



WHAT IF? WHAT NEXT?

SPECULATIONS ON HISTORY'S FUTURES

SESSION 3B

COUNTERING THE CANON/S

**Activism and Agency in Architectural History:
Migrancy, Gender Diversity, Class**

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AUSTRALIA'S HOME: AN ALTERNATIVE NARRATIVE. ROBIN BOYD'S WRITING ON FLATS AND MEDIUM DENSITY HOUSING

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The detached suburban house has, perhaps rightly, been the locus of much Australian architectural history. Yet what narratives have been lost to architectural history when the house, a site entwined with the Anglo-middle class nuclear family, dominates? In this paper we recast discussion of Australian housing to consider an alternative narrative: medium density apartments in post-war Melbourne. As both commentator and practitioner, housing was central to Robin Boyd's career. The detached house was Boyd's primary concern, yet he left a significant body of writing on medium-density apartments that has, to this time, largely been unexplored. Writing within the confines of Victoria's extended COVID-19 lockdown Boyd's journalism presented one of the few primary sources available to Melbourne based scholars investigating post-war medium density housing.

Boyd was initially enthusiastic about modern apartment living in post-war Melbourne but his enthusiasm quickly soured in the face of the privately developed typology that emerged in the post-war years. These walk-up flats, now dubbed "six-packs" were primarily dwellings for young adults and migrants; and the wider discourse surrounding them pays significant attention to migrancy. Utilising Boyd's journalism and his landmark texts we trace the development of reactions to the walk-ups and show them to be unfavourably considered in the wider population for their divergence from the then prevalent notion of the 'Australian Way of Life' and by critics such as Boyd for their deleterious effect on open space in suburbia.

Introduction

The detached suburban house has, perhaps rightly, been the locus of much Australian architectural history. Yet what narratives have been lost to architectural history when the house, a site entwined with the Anglo-middle class nuclear family dominates? In this paper we recast discussion of Australian housing to consider an alternative narrative: medium density apartments in post-war Melbourne. As both commentator and practitioner, housing was central to Robin Boyd's career. The detached house was Boyd's primary concern, yet he left a significant body of writing on medium-density apartments that has to this time largely been unexplored. Writing within the confines of Victoria's extended COVID-19 lockdown Boyd's journalism presented one of the few primary sources available to Melbourne based scholars investigating post-war medium density housing. Utilising Boyd's journalism for *The Age*, *The Herald*, *Architecture in Australia*, his contributions to *Look Here! Considering the Australian Environment, Living and Partly Living*, and his landmark texts *Victorian Modern*, *Australia's Home*, *The Walls Around Us*, and *The Australian Ugliness* we explore the development and reception of the post-war flat in Melbourne.¹

In 1947 Boyd established a narrative of the modern flat in Melbourne in *Victorian Modern* that is still largely unchallenged. Boyd was initially enthusiastic about modern apartment living in post-war Melbourne but his enthusiasm quickly soured in the face of the privately developed typology that emerged in the post-war years. These walk-up flats, now dubbed "six-packs" were primarily dwellings for young adults and migrants; and the wider discourse surrounding them pays significant attention to migrancy. We trace the development of reactions to the walk-ups and show them to be unfavourably considered in the wider population for their divergence from the then prevalent notion of the 'Australian Way of Life' and by critics such as Boyd for their deleterious effect on open space in suburbia.

Methodology

Our original intention for this paper was to examine in detail some examples of "six-pack" flats – the modest two- and three-storey walk-up blocks of flats which became prevalent in the renewal of Melbourne's old suburbs in the 1950s and 1960s. We were interested in these insofar as they involved the redevelopment of existing lots, they were often developed and/or designed by 'New Australians', and they accommodated not merely young couples there temporarily while saving for their suburban dreams, but also migrants and those who did not conform to coupledness with children – bachelors and bachelorettes.² While the existence of this housing type is widely acknowledged, its part in Australia's architectural history in our view has been neglected.

