

# American Modernist Tectonics vs Australian Gold Coast Topos

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## **Abstract**

*In the 1940-50s, when the long stretch of beaches and swamps in the subtropical south-eastern Queensland started to be developed, it became the quintessential Australian holiday destination. In the area now known as the city of Gold Coast, modernist motels and resorts were built along the shoreline, while the marshlands were dug and dried into residential canal developments, largely following Florida as a model. The architectural language and technological features of the houses, on the other hand, were much influenced by the LA Case Study Houses among other American precedents. All this was at least partially due to rather similar climates of Florida and southern California in the US and the Australian Gold Coast, but also a sign of the increasing impact of American culture on the post-colonial and post-WWII Australia.*

*The identity of the Gold Coast, however, is rapidly changing as a result of both national and international migration and mass tourism which requires, or justifies, higher density. At a disquieting rate, modernist buildings are demolished with short, if any, notice. Although some individuals are raising their concerns and sadness about the loss of the area's identity, others see the change itself as the identity of the Gold Coast. Furthermore, many of the latter regard the Gold Coast as 'a city without history', meaning that there is nothing worth preserving, which reflects the lack of understanding the value of its mid-century modernist architecture. Due to the speedy disappearance of the said Australian cultural heritage, this paper focuses on recording and clarifying the tectonics within the Gold Coast topos and its specific synthesis of international modernism and local characteristics.*

## **Canal estates à la Florida**

The Gold Coast in south-eastern Queensland is one of the newest and most dynamic cities in Australia with permanent population of estimated 560,000 and growing faster than any other Australian city,<sup>1</sup> added yearly with millions of domestic and international

tourists. It has developed from humble origins of 'beach shacks' and B&Bs approximately seventy kilometres southeast from Brisbane, thus originally called South Coast, around present-day Surfers Paradise and Broadbeach. Gradually it was to cover 70 kilometres of coastline from South Stradbroke Island in the north to the southern Rainbow Bay and Coolangatta, where the Gold Coast International Airport is now located, into a linear city with the advantages and disadvantages of that urban typology. The Pacific Highway (current Gold Coast Hwy) basically split the expanse into the coastal area with beaches, motels, resort hotels and ocean-front estates along this north-south running thoroughway, while the canal developments were, and are, typical residential suburbs further to inland; only seven decades ago there was hardly anything else than swamps there. The city actually continues beyond this zone to the predominantly agricultural hinterland, even though most people associate only the coastline with the name Gold Coast, which it officially acquired in 1959 as a city.

When this long stretch of beaches and swamps in a subtropical setting started to be developed in the late-1940s throughout the 1950s, it became the quintessential Australian vacation and retirement spot. Modernist houses, motels and resort hotels were built along the shoreline, while the marshlands were dug and dried into canal developments, largely following Florida as a model.<sup>2</sup> This was reflected by same placenames than in Florida, such as Rio Vista, Miami Keys, Miami, Main Beach, Palm Beach, and the kind, not alone the name Gold Coast itself. When walking in the older suburbs, one can almost imagine being, for example, in Rio Vista in Fort Lauderdale, FL, with houses on the canal shores facing their private pontoon jetties for boats.

The architectural language and the inherent technology of the Gold Coast houses, on the other hand, was much influenced by the LA Case Study Houses among other American precedents, which was at least partially a result of rather similar climatic conditions in southern California, Florida, and the Australian Gold Coast. Another contributing factor was the increasing American influence in post-colonial Australia, added with the global 'building boom' after the World War II and the housing shortage of the 'baby boomers' across the world. At the same time, national and international tourism 'boomed' as well, with leisure travelling especially to seaside resorts, which was possible because of the rising living standards. Just as one comparable example, this was seen in the development of Waikiki in Honolulu, Hawaii, simultaneously with the Gold Coast.

Besides becoming *the* holiday resort of Australia, the Gold Coast also became a popular retirement destination for the Australians, including more permanent housing, again,

similarly to Hawaii and Florida. After the previous influences from continental Europe and especially the United Kingdom, the Australians were looking at the United States, expressed in the *150 – An Unfinished Experiment in Living: Australian Houses in 1950-65* as follows:

Australian architects, the business world and popular culture had an ongoing interest in, and influence from, American culture. This dated back well into the nineteenth century, and affected building technology and design themes in Australian architecture. An entire generation of suburban housing, the 1920s Californian Bungalow, went under an American name<sup>3</sup>.

