury. The Progress Association raised money and established a play-ground and boys' and girls' recreation clubs. The temporary nature of the estate however and the fact that the Salisbury District Council would give no support to these activities meant the Progress Association was unable to gain a subsidy from the National Fitness Council to promote recreation. The activities of the Progress Association showed, as one official pointed out,

The tenants [had] . . . demonstrated their ability and willingness to help themselves, and it [was] improper to regard them as in any way, a sub standard community.<sup>2</sup>

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1. See footnote 1, p. 29 above.
  2. A.A. A.P. 262. Series I. Department of Labour and National Service. Industrial Welfare Division File 3131/2/1. Correspondence 12 May 1944.

The Advisory Council established late in 1943 by the Commonwealth was to be no more successful than the Progress Association in getting improvements to the estate such as made roads and footpaths and flywire doors etc. During 1944 and 1945 the Progress Association appears to have become less active and few representations were made by it. The Trust persisted with the same indifference towards this Association during its decline. In 1944 an official of the C.W.W.H.T. visited the estate and promised to investigate certain matters such as establishing a kindergarten for tenants' children and

. . . ways and means of overcoming the tendency to regard the Cottage area as a separate community instead of part of the town of Salisbury.<sup>1</sup>

However, once again the interests of the Cabin Home people were forgotten and these promised investigations were not begun until five months after this visit, and then only at the urging of one of the Factory Welfare officers. The Factory Welfare officers, who had attended all the meetings of the Progress Association and had assisted it, seem to have been the only officials of the Commonwealth government who had the interests of the Cabin Home people at heart. The experience of the C.H.P.A. with the C.W.W.H.T. and the Department of Interior show that there was no encouragement by the authorities responsible for the residents,

. . . in their legitimate aspirations to establish a satisfactory community life in the face of unusually difficult circumstances.<sup>2</sup>

While it might be expected that some would try to leave a work and housing situation which had so many unpleasant features associated with it, it is difficult to assess the extent of such movement as there is very

1. File cited above, with 8th November 1944.

2. File cited above, 12 May 1944.

little information concerning how many people left the Cabin Home area during the war. In June 1943 the Acting Works Director for South Australia reported that the present rate of removals from the Salisbury cottages was three or four per week.<sup>1</sup> It is unlikely that this turn-over was kept up for long during 1943 as none of the former Cabin Home residents remembered any removals. The Electoral Roll records seven families moving from the Cabin Homes in 1943. It appears that the only way one could leave the Munitions factory for some of the war years was to be dismissed. Retrenchment of workers was begun in October 1943 and was designed 'to dispose of some of the poorer types of employees'.<sup>2</sup> Some of those living in the Cabin Homes were retrenched and found work elsewhere; the Electoral Roll records that 33 families left Salisbury in 1944. Nevertheless many of those retrenched stayed on in the Cabin Homes so that by March 1944, 104 holders of Cabin Homes were no longer having rent deductions made from their wages at the factory and thus presumably were no longer working at the factory.<sup>3</sup> Once more the C.W.W.H.T. reacted tardily and slowly to the changed situation, and it was some time before a person was appointed to collect rent from those who were no longer in Commonwealth employment. Legal proceedings were undertaken in an attempt to obtain rent owed from ex-tenants who had left Salisbury.

In the years after the war the Cabin Homes provided urgently needed accommodation. In 1946 it was reported that there was 'a waiting list of well over 200 applicants for houses falling vacant'.<sup>4</sup> The houses were

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1. A.A. A.P. 563 Series 6. Department of Interior File 2/114. Part I. 11th June 1943.
  2. A.A. M.P. 438/3. Department of Supply and Development File S51. Draft History p. 26.
  3. A.A. A.P. 563. Series 6. Department of Interior. File 2/114 Part I. 5 March 1944.
  4. S.A.A. G.R.G. 18. 2073/46. S.A. Education Department. Schools Correspondence.

allotted to applicants at the discretion of the Property Supervisor. In the first post-war years the works were not the great source of employment that they had been during the war years. Men living at the Cabin Homes now travelled daily to work at Kilburn, Islington and to the I.C.I. works at St. Kilda. Despite the efforts of J.W. Wainwright who since the end of 1944, at least, had been 'bringing to the notice of manufacturers the potentialities of facilities offering at Salisbury for Post-war industry',<sup>1</sup> in 1946 it was reported that only

Two or three minor industries have opened at Penfield but not 15% of the buildings formerly used in munitions-making are utilized today.<sup>2</sup>

By 1946 the post-war housing shortage had become painfully obvious, and the Department of Interior carried out improvements to the cottages. Back verandahs were enclosed and window shades, front porches, eaves, gutters, downpipes, and fly-wire front-doors were provided. The exteriors of the Cabin Homes were painted. As well as extending the living-space of these houses, the improvements, many of which had been requested by the tenants since 1943, now made the houses 'quite attractive'. The failure of the government to provide these additions during 1943 can be attributed to the gravity of the war situation and the consequent necessity to conserve manpower and materials, and also to the mistaken belief that these houses would be dismantled at the end of the war, so that further expenditure upon them was not justified. The government's delay in realising that the estate would have to continue for some years after the war meant the continued frustration in 1944 and 1945 of the Progress Association which was eager to participate in the development of the local area.

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1. A.A. M.P. 959/37 and M.P. 188/7. Post-War News No. 31. 5 May 1945.

2. S.A.A. G.R.G. 18. 2073/46.

In 1947, Salisbury was confirmed as an important centre for employment of a secondary nature when the factories at Penfield were taken over by the Long Range Weapons Establishment and by private firms doing contract work for it. Workers came from Britain and elsewhere to work at Penfield, and in July 1948, the Cabin Homes were reserved for married personnel at the Long Range Weapons Establishment. Now these houses, for which Wainwright had campaigned so vigorously in 1942, were playing a part in the industrialization of South Australia.

In the early 1950's, the Commonwealth Government was anxious to rid itself of the responsibility for the houses and allowed them to become quite run-down. In 1954 negotiations were begun between the Salisbury District Council and the Commonwealth Government with a view to the council buying the Estate and demolishing the houses. The prospect of being homeless raised a storm among the Cabin Homes residents who formed the Salisbury Protection League to defend their interests. With the assistance of the Salisbury A.L.P. sub-branch, which took the part of the Cabin Home residents, a set of conditions was agreed upon whereby the tenants were allowed to remain in their houses for six years from the date of sale to the council, and were to be given first option for the purchase of these houses. At first negotiations between the Salisbury District Council and the Commonwealth broke down but finally in July 1956, the council became the landlord of the Cabin Home Estate. Its aim was to remove the houses from the District Council area and to resubdivide the area. No more houses were let after July 1956 and as they became vacant they were removed from the estate and the district. By 1964, the last of the Cabin Homes had been taken away from the area, which the council proceeded to re-subdivide as a 'Model Estate'.

As a result of the building of the Cabin Homes Salisbury was deeply divided during the war and even after it was over. One man coming to Salisbury in 1946 found that there was a sort of no man's land running through Salisbury along Park Terrace, with Salisbury itself on one side, and the 'Cabin Homes' (which this respondent initially believed to be another town some miles away) on the other side. Eventually this barrier was gradually bridged and broken down. However, for various reasons, some of the Cabin Home people were accepted, while others were never to be accepted, and within the old established community, some people were more receptive to the newcomers while others formed a 'die-hard' opposition. Thus some sporting enthusiasts in Salisbury welcomed the newcomers as a source of recruits for the local football and cricket teams. People from the Cabin Homes were accepted into these teams and into the tennis club and men's bowling club although it appears that in many cases they were not invited into the homes of the local people. Probably those of the Cabin Home people who were most readily accepted into the local community were the few regular churchgoers who found themselves being accepted into the churches after some initial suspicion. It is a commonly accepted truism that groups of mutually hostile people are often brought together by the mixing of their children in school and at play. However at Salisbury, the local school catered only for the children of the established residents, while the children of the Cabin Home tenants attended a temporary school established at the furthest edge of the Cabin Home estate. This probably served to delay and obstruct the development of greater understanding between the Cabin Home people and the original Salisbury residents. It has been reported that the children from these schools did not play together as of course they had not met in the school playground. The undesirable results of this separate school were recognised increasingly by the school committees of both schools, and therefore in 1947 they formed a deputation

to meet the Director-General of Education with a view to having the two schools amalgamated. They pointed out that 'Distinction between the two areas has been very marked and is perpetuated by the distinction of the two schools'.<sup>1</sup> As a result of this deputation, the two schools were amalgamated to form the Salisbury Consolidated School on the much extended old primary school site in 1948. Although this move was opposed by some parents from among the older established residents, it was commonly believed that from the time of the amalgamation the division between the original residents and the Cabin Home people began to lessen. Locally, it was believed that this process was assisted by the fact that the 'worst-types' among the Cabin Home tenants, whose activities had shocked and horrified numbers of the original residents during the war years, left Salisbury after 1945 as the amount of work at the munitions factory declined. This particular argument was put forward in an editorial in the Salisbury News in November 1946,

As work slackened off these few undesirables drifted away. As water finds its own level, no doubt these people returned to their own element.<sup>2</sup>

It was pointed out that

Now . . . things are more and more returning to normal from the upset of the war years.<sup>3</sup>

This grudging acceptance was probably assisted by the fact that for a year or two after the war any vacant Cabin Homes were allotted to people in the Salisbury area who needed accommodation and thus some local young married couples were able to get accommodation in their home town, despite the serious housing shortage.

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1. Ibid.

2. Salisbury News 28 November 1946.

3. Ibid.



The softening of attitudes after the war, by no means meant the end of all hostility and suspicion towards the Cabin Home people. Even as late as 1954 Cabin Homers claimed that

. . . some people in the "old" part of the town resented them . . . called them slum-dwellers, refused to speak to them in the street and would not drink in hotels with them.<sup>1</sup>

These feelings, and particularly the view that the Cabin Homes were sub-standard slums, which formed a blot on the Salisbury township, were never entirely to disappear.

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1. Sunday Advertiser, 17 July 1954.

CHAPTER THREE: THE HOUSING TRUST AT SALISBURY NORTH.

The Housing Trust estate at Salisbury North which was begun in 1949 was the next major residential development at Salisbury. Like the Cabin Home estate, this scheme was born in a time of financial exigency and of a shortage of building materials. However, unlike the temporary Cabin Home estate, the Salisbury North estate was of a permanent nature, and thus any shortcomings and deficiencies have become a permanent part of Salisbury. The estate was one of the largest schemes constructed by the South Australian Housing Trust which had been created by the State government in 1937 to aid the industrial development of South Australia by providing low-cost housing for workers close to employment.<sup>1</sup> The powers of the Trust limited its activities to the provision of housing. It was not empowered to construct shops and community halls, nor to make roads and footpaths; as the Premier of South Australia pointed out in 1949, 'the Housing Trust is purely and simply a housing authority. . . .'<sup>2</sup> Although there was obviously a need for the Trust to become involved in more than merely housing matters at Salisbury North, it was restrained by the attitudes of community leaders and even of the government itself from having its powers widened. In these circumstances, the Trust developed an area of industrial housing, to closely tied/the needs of the Long Range Weapons Establishment at Salisbury. The social planning of the estate was deficient in many respects and was to contribute many problems to the Salisbury area. Thus one local councillor

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1. See South Australian Parliamentary Debates House of Assembly, 10 November 1936 and M.A. Jones: Housing and Poverty in Australia, (M.U.P. 1972). pp. 97-9.
  2. S.A.P.D. House of Assembly, 2 August 1949.

pointed out that the Housing Trust programme at Salisbury North had left 'a legacy of neglect, [and] a headache for years to come'.<sup>1</sup>

When the South Australian Housing Trust began building at Salisbury North in 1949, it had already been subject to pressures and suggestions from some groups and individuals to do so for a number of years. Mr. J.W. Wainwright, a member of the Secondary Industries Commission, had been trying to persuade manufacturers and industrialists to use the munition buildings at Penfield. As early as February 1945 he recommended to the Premier that an industrial village be built near Salisbury as the munitions buildings would be used by private enterprise.<sup>2</sup> However, the General Manager of the Housing Trust was not infected by Wainwright's enthusiasm and optimism when he discussed the matter later in 1945. The General Manager believed that few men would be employed at the former munitions works in the years immediately after the war and pointed out '... the difficulty of the Trust building houses with no more than the expectation that they would be permanently occupied.'<sup>3</sup> Thus he echoed the Trust's statement in 1941-2 when it refused the request of a number of Salisbury businessmen to build houses in Salisbury for the munition workers.

Those Salisbury people who had campaigned for Housing Trust houses in Salisbury during the war, continued their campaign after the war. A group known as the Salisbury Development Advisory Committee (hereafter S.D.A.C.) was formed, made up mainly of local business men. Its aim was to promote the progress and betterment of Salisbury by planning for the future. The committee believed that 'Salisbury was in a terrible mess as

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1. Salisbury and Elizabeth Times, 7 September 1962.

2. Housing Trust File 53/1, 12 February 1945.

3. Housing Trust File 53/1, 12 March 1945.

regards planning. They did not want a re-occurrence of what had happened in the past.<sup>1</sup> Presumably the committee wanted to avoid the type of development which had occurred at the Cabin Homes. Its members were very eager for the Housing Trust to build at Salisbury. The committee distributed a questionnaire to local people who were in need of better housing, and thus was able to send the Trust a list of 67 people who could benefit from Housing Trust building at Salisbury. This survey showed that not only were many of the Cabin Homes crowded (some were shared by three families and in one case a man, his wife and their five children were living in a two bedroomed Cabin Home), but also some of the other houses in the area, including sub-standard dwellings, were very cramped. Thus a baker, employed locally, was living with his wife and three children in an old building with no conveniences, poor sanitation, and with the walls damp to a height of three feet. Of the 67 cases brought to attention of the Trust, 38 had already applied independently to the Housing Trust at some time in the 1940's.<sup>2</sup>

As a result of this quite well organised campaign on the part of the S.D.A.C., and the expectation that the amount of employment in the area would continue to increase in the future, the Trust decided in September 1948 that Salisbury should be included in its country building programme and that 20 pairs of rental houses would be built there as soon as land was obtained.<sup>3</sup> Thus, like a number of other South Australian country towns, Salisbury was to get a small number of S.A.H.T. houses 'tacked on' to the existing township.