As COVID-19 hit we had to revise our project firstly to preclude archival and on-site work, and then to use only material we had ready access to from our own homes – on-line archives of digitised newspaper articles and a few contemporaneous books. Both the books and the newspapers brought us to Robin Boyd, because Boyd wrote hundreds of newspaper articles during his life, and many more books than any of his contemporaries. Boyd proved a useful organising principle for architectural historians attempting to differentiate the huge amount of newspaper commentary surrounding medium density housing in the post-war period in Melbourne as he was "one of Australia's most influential voices within the architectural profession, and within popular culture he may be rightfully regarded as Australia's first and probably only public intellectual on matters related to architecture"³. We reviewed Boyd's commentary for *The Age* both in his regular column as director of the Small Homes Service between 1947 and 1953, and as commentator and occasional opinion writer up to his untimely death in 1971. A limited selection of Boyd's regular column "Building and Design" that he wrote between 1954-1956 for *The Herald* were reviewed. Unfortunately, the limits of digitisation of the *The Herald* prevented us from reviewing articles from 1955 onwards.

We note that our intention is not primarily to add to the extensive Boyd scholarship, recently expanded in connection with the 2019 centenary of his birth. Rather, the primary object of this work is the discourse on medium density housing in Melbourne as it developed from 1950 to

1970, and as Boyd was the most prolific and opinionated writer on the architectural scene in Melbourne – indeed, in Australia – during this period we are going to use his views as a lens to examine this issue. Boyd’s writings reveal that six-pack flats, despite their popularity, were caught between harsh criticism from two opposing sides. Boyd, other architects and aesthetes criticised the six-packs labelling them mean, cramped, ‘featurist’ and deleterious on streetscapes. On the other hand, many in the wider Australian population considered the six-packs, and flats in general, an assault on moral values and the prevalent notion of the ‘Australian Way of Life’. Underlying both criticisms was a self-assurance that the six-pack, and perhaps by extension migrant building practices, were undesirable in Australian suburbia. Beyond the condemnation of the six-pack we found that Boyd’s journalism highlighted: the relationship between migrants and the six-pack; the speculative development of walk-up flats; and that he underscored the importance of urban design for the success of medium-density housing.

Historiography: Overend, Grounds....and Romberg

When considering the historiography of modern apartments in Melbourne, Boyd’s influence on the field both as a commentator and practitioner is immediately apparent. The narrative he established in his precocious first book, *Victorian Modern*, of the importance of Best Overend’s ‘Cairo’ and Roy Grounds’s pre-war flats remains largely unchallenged by most later scholarship on modern apartments.⁴ In *Victorian Modern*, in the main text Boyd praises Cairo and Grounds’s Clendon; yet other flats by Romberg & Shaw (Newburn, 1940), Romberg alone (Glenunga Flats, 1941) and by Kagan & Blumin are touched on only in the photographic section of the book. There, Kagan & Blumin’s Punt Corner (1941) is damned with faint praise: “Almost every property of modernism is here: the horizontal strip window, the vertical gash window, the grid screen, the porthole, the bull-nosed balcony, the corner window. Almost every one of these could be explained functionally: each vertical window, for example, genuinely lights a tall stair wall. But collectively these items are rather too numerous to be true.”⁵ And the design of Romberg’s Glenunga apparently suffers from “conflict of the somewhat unco-operative elements.” Clendon, by comparison, is only praised: “it was the first of a half-a-dozen similar projects he [Grounds] built before he joined the R.A.A.F. in ’42. They are a charming family scattered about the luxuriant streets of Toorak, honest and ingenuous and yet beating their pretentious neighbours, even without trying, at their own slick game.”⁶ Clendon, however, was to influence other projects in inner suburban Melbourne which were not as successful: Grounds, Boyd tells us, “had to suffer caricature by numerous clumsy imitators.”⁷

Several important themes and undercurrents are established in Boyd’s brief comments on flats in *Victorian Modern*: the significance of a select group of modernist precursors in the subsequent design and construction of flats; the poor design quality of most flats within the typology; the diffidence about the contribution of migrant architects.

Flats, however, are not extensively treated by Boyd in *Victorian Modern*. It is, rather, the house which is his quarry in that text: “...as long as one family: one building remains the only acceptable ratio to Australians, this field [the house] is more significant than [sic] any number of magnificent offices, theatres, flats and factories.”⁸ Even more so, this is the case in Boyd’s second book, *Australia’s Home*. Written half as a history of Australian domestic architectures and half as a survey – itself somewhat historical in tone – of the influences that impact on house design (notably technological innovations in construction, services and appliances, in connection with which it appears to have been informed by Giedion’s *Mechanization Takes Command* of 1948) *Australia’s Home* only briefly touches on housing types other than the individual house. Terrace houses – a very significant dwelling type in Sydney, Melbourne and Adelaide for much of the nineteenth century – are addressed in only five paragraphs in 80 or so pages of the historical survey; flats are barely mentioned in that part of the book at all. In the second, thematic, section it is noted that multi-storey flats grew quickly in Sydney’s King’s Cross and Elizabeth Bay from 1910. From there they first spread to other suburbs in Sydney’s east and north shore – but at a diminished scale; “squat blocks of liver-coloured bricks and corner windows looking onto treeless streets” – and thence in 1936-1940 to Melbourne where their scale was further reduced.⁹