While there were plausibly other sources of inspiration as well, most notably Scandinavian and Japanese architecture, this paper highlights the impact of American technologies and design precedents in general, and those in California, Florida and Hawaii in particular, on the post-WWII architecture in the Australian Gold Coast. This is because the identity of the Gold Coast is rapidly changing as a result of both national and international migration and mass tourism which requires, or justifies, higher density. As a result, almost unnoticed, sometimes overnight, modernist buildings have been demolished, even if some individuals are raising their concerns and sadness in social media about the loss of the area's identity.<sup>4</sup> Then again, others see the change itself as the identity of the Gold Coast. Furthermore, many of the latter regard the Gold Coast as 'a city without history', meaning that there is nothing worth preserving, which reflects certain lack of appreciating the value of its mid-century modernist architecture – the little that is left of it.

Hence, this paper focuses on the tectonics within the topos of the Gold Coast and its specific synthesis of international modernism and local characteristics both in house and resort design. The term *topos* in this context refers not only to 'place' and its analogous connotations, but especially to the Aristotelian 'rhetorical argument' as a means of persuasion;<sup>5</sup> in the case of Gold Coast, persuasion is here considered in the light of the general acceptance of modernist architecture. Concerning *tectonics*, we follow Frampton's view of "the constantly evolving interplay of the three converging vectors, the *topos*, the *typos*, and the *tectonic*" in which "the role of the *tekton* leads eventually to the emergence of the master builder or *architecton*."<sup>6</sup> Also, it is worth noting that among the 150 Australian houses discussed in the above-mentioned book, only fifteen are in the State of Queensland and as few as three in the Gold Coast, indicating that there still is a call for recording and understanding this specific mid-century building tradition in Australia. The primary methodological framework in this paper is that of embedded case

studies, which addresses the complex dynamics of the context, explains causal links, and uses multiple sources of evidence. The goal is to generate a theoretical framework for analyses regarding these techniques as part of the historiographies of Australian decolonization and social change from the late-1940s till the mid-1960s.



**Figure 1.** View of the Gold Coast looking south from the Brakes Crescent in Miami with Burleigh Heads on the background in about 1933 (Lesley Jenkins, *Now and Then: A Gold Coast Journey from the past to the present*, Gold Coast, QLD, Australia: Gold Coast City Council, 2010, 64).



**Figure 2.** The same view in February 2018 (photo by the author).

### **New technologies and materials**

In the same way than the United States, among other parts of the 'Western world', post-war Australia faced the requisite to provide housing for the growing middle class. In the US, the well-known case in point – literally – was the Case Study House Project in southern California that was launched in 1945 by the editor-in-chief of the *Arts &*

*Architecture* magazine, John Entenza. The design proposals in this architectural competition demonstrated not only new, prefabricated industrial materials and their use in residential architecture, but also a novel lifestyle suitable for this architecture. Particularly persuasive was the Stahl House (Case Study House #22, 1959-60) by Pierre Koenig in the Hollywood Hills, not the least due to Julius Schulman's photographs, including the renowned one of two ladies in their cocktail dresses in the daringly cantilevered living room against the breathtaking night view of Los Angeles, which is one of the *Time* magazine's '100 Photos: The Most Influential Images of All Time'.<sup>7</sup> In terms of building technology, the photo also features the reinforced concrete slab resting on reinforced concrete beams, which made the cantilevering possible together with the pool slab as balancing weight (not visible in this particular photo), large glass walls in slender steel mounts, exposed steel post-and-lintel frame structure, and corrugated steel ceilings (*stahl* is German for 'steel' and also the surname of the client, Buck Stahl).