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1. Salisbury District Council Minutes, 21 February 1949.
  2. Housing Trust File 53/1.
  3. Ibid.

However in February 1949, the calling of tenders for the 20 pairs of houses was urgently expedited ' . . . in view of the work being undertaken at Salisbury by the Long Range Weapons Establishment.'<sup>1</sup> It seems likely that at this point the plans for a larger estate, serving the needs of the Long Range Weapons Establishment, were first formulated. The growth of the Estate was to be greatly influenced by the needs of the Long Range Weapons Establishment and was, as one highly placed officer of the Trust put it ' . . . a service to the Weapons Research Establishment.'<sup>2</sup>

During 1949, the Trust's architects made a survey in Salisbury

. . . of present facilities covering civic, educational, medical and commercial activities in relation to the present population and the possibility of expansion to meet the influx of persons associated with the proposed immediate housing project.<sup>3</sup>

This survey, forwarded to the General Manager of the Trust in September 1949, was based on a set of standards recommended by the Commonwealth Housing Commission in its 'Australian Housing Bulletins 1944-6'. Using these standards, the Architects reported that

Significant among the conclusions to be drawn is the fact that the existing utilities are insufficient to meet the requirements of both the present and proposed population.<sup>4</sup>

There were 3,000 inhabitants in Salisbury at the time, of whom 1,100 were occupants of the Cabin Homes, and between 100 and 150 who were living in tents and caravans. The eight shops in Salisbury were unable to meet the needs of the inhabitants and represented a short fall of seven shops from the Commonwealth Housing Commission standards. Salisbury lacked sufficient

1. Housing Trust File 997/1, 4 February 1949.
2. Interview with Officer of S.A.H.T. 1972. In 1955 the Long Range Weapons Establishment became the Weapons Research Establishment.
3. Housing Trust File 977/1, 25 September 1949.
4. Ibid.

public meeting space - having only one hall with a capacity of 300 persons. The local library, housed in the Institute, was small, and there were no rooms for club meetings. Accommodation and equipment at the local hospital were described as being grossly inadequate, and Infant Health and Pre-school Welfare Clinics were badly needed. The local Primary school was grossly overcrowded with little recreational space. The local District Council lacked the finance to meet Salisbury's present needs and 'stressed the need for adequate provision of new facilities and services in the proposed development by the Trust'. Concluding their report the Architects noted: 'Consequently the need for the provision of additional services in the proposed new neighbourhood cannot be overlooked.'<sup>1</sup> They recommended the adoption of a plan including 267 pairs of Double Unit houses (534 houses), a group of six shops, 3.35 acres for communal, religious and civic development and 16.1 acres for recreational purposes.

The reaction on the part of the Trust's leading officers to this bold report was one of fear and apprehension. The General Manager wrote to the Chairman:

I realise that this report goes a good deal further than intended. . . . I think it is a good report given his [the architect's] terms of reference, but not one that we could act on. Would it be safe to circulate this report?<sup>2</sup>

The report pointed out the difficulties which would result when the Housing Trust, empowered only to provide housing began building a large estate in an area with limited facilities and services. It pointed up what was to be the dilemma of the whole project at Salisbury North. Yet the government

1. Ibid.

2. Housing Trust File 977/1, 23 September 1949.

was opposed to widening the powers of the Trust<sup>1</sup> and the Board which it appointed, headed by a public servant in the employ of the government was largely made up by men with similar ideas to those of the government. The Trust's performance at Salisbury North showed its inability to become involved in the development of a well-rounded community there. It was able merely to provide housing, and land for shop sites and to set aside land for recreational areas. Although the Architects had pointed out the shortcomings in the facilities already available in Salisbury, any moves by the Trust to make adequate provision for Salisbury North were marred by tardiness and strict economies. The Estate was soon to expand beyond the 534 houses recommended in 1954, due to 'works of national importance' at the Long Range Weapons Establishment and by 30 June 1955 approximately 1,000 homes had been built, in areas known as Salisbury 1 and Salisbury 2. There was no further building at Salisbury North between about 1954 and 1958 while the Housing Trust began building Elizabeth. Then an extension of Salisbury 2 was begun. Salisbury 3, west of Whites Road started in 1960.

Most of the houses in the estate were of the double unit rental type. Salisbury areas 1 and 2, completed by mid 1955, consisted of approximately 1,000 dwellings which were mainly arranged in pairs of double-units with a few, perhaps 40, single units which were mostly imported timber dwellings. The rental houses, although they provided accommodation superior to that of the Cabin Homes, by no means constituted "an ideal house complete with all modern conveniences".<sup>2</sup> These houses, consisting either of three main rooms or five and six main rooms, were built in a limited number of styles with most exteriors of red-brick or Mt. Gambier stone, and soon came to

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1. Interview with former Trust Architect 1974. See also SAPD House of Assembly, 2 August 1949.

2. S.A.H.T. Annual Report 1950-1.

4012



The Salisbury North Housing Trust estate (1975.) The subdivisions to the north of the estate and south of Waterloo Corner Road have been developed by private interests since the completion of the Housing Trust estate.



present a depressing spectacle of monotony and lack of imagination. The lack of variety in building materials and styles meant that Salisbury North consisted of seemingly identical streets lined with rows of very similar houses. These houses were built in times of housing shortage, when, as one former Trust official pointed out, some people in South Australia were even living in chicken coops.<sup>1</sup> However, it is relevant to note that because of the allocation policies adopted by the Trust, few of these houses went to people who had been in such dire straits. In fact, as one Trust official pointed out in 1955 'a considerable number of these houses were built at the expense of the normal programme'.<sup>2</sup> Within a few years of the development of Salisbury North, the Housing Trust was planning its new town of Elizabeth more carefully with a concern for variety in building styles and materials as well as for other factors neglected at Salisbury North, for example community facilities and a certain amount of social mix, so that Salisbury North very soon became a 'poor relation' to this nearby development. In the post-Elizabeth development, particularly in the area shown as Salisbury 3, begun in 1960 and completed in 1962, the Trust included more houses designed for sale using a variety of building styles and materials but still built a preponderance of rental houses of the type just discussed.

The Salisbury North estate was physically separated from the rest of Salisbury. The estate stretched in a north-westerly direction from Salisbury along the Waterloo Corner (or Two Wells Road). The Little Para River and the railway line separated the Housing Trust houses from the rest

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1. Interview with former Principal Architect, S.A.H.T. October 1974.

2. Housing Trust File 705, 28 September 1955.



A Double Unit rental house at Salisbury North.

of the township. In the early years the Estate consisted almost entirely of houses, and few goods and services were available there. The residents had to go outside the estate for all their shopping, medical and other needs. The furthest parts of the estate were about three or four miles from the Salisbury business and commercial centre, and as there was no satisfactory public transport to Salisbury throughout the 1950's, residents without a car were effectively isolated.

The predominantly rental nature of the Salisbury North houses caused a certain instability in the area. Housing Trust officers claim that after the experience of Salisbury North, the Trust decided to mix sale and rental housing in further developments. The predominance of rental houses led to a great turnover at Salisbury North which was to adversely affect continuing community action within the area. Between 1952 and the end of 1962 there were 859 house vacancies out of a total of 1,200 houses constructed by 1962. The turnover during these years can not be worked out as a percentage because the number of 1,200 houses was not constant, for example, in the middle of 1955 505 pairs or 1,010 houses had been completed. But for the three years between 1956 and 1958 during which further building at the Estate was postponed while the Trust developed Elizabeth, the turnover for 1,010 houses was calculated.

TABLE 3 . 1

Turnover at Salisbury North estate.

1956	-	7.7%
1957	-	8.5%
1958	-	10.1% <sup>1</sup>

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1. These figures were obtained by an examination of the vacancy lists for Salisbury North of the S.A.H.T. Houses vacated when tenants transferred to another house in the Salisbury North area have been excluded from all calculations.

Despite this turnover, the population has not entirely been replaced. Some people have remained at the Estate for between seventeen to twenty years. An inspection of the house docketts of Salisbury 1 and 2 in 1972 showed that 187 of the 1,000 or so original tenants or a member of their family (in most cases a widowed or deserted wife) were still in residence. Nevertheless, in most cases the original tenants have left the Estate, and often the houses have changed hands many times. The fact that the double unit houses can only be rented must be partly responsible for this turnover. A tenant wanting to secure his own house was unable to buy the house in which he was living. The houses at Salisbury North were unlikely anyway to attract the home buyer. Because there were no sale houses available at the Salisbury North Estate tenants wanting to buy their own homes had to move out of the area altogether.

TABLE 3 - 2

Vacancies - Salisbury North estate.

	<u>A</u> <u>Total Vacancies*</u>	<u>B</u> <u>Vacating to go to</u> <u>own home</u>	<u>B as % of A</u>
1952	4	2	50
1953	18	5	27.7
1954	34	5	14.7
1955	65	18	27.6
1956	78	24	30.7
1957	86	21	24.4
1958	97	37	38.1
1959	110	39	35.4
1960	100	40	40.0
1961	123	50	40.6
1962	144	49	34.0
<u>Total</u> 1952-62	859	290	33.76%

\* This does not include houses vacated when the tenant transferred to another house in the Salisbury North Estate. The figures for 1952 may be incomplete.

The Trust provided no real choice between sale and rental housing at Salisbury North and thus a number of families, in order to own their own house have moved out of the estate. While it is very likely that even if the Trust had developed a mixture of sale, rental and rental-purchase housing at Salisbury North, a number of those able to buy their own homes, with all other things being equal, would still have chosen to move away from this area of public housing. However, it is interesting to note that those leaving Salisbury North to buy their own houses, have either built or bought private houses at Salisbury North in close proximity to the Housing Trust estate, or in the mainly Housing Trust town of Elizabeth. A sizeable group have also settled in Salisbury proper or at the nearby private estate of Brahma Lodge.

TABLE 3 \* 3

Destinations of tenants vacating Housing Trust houses at Salisbury North.

	<u>Total moving to own house</u>	<u>In* Salisbury</u>	<u>In Salisbury North</u>	<u>In Elizabeth</u>	<u>Total Elizabeth Salisbury Area</u>
1952	2	-	-	-	-
1953	5	1	-	-	1
1954	5	1	-	-	1
1955	18	7	1	-	8
1956	24	4	2	8	14
1957	21	4	2	8	14
1958	37	11	2	6	19
1959	39	13	6	7	26
1960	40	17	1	12	40
1961	50	22	1	6	29
1962	49	12	6	20	38

\* Brahma Lodge has been included within Salisbury. However, Para Hills, a private housing development within the area of the Salisbury District Council but quite separated from Salisbury and Salisbury North, has not been included among these figures.

Thus by no means all those leaving the Salisbury North estate to buy their own houses have wanted to break all their ties with areas of public housing or with Salisbury. The ability of a number of these tenants within a few years of moving into a Housing Trust home to buy private houses can be partly ascribed to the fact that the needs of the Salisbury industries for workers as well as the housing needs of individuals were considered when housing was allocated.

The majority of the houses allocated in the 1950's were allocated under a system of Special Priorities to employees of the Long Range Weapons Establishment and of the firms (mainly British) associated with the work at the Establishment. These workers, many of whom were recent immigrants coming to Australia specifically to work at Salisbury, were recommended by the employers and were thus placed on a priority list. They could be moved up and down their firm's priority list as the management thought fit. This policy was decided upon before the first houses were occupied. In June 1950 the Trust informed the superintendent of the L.R.W.E. that it had agreed ' . . . to allot 50% of rental homes at Salisbury over the next six months to married employees of your establishment.'<sup>1</sup> In 1951 the Board of the Housing Trust decided that the L.R.W.E. nominees should be allowed 50% of the houses, Fairey Aviation 25% and Locals (i.e. those already resident in the area in need of housing and special cases such as employees of the Education Department, of the Police Department, and of the contractors working on Trust building projects in the area) 25%.<sup>2</sup> Although

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1. Housing Trust File 705, 23 June 1950.

2. The first 112 houses were allotted as follows:

To employees of L.R.W.E.	56
" " Fairey Aviation	19
" " Vickers Armstrong	3
" " local Builders	7
To local cases	27
	<u>112</u>

Source: Housing Trust file 977/2, 3 July 1952.

in 1953, the proportion allocated to Fairey Aviation was reduced and that allocated to other firms e.g. Armstrong Whitworth, Bristol Aviation etc. increased, this policy of preference for those working in the Salisbury Long Range Weapons Establishment appears to have been adhered to in the initial allocation of the 1,000 Salisbury North homes and also in any re-allocations during the 1950's.<sup>1</sup> Thus in September 1955 - the Estates Officer was able to report to the General Manager of the Trust that it was estimated that '850 Employees of Weapons Research Establishment and allied industries have been housed at Salisbury North',<sup>2</sup> the great proportion of these tenants received their houses as Specials and their application forms were so marked, but probably a few local applicants, who incidentally happened to be working at the Establishment, received houses.

Many of the first tenants therefore were allocated houses because their employers recommended them and wanted them to remain working at Salisbury. However, the needs of these people were also considered when houses were being allocated. The priority list of 37 names forwarded to the Trust by the Long Range Weapons Establishment in June 1950 included a number of skilled tradesmen - e.g. toolmakers, instrument makers, fitters and turners, as well as some more highly skilled and paid employees, e.g. Experimental Officers and Draughtsmen. Some of these people were living in difficult conditions, e.g. in shared houses, in damp houses, or under

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1. From 1953 when the Commonwealth Department of Interior indicated that it wanted to relinquish its housing responsibilities at Salisbury - namely the Cabin Homes, the Trust agreed to consider favourably for Trust homes at Salisbury North, any married applicants for Cabin Homes. This did not however, mean any significant deviation from the policy of allocating the Salisbury North houses because since 1948 preference in the allocation of Cabin Homes, had been given to married employees of the Long Range Weapons Establishment.

2. Housing Trust File 705, 28 September 1955.

a notice-to-quit. The Trust did make some efforts to turn away people nominated by employers, whom it considered could afford to find their own accommodation or whom it ruled ineligible because they had no children. In some cases tenants who were not recommended by an employer, nor employed by the L.R.W.E. or associated firms were allocated houses due to their desperate conditions. On the whole, however, the Trust in its allocation of houses remained true to the principle which had attended its creation in 1936 and its later development, namely that of assistance to industry.<sup>1</sup> Particularly during the early 1950's when the firms at Salisbury were bringing out key personnel to get operations under way, housing was allocated to people who within a few years were able to buy their own houses and leave the estate.

