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THEME

New Directions in Landscape Heritage

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Foreword

JACKY BOWRING

In Christchurch, the home of *Landscape Review*, the significance of heritage was heightened as a result of the earthquakes of 2010 and 2011. Before the quakes, like any familiar dimension of the landscape, heritage had been simply a taken-for-granted aspect of the city fabric. But in the face of economic challenges, issues of safety, and a literal shake-up of our understanding of place, heritage has become a vigorously debated topic in the city.

This special issue on New Directions in Landscape Heritage is a timely exploration of our connections with historic elements of the landscape, not just for Christchurch, but in all places where the landscape is changing. Whether through the rapid change of an earthquake or fire, or the slow change of sea-level rise or pollution, traces of the past are vulnerable to erasure.

These papers all come from one conference, the 12th Australasian Urban History/Planning History Conference, 2014. It was due to the vision of two speakers at the conference, Andrew Saniga and Andrew MacKenzie, that the papers included here came together as a volume. Through this idea of gathering heritage articles together, the issue contributes a useful body of thinking to the ongoing discourse on the topic. I'm very grateful to Andrew and Andrew for their initiative in proposing the special issue and their subsequent helpful contributions to the process of peer reviewing and putting the issue together.

Proposals for special issues, including selections of papers from conferences, are always welcome. Please contact the editor, Jacky Bowring (jacky.bowring@lincoln.ac.nz), if you would like to propose a special issue of *Landscape Review*.

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Introduction: New Directions in Landscape Heritage

ANDREW MACKENZIE AND ANDREW SANIGA

Globally, the heritage movement can be traced back to the mid-nineteenth century when the way of valuing places and objects, including natural places, began to change. The development of various international charters in the twentieth century, particularly as a result of the destructive forces of war, saw an increasing awareness and an expansion of conservation activity paralleled by advances in theories and practices in this area. In general, architectural monuments were by far the most talked-about aspects, perhaps matching the growing movement focused on nature conservation, which sometimes 'spilled over' into urban landscapes. In the broadest sense, however, appreciation of cultural landscapes has been comparatively slow to take hold: it was largely not until the early 1970s that charters for their conservation and management appeared on the list of concerns in Australia.

Since the 1980s the appreciation of heritage and landscape has certainly grown. With advances such as the Burra Charter (1979) in Australia, which was in part a rejection of the architectural emphasis of European charters, significant cultural landscapes – both designed and organically evolved – have been identified and protected. Anecdotal evidence suggests that, in some parts of Australia, growing numbers of applications for registration are sitting on desks in bureaucratic domains charged with protecting and managing our heritage landscapes. In New Zealand, an ongoing concern is that registration of heritage sites is mismatched with their particular need for protection. More recently, the European Landscape Convention in 2004 (Council of Europe Treaty Series No. 176) and the draft recommendations for evaluating Historic Urban Landscapes (UNESCO, 2005) have elevated the topic to international status. Similarly, organisations such as Documentation and Conservation – Modern Movement (DOCOMOMO), predominantly formulated on the basis of modern architecture, have subcommittees actively promoting planning and landscape concerns to various degrees of success. Although methods for understanding and evaluating heritage landscape values are evolving, it is also clear that the range of issues and complexity of debate are far-reaching and complex. A sample of current issues includes tensions between colonial and indigenous landscapes and people, between natural, ecological and designed landscapes, and between sustainability and conservation agendas; and the peculiarities of dealing with living and changing landscapes (as distinct from static objects).

We feel the opportunity exists to further the discussion and debate about how heritage landscapes are conceptualised, valued and incorporated into broader issues concerning managing cultural heritage in the twenty-first century. How

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can we interpret heritage landscapes in the contemporary experience of physical landscape? How do we assign heritage values in the context of the breadth of landscape qualities? For example, how do we place heritage value on the failures of the past? How should landscapes that represent redundant ideas (particularly in terms of past management practices) be interpreted, if at all?

In this special issue we are particularly interested in new research methods and theoretical propositions as well as in case studies that highlight new scholarly approaches to understanding landscape heritage. Landscapes present particular challenges from a heritage perspective, and it is the contrasts and the comparisons that emerge in these research papers that should stimulate interest in reconsidering the value of heritage landscapes. All of the authors deal with the theme of urbanism at the large scale, but each approaches it in a subtly different way: urban visions unrealised, urban form expressed through language, the loss of urban form, and urban 'indicators' acting like punctuation in a larger fabric. The synergies between the papers offer confidence in the need for new directions for conceiving landscape heritage value yet, interestingly, only one paper was authored by an academic whose primary scholarship is in the field of landscape research. It should be acknowledged that all authors contributed to the 12th Australasian Urban History/Planning History Conference held in Wellington in February 2014.

Jacky Bowring considers landscape heritage in the context of both natural disasters and New Zealand's early urban planning history. She uses notions of utopia as a device to examine the role of landscapes in visioning and realising the recovery of Christchurch after the earthquakes of 2010–11. On a subject close to her heart, Bowring's essay offers the reader the opportunity to reflect on how landscape traditions such as the picturesque and, in contrast, naturalistic endemic plantings can provide a valuable resource for a city seeking to recover tangible and intangible ideas of utopia in its journey to recover from crisis. Although her reference to resilience is brief, she offers an alternative perspective on the conventional definition used in landscape architecture scholarship. Resilience in the context of disaster refers to the way a system (or community) copes, in contrast to a literal ecological interpretation, which focuses on a system's capacity to adapt to new conditions (Walker and Salt, 2012). Bowring provokes us to consider landscape's capacity to support both interpretations: the connection to the utopian roots is evident in the recovery of picturesque representations while, at the same time, new ideas for a naturalised version of the Avon River park provide a new representation of the picturesque that is particularly 'Christchurchian'. Thus the landscape becomes the medium for adapting to, and coping with, the process of reinterpretation as well as the recovery of the city's heritage.