Likewise, Australian popular magazines effectively promoted similar idealised lifestyle and modernist architecture in America and Australia, enforced by professional journals like *Architecture* (in 1955 renamed *Architecture in Australia*, now known as *Architecture Australia*), *Architecture Today*, and *Architecture and Arts*. The latter was a title adopted from Entenza's magazine and was a widespread publication during its lifetime in 1952-68.<sup>8</sup> No wonder, these widely published trendsetting residences changed the very concept of residing in Australia:

In the 1950s, thousands of everyday Australians tried open plans, structural modules, new ventilation and heating systems, slab floors and heating coils, then bituminous, aluminium and steel flat roofing, metal sheet walling, wrought iron, steel roof trussing, concrete, cement block, cork tile, plastics and other industrial compounds in the materials of their houses, in combinations and places that would have caused horror before the war.<sup>9</sup>

One can continue the list with American style freezers, "refrigerators, washing machines, stoves, vitamisers (blenders), vacuum cleaners, toasters, electric kettles, and the stainless-steel double-bowl sink", all of which completed the 'American look' of a house's 'control centre' with built-in cabinetry – a kitchen regarded as the "mechanised centre of the house [...] like the engine of a car".<sup>10</sup> And speaking of the car, a lightweight carport often replaced the garage, which was caused by fire regulations and post-war building codes that restricted the maximum floor areas, until the latter were lifted in 1952, although

the carport was there to stay. Inside the house, then, television started to change both the residents' lifestyle and the houses' layout with the 'family room'.<sup>11</sup>

Not exclusively a south-eastern Queensland phenomenon, but on the whole significant in its subtropical climate, was the interrelationship between the house and the garden. In terms of technological advances, this was usually achieved by the slab-on-ground method, which allowed circulation on grade without steps between the indoors and the outdoors – the now commonly (over)used indoor-outdoor concept – and worked particularly well in the flat topography of the Gold Coast. In much of coastal Australia, similar to Florida, southern California and Hawaii in the US, this led into the appearance of an 'outdoor living room' for entertainment all year round, preferably facing a swimming pool. Even the Hawaiian word *lanai* found its advent in Australian vocabulary,<sup>12</sup> depicting the transitional space between inside and outside, similarly to the veranda of traditional Japanese houses. The increasing post-war interest in Japanese culture and architecture, which had influenced early modernism in general (e.g., modularity and standardisation, continuous space, attention to detail and tectonics), also was apparent in landscaping, which was reminiscent of the artistic gardens of Japan, although there also was a tendency for more naturalistic approach in bush settings with native plants in the turn of the 1960s, especially among the so-called Sydney School. The Gold Coast garden as well, more often than not, made the best of its beach setting, or *topos* if you wish.

In the post-war Queensland, there were some attempts to apply the traditional 'Queenslander' typology, with elevated floors and verandas under deep eaves, but generally speaking the Gold Coast houses were strikingly different regarding their architects' interpretations of international mid-century modernism. As stated by Alice Hampson: "An aspiring and rapidly developing aquatic playground, the Gold Coast of the 1950s had also become a fertile playground for architectural experiments."<sup>13</sup>

Take the Pfitzenmaier Beach House in Broadbeach by Edwin (Eddie) Hayes of Brisbane architectural firm Hayes & Scott to start with. It was constructed in 1953 for Brisbane businesswoman Ethne Pfitzenmaier (née Edwards), who together with her husband, Francis Pfitzenmaier, had built a prosperous hotel business in the 1930s, lost everything in the Great Depression, and successfully rebuilt their business again in Brisbane. After her husband's death, Ethne bought an old Broadbeach house in 1950 as a holiday home for herself and her two children, but soon decided to hire Hayes who had earlier renovated the family's house in Brisbane's Herston. "The result was a 'breakthrough' building for a new domestic modernism",<sup>14</sup> according to Hampson, and was

acknowledged by the Queensland Award for Meritorious Architecture in the year of its completion. Yet, regarding the architectural partnership of Hayes & Scott that commenced in 1946, Hampson points out that:

Although their work was locally the most influential of the period, it received surprisingly little coverage in the serious national press. The pitchy publication coming out of the University of Melbourne, *Cross-Section*, hardly rated them a mention, and seldom did their work appear in publications such as *Architecture and Arts* or *Architecture*. Only non-professional women's journals gave their work the recognition which it deserved.<sup>15</sup>

Despite the lack of national recognition in professional publications, perhaps the popular magazines, actually, were more influential in persuading the acceptance of new architectural features seen in the Pfitzenmaier Beach House, such as a butterfly roof (one of the earliest in Australia), spatial division organised around the inverted pitch, a rather sparse garden utilising the dune landscape, and a large outdoor room with a massive barbecue and gorgeous views of the Pacific Ocean. The cantilevered portion of the living area was resting on the ground floor with garages and storages, which was the only part Hayes kept of the original house, protruding above the sand dunes. Some see it as a reinterpretation of the covered verandas of traditional Queenslanders,<sup>16</sup> but it also was outstandingly similar to the building technology of the Stahl House, for instance. Nevertheless, carefully considered breezeways, which contained the open deck and the sea-facing entry that functioned as an air scoop, as well as louvres and shading visors were responses to the house's specific setting, although the general layout is reminiscent of the bi-nuclear plan of many American and other modernist houses. As one sign of the departure from the British tradition, the bathrooms had no bathtubs, only showers.<sup>17</sup>