The fact that the allocation of houses was tied to the needs of industry contributed to turnover at the estate in another way. Some of those employed at the L.R.W.E. were on contracts and when they expired, these people returned to United Kingdom. Fifty-eight out of 859 tenants leaving the estate in the years 1952-1962 gave 'returning to the United Kingdom' as their reason. For some this return was brought about by the end of their employment contract. During the 1950's a number of those employed by the L.R.W.E. at Salisbury were transferred to the Rocket Range at Woomera in the Far North of South Australia. Houses allocated to members of the Australian armed forces, particularly to the R.A.A.F. and to members of the R.A.F., were also vacated often as the tenants were transferred to different bases. Overall, between 1952-1962 180 tenants

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1. See South Australian Parliamentary Debates House of Assembly, November 10, 1936 and M.A. Jones, Housing and Poverty in Australia, (M.U.P. 1972) pp. 97-9.



(excluding those returning to the United Kingdom) gave a change in, or a transfer of employment) as the reason for leaving the estate. The fact that many houses were allocated to people whose work necessitated their moving around increased the amount of turnover.

High turnover had a detrimental affect upon the development of a community and of community facilities in Salisbury North. In 1958, the publicity officer of the Salisbury North Progress Association commented upon the difficulty which the organisation had experienced in getting support and finance for a local kindergarten.

Many residents on the Estate do not consider Salisbury North their permanent home and are therefore not willing to finance any project - from which they will not benefit in the future.<sup>1</sup>

The community organisations which were necessary to fill the gaps in social facilities left by the limited Housing Trust development were depleted and weakened as their founders, chiefly technicians and scientists<sup>2</sup> employed at the L.R.W.E., left Salisbury North to buy their own homes. One former Salisbury North resident described this process, 'People who were real assets to the community moved out.'<sup>3</sup> It is not surprising therefore, to find the Salisbury District Council in 1959 asking the Trust not to build any more rental houses in Salisbury North.<sup>4</sup>

The Salisbury North Estate was developed in a rather haphazard manner. Originally in 1949 it had been decided to 'tack on' some 20 pairs of double units to the township of Salisbury. Due to the growth of the Long Range Weapons Establishment at Salisbury, the original target was soon discarded

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1. Salisbury News and Elizabeth Times 6 August, 1958.
  2. Advertiser 13 May 1954.
  3. Interview, former resident Salisbury North, 1974.
  4. Salisbury District Council Minutes 1959.

as Salisbury 1, consisting of about 500 dwellings, was planned. As the needs of the L.R.W.E. for workers' housing increased, more land (the site of Salisbury 2), was bought in September - October 1950 which involved a doubling of the original scheme. These two areas, Salisbury 1 and 2 which were developed before the Trust turned its attention to Elizabeth were marred by a lack of co-ordination of services and by the tardy provision of various facilities, due largely to the limited powers of the Trust.

The estate was inadequately served with some essential facilities during its early years. Street lighting and street-signs were only provided after agitation on the part of the Salisbury North Progress Association (hereafter S.N.P.A.) which had been formed in 1951 in order to improve the physical environment of the estate and 'to promote the general welfare of and social welfare among all concerned living in that area.'<sup>1</sup> The Trust had no power to build roads and footpaths and to construct a drainage system throughout the area. These were the District Council's responsibility and not surprisingly the council was unable to do anything effective in this area, as the rapid development of the large closely settled estate put great strains upon its finances. It was not until at least 1963 when the council, now with Trust assistance, was able to seal the roads in this area.<sup>2</sup> Paved footpaths came much later.

The poor roads and footpaths naturally caused great difficulty to the residents. Cars, taxis and delivery vans were often unable (particularly during the winter months) to leave the sealed Waterloo Corner Road to come on to the estate. Women speak of trying to wheel pushers along these muddy paths to the shops during these years. Some claimed that the only way to stay upright in the winter months was to hold on to the front fences

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1. Salisbury News 21 April 1951.

2. Housing Trust File 1537, 8 October 1963.

of the houses when negotiating the footpath. Apparently one family spent the first winter rescuing bogged motorists. The Progress Association made numerous complaints to the Trust and the council on this issue. Thus in 1952 the Secretary wrote to the General Manager of the Trust saying 'these roads are in an abominable state, especially in wet weather'.<sup>1</sup> However this was not the Trust's responsibility and the Government was not willing to widen the Trust's power to encompass this.<sup>2</sup> It was only in 1955, when most of Salisbury North was built, that the amendment to the Town Planning Act charging the subdivider with the responsibility of sealing roads was passed. The unmade nature of the roads and footpaths caused distress to the residents not only because they were muddy and almost impassable in winter, and dusty in summer, but also because they prevented postal deliveries being made to the houses. In October 1953 when 480 houses were occupied it was reported that 'few houses get the mail delivery'. This was particularly disadvantageous to the many British migrants living on the estate. Not only did the tenants in the first year of the estate have to travel the one to two miles into Salisbury to collect their mail but also experienced difficulty in making phone calls and posting letters. In fact it seems likely that it was not until the end of 1952 that a letter receiver and a public telephone were made available in the first shopping centre. The estate was not sewered until the beginning of 1955. Until April 1953 the tenants had to bury their sewage in their backyards. However, in April 1953, when there were some 290 families living at the estate, this rather unhealthy practice was abandoned and a twice-weekly collection of sewage was begun. It was only

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1. Housing Trust File 53/1, 11 January 1952.

2. For example see T. Playford's Reply to Question in House of Assembly 30 July 1953.

the spirited intervention of the Salisbury North Progress Association which expedited the provision of the sewerage system in 1955. The technicians and professional officers employed at the L.R.W.E. who dominated the Progress Association made a submission to the Parliamentary Works Standing Committee in 1953. They tied the need for a sewerage system to the continued immigration of skilled British workers to South Australia. They were able to quote a representative of one of the British firms working at Salisbury,

. . . many of the people we are bringing out are a nucleus staff usually highly qualified tradesmen or semi-professional men from fairly established homes. Without some assurance as to the availability of sewerage most of them refuse point blank to come out. [from Britain]<sup>1</sup>

In the provision of these services, the Trust depended upon other bodies such as the Salisbury District Council, the Engineering and Water Supply Department and the Post Master General's Department. Not only did it fail properly to co-ordinate the energies of these bodies, but it also failed, due to its limited powers, to make proper and adequate provision for the satisfaction of the shopping, educational, health, recreational, entertainment and community needs of the residents.

The Trust was concerned that it should not compete, nor be seen to be competing, with private enterprise in the provision of shopping centres. The carefully worded justification for shop-building included in the Trust's Annual Report of 1949-50 supports this interpretation -

The building of relatively large estates of hundreds of houses on the outskirts of the metropolitan area more or less remote from shopping facilities has made it desirable for the Trust to provide shops for the obtaining of the daily necessities of life if the tenants are not to suffer quite

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1. Minutes of Evidence Parliamentary Works Standing Committee 26 March 1953.

serious difficulties. The Trust has now built small shopping centres for six of its estates and is doing so for another two. This course is adopted only after careful examination and consideration of the prospects of shopping facilities being provided in any other way. In no case would the Trust build shops, which would be in competition with existing shops, or if proposals for the erection of shops were likely to be carried out by private interests within a short time.<sup>1</sup>

Due to this policy, the provision of shops at Salisbury North lagged behind the demand for them. In October 1949 when it was becoming increasingly apparent that the Trust's programme would exceed the original proposal for twenty pairs of houses the Chairman of the Trust vehemently denied the suggestion of a local M.P. that the 'S.A.H.T. will probably build shops at Salisbury North,' saying '. . . the Trust has never even considered the building of shops at Salisbury'.<sup>2</sup> A year later, in October, 1950, when contracts for fifty pairs of houses had been let the Chairman wrote

The S.A.H.T. has not as yet, made any express provision for shops in its subdivision of land at Salisbury where building of houses is now progress.<sup>3</sup>

Apparently the Trust preferred to be tardy in the provision of the shops than to be seen to be competing with private enterprise. The architects had pointed out that the shopping facilities in Salisbury were quite inadequate. For some time the tenants at Salisbury were destined to have to travel one to two miles to the township separated from the Trust area by the Little Para River and the railway line. It was not until the end of 1952 that the first four shops were opened in Woodyates Avenue after approval had been gained from the government. According to the criteria used in the architect's report of 1949, at the time of 1954 census, when

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1. S.A.H.T. Annual Report 1949-50 p. 12.
  2. Housing Trust File 1497/1.
  3. Housing Trust File 79/1.

2,900 people were living in Salisbury North, there should have been at least twelve shops there. In September 1954, another block of four shops was opened on Harcourt Terrace. Only in March 1955, with the opening of a block of 14 shops at Trinity Crescent, could the estate be said to have had reasonably adequate shopping facilities.

Entertainment and recreational facilities also lagged behind residential development. The limited powers of the Trust meant that the people at Salisbury North were put into a very difficult situation. The Trust had no plans for the development of a community centre of any kind for the residents. In 1953, when the Salisbury North Progress Association proposed a Community Centre little or no assistance was forthcoming from the Trust. This plan was a rather grandiose affair for the population at that time, but one with its public library, hall, meeting rooms, sports facilities, kindergarten and Mothers' and Babies' Health Association clinic that took into account the growing population of Salisbury North. For this centre the S.N.P.A. had to buy the 2.08 acres of land from the Housing Trust for which it paid £360. The scheme was to cost £25,000 with the bulk of the labour to be carried out by residents under the supervision of skilled tradesmen.<sup>1</sup> Debentures were issued for this scheme but unfortunately as support for the S.N.P.A. ebbed away in 1954 and 1955 the Community Centre failed to materialise. In 1958, after much of the involvement of the original tenants in community affairs had waned, and after some of the more active Progress Association members had left the estate, the Trust announced that it was prepared to build a hall at a cost not exceeding £10,000 which was to be repaid by the local residents over a 10 year period. In discussion of this plan the General Manager made the point that:

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1. Estate, November 1954.

There was an outstanding need for a centre for local residents who were almost entirely without community facilities. . . .<sup>1</sup>

This plan failed to materialize, presumably because the local residents, numbers of whom were 'in transit', failed to raise the money required. Thus the facilities to have been included in this complex were developed singly in a haphazard and tardy fashion, or else not at all. It was left to the Methodist Church to open the first meeting hall in 1955. Only in 1959 was a public library opened in a shop at Trinity Crescent. Not until 1961 was the Kindergarten given a site in Trinity Crescent. It might have been expected that a hotel, within the estate, could have become a centre of social activity. No hotel, however, has been built at Salisbury North. When, in March 1952, two men applied to the Trust to lease or buy land at Salisbury North, upon which to build a hotel they were told that no land had been reserved for a hotel.<sup>2</sup> The problems of getting a licence and possibly the paternalism of <sup>the</sup> Trust meant that the residents were denied the simple pleasure of a 'local'. For any entertainment the residents had to leave Salisbury North to visit perhaps the hotels in Salisbury or Elizabeth or the cinema in Salisbury.

The Trust set aside areas for recreation, but it was only in February 1953 that the sale of the first area to the Salisbury District Council was finalised.<sup>3</sup> Already in January 1953, the Secretary of the Progress Association was pointing out to the Trust that '. . . the estate is now large enough to consider the formation of several athletic bodies',<sup>4</sup> but

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1. Housing Trust File 53/2.

2. Housing Trust File 53/1.

3. Salisbury District Council Minutes 2 February 1953.

4. Housing Trust File 53/1, 23 January 1953.

that there was no recreation area available. These recreation areas had to be developed by the local council and the residents before they could be used. The large reserve on Bagster's Road, where space was allowed for the playing of Australian Rules football and cricket, but not for the game of soccer enjoyed by many of the British migrants, was sold to the Salisbury District Council, already over-burdened by the need to make roads, drains, footpaths etc. at Salisbury North. The fact that the council had to buy the land made it more difficult for it to make the ovals and sports grounds. Thus in 1954 the council declared that it was:

. . . unable to construct tennis and basketball courts as requested due to the considerable amount committed to for the purchase of recreation ground.<sup>1</sup>

The local council, despite the warning in the architect's report of 1949, was greatly over-burdened by the developments at Salisbury North. This understandably led to a certain resentment on the part of the council towards the Salisbury North residents in whose area so much work was needed to be done. For the residents, the council's lack of funds and the burden which the Trust's development had put upon it meant that only necessary facilities, rather than those which could make life more pleasurable could be developed. In 1953 to a request from the Salisbury North Progress Association for assistance to provide a swimming pool on the Little Para River, ' . . . a request . . . promoted by reason of the lack of playground facilities for children on or near the estate', the council replied that it could give: ' . . . no consideration to a swimming pool due to the needs of more important facilities e.g. roads.'<sup>2</sup> Those

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1. Salisbury District Council Minutes 15 February 1954.

2. Salisbury District Council Minutes 2 February 1953.



disadvantaged by these circumstances were the residents and their children. Many parents were aware of what this meant for their children. They noted ' . . . on any night in the week it is possible to see our youngsters around the shop areas and street corners.'<sup>1</sup> They knew that ' . . . the many teenagers living on the estate . . . desperately need[ed] a centre for their activities',<sup>2</sup> but without outside help they were unable themselves, to meet these needs.