Jane Grant, David Nichols and Paul Walker provide an extensive, carefully researched history of the failed venture to establish the new satellite town of Monarto in South Australia. The new town was to be built 60 kilometres southeast of Adelaide on the eastern side of the Mount Lofty Ranges but was abandoned, never to be realised, a victim of the broader federal urban agenda in the mid-1970s under then Prime Minister Gough Whitlam. In a similar vein to Bowring, the authors explore the intersection between the emerging international movement of ecological design inspired by McHarg and the crisis of modern city planning exemplified by international planning design and design consultants,

Superstudio. In parallel with the extraordinary aims and ambitions for the proposed environmentally sensitive urban and landscape design was a large-scale reafforestation proposal, which was at least partially enacted. As the authors explain, the unrealised ideals of urban planning, architecture and landscape architecture are in an uncanny way recalled in the serendipitous outcomes of Monarto's 'greening' – as seemingly desolate or obscure as that greening activity may appear to the passer-by today. The narrative resonates with probably countless other urban and rural experiments that have 'gone wrong' and, as the authors suggest, each of these 'failures' is a complex and distinctive narrative in its own right. The complex relationships between landscape, heritage and change over time, particularly when it comes to horticultural and ecological evolution, and the appreciation of relics, make for a compelling sense of landscape in the context of historical understandings and the traces of fabric with which one is presented.

The similarities and differences in approach to the special issue theme are evident in the above two papers. Whereas Bowring encourages the reader to critically examine how contemporary blueprints for the rebuilding of inner Christchurch draw on utopian vivid blue-green landscapes filled with happy citizens, Grant et al reflect on how the millions of trees planted in the place where the Monarto city centre would have stood bring Superstudio and its anti-city imagery to mind. At the same time, both papers evoke powerful images of how heritage interpretation can transcend the often prosaic approaches to heritage conservation when landscapes are considered. The authors' capacity to question meaning and value of the tangible heritage in the physical landscape is borne out in the story of these unrealised or yet to be realised historical places.

Urban settlement and experimentation with shifting urban populations also form the basis of Lauren Pikó's paper. Again, failure and lost aims are at the core, although in a different way and a different geographic context. Pikó explores the fate of Milton Keynes in England and the role that urban planning played in its conception and development. She considers metaphorical references to the new town as indicative of deeper social, political and economic agendas as well as the unfurling public perceptions – not only of Milton Keynes itself but also of national and transnational relations. She deals with the public perception of historical landscapes, and the way the landscape containing the past had 'implied a perception that visible historical continuity was psychologically beneficial to urban residents'. She looks at changing cultural values and landscapes, along with the language, specifically metaphors, that helps define them; how the link between what we build and what we believe and stand for runs deep into the shapes, forms and contexts. The extent to which such narratives could be linked to the valuing of landscape from a heritage point of view is clear, despite the connotations attached to built environments, that is, the historical synergies between practice and place that inform our relationship to landscape. It also raises the question of scale and heritage value generally and in terms of the wider English landscape within which Milton Keynes is set. In this case, 'interpretation' of a heritage landscape comes, quite literally, by way of language and its use and the contexts in which it is used (political change over time).

Saren Reid's essay invokes senses other than the visual to tell the story of experiencing the literally muddy interface between land and water in her account of the history of bathing in Perth during the late nineteenth to early twentieth

centuries. This paper theorises the haptic and olfactory experience of water and riverbed as it was manifested in the decline of two separate developments of the time. Reid's intent is to explore how the haptic and olfactory senses as well as the aesthetic experience make 'people increasingly familiar with both the river and their own bodies in ways that could not be attained through visual experience alone'. The purpose for this historical account becomes clearer as the author theorises the perceptual landscape in the context of the latest development of the Swan River shoreline, the Elizabeth Quay waterfront. Reid's critical analysis of the community's relationship to water, land and mud is based on the sanitising of users' experience of such elements and could be applied to many twenty-first century urban waterfronts replete with artificial beaches. Significantly, the justification for the development on heritage grounds includes the symbolic recovery of the pre-European Swan River foreshore; a similar justification has been used in the development of Barangaroo on the Sydney Harbour foreshore, as Cameron Logan recounts in his paper on the preservation of urban landscapes in Sydney over the past century. Reid's work in a little-researched area of landscape scholarship provides a meaningful addition to this field. Her exploration of the literal and visceral experience of water could be juxtaposed with Pikó's metaphorical exploration of water and the adjectives associated with 'liquid' used to describe the value and meaning of new town development. Reading Reid's account provokes us to consider the city's landscapes in a new way, in terms of the sounds and smells lost or the realisation of what new sensorial perceptions may have taken their place.

Finally, Cameron Logan explores the institutional role the National Trust of Australia (NSW) has played in stewarding urban landscapes around Sydney and along the shores of Sydney Harbour in particular. As with Reid's account of the Elizabeth Quay waterfront, and Bowring's discussion of the Avon River park, Logan's paper uses a recent controversy, the Barangaroo development on the Sydney Harbour foreshore, as a device to explore the historical nuances in the formation of a conservation ethic and the interrelationships of heritage organisations, activists, public bodies and designers, past and present. The conclusion Logan arrives at is not to form a view on the merits of the Barangaroo project but rather to contextualise that development in the lineage of key moments in the Australian heritage movement regarding the promotion and realisation of a heritage landscape for the foreshore of Sydney Harbour. Logan reflects on the need to question 'what it is we are trying to achieve when we protect places under the banner of heritage'. This is something that can be applied equally to the other papers in this special issue, and the ensuing discussions, we hope, will provide valuable material for comparison and debate.

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Revisiting Utopia: How a Legacy of Idealistic Plans Resonates with Christchurch's Rebuild

JACKY BOWRING

Imagined landscapes find their form in utopian dreaming. As ideal places, utopias are set up according to the ideals of their designers. Inevitably, utopias become compromised when they move from the imaginary into the actual. Opportunities to create utopias rely largely on a blank slate, a landscape unimpeded by the inconveniences of existing occupation – or even topography. Christchurch has seen two utopian moments. The first was at the time of European settlement in the mid-nineteenth century, when imported ideals provided a model for a new city. The earthquakes of 2010 and 2011 provided a second point at which utopian dreaming spurred visions for the city. Christchurch's earthquakes have provided a unique opportunity for a city to re-imagine itself. Yet, as is the fate for all imaginary places, reality got in the way.