The influence of the LA Case Study House projects was particularly obvious in the Graham House, also by Hayes & Scott of 1953 in Surfers (local for Surfers Paradise in short). At a first glance, the colour scheme would have reminded us of both the Entenza House (Case Study House #9, 1945-49) by Charles Eames and Eero Saarinen, and the Eames House (Case Study House #8, also designed in 1945 and completed in 1949) by Ray and Charles Eames, with Saarinen in the competition phase, next to each other in the Los Angeles suburb of Pacific Palisades. In the same way, the bright primary colours were used in the Graham House where they contrasted against the stark white brick walls and black steel trims. Bright colours were, of course, the theme in many mid-century modernist houses in Australia, such as the Rose Seidler House by Harry Seidler in 1950,

but here we discuss the Gold Coast only, even though this paper's argument of American influence could be extended to the internal influences within the Australian architectural discourse.

Compared to the above Case Study Houses in Los Angeles, Graham House was more in the vein of the Entenza House, as the brick walls in the ends of the rectangular plan *appear* similar to the loadbearing walls of the Entenza House with concealed steel frame and cross bracing, as opposing to the visible frame of the Eames House – the square mural in the west wall and the panel of the glass wall in the entry of the Graham House, divided diagonally into red, blue, yellow and black triangles, was possibly a reference to the diagonal bracing. Corresponding to the general trend of modernist technology, the interior had minimum structure in the open floor plan, which was rather easy to achieve in a small building with short spans, since the house was designed for a wealthy clothing manufacturer, Harvey Graham, as “a stylish entertainment and seduction pad for a sports-loving and martini-mixing bachelor”, as London, Goad and Hamann wittily put it. Hence, all needed was a bedroom, a bathroom (again with only a shower), and a living room with an open galley kitchen. Owing to the slab-on-ground technology, the house seemed to continue to the outdoors, making the patio a part of the interior. Inside, all floors were black, either the surface of dyed black concrete slab or black linoleum tiles in the kitchen, the bathroom, and the passage,<sup>18</sup> in order to heighten the spatial continuity.

Lastly, the Pie House in Surfers, completed in 1965 and designed by Geoffrey Pie for his mother, exemplifies the next stage of the mid-century modernist Gold Coast houses. In essence, it was a courtyard house and as such more introvert than the two houses described above. Yet again, it was an interpretation of the bi-nuclear plan. Beyond the carport and car court in front, one was lead to the passageway along a flight of a few stairs and defined by a massive masonry wall on the right hand side, ending in a framed view of the Pacific Ocean. On the left were the bedrooms and a bathroom (no bathtub here either), while the south part of the house behind the wall was reserved for more public activities, including the main entry, though a screen wall veiled the open-to-the-sky atrium and living areas behind it from the car court. Furthermore, the house was covered by a flat roof of a concrete slab, with openings allowing both light and air to enter. The roof functioned as a ventilated umbrella and the cross-breezes were controlled by the sliding glass wall panels, whereas sun penetrating through adjustable openings provided passive heating in winter; there was also a fireplace in the living room.<sup>19</sup> Because night temperatures can be as low as 10-15 Centigrade in the Gold Coast winter, contrary to the common perception of eternal heat, the design was an elucidating case of the acclimation



of modernist architecture into the local conditions, consistently to regionalist modernism in many other parts of the world in the 1950-60s.

These three mid-century modernist houses have now been demolished, as just one sign of the pressures to densify and 'verticalize' the Gold Coast, which has been a mortal blow for many small-scale buildings. In a somewhat embarrassing comparison to the US, for example, only three of the 25 completed LA Case Study Houses have been demolished and eleven are in the National Register.<sup>20</sup> Given that they are sold in seven-figure dollar figures these days, the Gold Coast did not only lose an important part of its architectural heritage, but also a financial opportunity. (Of course, large-scale development is more profitable, but at what cost culturally?) It should also be noted that these Gold Coast houses, like many similar in California and elsewhere, comprised of fine samples of interiors, although space does not allow discussion here on the Australian mid-century modernist tradition of furniture design.