Despite his overall focus on the house, the importance of Overend's Cairo and Grounds's Clendon is revisited by Boyd in *Australia's Home* (1952)¹⁰ and *The Walls Around Us* (1962).¹¹ Contemporary scholars better acknowledge the flats by Romberg and Shaw, and Kagan and Blumin.¹² Goad's *Melbourne Architecture* describes many examples of groups of flats in Melbourne's inner suburbs, starting in 1925. In Goad's introduction to "The Moderne City 1930-1945" he places particular – and equal – importance on Overend, Grounds and Romberg.¹³ Overend, Grounds and Romberg are also a triumvirate of Melbourne modern architects treated by Charles Pickett and Caroline Butler-Bowden in their essay on flats and apartments in *The Encyclopedia of Australian Architecture*.¹⁴

Post 1947 apartment buildings by the Gromboyd partners, such as Stanhill 1945-51, Hill St house and flats 1953 and Domain Park 1960–62 (by Boyd himself); and isolated other examples such as JW Rivett's 'Caringal', 1948-51, and Yuncken Freeman's Fairlie St flats, 1961 are now considered part of the story of the modern apartment in post-war Melbourne.¹⁵ Yet the privately developed apartment building boom in which thousands of walk-up flats, six-packs, proliferated across Melbourne in the post-war period, has not attracted much detailed analysis by architectural historians. As such, any attention we pay to the limits of scholarship is due to the paucity rather than quality of the information. The most serious consideration of the subject is Miles Lewis's *Suburban Backlash* in which Lewis concurs with Boyd's later assessment of the walk-up flats writing that they are "cheap and nasty, and parasitic upon the space, light and amenity of their neighbours."¹⁶ Lewis and Boyd see the walk-up flats outside their established architectural history narrative as an undifferentiated group of buildings that blight Melbourne's landscape. As yet, the typology has not been analysed in fine detail to determine if there is any variety or quality amongst these buildings. Caroline Butler-Bowden and Charles Pickett, and Harriet Edquist, do acknowledge the numbers and impact of the six-packs on Melbourne's suburbs: yet, mostly because their writings' foci are elsewhere, they do not examine the detail and diversity of the six-pack typology.¹⁷

Australian historians have better served the six-pack's history and Seamus O'Hanlon's work clearly locates the cultural and social significance of the type. In "A Little Bit of Europe in Australia: Jews, Immigrants, Flats and Urban and Cultural Change in Melbourne, c.1935–1975" O'Hanlon showed that Jewish migrants played a significant role in the design, construction and development of own-your-own flats in Melbourne, as well as being clients and inhabitants of the type.¹⁸ Yet the very first shared ownership apartments in Melbourne were designed and constructed by entrepreneurial local architect, Bernard Evans, and his influences for this were most certainly British. We surmise that a rich and fascinating architectural history awaits revelation.

Bad Flats/Flats are Bad

'Clumsy', 'inept', 'squat': such are Boyd's descriptions of the average small blocks of flats built in Sydney and Melbourne in the 1930s, 40s, 50s and 1960s. These negative characterisations that we have already encountered are joined by others in his publications: in *Victorian Modern*, Boyd writes that the blocks of flats which 'popped up' all over Melbourne's inner suburbs in the late 30s and early 40s "...included the best and some of the most atrocious of all buildings in the period." A 1953 article by Boyd in *The Age* describes flats – and most suburban houses – as "ugly".¹⁹ In *The Age* in 1964, Boyd is reported as commenting on the "crass vulgarity" of some Melbourne suburbs full of flats.²⁰ In his biography of Boyd, Geoffrey Serle notes a passage that Boyd added to *Australia's Home* in 1968, in which he commented that as many flats were then being built as houses, but that these were "...the most dispiriting kind of dwelling that has ever been devised by man – the small, three-storey walk-up block of flats in its concrete car-park non-garden."²¹ These criticisms of flats are, for the most part, indistinguishable from Boyd's aesthetic based criticism of most buildings at this time.