Although the development of the Trust area at Salisbury North meant greater burdens for the local council, the development does not seem to have been greeted with the hostility that accompanied the development of the Cabin Homes. The permanent brick and stone houses which the Trust built at Salisbury North were, after all, the type of residential development which some local people had wanted to see in the area since 1941. It can also be argued that by the early 1950's Salisbury had changed a great deal. By that time the narrow, parochial way of life of pre-war Salisbury had been broken up by the experiences of the 1940's. Numbers of people whose lives did not revolve around one of the local churches, who did not know or respect the traditional loyalties, rivalries and customs of old Salisbury, had lived in the town for almost a decade and had helped to change it. As one resident put it:

The town of Salisbury had now lost its rustic village society and identity and was rapidly becoming an urban type of settlement.<sup>3</sup>

This is not to say, of course, that there was no hostility towards the development at Salisbury North on the part of Salisbury people. The system

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1. Estate December, 1954.
  2. Salisbury News and Elizabeth Times, 8 June 1956.
  3. Interview with Salisbury resident 1972.

of house allocation to employees came in for some criticism in the Salisbury News. A local columnist noted:

When the South Australian Housing Trust said it would build homes in Salisbury, many local people, some living in sub-standard or condemned houses began to count their chickens, but they did so before they hatched. A preponderate number, if not all of these houses thus far built at Salisbury North have been occupied by migrants, in at least one or two instances, within a week of their arrival in Australia.<sup>1</sup>

However, resentment on this issue does not appear to have been widespread in the local community.

Some hostility developed towards the residents of the estate as British migrants. The concentration of people of British birth in the estate was fairly high in the 1950's. Thus in 1954, 38.8% of people at Salisbury North had been born in U.K. or the Republic of Ireland and in 1961 31.4% of the Salisbury North population were British born. Although a few of the British migrants, e.g. the scientists at the L.R.W.E. and senior Royal Air Force officers were respected and sought after by the local elite, most of the British migrants who lived at Salisbury North were viewed with some antipathy by local Australians. Locally it has been said that the term 'wingeing Pom' was first used to describe the British migrants who lived at Salisbury North. As one local man said:

the British clamoured for all sorts of amenities which the Australians had gone without for years, e.g. better roads, footpaths and deep drainage.<sup>2</sup>

This man also saw the British migrants as a very ambitious group, who took over local organisations like the Labour Party and the R.S.L. and irrevocably changed their nature. How widely these views of the British migrants' aggressive ambitions, were held, is difficult to say.

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1. Salisbury News 8 February 1952.

2. Interview with Salisbury resident 1973.

In its first years, therefore, the Salisbury North area was seen as an area in which British migrants were over-represented. However, as the years have passed, numerous people have moved in and out of the estate and it has become seen as an area in which people with social problems live, 'a dumping ground for social problems'. The fact that there were few sale houses in the Salisbury North area, must have had a siphoning off effect of allowing those who could finance their own houses to leave the area and leaving those who were unable to do so - in Salisbury North. One local man described the effect of this situation,

The low rental Housing Trust areas carry the stigma of the poorer classes and unfortunately these are the only places where deserted wives, derelicts and the poverty stricken can take shelter.<sup>1</sup>

Locally it has been believed that the Trust has had a deliberate policy of concentrating deserted wives, widows and other people with 'social problems' into the Salisbury North area, with the intention, so it is claimed, of relieving other Housing Trust areas (e.g. Elizabeth) of these people. It is difficult to ascertain the truth of these allegations but the low rent of the double unit rental houses would certainly have played a part in concentrating people with limited resources in one area. However it is interesting to note that the number of women becoming tenants (i.e. the woman was the head of the household) increased during 1959-1962. The increase was mainly caused by the allocation of new tenancies rather than by women already resident on the estate becoming tenants due to the death and desertion of their husbands.

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1. Interview with Salisbury resident 1972.

TABLE 3 - 4Women becoming Tenants, Salisbury North estate.

	<u>Already Residents</u>		<u>New Tenancies</u>	<u>Total</u>
	<u>Death of husband</u>	<u>Desertion of husband</u>		
1956	-	-	1	1
1957	2	-	-	2
1958	-	-	1	1
1959	6	2	3	11
1960	6	3	4	13
1961	3	4	20	27
1962	8	1	23	32
1963	6	1	15	22

Source: Vacancy Sheets S.A.H.T.

These figures suggest that, in these years at least, there was an increase in the numbers of fatherless families who were being allocated houses in the Salisbury North estate by the Housing Trust. The Census figures of Conjugal Status for the years 1954, 1961 and 1966 also show that married women, permanently separated, widowed and divorced predominated over men in the same categories.

TABLE 3 . 5

Conjugal Status - Salisbury North.

		<u>Married</u>	<u>Permanently Separated</u>	<u>Widowed</u>	<u>Divorced</u>
1954	M	698	6	8	10
	F	681	6	32	3
1961	M	1277	6	12	11
	F	1297	30	82	10
1966	M	1790	20	22	22
	F	1837	50	134	39

Source: Census, 1954, 1961 and 1966.  
Collector's District tables for the 1961 and 1966 Census were used.

It is interesting to note that in 1966, the number of divorced and separated women at Salisbury North exceeded the State average, while the Elizabeth number was less than the State average.

TABLE 3 . 6

Percentage of Married or Formerly Married Women,  
who were Separated or Divorced.

	<u>1954</u>	<u>1961</u>	<u>1966</u>
Salisbury North	1.24%	2.8%	4.3%
Elizabeth	-	1.39%	2.8%
South Australia	3.21%	3.46%	3.6%

Source: Census 1954, 1961 and 1966.

Some of the Trust's officers in making recommendations on prospective tenants would recommend people as suitable for Elizabeth. This indicates that in the allocation for Elizabeth at least there was some preference

given to people who were seen as better tenants.<sup>1</sup> This practice by some Trust Officers, (there is no evidence that it was an official policy of the Housing Trust) would have had a distorting effect upon the population of other Trust areas e.g. Salisbury North. Whatever the intention of the Trust, one of the results of the concentration of low-cost housing has been the concentration of people with limited finances and social problems.

During the 1950's and 1960's many Salisbury people came to see the Salisbury North area as a second-rate estate. People living in the estate also began to hold this opinion. As one resident said:

There is no doubt that Salisbury North is "poor relation" of both the Salisbury District Council and the Housing Trust.<sup>2</sup>

Obviously there was some dissatisfaction with Salisbury North on the part of the residents. Some felt that the solution lay in changing the name of the Housing Trust area. The names Penbury, Hilra and Para Plains were discussed by the Salisbury North Progress Association. Some felt that a new name would bring great results. As the Secretary pointed out:

A new name for this area would infuse greater interest in both residents and business firms. The use of a geographical name like Salisbury North is most unimaginative.<sup>3</sup>

Others expressed the belief ' . . . that Salisbury North would be better off as part of the more progressive town of Elizabeth.'<sup>4</sup>

These proposals came to nothing and Salisbury North both in name and in form was to remain much the same. The estate had been built in a rather ad hoc and haphazard manner. Poor co-ordination of services, a lack of community facilities, a lack of variety in housing style and a concentration upon rental housing had marred its beginning and its later development.

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1. See H. Stretton: Ideas for Australian Cities, (North Adelaide, 1970) p. 157. An examination of house docketts has revealed some instances of this preference.

2. Salisbury News and Elizabeth Times, 30 August 1957.

3. Salisbury News and Elizabeth Times, 6 September 1957.

4. Salisbury News and Elizabeth Times, 30 August 1957.

CHAPTER FOUR: ELIZABETH AND THE SOUTHERN DEVELOPMENTS.

During the years from 1954 to the mid nineteen-sixties, Salisbury changed from being the centre of an agricultural area with some residential extensions, to being part of a rapidly growing residential and industrial area. These plains north of Adelaide which had a population of 7,730 in 1954 contained a population of 68,711 by 1966. The physical, social, economic and political changes which took place were brought about by the actions of the Housing Trust and private developers, and greatly influenced by government policy. The agricultural and horticultural elements in Salisbury life declined as a number of farmers were bought out by the Housing Trust and private developers for housing and industrial development, and as the rise in rates and a disease through the orchards helped to squeeze out the orchardists. Very little of the development was carried out with any regard to the position of Salisbury within the wider district. To the north, Elizabeth was planned as a model new town by the S.A.H.T. with little concern for its impact upon the pre-existing township. To the south, a few of the sub-divisions were either extensions to Salisbury or outposts of the metropolitan area, but many others were isolated in between. Traditionally the centre of the surrounding area, Salisbury found itself being overshadowed by the nearby new town of Elizabeth, and threatened by the movement southward of the centre of gravity of the new urban areas. In the council, the Salisbury councillors fought to retain the dominance of Salisbury. A great deal of jealousy and rivalry developed between Salisbury and the new Housing Trust town of Elizabeth, both administered initially by the Salisbury District Council. This ultimately led to the development of the separate Elizabeth Council in 1964. Two separate cities, uncomfortably close together have grown up in the place of the single old township.

Much of this development occurred under rather weak town planning legislation, which meant that the developers had few responsibilities and limits placed upon them, and thus much of the development, especially the private development, was scattered and haphazard and heaped fresh burdens upon the District Council in the form of road and footpath making, drainage and provision of parks and sportsgrounds. Some of the Housing Trust developments however, i.e. at Elizabeth and Ingle Farm, did not pose these problems for the council.

Unfortunately all this new development failed to protect and make the most of the historic and aesthetic assets of the old Salisbury. Salisbury had developed in earlier years as a service centre for surrounding farms, and roads from many different areas converged upon the tiny township on the banks of the Little Para. In the latest era, residential developments took place along these roads - namely the Salisbury Highway, Two Wells Road, Park Terrace (formerly Coker's Road), Little Para Road and Philip Highway (formerly the Gawler Summer Track), and by the late 1960's, vast amounts of traffic used the Salisbury streets. In particular, the positioning of Elizabeth in relation to Salisbury meant that Salisbury became a thoroughfare for much traffic to and from Elizabeth. Salisbury was not planned into Elizabeth as a neighbourhood centre, as old townships have been in some British new towns, rather it was left on the periphery. Various interests have sought to make it a large commercial centre. Parts of the old township have been demolished to allow its shopping centre to compete with the large shopping centre developed in Elizabeth by the S.A.H.T. and to cater for the shopping and parking needs of the people in the growing residential areas to the south and east.



A disastrous contribution to the disarray of the old Salisbury was made by the Electricity Trust of South Australia, backed by the South Australian government. Despite a vigorous and spirited local protest, and despite the fact that the council was endeavouring to make the area a reserve, the Trust built two lines of huge pylons along and over 'The one remaining natural beauty spot on the Adelaide Plains'<sup>1</sup> - namely the Little Para River valley. By the late 1960's Salisbury had been changed, and it can be argued that in many ways the possibilities of ordered development of the district, making proper use of the historic and aesthetic qualities of the old Salisbury township had been by-passed.

The Housing Trust's development of a large new town to the north of Salisbury from 1954 meant a rapid and radical change to the old town's hinterland. Elizabeth which was then planned to consist of some 6,000 houses accommodating about 25,000 people,<sup>2</sup> was a departure from the Trust's previous policy of building new suburbs and small groups of houses in the metropolitan area or in country towns. In the planning of Elizabeth, the Trust was also more strongly committed to acting as a town planning authority, rather than merely as a housing authority. Thus its policies at Elizabeth contrasted markedly with those earlier policies at Salisbury North.

A shortage of land suitable for rental purposes led to the Trust moving out of the metropolitan area to develop Elizabeth. In 1950, a Trust report to the General Manager showed that the Trust would need to build at least 26,000 rental houses by 1960, to meet the immediate and probable future demand for Trust rental houses. Although 5,800 acres of

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1. News-Review, 28 October 1964.

2. S.A.H.T. Annual Report. 1949-50. p. 16.

land would be needed for these houses, the Trust had only 2,860 acres in 1950, of which only 600 acres were considered suitable for rental purposes. The remainder, due to its initial purchase price, its situation, and the cost of its development would be retained for sale housing. The Trust believed that it would be unable to buy land suitable for rental purposes from within the old metropolitan area bounded by the sea, the hills and the Grand Junction Road. Thus the conclusion was reached, that to meet these needs the Trust must move out of the existing metropolitan area:

To meet the overwhelming demand for rental homes it appears to be inescapable that large scale building outside the present limits of the metropolitan area must be undertaken within a relatively short time.<sup>1</sup>

Three possible forms of development were suggested for this extra-metropolitan scheme: dormitory suburbs close to the metropolitan area, augmented towns in 'easy distance' of the city, or satellite towns

. . . planned as modern towns with full provision made for the establishment of light or even heavy industry giving local employment to a large proportion of their population.<sup>2</sup>

The solution of the satellite town was chosen for a number of reasons, among which the desire for decentralization played a role. In its Annual Report of 1949-50, the Trust referred to the evils of 'Undue centralization of urban life'. The development of a new town was a form of 'planned decentralization'. It is difficult to say how thoroughly the possibility of an expanded town was considered but physical factors militated against the choice of Salisbury or Gawler.

Although numbers of people at Gawler clamoured for the expansion of their town, its lack of a sewerage system and the distance from Adelaide militated against its choice.<sup>3</sup> Although Salisbury was closer to Adelaide,

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1. Housing Trust file 1625, 13 March 1950.

2. Ibid.

3. Interview, Chief Architect S.A.H.T. September 1974.

parts of it had already been subdivided among a multiplicity of owners. The Trust preferred to negotiate with farmers to the north for their farms of 200-300 acres, than to expand Salisbury.<sup>1</sup>

Physical, institutional and historical reasons dictated the choice of the site for the satellite town in the Salisbury region. Although the Trust had moved out of the metropolitan area due to exigencies of land supply, its choice of a site was made with industrial considerations uppermost. The proximity of the Elizabeth site to the Long Range Weapons Establishment (hereafter L.R.W.E.) and the Woodville industrial areas were the most important factors determining the choice of the site. The demand for housing for workers at the L.R.W.E. had not been satisfied by the Salisbury North estate and once more the L.R.W.E., and the employment opportunities it offered at the former munitions works, played a part in attracting residential development to the Salisbury region.<sup>2</sup> The availability of transport facilities (i.e. Main North Road and the northern railway line), surface drainage, water supply, electricity and sewerage systems and distance from Adelaide were also important in the selection of the site between Salisbury and Smithfield.

In the creation of Elizabeth, the Trust saw its responsibilities as spreading much further than the mere building of houses. The General Manager wrote in 1955 ' . . . any city is far more than a collection of houses. . . .'<sup>3</sup> The development of Elizabeth thus formed a marked contrast to that of the Salisbury North estate both in size and quality. In its development, the Trust went beyond its responsibilities under the Town Planning Act for it co-ordinated the necessary water, sewerage and

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1. Ibid.