### **From low-rise to high-rise tectonics**

In 1959, *Architecture in Australia* had its January-March issue dedicated to the Gold Coast. However, almost all the articles focused on its general urban development, offering predominantly critical views of it. It was followed by the 'Gold Coast Study' conducted in 1973-74, in which the theoretical framework was that of the *Learning from Las Vegas* by Robert Venturi, Denise Scott Brown and Steven Izenour. Contrary to Kevin Lynch's analytical method of 'five elements' applicable to more conventional cities, this certainly was an appropriate approach to analyse a linear city like the Gold Coast, which in many ways is reminiscent of Las Vegas, not only due to its urban layout but also regarding infrastructure designed for entertainment and leisure. A similar paradigm shift was also apparent in the 'Gold Coast Urban Heritage & Character Study', published by the City Council in 1997, and other later studies.

Because the first AA on the Gold Coast has been excessively cited and analysed, most recently in AA 2018 January-March issue (see below), more space is given here for actual building design. Referring to the technological phase of "Asbestos-Cement Era" the editors state that "the cult of the 'modernistic' was now firmly established", by listing such features as "skillion roofs and butterfly roofs, leaning walls and leaning posts, varnished cypress pine, log-mould feature walls, 'sunburst' balustrading, lacquered waterworn stones and uninhibited colours." The wide-spread use of asbestos, naturally, is one reason why these buildings had to later be remodelled; yet, it does not explain why many had to be demolished, even though the asbestos could just have been removed.

With regard to the next phase of “Consolidation”, the editors call attention to the increasing real estate speculation, leading to increasing land values and, consecutively, increasing height of buildings. They also criticise the architecture “appearing around the new hotels competing with each other in designs of almost valid vulgarity and ‘glamorous’ names emblazoned in neon signs.”<sup>21</sup>

In retrospect, the above was surely the beginning of the still-continuing profit-oriented development, whereas features like neon signs now can also be regarded as the very identity of the Gold Coast (the “valid vulgarity”?). One example is the iconic neon sign of the Pink Poodle Motel from 1967 that was preserved in 2005 on the otherwise redeveloped site; for this, the developers received the Helen Josephson Perpetual Trophy for Innovation in Urban Design. Correspondingly, Victoria Jones in her ‘Invisible Landscapes’ looks deeper than the surface with a poststructuralist paradigm and points out that “the common interpretation of the Gold Coast” presents it as “superficial or shallow”, but if the “often invisible and misunderstood economic, political and social landscapes can be interpreted, the visible landscape is given new validity.”<sup>22</sup>

Regarding the motel typology and new building technologies applied to its buildings, those were usually small family operations and often designed by the owners who were inspired by American models. One example is the Surfers Paradise Motel, later renamed El Dorado, which was the first motel in Surfers when it was built in 1954.<sup>23</sup> Among the architect-designed motels was the Carapark Motel completed in 1959 by the aforementioned Hayes & Scott in Mermaid Beach (now demolished) that was one of the projects in the 1959 AA. Both architects were students of Karl Langer, a Viennese émigré who became a prominent architectural educator at the University of Queensland; the 1959 AA also included his article describing the technical challenges of the Florida-type canal developments. Langer’s modernist lessons were quite visible in the Carapark Motel, which comprised of a floating butterfly roof above the car entrance, a real estate agency across the motel office, both under skillion roofs, a caravan park, and holiday units in two-storey flat-roof wings with exposed structure, lining the circular swimming pool – all this was marked by a colossal sign of scaffolding on the roof.<sup>24</sup> Characteristically for the time and similarly to the US, everything revolved around the car access, for “[t]he 1950s were the years of the ‘drive-in’ – the drive-in cinema, the drive-in bank, the motel – and the drive-in house.”<sup>25</sup>

Analogous features were expressed in the larger-scale modernist resort projects in the 1959 AA, such as the Lennons Broadbeach Hotel designed in 1955-57 by Langer himself

and the Chevron Hotel in 1957-58 by David Bell at Surfers. The latter site has since been totally redeveloped, which in addition to the newest skyscraper hotel buildings, includes the tower and podium with pastel coloured arcades by Hawaii-based architectural firm WATG in the eclectic ‘Tropical Mediterranean’ style (now named the Chevron Renaissance Hotel), which became a wide-spread trend in the 1990s Gold Coast and was prominent in American postmodernist architecture of the time as well. Originally the Chevron Hotel integrated a gas station with a butterfly roof and two-storey wings for accommodation, retail, and entertainment surrounded by meticulously landscaped pool area. In terms of technology, its reinforced concrete structure and its functions, including a 24-lane bowling alley below a convention centre, set the trend for Gold Coast resorts.