No matter how inconsistent or passionate, Boyd's criticisms about the architectural quality of the average block of flats were never criticisms of the social consequences of flat-dwelling. The view

that flats were responsible for social pathologies was very common at the time Boyd was writing.²² In the 1940s and 1950s as suburbia spread and the Commonwealth Government promoted the vaguely defined 'Australian way of life'²³, there was significant hostility to flat building in Melbourne and much of Australia. Since colonisation Australia had primarily been a country of single detached dwellings. Miles Lewis writing in 1999 noted that "Even now there remains a degree of suspicion about a form of accommodation historically occupied by fast livers, welfare recipients and European refugees."²⁴

Boyd's discussion of flats in *Australia's Home* in the context of a chapter with the title "Enjoyment" suggests the moral suspicion with which flats were regarded in Australia in the mid-twentieth century: "While aesthetes were deploring the ugly eruptions on Sydney's east side, sections of the community were bitterly opposed to the principle of flat-building for its implied assault on the family circle." While the advocates for flats and multi-storey apartments anticipated that they would house only the elderly and childless couples, Boyd notes that "The opposition objected hotly that most childless couples were indirectly the outcome of flats; the minute bedrooms and the absence of gardens made the very thought of children uncomfortable." However, the argument that flats impeded the conception of children was not born out by the facts. Boyd says of Sydney, which he states at the time had over a half of Australia's total inventory of apartments: "Between 1932 and 1939 Sydney's birthrate of 17.51 per 1,000 mean population was exactly the average for the whole of Australia." Nor did he give any quarter to the suspicion that flats encouraged moral turpitude: "And despite the unsavoury reputation of crowded King's Cross and the general belief in other states that Sydney was Australia's den of cosmopolitan loose-living, the city had a lower percentage of ex-nuptial births than had Melbourne, Hobart or Brisbane."²⁵ The only area in which Boyd concurred with the prevailing moral opinion was that flats were entirely inappropriate dwellings for children, and he clearly asserts this in his journalism.²⁶

Boyd's discussion of flats in *Australia's Home* acknowledged the urban planning dimension: "Multi-storey accommodation was necessary to bring the spreading single storey cities back to workable horizontal dimensions....". He would go on to repeat this argument in the articles he wrote for *The Age*. In his regular "Small Homes Service" column for the newspaper Boyd carefully positioned himself as a knowledgeable expert on the side of home owners and their finances, unafraid to speak directly to government on the housing problems Melbourne faced. The Small Homes Service never saw apartments as their direct remit: Boyd wrote his column for *The Age* for a year before he mentions the typology. Yet from that moment on Boyd writes often on flats as an important component of the residential housing market, particularly as a means to solving Melbourne's significant post-war housing shortage, slum housing and suburban sprawl.²⁷ In 1948 he singles out the Ascot Estate, by Best Overend for the Housing Commission of Victoria's Architects' Panel, as singularly worthy of praise. He writes that "The success of Ascot is not in the units, however, which are of fairly standard commission treatment, but in the broad, generous conception of the whole estate. Sensible, unpretentious design is shown in the placing of each building. Blocks of flats face the sun." Boyd notes that the blocks are set in a park in which hundreds of trees have been planted. What is clear from Boyd's writings on the Ascot Estate is that he saw the design of flats as intimately related to their landscape: the provision of open space took precedent over the typology's design. Significantly, this is a position from which he would not waver over the coming decades.

Throughout the 1950s Boyd remained an ardent promoter of flats writing many articles calling for greater numbers to be constructed. It was only in the 1960s apartment boom that flats began to attract Boyd's disdain. This boom followed the Victorian Government's legislative changes designed to promote individual apartment ownership. The Transfer of Land (Stratum Estates) Act (1960), Sale of Land Act (1962) and finally the Strata Title Act (1967) successively eased impediments to individuals owning a sole apartment. In tandem with affordable land in local government areas without by-laws restricting flat development, the legislative changes led to thousands of apartment blocks being constructed, many with limited open space and sunlight. These apartments were primarily lived in by childless couples and migrants, and these are the

buildings and individuals our initial research envisaged introducing to architectural historical discussion.²⁸

'New Australians'