Cities rarely get a second opportunity for a comprehensive redesign. Usually, the slow accumulations of time gradually change the form of cities, and the purity of planning and design yields to the ongoing tweaking and tuning that are part of the urban condition. Major disasters provide opportunities for the kind of comprehensive change that utopian thinking requires. Two examples offer a useful background to the Christchurch experience. The first is the Great Fire of London in 1666, when 176 hectares of the city fabric were razed, including 14,000 to 16,000 houses, leaving only the odd building standing within a mostly empty landscape (Porter, 2011). The prospect for a new vision of the City of London saw a range of plans produced, including those by Robert Hooke (the Curator of Experiments at the Royal Society and Professor of Geometry at Gresham College), army officer Valentine Knight, and most notably architect Christopher Wren (Hanson, 1989). The plans proposed urban forms that were distinctly different from the medieval city that had perished in the fire. However, as Marmot and Worthington (1986) note:

> … the rush to rebuild the City so that it could again perform its economic role, inadequacy of public sector finance, the inability of the private sector to raise sufficient capital for land compensation for new roadways, canals and quays, all meant that the City was largely rebuilt along the pre-existing street pattern though with many wider streets (p 217).

The second example contrasts with London's lost opportunity for a move towards the kind of idealised forms that epitomise utopian dreaming. Lisbon's earthquake of 1755 was catastrophic, with the collapse of buildings from shaking, followed by fire and a tsunami. Manuel de Maia, an engineer, developed a list of possible options for the future of the city, including rebuilding as before, widening streets,

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placing restrictions on the height of buildings, completely demolishing the downtown area (Baixa quarter) and 'laying out new streets without restraint' to create a modern city, and even moving the city and 'disdaining ruined Lisbon' (Shrady, 2008, pp 153–154). Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo (best known as the Marquês de Pombal) was responsible for driving the rebuild of the city, and recognised that too much had been invested in Lisbon to simply abandon it. Most significantly, he realised the 'singular opportunity for renewal' (Shrady, 2008, p 156). The rebuilt downtown has become a significant heritage site and was placed on the tentative list for World Heritage Sites in 2004 (UNESCO, nd). The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) tentative listing citation observes, 'Whilst similar to certain other examples (Edinburgh, Turin and London, amongst others) it is clearly superior in its radical modernity, its functionality, and the architectural quality of its programme' (UNESCO, nd). This 'radical modernity' resonates with the kind of aspirational thinking that is at the core of utopian planning and presents a clear counter to the London outcome. The two cities' experiences following disaster, and the prospect of dramatic change, set up a frame for reviewing the Christchurch experience.

For Christchurch, in the province of Canterbury on the east coast of New Zealand's South Island, it was an intense series of earthquakes that devastated the city. Christchurch was established by English settlers, with the layout reflecting utopian thinking from afar. Christchurch's earthquakes have provided a unique opportunity for a city to re-imagine itself, and the resonances with its past provide insight into the persistence of some aspects of history and the transformation of others. The recognition of heritage has changed over the past few decades to include not just the conventional ideas of important buildings but also a breadth of cultural expressions that are important for their 'aesthetic, historic, scientific, social values, etc' (Vecco, 2010, p 323). This broadening of heritage extends from tangible features to the intangible aspects of culture, including immaterial culture and oral traditions. This is an important development where design heritage is concerned. While many aspects of design history are tangible, including significant buildings and gardens, design is also about ideas and concepts, and these are often transmitted through documents and discussions. Utopian heritage tends to be better represented in the intangible expressions of literature and art than the tangible realm of the physical landscape.

Context

As a preface to a discussion of the utopian legacy and its reassertion in the rebuild, it is useful to briefly recap on the impacts of the earthquakes on Christchurch. The first earthquake occurred on the Greendale Fault, in the countryside near Christchurch, and produced a 7.1 moment magnitude (M_w) shake at 4.36am on 4 September 2010. The quake did not cause any deaths, and for a while Christchurch residents felt relief at having been spared from major tragedy, thanks to the timing of the quake during the very early morning and the building codes, which seemed to have protected against major failures. It did, however, cause widespread damage to the rural areas, parts of the city and the infrastructure including roads and railway lines. It also produced Christchurch's first recent experience of liquefaction, the phenomenon of soils liquefying during

shaking. The September earthquake produced the strongest earthquake ground-shaking recorded to date in New Zealand, with the ground near the epicentre moving at 1.25 times the force of gravity (g).

The worst was still to come. One of the aftershocks from the September quake occurred a few months later, in the middle of a weekday lunchtime, when the previously unknown Port Hills fault produced a 6.3 M_w earthquake, very shallow and very close to the city. Ground-shaking in the February 2011 earthquake exceeded that from the September quake, reaching 2.2 g. Multiple strong and violent shakes caused catastrophic damage and killed 185 people. Since the first earthquake on 4 September 2010, Christchurch has experienced over 13,000 aftershocks. The ground-shaking experienced in the 6.3 M_w quake in February 2011 was extreme and, in world terms, is topped only by the Japanese earthquake that occurred not long after, in March 2011. At 2.2 g, the demands placed on the built environment were severe, and engineers would not normally design structures to withstand anywhere near that degree of shaking. A cordon sealed off the central city from February 2011 until July 2013, creating an uneasy sense of dislocation, with residents alienated from this familiar landscape.

The assumptions about how earthquakes impact on cities are often based on the dramatic images of building collapses shown in the media. While fallen buildings were a major factor in Christchurch's earthquake experience, other phenomena also contributed to the widespread impacts. Rockfall occurred on the hills to the south of the city, which are the remains of an extinct volcano, and at the location of the Port Hills fault. Lateral spreading occurred where land tried to move downhill in the shaking, especially on the margins of the rivers, with large cracks appearing and infrastructure rupturing. Liquefaction erupted silt from the ground, swamping buildings and vehicles.