The Lennons (demolished in 1987), in turn, was the then-tallest building in the Gold Coast with its five-storey hotel wing defined by horizontal flights of balconies, added with bars, restaurants, a dance hall with bandstand, a convention hall, a swimming pool and other recreational facilities.<sup>26</sup> According to Macarthur et al., “[i]ts modern design and detailing brought a touch of American glamour to holidaying in the Queensland.”<sup>27</sup>



**Figure 3.** Kinkabool and Surfers Paradise around 1960 (Lesley Jenkins, *Now and Then: A Gold Coast Journey from the past to the present*, Gold Coast: Gold Coast City Council, 2010, 50). **Figure 4.** Kinkabool in February 2018 (photo by the author).

The growing verticality was apparent in the ten-storey Kinkabool apartment building in Surfers, constructed in 1959-60 and designed by John M. Morton of Lund Hutton Newell Black & Paulsen – at least this building was added in the *Queensland Heritage Register* in 2009, which allows us to analyse it in reality. It was an apartment building with resort-style facilities and therefore regarded more like a “luxurious and exotic holiday accommodation”<sup>28</sup> rather than an actual permanent dwelling, as one sign of the social change in the decades following the WWII, which established a precedent for the Gold

Coast residential typology. Referring to the ensuing urban development of the Australian Gold Coast, in comparison to Miami Beach in Florida, Honolulu in Hawaii, and Acapulco in Mexico, Andrew Leach, in his inaugural professorial lecture at the Griffith University in October 2014, stated that this kind of “infrastructure based on pleasure and relaxation” paradoxically offered “an urbanised experience of escaping the city” and goes on asserting that:

These cities together describe a threat to architecture with a capital ‘A’ by means of their patent subordination of architectural ideas to the logic of pleasure (and of development and real estate speculation as peculiar manifestations of the same).<sup>29</sup>

Almost sixty years after the aforementioned *Architecture in Australia* January-March 1959 issue on the Gold Coast, the renamed *Architecture Australia* did it again with its January/February 2018 issue. Many of these latest articles address the maturing city, besides looking back at its beginnings in the 1940-50s and the technological changes of the time. Regarding the future, the editorial director, Cameron Bruhn, refers to Bill Heslop’s mantra “You Can’t Stop Progress” in the 1959 AA, echoed in the 2018 AA by Philip Follent’s argument that “The Gold Coast’s DNA is one of change”, while Philip Goad states that “the current growth and continuing vibrancy of a culture sustained almost solely by leisure will presage a new cultural and urban condition for the 21<sup>st</sup> century.”<sup>30</sup> Indeed, Matthew Eagle discusses the transformation as well, though from the perspective of a ‘local boy’, a rising young award-winning Gold Coast architect, and an Assistant Professor at the Abedian School of Architecture of Bond University. Eagle emphasises that the current:

change [is] driven not by new large-scale developments – many of which are struggling commercially [...] – but by small and authentic cultural, retail and hospitality interventions that repurpose the existing built fabric, build community interactions and reflect the region’s unique climate and place [...] as the Gold Coast transitions from a city of tourists to a city of residents.<sup>31</sup>

One can witness this in many areas that are sprouting vibrant enterprises and often occupy old industrial and other utilitarian buildings. And many of the motels with their neon signs along the Gold Coast Highway still exist – even if not necessarily significant as architecture with a capital ‘A’, but important for the sense of place. This is encouragingly similar to the early dynamic years of the Gold Coast culture and

experimental architectural technology, which offers an optimistic view of the newly-found appreciation and adaptive reuse of its mid-century heritage, especially in terms of *topos* understood as a rhetoric means of persuasion.

## Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> <http://www.population.net.au/gold-coast-population/>. There are some other, higher estimations available as well, but this figure suffices for the purposes of this paper.