2. A Ramsay, 'Factors affecting the siting of Elizabeth', R.G.S.S.A. 1955-6, p. 9.

3. Ibid.

electricity services so that they preceded the occupation of the houses. The Trust also took responsibility for roads and footpaths and completed them before the first residents arrived. These people did not have to make do in the early years with distant shopping facilities, for neighbourhood shopping centres opened as each area was begun to be settled. The town was planned as a series of neighbourhood units, each with its own shops and school, gathered around a Trust-developed town centre which was not a mere collection of lock-up shops, but 'a centre for civil administration, cultural activities and amusements'.

Although large numbers of rental houses were built at Elizabeth, often in concentrations of about 200 double units, the town was not totally nor even predominantly a rental area as was Salisbury North. The Trust built single units for sale and left some blocks vacant for private development. In the early stages of planning, the desirability of mixing rental and sales housing, even in the first group of houses erected, was emphasised.<sup>1</sup> Thus the lay-out for Elizabeth South (Neighbourhood Unit I) was as follows:

<u>Type of Houses</u>	<u>No. of Houses</u>	<u>% of Total</u>
Single-Unit Private	150	13.4%
Single-Unit S.A.H.T.	199	17.88%) Mostly
Timber Single Unit S.A.H.T.	100	8.98%) for sale.
Double Unit S.A.H.T.	664	59.66% - rental.
	<u>1,113</u>	<u>100.00%</u>

The proportion of rental and sales housing has varied from one neighbourhood unit to another with the units closer to the industrial areas having more rental houses. A breakdown for the various neighbourhood units in November 1963 is given below.

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1. Housing Trust file 1625, 6 July and 21 July 1954, and Housing Trust file 1266/3.

TABLE 4 . 1

Housing Type by Neighbourhood 1963.

	<u>Rental</u>	<u>Sales</u>
Elizabeth South	719 (74%)	255 (26%)
Elizabeth Grove	582 (65%)	311 (35%)
Elizabeth	156 (43%)	203 (57%)
Elizabeth East	487 (55%)	391 (45%)
Elizabeth North	802 (68%)	375 (32%)
Elizabeth Park	519 (66%)	272 (34%)
Elizabeth Vale	380 (43%)	499 (57%)
Elizabeth Downs	564 (55%)	466 (45%)
Elizabeth West	406 (76%)	128 <sup>1</sup> (24%)

Not only did the Trust provide for different types of tenancies for the houses, but it was also concerned with the appearance of the houses and of the environment in the new town which had never concerned it in the development of Salisbury North. The drab and uniform double-unit rental houses were located on the back-streets and sales housing of more varied design was built on the through streets. Iron roofs on some of the first double-unit houses were replaced by tiled roofs to improve their appearance.<sup>2</sup> In 1954, the Board agreed unanimously to vary street design as much as possible '... to avoid monotony and repetition. . . .'<sup>3</sup> A vigorous policy of tree planting was carried out in the streets and open areas to improve the flat and rather monotonous environment, as the Chairman said, 'My idea is that we cannot plant enough trees around this place!'<sup>4</sup>

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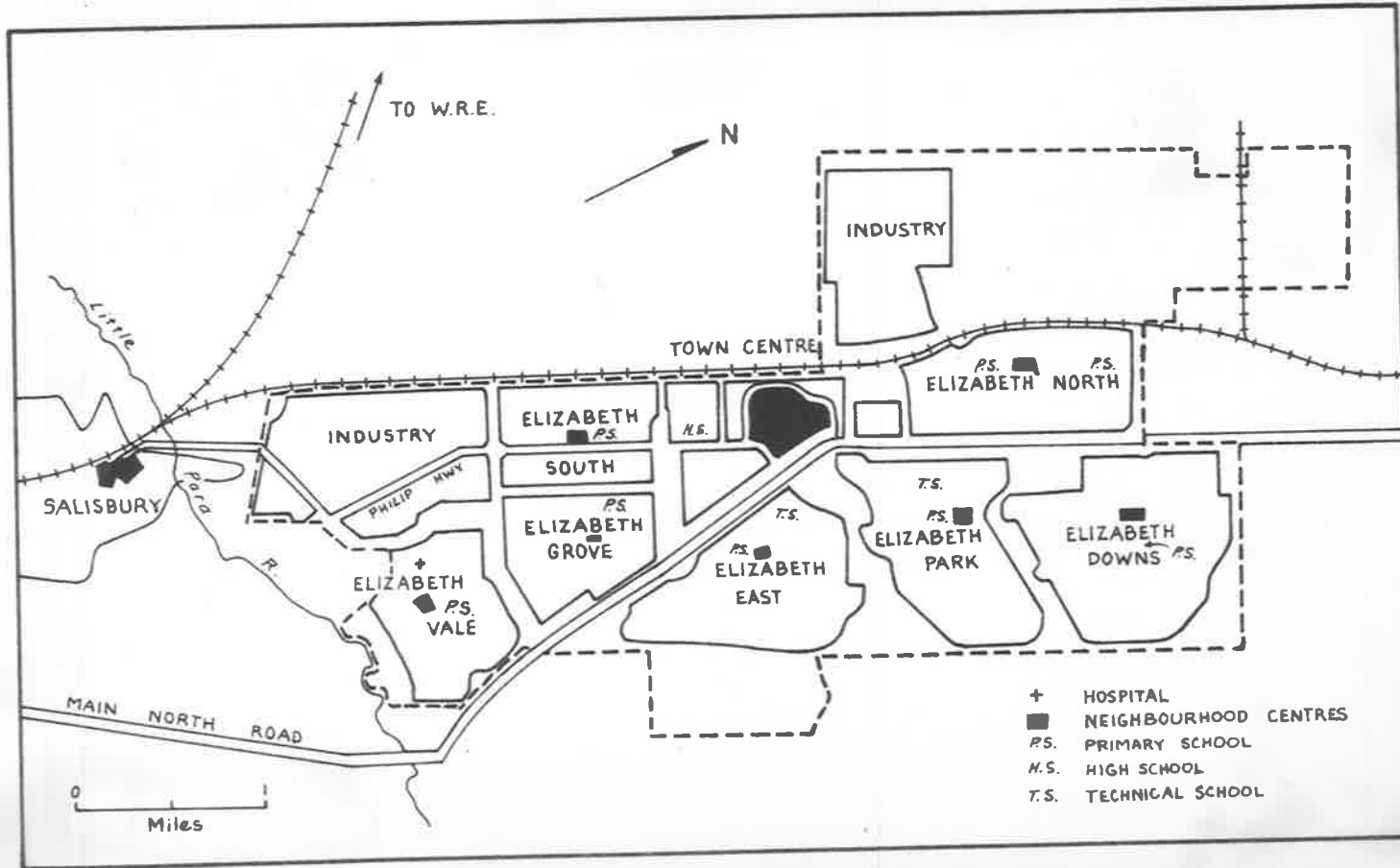
1. Housing Trust file 1753.

2. Housing Trust file 1625, 12 July 1955.

3. Housing Trust file 1625, 24 September 1954.

4. J.P. Cartledge. Evidence to S.A. Parliament Public Works Committee, 30 September 1954.

Elizabeth, (as originally planned).



At Elizabeth, the Trust took much more responsibility for the development of social and community facilities than it had at Salisbury North or other of its earlier estates. The Trust provided more open space area than was required under the Town Planning Act. Although only 5% of land was required as Reserve land at the time when Elizabeth South was developed, 11% of the area was set aside as wind-break plantation and parks. Small reserves were to be developed by the local Salisbury Council, but the large reserves and wind-break plantations were planted with grass, trees and shrubs, playing fields were laid out and the reserves were maintained for two years by the Trust itself before being handed over to the Salisbury District Council.

Within each neighbourhood unit, land was set aside for community facilities as shown by the following break-down for Elizabeth South.

TABLE 4 • 2

Elizabeth South Neighbourhood Unit : Land Use.

<u>Land Use</u>	<u>Acres</u>	<u>% of Total</u>
Railway Widening	7.5	2.3
Windbreak	22.7	7.0
Commercial	3.0	0.93
Shops and Hotel	5.7	1.76
School	10.1	3.13
Kindergarten etc.	1.4	0.43
Churches	3.3	1.02
Future Development	3.2	1.04
Amenity Parks	13.4	4.11
Roads	70.0	21.50
Residential	185.5	56.78
	<u>325.8 acres</u>	<u>100.00%</u>

Under its enabling legislation, the Housing Trust Act, the Trust was not empowered to build kindergartens, halls etc. However, at Elizabeth the Trust did a great deal to encourage local community action. The Trust helped establish local Kindergartens by providing architectural and engineering advice to local committees at a nominal cost. Two community halls were built at Elizabeth South and the other at Elizabeth North. The Trust had to seek Cabinet approval to build shopping centres and included the halls in such a submission. The Trust encouraged the growth of churches in the area and fostered sporting activities. The General Manager for example became the Chairman of the Central Districts Football Club.

Elizabeth was thus planned quite differently from Salisbury North and other Trust areas. The very size and situation of the Trust development at Elizabeth helped to determine this change in attitude. Whereas most of the earlier Trust houses had been built in relatively small groups adjacent to or among areas with some shopping and community facilities, Elizabeth, built on former farm lands, was at its closest point about two to three miles from the Salisbury township. In 1950, when the shortfall of rental houses in the metropolitan was being considered, it had been pointed out that

. . . only a series of large or very large groups  
 [of houses] can meet the demand facing the Trust  
 and in such groups community facilities will be  
 required on a scale not regarded as necessary in  
 the past. . . .<sup>1</sup>

The Trust's change of policy at Elizabeth can also be explained by its experience in the later 1940's and early 1950's, when it had been criticized for its neglect of the physical and social needs of its tenants

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1. Housing Trust file 1625, 13 March 1950.



in the new estates, both by the public and by Members of Parliament, as well as by the tenants. Every winter, for example, hundreds of complaints about unmade roads had poured into the Trust.<sup>1</sup> The concentration of rental housing had been criticized as leading to 'slum areas'.<sup>2</sup> The Trust itself had found the large rental estates 'cumbersome' to administer and maintain.<sup>3</sup> The venture at Elizabeth was a bold one for both the Trust and the Government. Its failure would have been an embarrassment to both. The project had to succeed, and the Trust and the government threw their energies behind it and developed physical and social facilities much more generously than previously. As the land was bought as broad acres, and initially at a rather low average price of £80 per acre,<sup>4</sup> the Trust was financially able to provide the roads, footpaths and drainage and to plan the town with a more generous concern for its inhabitants.

The Trust was also able to learn from the new town developments elsewhere in the world, especially in the United Kingdom. Trust officials visited new towns and housing developments in both the U.S.A. and the U.K. The Trust's architects made detailed studies of the British experience and drew from this the idea of the neighbourhood unit (incorporating a shopping centre, a primary school etc.) and also the idea of the town centre, incorporating more than commercial outlets.

The Trust's policies at Elizabeth showed a broader and more imaginative approach when compared with its earlier policies. However, its policy of developing Elizabeth as a satellite town failed. From the

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1. Interview, former Principal Architect S.A.H.T. August 1974.

2. S.A.H.T. Annual Report 1956-7.

3. Interview, Chief Architect S.A.H.T. September 1974.

4. J.P. Cartledge, Evidence S.A. Parliament Public Works Committee. 30 September 1954.

beginning of the planning of Elizabeth, the Trust emphasised that it was to be more than a dormitory suburb for Adelaide; 'In spite of its proximity to Adelaide, the new town has not been planned as a mere dormitory suburb of the constantly expanding city, but primarily as a self-contained community with its own local industries.'<sup>1</sup> In the first year or so of Elizabeth's development, many residents were employed at the nearby Weapons Research Establishment. In 1956 the Trust stated '... there seems to be no need for anxiety regarding the industrial future of the town. . . ,'<sup>2</sup> especially as General Motors-Holden had bought a large site in the southern industrial area of the town. This early optimism was ill-founded, for, and especially in the early years of its development, a large proportion of Elizabeth's workforce has had to leave the new town each day to work in Adelaide or its metropolitan area. The lack of employment in Elizabeth was seen by some as 'the biggest grievance'.

At the beginning of 1958, a report to the Board of the Trust showed that

. . . the rapidly growing population of the town and the industrial expansion in the area are completely out of balance.<sup>3</sup>

At that time, the Elizabeth workforce accounted for some 3,300 people out of a total population of 7,661. Of these, 604 were employed at L.R.W.E. or at the companies associated with it, 115 at the Royal Air Force base at nearby Edinburgh and 30 at Pinnock Manufacturing, the only manufacturing industry in Elizabeth. Such was the competition for work at this latter firm that it was reported that

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1. S.A.H.T. Annual Report, 1954-5.

2. S.A.H.T. Annual Report, 1955-6.

3. Housing Trust file 2003, February 1958.

. . . people are constantly enquiring for work at the factory and offering their services for as much as £2 per week below the current wage rates.<sup>1</sup>

It was pointed out that work prospects for juniors and women were poor. Three hundred and fifty women were registered for work at the local Labour Office.

Thus in its early years, which are under consideration here, Elizabeth was largely a dormitory area for Adelaide. The Trust made great efforts to attract industry to Elizabeth. In 1957, it began to build factory buildings 'on a speculative basis' for lease in order to entice to Elizabeth companies which were unable to finance their own buildings. The Industrial Development department in the Trust sought to sell building sites or to lease buildings at Elizabeth to large and small industrialists. However, their efforts had resulted in only a small increase in the amount of work available at Elizabeth by 1964. The largest company at Elizabeth, General Motors - Holden bought land from the Trust in March 1956. Although it employed 1,600 at its Elizabeth plant when it began production there in 1959, a large proportion of these jobs were held by men who travelled daily to Elizabeth from the metropolitan area. Thus the establishment of this large firm did not necessarily mean a large increase in the number of jobs at Elizabeth.

The lack of work at Elizabeth caused a number of difficulties to its residents. The journey to Adelaide, to Osborne or perhaps to Glenelg each day put financial and physical burdens on the new residents. The railway, along the western side of Elizabeth was the only form of public transport to the city in the late 1950's. These trains were often extremely crowded. A bus service from Elizabeth East to the railway was found to be inconvenient and unreliable to East residents. Although in 1960, the

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1. Ibid.