Because of ground-shaking, combined with rockfall, lateral spread and liquefaction, many buildings that did not collapse in the initial large shakes were subsequently deemed unsafe, or uneconomic, to repair. Vast areas of the city and the surrounding areas are still being demolished, including around 1,500 buildings in the central city, which will amount to about 80 percent of the central business district. The Residential Red Zone contains around 8,000 houses, which have been bought by the Government and are being demolished. These homes are in areas where ground conditions or the threat of rockfall now preclude residential use. The establishment of the Residential Red Zone has been profoundly disruptive in terms of, for example, dealing with insurance issues, and the inevitable stress that comes when people must leave their homes and familiar neighbourhoods. Meanwhile, these abandoned areas are succumbing to nature. One aspiration for the red-zoned land is to have a large park following the Avon River, a possibility that has the potential to create a meaningful legacy for the city from the earthquakes. The waterfront in Toronto, Canada, illustrates how significant such a dramatic change in land use can be, where retreat from the water's edge following the impacts of Hurricane Hazel in 1954 saw built-up areas replaced with a park, including a pedestrian bridge to memorialise the lives lost (Gifford, 2004, p 99).

Five years after the first earthquake in September 2010, much of the central city is still an expansive void. Only a few new buildings have appeared, and the

landscape response is also just beginning. In these intervening years, the spirit of the city has changed dramatically, with temporary architecture and landscapes pioneering new urban forms. It is within this context of dramatic physical change and social upheaval that Christchurch's utopian heritage gained new momentum.

Utopian thinking

Utopias present possibilities. They embody the aspirations of a perfect world, an ideal life, are vivid expressions of the values of their designers and are often created in a geographical vacuum. The challenge is to find that perfect, untouched, uncontaminated place in which to locate these utopias. Yet the landscape is never benign or mute, and the ideal of a utopia is always at the mercy of the imperfection of humans as much as the quirks of topography, climate and ecology.

The term *Utopia* was coined by Thomas More in his eponymous book of 1516, in which he used the neologism to express literally a 'non-place', and also a 'good place,' reflecting the homophone *eutopia* (More, 2002/1516). Utopias and cockaignes represented yearnings for other places and perfect worlds. While cockaignes were built on the mythical possibility of a land of plenty, utopias required a more structured vision about how a perfect place *should* be. The late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were a fertile time of utopian dreaming, including in the work of More, as well as Tommaso Campanella's *City of the Sun* (2009/1623), and the many versions of ideal cities of the Renaissance (see Benevolo, 1980, pp 535–604).

New Zealand has a particularly strong relationship with the idea of utopia. Sargent (2010) highlights how those colonies based on settlement, such as North and South America, South Africa and New Zealand, were productive of utopian visions. Colonies based on exploitation or the removal of problems, including the exporting of convicts to Australia, were not so readily aligned with the idea of a perfect world. New Zealand's resonance with utopian thinking can be related to three conditions: location, timing and emptiness.

First, in terms of location, the country's remoteness is an attribute reinforced by its island form. As a faraway cluster of islands, New Zealand presented the prospect of a perfect, benign world hovering at the edge of the European imagination. Like More's Utopia, islands are often the chosen geographical forms for perfect worlds, just as much as they are marginal locations to hide the negative aspects of existence (Bowring, 2011). Anthony Trollope (1882) set his utopian, or more correctly dystopian, novel *The Fixed Period* in an imaginary island near New Zealand, called Britannula, in the year 1980 – which in itself is now a curiosity in the ways that visions of the future become nostalgic once that date itself is history. When Trollope visited New Zealand in 1875, he was evidently affected by being here. He imagined a society where euthanasia is compulsory for people in their sixty-seventh year – the so-called 'fixed period'. Trollope was himself 67 while he wrote the book, and he died that same year.

Samuel Butler was also influenced by his visit to New Zealand, arriving in 1860. He headed for the remotest area in this remote country, up into the back country in the headwaters of Canterbury's rivers, inland from Christchurch. His explorations, including the discovery of the Whitcombe Pass in 1861, provided the basis for his narrative in his novel *Erewhon*. And, like Trollope, Butler wrote

of a dystopia rather than utopia, both authors perhaps shaped in their thinking by Charles Darwin's *On the Origin of the Species*, which they both read.

A second major influence on the view linking New Zealand to utopia is the timing of European settlement. Alessio (2004) suggests that the New Zealand utopian tradition, in terms of literary utopias, may have been in part connected with the lateness of European colonisation, in addition to its distance from the Old World as noted above. The Goldilocks hypothesis of other possible planets containing life (too hot, too cold, just right) offers a parallel that suggests why New Zealand might have represented the potential for the realisation of a utopia akin to Thomas More's vision. As Alessio (2004) explains:

> Unlike the United States (which had developed too many Old World problems), Canada (which was too cold and partly French), South Africa (which was too black) and Australia (which with its penal settlement history had actually begun as a dystopia), New Zealand seemed to have real utopian potential (p 75).

Third is the sense of New Zealand as something of a *tabula rasa*, offering the latent possibilities of a blank slate. Ample access to empty land and the equality of a society unbound by the burdens of a class system opened up real possibilities here. Sargent (2010) notes how letters home to England from New Zealand often referred to workers and farm owners eating at the same table and being served the same food (p 103). As Sargent also highlights, from the time of More's *Utopia*, such imaginings were associated with the idea of colonisation, in which utopias were seen as supplements to existing communities. This seemingly empty land of New Zealand reinforced that perspective. The booster writing and booster painting[1] underscored the representation of New Zealand as a perfect empty place, enticing migrants from the Old World (Bowring, 2010).