<sup>2</sup> E.g., Katherine Rickard, 'Run to Paradise: The Chevron Hotel, Gold Coast, from Foundation to Renaissance,' in Alexandra Brown and Andrew Leach (eds.), *Open: Proceedings of the 30<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference of the Society of Architectural Historians, Australia and New Zealand* (Gold Coast, Qld: SAHANZ, 2013), 57-66.

<sup>3</sup> Geoffrey London, Philip Goad, and Conrad Hamann, *150 – An Unfinished Experiment in Living: Australian Houses 1950-65*, (Crawley, WA, Australia: The University of Western Australia, 2017, 9).

<sup>4</sup> See, e.g., 'Have you seen the Gold Coast' at <https://www.facebook.com/Have-you-seen-the-old-Gold-Coast-280745045301771/> or @the\_old\_coast at [https://www.yooying.com/the\\_old\\_coast](https://www.yooying.com/the_old_coast).

<sup>5</sup> E.g., *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/aristotle-rhetoric/supplement2.html>

<sup>6</sup> Kenneth Frampton, *Studies in Tectonic Culture: The Poetics of Construction in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Architecture* (Cambridge, IL, USA: MIT Press, 1996, 2-4.)

<sup>7</sup> <http://100photos.time.com/photos/julius-schulman-case-study-house-22#photograph>

<sup>8</sup> London, Goad, and Hamann, *150*, 34. In the mid-1950s, the full title of the magazine was *Architecture and Arts and the Modern Home*.

<sup>9</sup> London, Goad, and Hamann, *150*, 10.

<sup>10</sup> London, Goad, and Hamann, *150*, 19.

<sup>11</sup> London, Goad, and Hamann, *150*, 21-22.

<sup>12</sup> London, Goad, and Hamann, *150*, 25.

<sup>13</sup> Alice Hampson, 'Eddie Hayes: Two houses built for women', in Andrew Wilson (ed.), *Hayes & Scott: Post-war houses* (Brisbane: University of Queensland Press, 2005, 54-73).

<sup>14</sup> Hampson, 'Eddie Hayes', 64.

<sup>15</sup> Hampson, 'Eddie Hayes', 59.

<sup>16</sup> E.g., Hampson, 'Eddie Hayes', 65.

<sup>17</sup> London, Goad, and Hamann, *150*, 152-153.

<sup>18</sup> London, Goad, and Hamann, *150*, 154-155.

<sup>19</sup> London, Goad, and Hamann, *150*, 394-395.

<sup>20</sup> <http://docomomo-us.org/news/ten-case-study-houses-now-listed-in-the-national-register-of-historic-places>

<sup>21</sup> *Architecture Australia*, January-March, 1959, 72-73.

<sup>22</sup> Victoria (Tory) Jones, 'Invisible Landscapes: interpreting the unconventional landscape of Surfers Paradise' (M. Built Environment thesis, QUT, 2001, 34).

<sup>23</sup> Lesley Jenkins, *Now and Then: A Gold Coast Journey from the past to the present* (Gold Coast, QLD: Gold Coast City Council, 2010, 53-55).

<sup>24</sup> John Macarthur, Deborah van der Plaats, Janina Gosseye, and Andrew Wilson (eds.), *Hot Modernism: Queensland Architecture 1945-1975* (London: Artifice, 2015, 205).

<sup>25</sup> London, Goad, and Hamann, *150*, 16.

<sup>26</sup> Rickard, 'Run to Paradise', 58-65.

<sup>27</sup> Macarthur et al., *Hot Modernism*, 202.

<sup>28</sup> Rickard, 'Run to Paradise', 59.

<sup>29</sup> Andrew Leach, *The Gold Coast Moment: Inaugural Professorial Lecture* (Gold Coast: Griffith University, 2014, 25-26).

<sup>30</sup> Cameron Bruhn, 'The Gold Coast: A Place to Play, Work and Live'; Philip Follent, 'The Search for an Authentic Architecture and City Form'; and Philip Goad, 'Rear Window: Perceptions of the Gold Coast, Then and Now', *Architecture Australia*, Jan/Feb 2018, 10, 22, 45.

<sup>31</sup> Matthew Eagle, 'An Architecture of Flimsiness', *Architecture Australia*, Jan/Feb 2018, 55.