Elizabeth East Progress Association gathered almost 700 signatures in support of a petition to gain a bus service along the Main North Road to Adelaide, their efforts were in vain. The many workers commuting to the city had to rely on the train service. The lack of work, and the inadequate transport to the city caused great dissatisfaction and was said to have led a number of English migrant families to return to the United Kingdom or at least to leave Elizabeth.<sup>1</sup> An Elizabeth columnist pointed out

There is something pathetic about a town that loses nearly half of its population most of the day. It's not a town then, it's an expanse of sand with the tide out: it's not a community but a string of bedrooms.<sup>2</sup>

The development to the south and east of Salisbury which was mainly carried on by private developers from the late 1950's and early 1960's makes an interesting contrast to the Housing Trust development at Elizabeth. Whereas at Elizabeth the Trust was quite generous in the provision of roads, drainage and reserves, the developers in the southern areas including the Trust at its Parafield Gardens estate, mainly did only what was necessary under the extremely limited town planning legislation of the day. Some of the areas subdivided were quite small and were scattered throughout the district. It appears that subdividers developed estates with little regard for the shape of the district that was being developed. While some of the areas were virtually contiguous with Salisbury (e.g. Brahma Lodge) or with the northern fringe of the metropolitan area (e.g. Ingle Farm), others were isolated, and the sites appear to have been chosen because there was a good view (e.g. Para Hills) or perhaps because land was for sale. In some cases these areas were subdivided ahead of essential

1. See Advertiser 23 May 1959 and News 22 May 1959.

2. Salisbury and Elizabeth Times, 10 January 1958.

services, and in addition to burdening the council with the task of providing drainage, footpaths, adequate roads, reserves and community facilities, they presented their residents with the problems of transport and isolation from commercial and social centres.

Some of the subdivisions were Salisbury Downs on the western side of Salisbury Highway (1957), Salisbury Heights on the hills-face overlooking the Main North Road (1958), Para Hills on the foothills east of Bridge Road (1960), Brahma Lodge east of Salisbury, Northbri Estate east of the Main North Road, Parafield and Parafield Gardens south along the Salisbury Highway (all in the early 1960's), Madison Park just east of the Main North Road (1964) and Ingle Farm between Para Hills and Northfield (1965).

The town planning legislation in existence when these subdivisions were begun, while stronger than that of the early 1950's when Salisbury North was built, was inadequate because it left few responsibilities to the subdivider. Although amendments to the 1929 Town Planning Act were passed in 1955 and 1956, the subdivider only had to seal part of each road, to a width of 24 feet and a depth of 4 inches and had to construct bridges and culverts. The subdivider also had to provide 5% of subdividable land for public parks and gardens. The responsibility for constructing drainage works, footpaths, fully paving the roads, providing extra reserves and developing all reserves still lay with the local councils.

In 1964, the Town Planner's policy on reserves was revised so that 10% of subdividable land was required for reserves.<sup>1</sup> It was only with the passing of the Planning and Development Act of 1966-7 that the responsibilities of the land developers were widened significantly to

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1. Salisbury District Council Minutes, April 1964.



include most aspects of drainage and road-making. These changes in legislation, while improving the relations between the local council and the developers and between the residents of the new estates and the developers, to the advantage of the council and residents, did nothing of course to resolve the problems created in the subdivisions, established under the 1929-63 Town Planning Act.

During the years 1954-66, the population of the old Salisbury District Council area had grown from 7,730 to 68,711, and while approximately 33,000 of these lived in Elizabeth and Ingle Farm which had been developed in a relatively orderly and generous manner by the S.A.H.T., probably about 28,000 were living in areas developed by private interests under the 1929-63 Town Planning Act, and in the Housing Trust's Parafield Gardens estate<sup>1</sup> which it had not developed to the standard of Elizabeth and Ingle Farm.

Some of these areas suffered from a failure of the most elementary facilities. Thus for two years, from 1961-63, residents of a private sub-division at Parafield Gardens south along the Salisbury Highway, used bore water made available by a private firm, as a reticulated water supply was not available to the subdivision. Early in 1963, a few months before residents finally won the fight to have the area reticulated by the E. & W.S., there had been a breakdown in the private water supply system for 36 hours during which time the 75 young families on the estate were dependent upon water carted by the Salisbury Emergency Fire Service.<sup>2</sup> The inadequate water supply had delayed building expansion in the Parafield

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1. News-Review March 10, 1965. Parafield Gardens was seen as an area of specifically industrial housing, by the Housing Trust.

2. Salisbury District Council Minutes, 27 February 1963.

Gardens area and thus left subdivisions isolated in the middle of open paddocks. Para Hills, one of the largest of the private subdivisions in the area, was begun on the hills to the south-east of Salisbury in 1960. Close to the southern border of the district council area, it was neither contiguous with the metropolitan area, nor with any residential area within the Salisbury area. In the first years of Para Hills there was a shortage of telephones and early in 1963 it was reported that, although there were only two public telephones to serve the whole estate, there could be no more connections made to telephones, private or public until late in 1963, when a new exchange at Modbury would be connected. At this time there were 900 houses occupied in this very isolated estate and a further 150 under construction.

Due to the scattered nature of the estates within the area, it was difficult for adequate bus services to operate within the district and this made it difficult for people to come to Salisbury to do their shopping. Shops were opened within the sub-divisions when there were enough customers to support them, but often they lagged behind development. Thus in Para Hills, it was only in September 1963, three years after the first families moved into the estate, and when the population had reached approximately 3,000 that a shopping centre was opened to replace the one temporary shop established to meet the needs of the first residents.<sup>1</sup>

All of these new subdivisions, whether isolated as were Para Hills, Parafield Gardens and the Northbri estate or continuous with Salisbury, as were Brahma Lodge and Salisbury Downs, presented great problems to the local council as far as the provision of roads, drainage and reserves were concerned. After the 1955 amendments to the Town Planning Act, the

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1. News-Review, 4 September 1963.



subdivider was obliged to construct a roadway 24 feet wide and 4 inches deep on the roads within each subdivision. The sealing of the whole roadway and the provision of the footpath and the drainage works were still the council's responsibility. Most of the subdividers made a selling point of the fact that the roads were sealed and bitumenized, but usually it was not long after the houses or allotments had been sold that many of these badly-made roads began to deteriorate. As the subdividers were not obliged to build roads in accordance with the drainage or traffic needs of the particular area, the council very often had to remake them. In 1965 the council engineer reported that the

. . . continual deterioration of almost all the roads constructed by subdividers has been a continual source of very grave concern to the council. . . . Most of the sealed subdivisional roads constructed prior to 1962 are now rapidly disintegrating. . . .<sup>1</sup>

The council would have to spend over £800,000 in the next three years to re-instate these roads. As early as 1963 the council had seen the need to get the Town Planning Act reframed so that it would require the developer and/or subdivider to provide the full cost of roads, footpaths and drainage works.<sup>2</sup> The need for the council to provide these facilities meant there was a lack of other rate-financed facilities in the new estates. Thus in July 1964, the councillor for the Para Hills Ward reported to the rate-payers that there was not enough finance available to open a branch of the Public Library in Para Hills without drastically cutting down on such matters as street-lighting, street-signs, footpath and drainage.<sup>3</sup>

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1. News-Review, 5 May 1965.

2. Salisbury District Council Minutes, 29 March 1963.

3. Para Hills News Sheet, 31 July 1964.

The cost of draining the new estates was the responsibility of the council until the passing of the Planning and Development Act of 1966-7. The cost of conveying storm-water from the subdivisions in the foot-hills across the plains and low-lying grounds south and west of Salisbury to the sea was enormous. Thus in 1965, when the Housing Trust announced its plans to build the Ingle Farm estate to the south of Para Hills, although it planned to finance the cost of drainage within the estate itself, draining of the water from Ingle Farm to the sea would cost the Salisbury Council £50,000.<sup>1</sup>

As more and more farm lands around Salisbury were subdivided for housing in the 1960's there was a need for more sporting grounds, parks and areas of open space. Until 1964, the subdivider was obliged to provide only 5% of the subdividable land for parks and gardens. In 1964 this was increased to 10%. The council in these years found its finances greatly stretched by the need to buy more areas for small parks and sporting grounds, to develop these and to buy large open spaces. In January 1964, the council informed the State Government of its '... inability to finance the increasing number of reserves being offered... which reserves are necessary for the orderly development of the district.'<sup>2</sup> The Council, which was trying to provide reserves within the new areas as well as buying the flats and banks along the Little Para River was currently negotiating for the purchase of the following reserves, to a total cost of £71,500.

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1. News Review, 10 March 1965.

2. Salisbury City Council Minutes, 14 January 1965.

<u>Reserve:</u>	<u>Estimated Council Contribution</u>
Pooraka	£18,000
Harvey's Reserve ) along	16,900
B.J. Jenkins ) Little Para	6,850
G.S. Jenkins ) River	6,750
Hickinbotham	11,000 <sup>1</sup>

The council had also been offered 173 acres of land for a large open space (recommended by the 1962 report) in the hills to the east of Smith Road and a further 14 acres along the Little Para River. The council estimated that it could spend only £20,000 in the next financial year for the purchase of reserves. In at least one case, the council had to buy subdivided allotments, some already being built on, in order to be able to provide recreation space in the new areas. When in 1963, the council felt it was imperative that it extend the reserve at Salisbury Downs before further housing development occurred, it had to negotiate with the owners of 26 allotments. The council, due to the weakness of the Town Planning legislation and the piecemeal nature of much of the development, had the responsibility of trying to inject some order into the growth of the area. It pointed out to the State government,

. . . it is the last opportunity which the council can see for the provision, at a reasonable cost, of an adequately sized recreational area in close proximity to Salisbury.<sup>2</sup>

The development of Elizabeth to the north of Salisbury and of Para Hills, Brahma Lodge, Parafield Gardens etc. to the south, south-west and south-east of Salisbury had a great affect upon the old town. No longer was it the most central and the largest town in the area and thus the most logical business and administrative centre. To the north lay the

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1. Salisbury District Council Minutes, 10 December 1963.

2. Salisbury District Council Minutes, 3 March 1964.



The centre of Salisbury showing overpass proposed by Highways Department (1972).

closely settled Elizabeth, begun in 1955, whose population grew for a few years in the early 1960's to exceed that of Salisbury and of the rest of the district. To the south were the scattered and incomplete subdivisions, begun in the late 1950's, which were, by 1966 to take the Salisbury (i.e. non-Elizabeth) part of the district past that of Elizabeth in terms of population. (See Table 4-3). In the planning of both areas, the effect upon Salisbury, and the consequent shape of the district was not considered.

In the development of Elizabeth, the Housing Trust planners behaved in many ways as if they were starting on a clean sheet instead of in the middle of a community with a pre-existing life and experience. Elizabeth town centre was situated only three miles from the town of Salisbury, and although in the short-term Salisbury was to be a prop for Elizabeth, the nature of the long term relationship between these two centres does not seem to have been considered at all by the planners. Thus the southern industrial area of Elizabeth, which later included the large General Motors Holden plant, was situated very close to Salisbury, without consideration of the effect of the traffic on the town. This led to the continuation of the problem, which had begun when the munitions works had been built to the north of Salisbury, namely a stream of heavy traffic, daily making its way through the narrow streets of Salisbury and across the bridges over the Little Para River. Thus a 24 hour count of vehicles on 20/11/63 showed that 3,000 vehicles used Gawler Street and a count of heavy traffic on the same street between 8 a.m. and 4.30 p.m. on 17/8/64 showed that 601 trucks, 126 semi-trailers, 24 mobile mixer concrete trucks and 16 buses used this route. Of the heavy trucks, more than two-thirds were going to or from General Motors Holden.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Salisbury District Council Minutes, 14 September 1964.

The fact that Salisbury and the Little Para River lie on a direct line between Elizabeth and Adelaide, has resulted in the development of many schemes to put roads through or over them to join Elizabeth and Adelaide. Thus in the report on the metropolitan area of Adelaide in 1962, there was a recommendation for a North South freeway to cross the Little Para River at the Happy Home Reserve adjacent to the Salisbury North Housing Trust area. The Highways Department claimed almost half of this reserve for the freeway, which would necessitate the cutting down of many of the large red gum trees which line the river. In 1972, there was a proposal to join Salisbury Highway to Gawler Street, with an overpass over the old quarter adjacent to the railway station. This proposal would involve the destruction of some of the nineteenth century houses in the area and would serve to divide Salisbury in half. In 1973, another Highway Department proposal meant the building of two bridges across the Little Para River at Moss Street and Porter Street. These bridges which would provide outlets to the Main North Road for traffic from Elizabeth and W.R.E., would involve the removal of 130 trees on the river banks including 40 native red gums.<sup>1</sup> None of these proposals have been put into practice yet, but some still threaten the historic and aesthetic and recreational assets of Salisbury and the Little Para River.

A large shopping centre was planned and developed at Elizabeth, but no consideration seems to have been given to the interests or possible responses of Salisbury business people. The Trust and the State government assumed that Elizabeth, and not Salisbury would become the centre for the district headquarters of various departments and institutions. This meant removing the police-station and law-courts, both long-situated in the township, from Salisbury to Elizabeth. This was resented in Salisbury:

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1. News-Review, 24 January 1973.

It does seem strange that after more than 100 years of full-time service the Salisbury station should become what is virtually a clerical out-station, with insufficient staff to carry out the true function of a police station.<sup>1</sup>

In fact the development of Elizabeth and the southern area raised the whole question of the location of the central focus of Salisbury District Council area.

Although the Housing Trust had stated, in 1950, of Elizabeth that '... the town ... will develop in a perfectly normal way with its own local governing responsibilities,'<sup>2</sup> it remained under the control of the Salisbury District Council for many years, and only in 1963, when it had become painfully obvious that the different needs of the two areas could not be met by the same local government authority, did the Trust come around to a policy of support for the severance of the two areas.

During the years 1954-64, when Elizabeth and Salisbury were part of the same district council, and particularly in the early 1960's, the operation of local government in the area was marked by jealousy, rivalry and competition between Salisbury and Elizabeth. Both were determined to be the administrative and commercial centre of the area. Basically, the two communities needed different things from local government. In Elizabeth, where many of the physical problems usually dealt with by local government (i.e. road making, drainage, provision and development of parks), had been dealt with by the S.A.H.T., local government was needed to provide the 'luxuries' - e.g. a Civic Centre. In Salisbury and in the rest of the district council area, where particularly in the early 1960's new private subdivisions were occurring rapidly, local government

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1. News-Review, 23 June 1965.