One example of a designed utopia in New Zealand is Robert Pemberton's (1895) plan for *The Happy Colony*. The Happy Colony (Figure 1) represents an interesting parallel with Christchurch, as it epitomises the way in which geometrically designed utopias were imagined as arriving onto the *tabula rasa* of a flat, empty plain reminiscent of the city's topography. Pemberton was highly aware of the concept of utopia and even urged his potential colonists to read More's *Utopia*. However, he cautioned that such an ideal could never be achieved under a 'property government' and that it required rational labour instead of wealth as the fundamental driver. The design of the Happy Colony symbolically expresses Pemberton's value system. At the heart of the community is a model farm (Figure 2). Surrounding it are colleges of learning and gardens in the shape of the terrestrial and celestial globes. They give physical form to his concern with how people would learn in the colony.

Pemberton planned his perfect settlement in a precise form, intending to realise it in Taranaki in the North Island of New Zealand. Like much of the planning of New Zealand, it was done without any local knowledge of the landscape or its inhabitants. At one point in Pemberton's book, The Learned Friend asks the Philosopher why he didn't consider America as a suitable location for his intended Happy Colony, to which the Philosopher replies that the continued presence of slavery there is a problem. Instead:
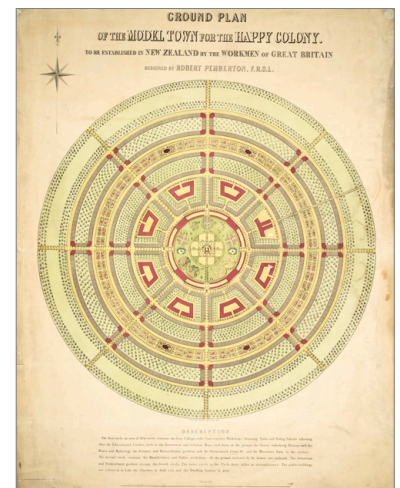

Figure 1: Robert Pemberton, 1854. Ground plan of the model town for the Happy Colony. To be established in New Zealand by the workmen of Great Britain. Designed by Robert Pemberton, FRSL. Charlotte Delia Pemberton delt. London, Day & Son, Lithographers to the Queen [1854]. Ref: Plans-80-0777. (Image: Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. http://natlib.govt.nz/records/23149991.)

I believe I am right in proposing the beautiful island of New Zealand to be the spot for the first stone of the temple of happiness to be laid, as it may be said to be in its infant state, and uncorrupted by any large collection of people; and more especially as it has been held sacred, and kept free from the contamination of the offenders from the mother country ... (Pemberton, 1895, p 25).

Pemberton's utopian dreaming collided with the reality of the landscape for which it was intended. He had urged the workmen of Great Britain to purchase 200,000 acres 'in the neighbourhood of Taraniki [*sic*], now called New Plymouth' (ibid, p 77). One end of the tract was to 'adjoin the seashore [so] that the treasures of the deep may be at the command of the colonists'. Far from a *tabula rasa*, they encountered a diverse landscape, including a volcano, and an already-settled landscape. As Sargent (2010) observes, Pemberton's Happy Colony 'specifies the creation of a community in an area of New Zealand that was heavily populated by Maori as if there was no one there at all' (p 205).

Christchurch's planned heritage is infused with a kind of utopian dreaming. This idea of Christchurch as a utopia was even reflected in Anthony Trollope's (1882) *The Fixed Period*, which identifies 'Little Christchurch' in the future, mid-twentieth century, on the island of Britannula. As the narrator observes:
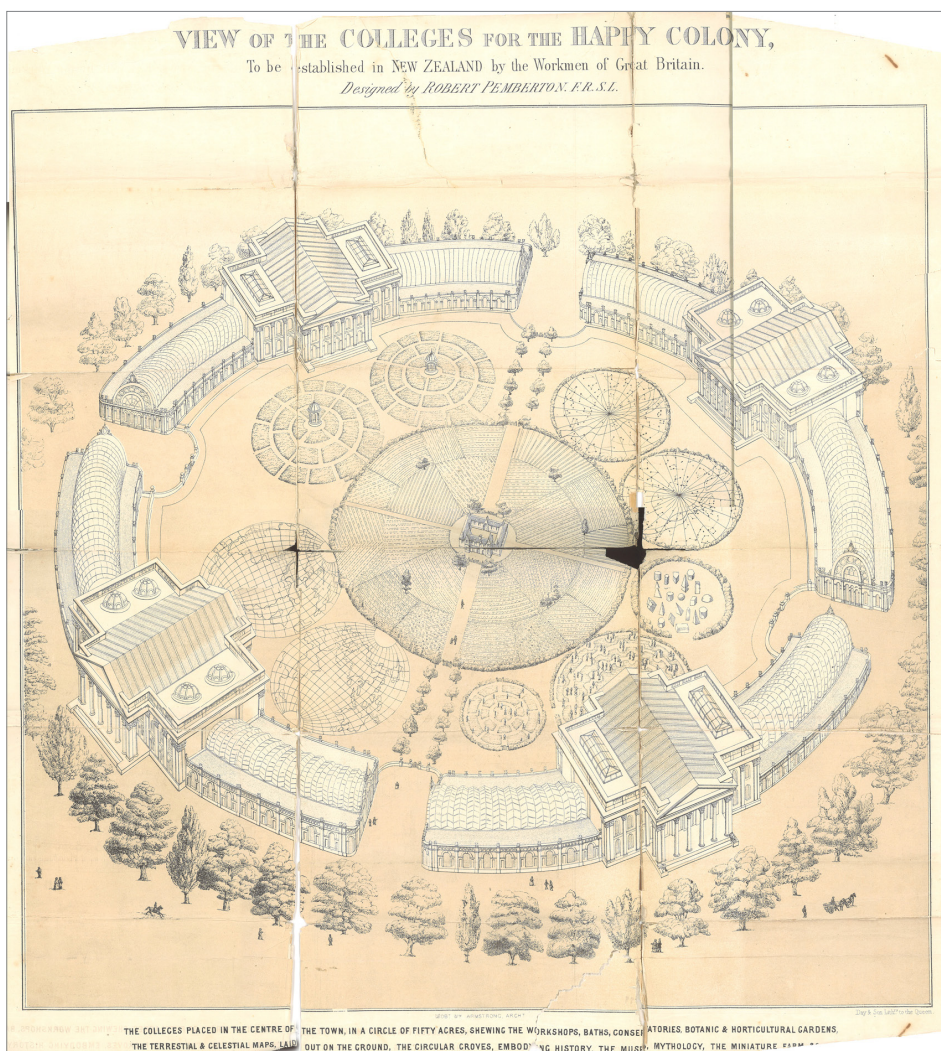

Figure 2: The model farm, colleges of learning and terrestrial and celestial gardens at the centre of the Happy Colony (Pemberton, 1895). (Photo: Author's own, taken of the original book, now in the public domain.)