The Australian government's post-war promotion of an 'Australian way of life' with ownership of the suburban house as a core tenet had assimilation of recent migrants as one of its intents.²⁹ In the last, brief chapter of *Australia's Home*, "Prospects", Boyd notes that after WWII, immigration policy would lead to the country having '20% central European blood by the end of the decade.'³⁰ For Boyd this raised several, related questions. He writes on several occasions of the suitability of flats for 'New Australians' as both preferable to the inadequate, overcrowded temporary migrant hostels and as uniquely suited to Europeans and what he presumes to be their previously urbane lifestyles.³¹

Somewhat romantically, he wrote "They remembered the best aspects of the apartment blocks of their home towns: a high room, a view of a park, the purr of the city beyond the trees luring them to a gay life only a minute away." More critically, he also noted that some migrants favoured houses with "the most aggressively Australian characteristics."³² This observation is also made by Boyd in an article in *The Age* in 1951, tellingly titled "A New Australian House" where Boyd wonders "What are they looking for these men from various central European countries? They have left town where homes are as different from ours as olive oil from tomato sauce.... In nearly every single case they finally select the most conservative plans, the most typically Australian suburban designs that they can discover. It is probably understandable that many New Australians are now falling over backwards to adopt Australian character, but our immigration must one day influence our home-building habits."³³

In *The Australian Ugliness*, Boyd's observations about the design preferences of migrants for Australian houses leads to criticism of migrant architects: "...successful migrants who built expensive houses in the richest suburbs commissioned replicas of the neighbouring modernized Georgian mansions, and their New Australian architects expertly complied." Before this, Boyd had described the contributions of European migrants to Australian culture in the most banal, caricatured terms, but ones probably not unusual even for well-educated and receptive Australians of the period: "...this transfusion was enormously beneficial to the patient in many fields, such as coffee-making, music, ski-ing, and the stocking of delicatessen shops. But, contrary to some prophets, it did not assist in broadening or sharpening the taste as manifest in the suburban street...."³⁴ These statements seem to substantiate Mirjana Lozanovska's claim in *Migrant Housing. Architecture, Dwelling, Migration* that "Foods, music and festivities of migrants are celebrated in multicultural societies.... But migrant houses have been disavowed."³⁵

Recently Philip Goad has written that in his four books from *Victorian Modern* to *The Walls Around Us* "Boyd reserves his mention of migrants to those qualified as architects, and even then their output is described by flats, notably in *Victorian Modern* by Frederick Romberg, Anatol Kagan and Blumin; in *Australia's Home*, only Harry Seidler and Frederick Romberg gain mention, and in *The Australian Ugliness*, Seidler is joined by Ernest Milston but no others. Boyd appears blinkered to the richness of the residential modernism produced by his émigré colleagues, despite their long-held embrace since the early 1940s by popular journals such as *Australian Home Beautiful* and *Australian Women's Weekly*."³⁶ Goad is not altogether correct in saying that Boyd's only discussion of migrants is of the few qualified architects among their ranks. But his point that in Boyd's writing émigré architects are in effect restricted to the flat typology is important. And we would add that mostly their achievements even in this field are made secondary to those of local architects, particularly Best Overend and Roy Grounds. In the 1964 article in *The Age* in which Boyd speaks of the "crass vulgarity" of Melbourne's flats he veers into barely disguised racism: "Canberra did not suffer from the 'crass vulgarity' of some Melbourne suburbs full of flats built in the 'broken biscuit' style, Melbourne architect, Mr. Robin Boyd, said yesterday. These flats were a 'goulash conglomeration' of bits of concrete, grille work and other materials, he added."³⁷ The "goulash conglomeration" is a phrase no doubt referring to the "featurism" that Boyd lampooned

to such effect in *The Australian Ugliness* or the design elements “rather too numerous to be true” of Kagan and Blumin’s Punt Corner; but “goulash” also sounds disdainful of the many ‘New Australians’ from central Europe associated with building and inhabiting flats in Melbourne. Boyd’s ambivalence about the architectural achievements of migrants is of course all the more notable for his partnership and friendship with Frederick Romberg from 1952 until his death in 1971.

Yet, it would be unfair to ascribe to Boyd the thorough-going racism common in post-war Australia. In *The Australian Ugliness*, he scorns the white Australia policy, and several times alludes to Australia’s place in Asia:³⁸ Without delineating any specifics, Boyd points to an Asian future for Australia: Australia’s past is aligned with England, her twentieth century present with America, her twenty-first with Asia.³⁹ Where, we might ask, does this leave the Europe of most of Australia’s post-war migrants?