2. S.A.H.T. Annual Report 1949-50.

was needed to provide basically the physical services, e.g. drainage, roads, parks and sportsgrounds, the provision of which existing Town Planning legislation left in the hands of the local council.

The announcement in 1954 that the local council was to keep the area of the new town under its jurisdiction<sup>1</sup> was greeted with misgivings in some quarters of Salisbury. Although a great deal of the work, normally done by local government, was to be carried out by the Trust at Elizabeth, this decision still meant a great deal of extra responsibility for the Salisbury District Council. The district council, which had formerly operated to meet the needs of a rural community, was in the years in which it administered Elizabeth (1954-1964), still coping with the Trust's 'legacy of neglect' at Salisbury North, as well as supervising the development of new private residential areas within the district. Those who opposed this new responsibility pointed out,

The Council has neither the staff nor the equipment to work effectively in the new area, and any talent it may have for administration can well be applied to the 'old town'. Ratepayers should see to it that they do not suffer by allowing the Council to meddle in the new town at the expense of the old. . . .<sup>2</sup>

Although Salisbury ratepayers were not to follow this advice immediately, there was a certain amount of resentment in Salisbury that the local council should be concerned with the development of Elizabeth, 'The City of Tomorrow' as the Trust called it, which was so much better supplied with roads, footpaths, reserves etc., than was Salisbury. The great investment of Trust and State government energies at Elizabeth, and the fact that the two towns were so close together, made it appear

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1. Salisbury District Council Minutes, 6 September 1954.
  2. Letter to Salisbury News, 3 December 1954.



likely to Salisbury residents, that Salisbury was to be passed by as the centre of the area. One local columnist pointed out,

There is some indication that amenities which rightfully belong to Salisbury are lagging and may ultimately be lost to this place if supporters of the new town have their way. . . e.g. the secondary school, the hospital, the theatre. . . .<sup>1</sup>

As Elizabeth grew, Salisbury residents wondered about the future status of their township and their council in the district. Some felt that

The old Salisbury proper . . . will always be the hub - the capital - of the whole of the present district, including Elizabeth, which town will become an environ of Salisbury.<sup>2</sup>

The growing importance of Elizabeth, however, led others to take the fatalistic view that

. . . Elizabeth will eventually be severed from the control of the Salisbury District Council and made a city, leaving Salisbury as only an outer suburb.<sup>3</sup>

As the subdivisions in the southern areas grew, Salisbury councillors were able to point out that despite the current importance and growth of Elizabeth, the Salisbury area had a greater potential population. A report to council in 1962 showed that the rapidly developing areas of the Salisbury district were being populated at a greater rate than the Elizabeth wards and that by 1975, Elizabeth's population would be less than half of the remainder of the Salisbury district.<sup>4</sup> The census figures bear this out.

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1. Letter to Salisbury News and Elizabeth Times, 22 July 1955.
  2. Letter to Salisbury and Elizabeth Times, 4 July 1958.
  3. Salisbury News and Elizabeth Times, 15 April 1957.
  4. Salisbury District Council Minutes, 20 August 1962.

TABLE 4 . 3

Population of Salisbury District Council area 1954-66.

	<u>Elizabeth</u>	<u>Salisbury</u>	<u>Rest of District</u>	<u>Total</u>
1954	-	5,519	2,211	7,730
1961	23,326	9,349	3,040	35,715
1966	32,949	35,762		68,711

From October 1956, the desire to be independent of Salisbury grew among Elizabeth residents. They saw Salisbury and its council as rural and backward and themselves as citizens of the progressive new town.

The Chairman of the Elizabeth Progress Council argued,

A rural council can't look after the interests of a town like Elizabeth properly. Salisbury Council is a rural council in a rural setting. Elizabeth should be represented by a council of business men living, working and thinking Elizabeth.<sup>1</sup>

Within the Salisbury Council District, Elizabeth representation grew from one councillor in 1957, to five out of a total council of 13, by 1960. Both the Salisbury and Elizabeth factions used to vote as a block on most matters affecting the relative status of the two centres. The Salisbury group (this included all non-Elizabeth councillors) wished to retain its power in council and to keep Salisbury as the administrative centre of the area and also as an important commercial centre. If it could not hold sway within the council it preferred to separate from Elizabeth on its own terms. The Elizabeth councillors wanted a separate council for Elizabeth, and if this was impossible wanted to have a majority within the Salisbury District Council. They believed that Elizabeth was the

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1. News, 11 June 1959.

natural and rightful administrative and commercial centre of the area. Thus one Elizabeth councillor argued: 'Elizabeth should be the centre of local government because it falls in with town planning.'<sup>1</sup> An Elizabeth councillor frankly summed up this conflict saying,

You are determined to see that the centre of the district grows in John Street, we are equally determined to see it grow in Elizabeth.<sup>2</sup>

It is rather difficult to explain this conflict except by attributing it to local pride in each town, to the convenience of having a centre close by, and on the part of Salisbury people, the desire to see the traditional centre remain paramount. Perhaps only one councillor from Elizabeth and two from Salisbury could be singled out as having vested commercial interests in seeing their town become the administrative and commercial centre of the area.

The General Motors Holden (henceforth G.M.H.) site was regarded as a prize to be fought over by both factions. The land it occupied had originally been partly in a Salisbury ward and partly in an Elizabeth ward. Elizabeth councillors believed that G.M.H., was planned as part of the new town and that its rates and its prestige belonged to them. Salisbury councillors believed that the G.M.H. site, which was only 50 chains from the main street of Salisbury should be in a Salisbury ward, particularly as Salisbury had to construct and maintain drains and roads necessary for G.M.H. The transfer of G.M.H. to Salisbury ward in 1959 by the Salisbury District Council, although offset by the transfer of the area of the future Elizabeth Vale to an Elizabeth Ward, was regarded by Elizabeth councillors, as robbery.

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1. Salisbury and Elizabeth Times, 24 August 1962.

2. Salisbury and Elizabeth Times, 7 September 1962.

Although some Elizabeth people advocated a cautious approach to the issue of severance saying,

At this juncture we are served more advantageously by remaining with Salisbury, using their facilities, and at a later date, when we are more established, breaking away from them;<sup>1</sup>

there was, in Elizabeth, a continuous pressure for severance. This appears to have enjoyed quite widespread support, for a pro-severance petition, presented to the Minister for Local Government in 1960, contained the signatures of 3,892 Elizabeth residents (77.5% of those on roll).

This first attempt for severance was thwarted when a Special Magistrate recommended against it in 1961. Frustrated in the pursuit of independence, the Elizabeth Progress Council in August 1962 sought equal representation in the District Council, the inclusion of G.M.H. in an Elizabeth ward and the development of local government offices in Elizabeth. Elizabeth with only five out of the 13 councillors was under-represented in the council and the rest of the district over-represented. In 1962, Elizabeth (including the G.M.H. area) contributed half of the rates to the Salisbury District Council and had two thirds of its population.<sup>2</sup> The prospect of a council which had equal representation of Elizabeth councillors, led the Salisbury councillors in September 1962 to force a resolution through the council that Elizabeth should be severed immediately and that G.M.H. should be retained within Salisbury. The fact that the S.A.H.T. supported the petition from Elizabeth for increased representation infuriated the Salisbury councillors. Although the Housing Trust had interests in both Salisbury and Elizabeth and paid approximately 45% of

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1. Salisbury and Elizabeth Times, 14 November 1958.

2. Salisbury District Council Minutes, 7 November 1962.

the total rates of the Salisbury District Council,<sup>1</sup> the Salisbury councillors regarded the support as an 'intrusion . . . into the affairs of local government against the interests of the district.'<sup>2</sup> The petition the Council finally presented for retention of the status-quo, in October 1962, while not as thoroughgoing as the resolution passed in September, left the balance of power in the hands of Salisbury councillors.

Finally in December 1962, the two factions were able to make a compromise. It was decided unanimously, to petition for an increase of Elizabeth representatives from five to seven (out of a total of 15), G.M.H. was to be 'returned' to Elizabeth and it was decided that the permanent municipal offices should be erected in Salisbury. Although there was agreement about the representation of Elizabeth, there was still disagreement over the development of Elizabeth and Salisbury town centres.

Although the Trust's programme at Elizabeth Town Centre made it obvious that this would be the major shopping centre for Elizabeth, there was still the question of a major shopping centre for the new areas to the south. The old township was not in a central position for these areas, and with its narrow streets, caught between the railway-line and the Little Para River, was unsuitable for the heavy traffic characteristic of a large modern shopping centre. In its report on the metropolitan area of Adelaide in 1962, the Town Planning Committee recommended that there should be a large district business and administrative centre of 80 acres south of Salisbury at Parafield, and another in Elizabeth, while Salisbury should remain merely as a local shopping area of 36 acres. The council was opposed to this suggestion which would mean the partial eclipse of Salisbury.<sup>3</sup> The council had already begun negotiations with a view to

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1. Salisbury District Council. Rate Revenue, 30 June 1961.

2. Salisbury District Council Minutes, 31 August 1962.

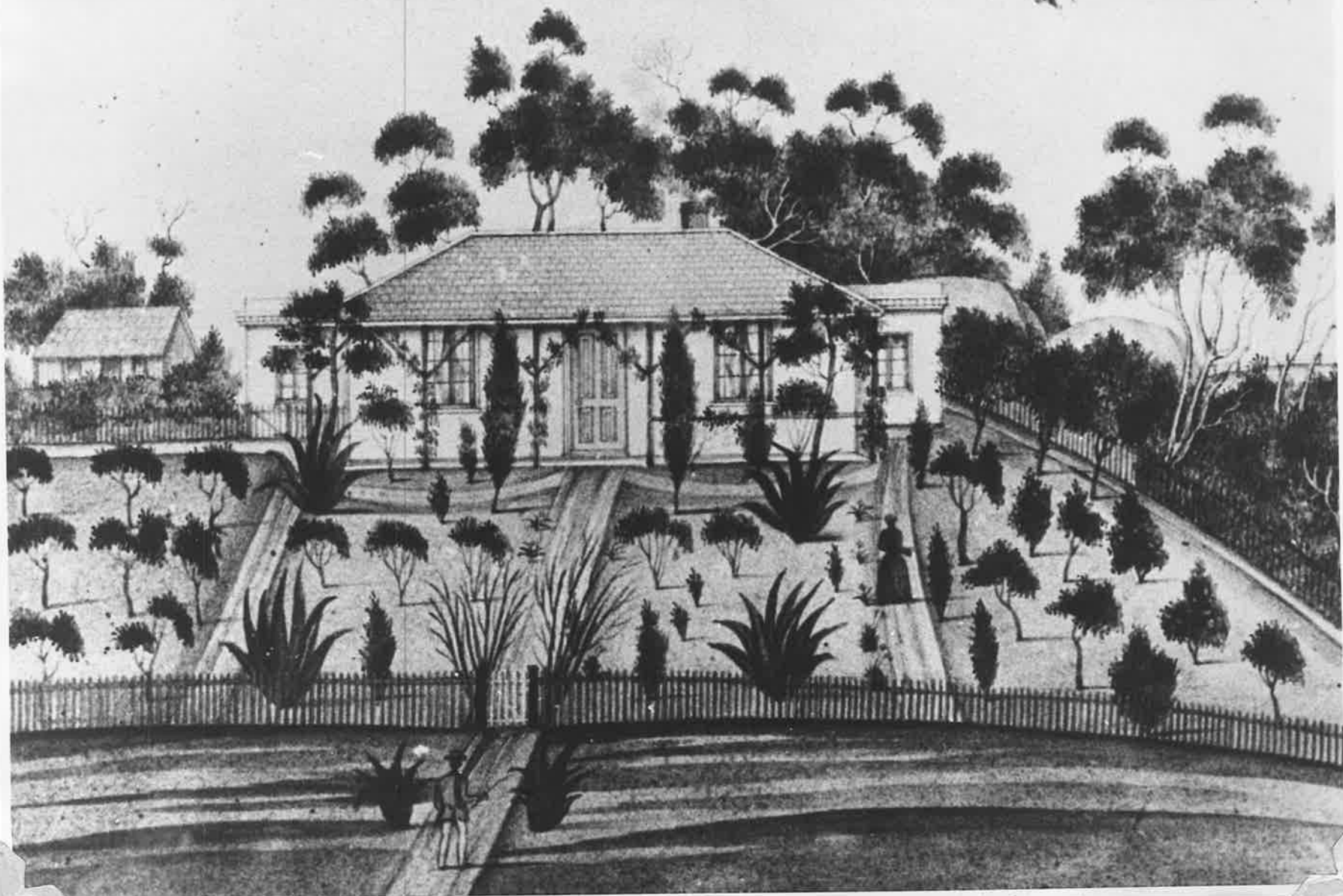
3. Salisbury District Council Minutes, 14 October 1964.

giving Arndale Australia Pty. Ltd. permission to build a large shopping centre in John Street, Salisbury, on the banks of the Little Para River. In December 1962, Arndale sought permission to erect a regional shopping centre on a 33 acre site bounded by John Street, Commercial Road, Bridge Street and Gawler Street and cut by the Little Para River. The centre would include a supermarket, department store, and 30 small shops. The centre was to be erected in two stages. The first stage included 2.2 acres of buildings and the second stage - two acres. Twenty five acres of the land would be used for the car park and 6.8 acres for beautification, chiefly along the banks of the Little Para River. The council decided to approve the proposal subject to the approval of the Town Planner.

The acting Town Planner, while approving Stage I, said that any larger development should be situated at Parafield. He objected to Stage II of the proposal on the grounds that the Salisbury site would not be in the geographical centre of the future population of the Salisbury area, that it would be too close to the Elizabeth Town Shopping Centre, that the existing road pattern in Salisbury could not cope with the very large increase in traffic volumes, which would be generated and that it would be difficult and costly to improve this pattern for traffic coming from the west of the railway line. Despite these objections, and despite the fact that the scheme would mean the destruction of 'Salisbury House', built by John Harvey in the 1840's, and possible damage to the area around the Little Para River, the council approved the scheme on condition that the shopping area be confined to the land south of the Little Para River, subject to a satisfactory agreement being reached on the beautification and bridging of the Little Para River and subject to the development of an economically feasible road scheme for Stage II.