Everything that human nature wants was there at Little Christchurch. The streams which watered the land were bright and rapid, and always running. The grasses were peculiarly rich, and the old English fruit-trees, which we had brought with us from New Zealand, throve there with an exuberant fertility, of which the mother country, I am told, knows nothing (ibid, unpaginated).

Little Christchurch is expressed as the epitome of Englishness and is the very place where the cricket match between the Britannullians and the visiting English is to be staged. This transposition of a perfect version of Englishness onto the landscape, via the vector of New Zealand, echoes in the observations of another nineteenth-century visitor, Mark Twain, who followed in Trollope's footsteps some 29 years later. After arriving in Christchurch, Twain (2008/1895) remarked:

It was Junior England all the way to Christchurch – in fact, just a garden. And Christchurch is an English town, with an English-park annex, and a winding English brook just like the Avon ... It is a settled old community, with all the serenities, the graces, the conveniences, and the comforts of the ideal home-life. If it had an established Church and social inequality it would be England over again with hardly a lack (pp 134–135).

The layout of Christchurch was again a diagrammatic expression of ideals. While the Happy Colony had a farm at its centre, Christ Church cathedral was the symbolic centre of the city. The city's founder, John Robert Godley, remarked in 1852:

When I first adopted and made my own the idea of this colony, it pictured itself to my mind in the colours of a Utopia. Now that I have been a practical coloniser, and have seen how these things are managed in fact, I often smile when I think of the ideal Canterbury of which our imagination dreamed (quoted in Hall, 2012, p 23).

Jumping forward over a century and a half, the images of the Blueprint Plan developed for the rebuilding of the inner city of Christchurch are emphatically utopian, showing vivid blue-green landscapes filled with happy citizens. These images are reminiscent of Corbusier's Radiant City, Frank Lloyd Wright's Broadacre and Ebenezer Howard's Garden City (Fishman, 1982). The connections between Christchurch and the utopian Garden City are intriguingly intertwined. Howard's book was first published in 1898 as *To-Morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform* and then as *Garden Cities of To-Morrow* in 1902, half a century after Christchurch's original plan was laid out (Howard, 2007/1902). Howard was affected by Bellamy's (2007/1888) *Looking Backward* and the ideas of a planned city based on community service. Howard (2007/1902) noted that his:

... scheme is a combination of three distinct projects which have, I think, never been united before. These are: (1) The proposals for an organized migratory movement of population of Edward Gibbon Wakefield and of Professor Alfred Marshall; (2) the system of land tenure first proposed by Thos. Spence and afterwards (though with an important modification) by Mr. Herbert Spencer; and (3) the model city of James Silk Buckingham (p 119).