Over a decade later in *Living and Partly Living*, Boyd acknowledged that European migrants had shaped the form of the post-war inner city in Australia: from the renovation of inner city terraces, to the building of walk-up flats. He writes “It is true that the New Australian opened the eyes of many younger Australian-born Australians who followed them out of suburbia into the old terrace rows and the walk-up yellowies.” In some way then, by 1970 migrants had assisted in “broadening or sharpening” the national taste in dwellings. Boyd moves on and comments provocatively that “many inner areas in all capital cities remain today as exclusively New Australian as if the Federal Government had a policy and plan to create ghettos. On the contrary, of course, the Government policy has always been for total integration of migrants into the existing community.”⁴⁰ He proceeds from this observation to argue against town planning regulations that produce these urban, architectural and sociological outcomes, and makes a case for medium density housing solutions he believes to be preferable.

Medium Density Alternatives to Flats

Ever passionate about new developments in architecture Boyd actively promoted medium density alternatives to the speculative walk-ups. Indeed, he had actively been exploring medium-density living alternatives from the 1950s and had written positively that “young couples are living in sheds, stables and various other generous outhouse survivals of a richer age of Victorian building” in 1950, and about the remodelling of a group of three Jolimont terraces in 1954.⁴¹ In the last years of Boyd’s life there were a number of large scale medium density housing developments which he enthusiastically promoted in his final publications.⁴² All were concerned with improving the relationship of dwellings with their landscape, adequate provision of open space, and promoting collective living, just as Boyd had championed in his 1948 discussion of the HCV’s Ascot Estate. Notably all these projects involved the co-operation of statutory bodies and large consolidated sites; in other words, sites and networks most migrants could not access. The inner-city schemes he advanced were the University of Melbourne’s Co-operative housing development, Carlton (Earle, Shaw & Partners, 1969-71) and the then soon to be constructed City Edge, South Melbourne by Daryl Jackson & Evan Walker. Both developments had a range of dwelling sizes and carefully considered open space. In *Living and Partly Living* Boyd also mentions in passing Harry Seidler’s courtyard house development for university staff at the Australian National University, 1964. This housing is surely of the type that Boyd seeks to promote, and it is perhaps telling that yet again he minimises discussion of a migrant architect. Boyd saves his most effusive praise for his co-author of *Living and Partly Living*, Ian MacKay, particularly Ian MacKay and Partners’ medium density schemes. Boyd writes of MacKay’s Swingers Hill that “It is the boldest plan yet conceived in Australia to create a co-ordinated medium-density neighbourhood.” While he acknowledges that the houses themselves do not constitute “a revolutionary assault on conventional house planning” he argues they accommodate a higher density than conventional suburbia and that their co-ordinated common park areas and design promise “to tie the whole thing together as an individual, identifiable whole which a resident might think of broadly as ‘home’.” This was precisely the encompassing design for urban and suburban life Boyd had been advocating for decades.

Conclusion

Robin Boyd's writings on flats, apartments and the new kinds of medium-density housing that he enthusiastically endorses in *Living and Partly Living* offer a rich vein of material for scholars to consider as we think of alternatives to the single family house and the Anglo-Australian family. Boyd's historical writings only considered flats tangentially, but he nevertheless established a historical pedigree for the type in Australia that architectural historians still substantially observe. His writings clearly articulated the difficult position that six-pack flats, their migrant developers and inhabitants experienced in the post-war period in Melbourne. Migrants were caught between anti-apartment sentiment in Australia strengthened by government policies; and the scorn of aesthetes like Boyd decrying six-packs without distinguishing between the best and meanest of the type. Boyd did acknowledge the regulatory impediments to flat building, yet this didn't prevent him from directing his condemnation at migrants, rather than government institutions, when criticizing six-packs as goulash conglomerates. To Boyd's credit, late in his life he was one of the first cultural commentators to acknowledge the influential role European migrants had in shaping the form of the post-war inner city in Australia. Rather than amplifying his earlier snide criticism of six-packs, the more substantial question is: why is it that fifty years after Boyd wrote of the importance of the six-pack in shaping the form of Melbourne's post-war inner city, do we still await the typology's scrutiny and elucidation within the discipline of architectural history?