Although the acting Town Planner suggested that they build at Parafield the Arndale Company rejected this saying,

Salisbury House as it appeared in the nineteenth century.



No developer, of any standing, would be so courageous, or so foolhardy as to set up a completely new centre in the midst of broad acres, surrounded on 2 sides by either industrial land, reserves or by an aerodrome.<sup>1</sup>

The eagerness of the Salisbury councillors to have this shopping centre built in John Street, despite the destruction it would bring to the historic and natural assets of Salisbury, was shown in July 1963, when Arndale's proposals for a road system to meet the needs of Stage II were brought before the council. These included the widening and deviation of Chapel Street, (on the west of the railway line) to make a by-pass, to cut through orchard land to Gawler Street with a bridge over the railway line and a large culvert at the Little Para River. The cost was £190,000. Although these proposals involved a certain amount of destruction in Chapel Street, in the old quarter west of the railway station and along the river, the council approved it in principle. This scheme clearly pointed out the great difficulties involved in trying to change a town planned in the 1850's and straddling a river to become a large modern commercial centre. One Elizabeth councillor asked, perhaps facetiously, during the discussion.

. . . don't you think it would be quicker to wipe out the centre of Salisbury and start all over again?<sup>2</sup>

The only objections to the scheme came from Elizabeth councillors who pointed out that the road was designed to gather much of the traffic into the backyard of the Arndale centre to the detriment of other Salisbury traders and the Elizabeth shopping centre. This proposal was to lapse and the building of the Arndale centre was to be delayed for

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1. Salisbury District Council Minutes, 15 January 1963.

2. Salisbury District Council Minutes 6 August, 1963.



years as Arndale found it difficult to involve a leading retailer<sup>1</sup> in the scheme due to the influence of the new town centre of Elizabeth and 'the failure of the retailers to grasp the potential of Salisbury.'<sup>2</sup> However, it is interesting to note that in the council there was great enthusiasm for the development of the shopping centre and little concern for its effects upon the environment. The Editor of the local paper raised the question of the future of the river, pointing out that

. . . the Salisbury District Council should be sure that it is not allowing a portion of the town and district's most attractive features, to be altered to the point of non-recognition. . . . The greatest fear is that the river, as it flows through Salisbury, will be formed into a mere drainage channel, flanked by reclaimed parking lots.<sup>3</sup>

These fears seemed well-founded, for when the representatives of the Arndale Company met the Council in November 1963, they acknowledged the company's responsibility for the beautification of the Little Para River through the site, '. . . provided that the Council engineer did not require anything unreasonable.'<sup>4</sup>

The Salisbury councillors obviously wanted to snare this great centre for Salisbury. In the newly developing areas and in Elizabeth this plan to develop the old Salisbury township was seen as selfish and not in the interests of the whole district. One Elizabeth resident argued that the Salisbury District Council appeared

1. Salisbury and Elizabeth Times, 16 December 1964.

2. Salisbury City Council Minutes, 8 February 1965.

3. Salisbury and Elizabeth Times, 25 January 1963.

4. Salisbury District Council Minutes, 25 November 1963.

It is interesting to note in this connection, that no agreement was made between the council and Arndale over the beautification of the Little Para River. (Interview, Town Clerk, February 1973). In 1974, an application to extend the shopping centre was approved by the Salisbury City Council. The extension involves a three storey-building and a carpark, situated even closer to the banks of the Little Para River. (News-Review, 27 November 1974).

. . . to be more concerned with the building of the Salisbury township than . . . with the future welfare of the whole district,<sup>1</sup>

and a resident of Para Hills pointed out that,

In view of the fact that the large housing development in the Para Hills - Parafield area will increase to a phenomenal extent in comparison to that of the moment, the residents of this area are going to be most unhappy if they do not get the services envisaged in the Parafield plan.<sup>2</sup> [i.e. to build a district centre at Parafield.]

Although the residents of Para Hills wanted a business and civic centre in the centre of the Salisbury district, this did not eventuate, probably because of the existence of the Parafield aerodrome, to the south of Salisbury, which meant that the heart of the district was only lightly populated.

The controversy over the Civic Centre at Elizabeth arose out of the differences between Elizabeth and the rest of the council area and ultimately led to the splitting off of Elizabeth to form a separate council. In 1958, the District Council had established a fund for the erection of municipal buildings in Elizabeth. In 1962, a council sub-committee consisting of the Elizabeth councillors and the District Clerk, produced a proposal for Civic Buildings at Elizabeth, at a cost of £150,000. These buildings, which were to consist of a stadium and a theatre, but not local government offices (as some Salisbury people feared), had been designed free of cost by the Housing Trust, which was very eager to see this centre built, to give Elizabeth 'a heart'. All but two of the Salisbury councillors supported the council resolution to raise a loan of £150,000 to finance the building.

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1. Salisbury and Elizabeth Times, 19 July 1963.

2. News-Review, 16 January 1963.

However in the community there was a great deal of opposition to this scheme. In November 1962, 24 Salisbury ratepayers, people said to be 'highly respected in the district' a number of whom were members of the Salisbury Ratepayers Association, petitioned council under Section 427 of the Local Government Act. At the poll, held in January 1963, only 14,231 of the possible 93,271 votes were cast, but there was a much greater turn-out of voters in the wards of Salisbury, Salisbury North, East, West, Pooraka and St. Kilda, than in the Elizabeth wards. Although 8,501 votes were cast against the proposal and only 5,490 in favour, the proposal was carried, as 10% of the possible votes had to be cast against the proposal before it could be defeated. These results showed the great division in the district on this issue. While in Elizabeth there was a ratio of 4½:1 in favour of the loan, the vote at Salisbury North was 17:1 against, at Salisbury 11:1 against, and in Salisbury East (the ward containing Para Hills) 25:1 against. The President of the Elizabeth Ratepayers Association pointed out

The results of the poll prove completely that the 2 areas, Salisbury and Elizabeth are incompatible as far as local government is concerned.<sup>1</sup>

The Salisbury Ratepayers Association, not satisfied with the result of the poll, challenged the accuracy of the voters' roll. This challenge ultimately led to the Council cancelling the notice of its intention to borrow (due to a technical error) and then in June 1963, once more announcing its intention to borrow £150,000 for the Civic Centre. This time the Council received four petitions requesting a poll on this issue.<sup>2</sup> The petitions were received from residents of Elizabeth, of Salisbury, of

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1. Ibid.

2. Salisbury and Elizabeth Times, 12 July 1963.

Salisbury North and of Pooraka, but all were organized by the Salisbury Ratepayers Association. This Association opposed the loan because it believed that other projects should have priority. It claimed that a major drainage scheme to take away the Elizabeth floodwaters which passed through Salisbury, and general street and road improvements in the district were needed before the Elizabeth civic centre. Many Salisbury residents agreed with this analysis, as one resident of Salisbury North pointed out,

On humanitarian grounds alone, I claim that £150,000 spent on getting rid of surface water (a grave health hazard), and having kerbs and footpaths laid, is of far greater importance than pandering to the whims and fancies of a 100 or so citizens of Elizabeth in their local outcry i.e. trying to push this stadium theatre project through.<sup>1</sup>

Residents of the new subdivisions also argued for these priorities. Thus a Para Hills resident wrote,

We at Para Hills, after 2½ years haven't got a foot-path to walk on or wheel a pusher. [sic.] We need money spent here before the building of a centre at Elizabeth.<sup>2</sup>

The widespread support which this opposition gained in Salisbury can be attributed to the resentment and jealousy felt for the favoured treatment which Elizabeth appeared to be getting from the government and the S.A.H.T. Thus each time a new school was built at Elizabeth a Salisbury columnist would invariably make the point,

. . . the thing that puzzles me about the schooling in the whole district is that while Elizabeth has ample schools, the academies in Salisbury are literally busting at the seams.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Salisbury and Elizabeth Times, 19 July 1963.
  2. News-Review, 23 January 1963.
  3. News-Review, 7 August 1963.

In Elizabeth, the opposition to the civic building project by the Salisbury Ratepayers Association was characterised ' . . . as the most anti-social movement in the history of the district.' Elizabeth people, and the S.A.H.T. argued that it would be a benefit to the whole district. Some Elizabeth ratepayers were so enraged by the continued opposition to the civic buildings proposal that they requested polls on the issue of proposed loans totalling £58,550 for the drainage of Salisbury and for council machinery. The Elizabeth Ratepayers Association which had organized these argued that it did not want to stop the drainage scheme,

But these petitions were organized to prove the valid point that under S.427 of the Local Government Act, it is equally in the power of the people in Elizabeth<sup>1</sup> to hold up loans as the Salisbury ratepayers had done.

The prospects of local government in the area seemed troubled, as one columnist noted, 'If the trend [to petition] continues, local government in the area could be stalemated completely.'<sup>2</sup> The different needs of the two parts of the district and the failure to integrate Elizabeth into the district was very obvious. Elizabeth people felt that the progress of their town was being held up by others in the district. Thus some saw the future as rather gloomy saying,

Projects in Elizabeth such as the Elizabeth theatre, development of playing fields and the town common, and the aesthetic development of the town are essential for the betterment of the community . . . each time the Elizabeth councillors ask for loans to cover such projects there will always be opposition from a group of ratepayers in the Salisbury area.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Ibid.

2. Ibid.

3. Salisbury and Elizabeth Times, 19 April 1963.

Although the loan for the Civic Centre and the loans for drainage and council machinery were all approved, the vote on the civic centre showed the great division in the area. While 22,634 votes were cast for the proposal, and 8,862 against, the Elizabeth ratepayers had turned out in strength to support the proposal and 21,290 of the 22,634 favourable votes were cast in that area. Salisbury and district voters were still opposed to the loan with 8,063 of the 8,862 votes cast against the proposal, coming from that area.<sup>1</sup> This obvious division led to various changes in local government. Finances of the two sections of the area were to be kept separate. The realisation that these two must be separated spread through the district and into the Housing Trust, which had long opposed severance. The Ratepayers Associations of Elizabeth and Salisbury organized joint discussions and action towards making each town the centre of an independent district. Severance was granted in February 1964 to take effect in the middle of the year.

\* \* \* \*

During the years 1954-1965, two cities grew to replace the old township of Salisbury. The relationship between the planned town of Elizabeth and Salisbury was given no apparent consideration by the Housing Trust. This failure led to great rivalry between Salisbury and Elizabeth in the 1950's, and although the two cities were administered separately from 1965, the problems for Salisbury, perched on the outside of Elizabeth and in the direct line of much of the Elizabeth-Adelaide traffic, have continued. Developments with the aim of making Salisbury an important commercial area, have robbed the township of a number of its historic assets. The scattered and poorly co-ordinated growth to the south of Salisbury, carried out with individual profit given higher priority than the shape of the whole district, contributed further disorder to an already badly organized area.

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1. Salisbury and Elizabeth Times, 2 August 1963.

CONCLUSION

Since 1939, Salisbury has been greatly changed. The actions of many people and of institutions, both public and private, have changed it. Many of the changes have been piecemeal and haphazard and those who have brought about the changes have often been characterized by a lack of concern for the effect upon the township and district as a whole.

The desire to find short-term solutions for immediate problems, the desire on the part of governments to save money, and on the part of private individuals to make money have all influenced the developments in Salisbury. The war-time Cabin Homes were established in Salisbury by the remote Commonwealth War Workers Housing Trust to solve the immediate problem of accommodation for munition workers. The wish of the South Australian government, and particularly of J.W. Wainwright to gain as much as possible from the war-time developments also appears to have played a part here. The housing authorities were distant, and unsympathetic and also seemed to have lacked the expertise necessary for introducing a large group of new-comers to a rather parochial township like Salisbury. The result, devised in a time of acute anxiety, created a chronic problem for the tenants of the Cabin Homes, and for Salisbury as a whole, in the form of a sharply-divided community.

Nevertheless the munition works and the Cabin Homes were to play the part in South Australia's economic development which Wainwright and the South Australian government had envisaged from the date of their establishment. In fact the location of the Long Range Weapon Establishment at Salisbury in 1947 led to further development in the form of the Salisbury North Housing Trust estate. This mainly rental area was planned, in the early 1950's, merely to meet the housing needs of some of the workers at the L.R.W.E. It exemplifies the extremely limited role allowed to the

S.A.H.T. by the State government at that time. The Trust was to be a housing authority and nothing more. Now this area constitutes a pocket of low-standard housing within the Salisbury area.

In many ways the new town of Elizabeth was a great achievement on the part of the South Australian Housing Trust. A number of its features contrasted strongly with those of Salisbury North. In this venture, the Trust was much more far-sighted and generous. However the integration of Elizabeth into its surroundings was not at all considered. Although Salisbury was on the periphery of the new town, it was not planned into it. The pride, the problems and the traditions of the old township were ignored by the planners. This led to or at least exacerbated the running battle between Salisbury and Elizabeth interests within the district and its council. In their intoxication with the modern new town, the Trust planners overlooked the historic and aesthetic qualities of the old township and consequently the unfortunate result of their handiwork may involve the almost total destruction of these qualities. The experience of Salisbury in these changes should be a very chastening one for planners and governments.

The growth of the southern suburbs of the Salisbury municipality saw developers, virtually unrestrained by legislation, seeking their individual profit to the detriment of the shape of the whole district, of the council and of the residents of the new estates. Their efforts resulted in scattered and incomplete development. The local council, although ill-equipped and under-financed was left to try to inject some sort of order into the growth.

Overall, the changes have seen the little township of Salisbury, set in its farming hinterland, being replaced by two rival cities. One of these, Elizabeth, was planned as an integrated whole, while the other,



Salisbury, includes what has survived of the old township, plus Salisbury North and the recent scattered subdivisions.

Most of these changes occurred while the Playford government, an administration eager for the development of South Australia, was in power. The construction of the power lines along the Little Para River was typical of its policies. In this instance, in the interests of economy, a line of ugly pylons was constructed over and along the Little Para River, 'the one remaining natural beauty spot' in the area. The priority awarded to tangible factors, such as growth and development, over intangibles, such as community well-being and historic and aesthetic assets, have played an important part in the whole series of changes which have transformed Salisbury.

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