The plan for Christchurch pre-dated Howard's Garden City, but it strongly reflected the zeitgeist of Howard's vision. The connections were woven into the ethos of utopian thinking of the time. Edward Gibbon Wakefield led organised settlement
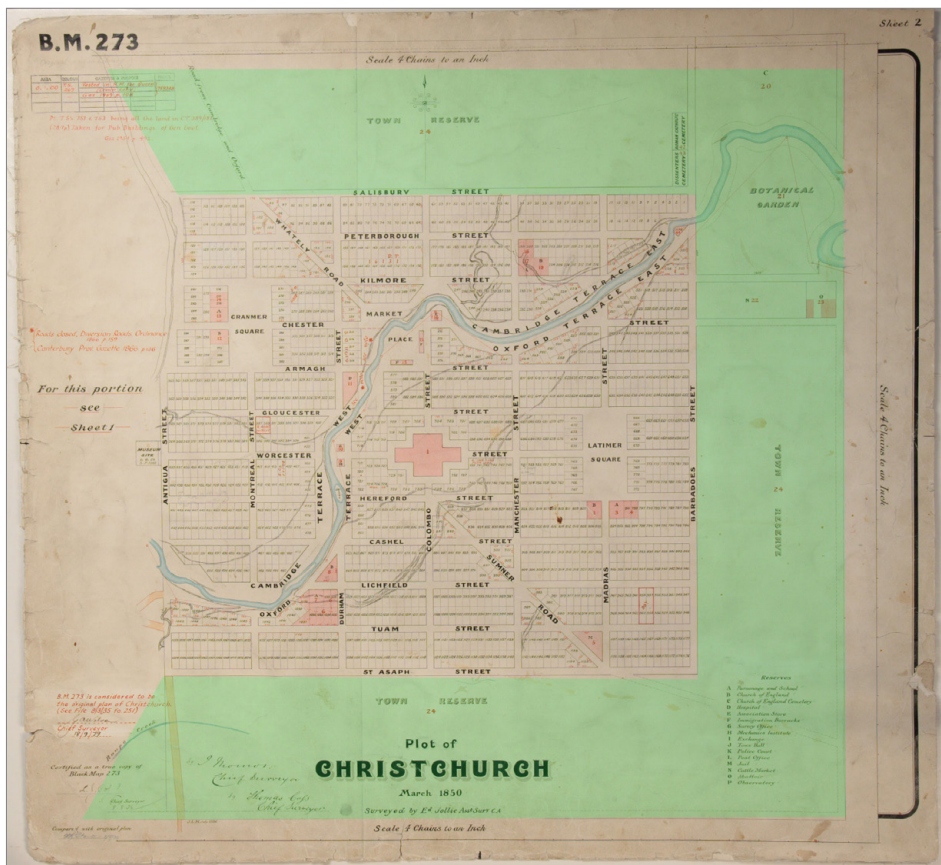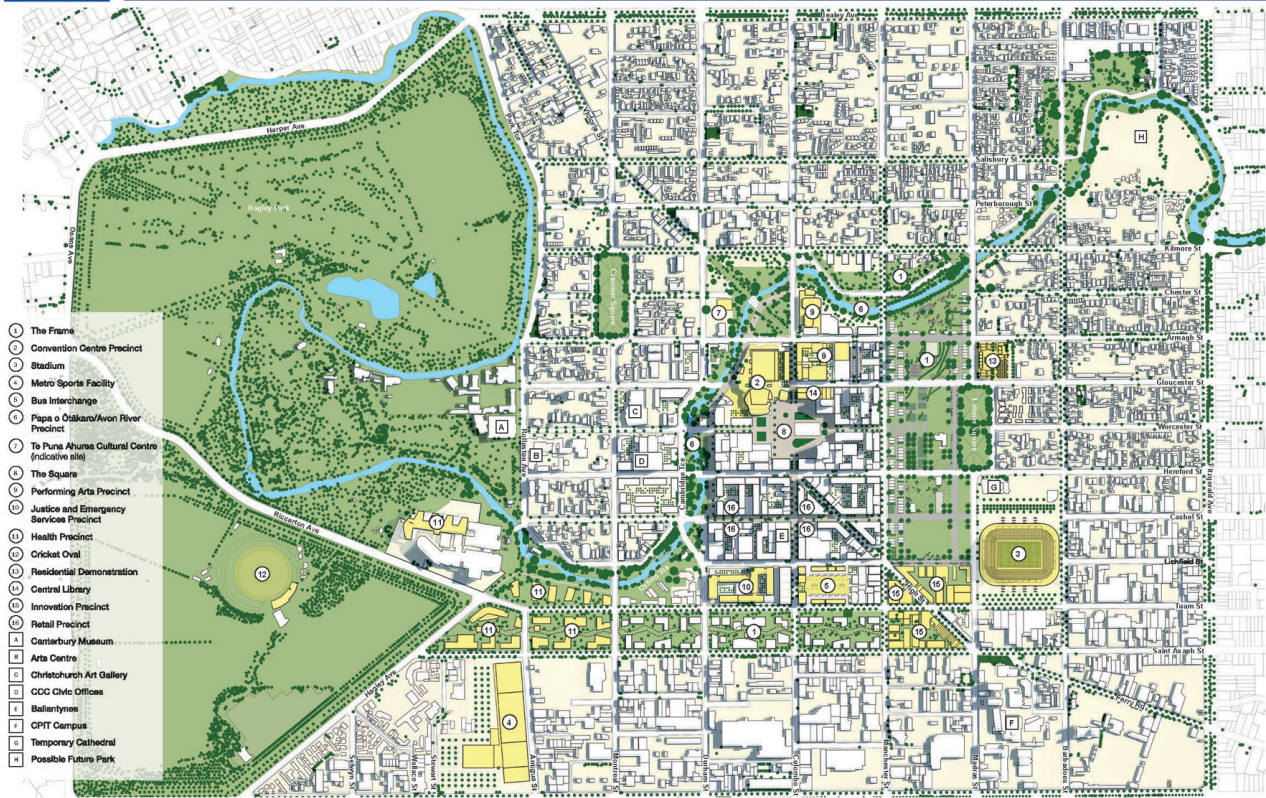
in New Zealand and worked with John Robert Godley to found the Canterbury Association, and, ultimately, to create Christchurch as a Church of England settlement. Wakefield's theory of colonisation was based on the idea of bringing a slice of English life to New Zealand, with settlers who were of good character and Christians. While this underpinned the establishment of Christchurch, as well as other settlements in New Zealand, it was also embedded in Howard's Garden City theory. Although Christchurch is implicated in Howard's Garden City ideals, the first time that it was actually called the Garden City is believed to be in 1906, when Sir John Gorst visited for the International Exhibition and reinforced this connection to the Garden City in his comment published in the *Star* (1906).

The greenbelt of the early utopian city layout of the 1850s (Figure 3) is reiterated in the major rebuild document, the Blueprint Plan. The design strategy of the Frame is a version of this earlier greenbelt, at a slightly different scale (Figure 4). The original vision for a greenbelt didn't last long: 27 years later, the map of 1877 bore no trace of it (Figure 5). The same has happened with the Blueprint's Frame, where recent images already show a substantial built footprint, obliterating much of the green space shown in the original plan. The incursions into the East Frame are predominantly residential, reflecting one of the challenges for the development of inner-city Christchurch. One of the legacies of utopian thinking in Christchurch is the low-density urban form, with even the city centre being relatively low density by international standards. Moreover, as in many New Zealand settlements, the central city's main function over the past century has been commercial, with residential areas in the low-density suburban fabric typical of 'garden city' models of development.

1. The Frame
2. Convention Centre Precinct
3. Stadium
4. Metro Sports Facility
5. Bus Interchange
6. Papa o Ōtākaro/Avon River Precinct
7. Te Puna Ahurea Cultural Centre (indicative site)
8. The Square
9. Performing Arts Precinct
10. Justice and Emergency Services Precinct
11. Health Precinct
12. Cricket Oval
13. Residential Demonstration
14. Central Library
15. Innovation Precinct
16. Retail Precinct

A. Canterbury Museum
B. Arts Centre
C. Christchurch Art Gallery
D. CCC Civic Offices
E. Ballantynes
F. CPIT Campus
G. Temporary Cathedral
H. Possible Future Park

CERA
Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Authority

Christchurch Central Development Unit

Christchurch City Council

Te Rūnanga o NGĀI TAHU

New Zealand Government

One of the imperatives put forward for the rebuild of Christchurch is to increase density – particularly residential density – in the city centre. Before the earthquakes, people were only slowly taking up residence in the inner-city developments, and the council was pushing for an increase in inner-city population from 8,000 in 2006 to 30,000 by 2026 (Christchurch City Council, 2006). For many decades, considerable inertia has held back Christchurch suburban dwellers, who have been attached to the lifestyle of low-density living and reluctant to move to the inner city. However, a 2013 study by Opus (Greenhill, 2014) revealed that half of the respondents would be willing to live in the central city after the rebuild.