Endnotes

¹ Robin Boyd 'The Nineteen-sixties in Focus,' in *Look Here! Considering the Australian Environment*, ed. John Button (Melbourne: F.W. Cheshire, 1968), 33-45. Robin Boyd, 'The Neighbourhood,' in *Living & Partly Living*, Ian MacKay, Robin Boyd, Hugh Streeton and John Mant (Melbourne: Thomas Nelson, 1971), 32-43. Robin Boyd, *Victorian Modern: one hundred and eleven years of modern architecture in Victoria, Australia*, replica ed. (Melbourne: Robin Boyd Foundation, 2011). Robin Boyd, *Australia's home: its origins, builders and occupiers* (Carlton, Victoria: Melbourne University Press, 1952). Robin Boyd, *The walls around us: the story of Australian architecture* (Melbourne: F.W. Cheshire, 1962). Robin Boyd, *The Australian Ugliness*, 2nd ed. (Ringwood, Victoria: Penguin Books, 1968).

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³ Philip Goad, 'Boyd, Robin,' in *The Encyclopedia of Australian Architecture*, eds. Philip Goad and Julie Willis (Port Melbourne, Victoria: Cambridge University Press, 2012) 100.

⁴ Terry Sawyer, "Residential flats in Melbourne: the development of a building type to 1950" (MA diss., University of Melbourne, 1982). Philip Goad, *Melbourne Architecture* (Balmain, N.S.W.: The Watermark Press, 1999). Miles Lewis, *Suburban Backlash. The Battle for the world's most liveable city* (Hawthorn, Victoria: Blooming's Books, 1999). Caroline Butler-Bowdon and Charles Pickett, *Homes in the sky: apartment living in Australia* (Carlton, Vic.; Sydney: Miegunyah Press in association with Historic Houses Trust, 2007).

⁵ Boyd, *Victorian Modern*, 57.

⁶ Boyd, *Victorian Modern*, 19.

⁷ Boyd, *Victorian Modern*, 19.

⁸ Boyd, *Victorian Modern*, 69.

⁹ Boyd, *Australia's Home*, 164.

¹⁰ Boyd, *Australia's Home*, 164.

¹¹ Boyd, *Walls Around Us*, 63.

¹² Conrad Hamann, "Modern architecture in Melbourne: the architecture of Grounds, Romberg and Boyd 1927-1971" (PhD diss., Monash University, 1979). Goad, *Melbourne Architecture*. Harriet Edquist, *Frederick Romberg: the architecture of migration 1938-1975* (Melbourne: RMIT University Press, 2000). Simon Reeves, *Gentle modernist: the nine lives of Anatol Kagan* (Fremantle, W.A.: Vivid Publishing, 2014).

¹³ Goad, *Melbourne Architecture*, 134-135.

¹⁴ Charles Pickett and Caroline Butler-Bowden, "Flats and Apartments," in *The Encyclopedia of Australian Architecture*, eds. Philip Goad and Julie Willis (Cambridge University Press, Melbourne, 2012) 253.

- ¹⁵Goad, *Melbourne Architecture*, 155, 158, 160, 183. Lewis, *Suburban Backlash*, 87-88.
- ¹⁶ Lewis, *Suburban Backlash*, 91.
- ¹⁷ Butler-Bowdon and Pickett, *Homes in the sky*.
- ¹⁸ Seamus O'Hanlon, "A little bit of Europe in Australia: Jews, Immigrants, Flats and Urban and cultural change in Melbourne, c.1935-1975," *History Australia*, 11, no. 3 (2014):116-133.
- ¹⁹ Robin Boyd, "Why are our houses so ugly," *The Age*, August 10, 1953, 6.
- ²⁰ Robin Boyd, "Crass Vulgarly of Suburban Flats," *The Age*, May 27, 1964, 3.
- ²¹Geoffrey Serle, *Robin Boyd: a life* (Carlton South, Victoria: Melbourne University Press, 1996), 278.
- ²² On opposition to flats and flat living in Australia see Seamus O'Hanlon, *Together apart: boarding house, hostel and flat life in pre-war Melbourne* (Melbourne: Australian Scholarly Publishing, 2002)and Butler-Bowden and Pickett, *Homes in the sky*.
- ²³ Richard White, *Inventing Australia: images and identity 1688-1980* (Sydney: George Allen & Unwin, 1981), 160. Emery Barcs, "The Australian Way of Life," in *Official Commemorative Book: Jubilee of the Commonwealth of Australia*, ed. O.L. Ziegler (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1951), 42.
- ²⁴ Lewis, *Suburban Backlash*, 77.
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