The vision of an intensively settled and vibrant inner city presents a utopian vision for Christchurch, and this is evolving as a possibility. It is necessary to find a balance between compaction and dispersal, as resilience theory suggests that it is important to spread risk and create multiple centres in case one centre fails (Walker and Salt, 2006). So although polycentrism might, on the one hand, suggest a counter to the idea of the compact monocentric city, on the other, it is a means of fostering adaptability and resilience. While many of the utopian diagrams are strongly hierarchical and concentric, Howard expressed this aspiration to polycentrism in his Garden City vision (Figure 6), providing further connections between the two.

Figure 4: The Blueprint Plan developed by the Christchurch Central Development Unit. The Frame is indicated by the green linear park around the central city.
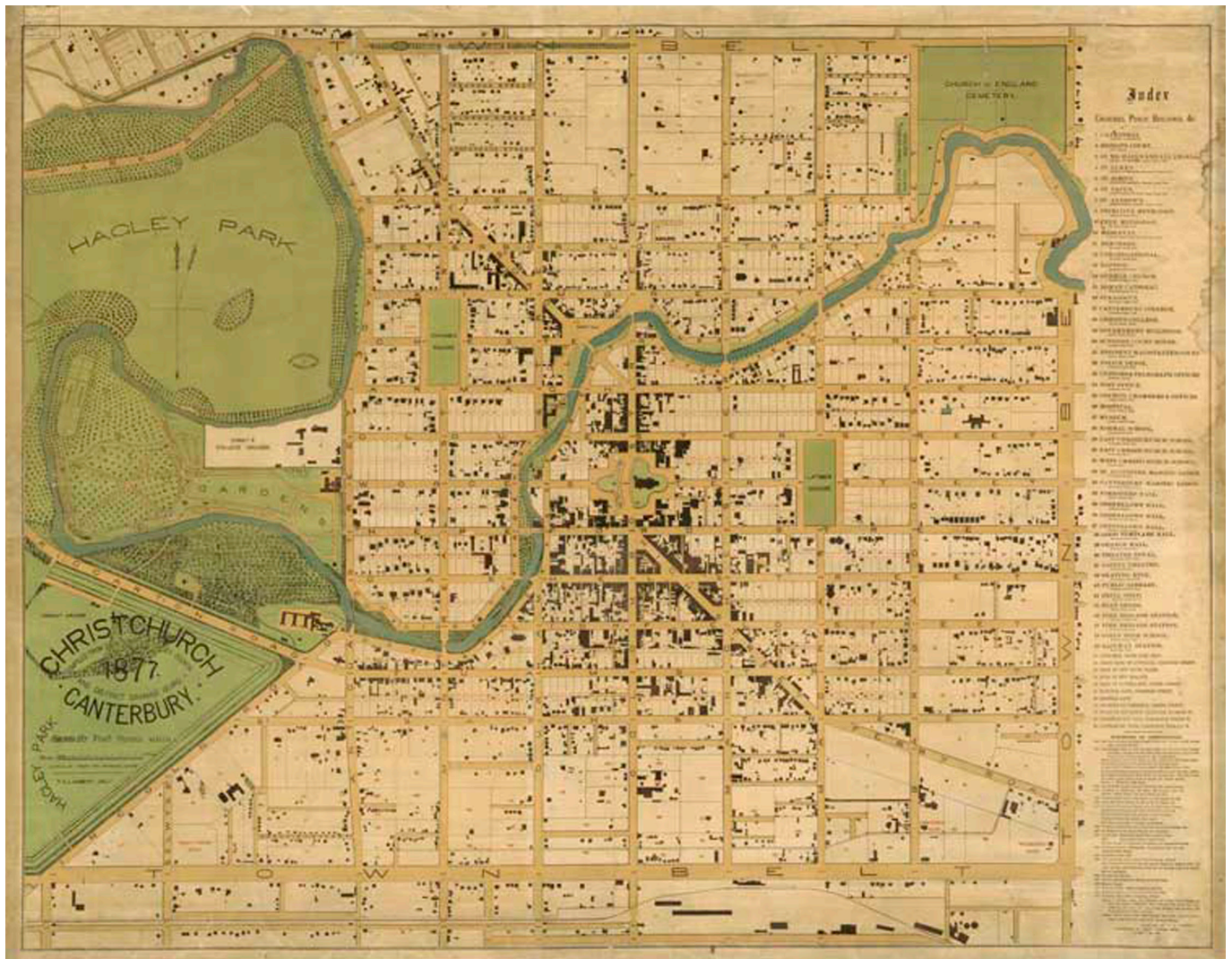
Utopia and the Picturesque

Utopian planning was complemented by visualisations of landscape in the Picturesque style. As an idealised and perfected version of nature, the Picturesque was an aesthetic convention that resonated strongly with the idea of utopia. Rather than the geometric and ordered utopian cities, the Picturesque provided a different perspective on an ideal world. The Picturesque expressed a sense of a golden age, an arcadia, as expressed in the paintings of artists like Claude Lorrain and Nicolas Poussin, and became formulated into a rule-bound approach to landscape design.

At first, the settlers in Christchurch struggled to apply the Picturesque principles they carried with them from England. Lord Lyttelton pointed out the lack of the makings of the Picturesque on the Canterbury Plains on which Christchurch is located, suggesting this landscape could only be described as 'repulsive'. Nevertheless, the places that afforded the necessary elements of the Picturesque were quickly located, and Dean's Bush in Riccarton was seen as 'a spot with which lovers of the picturesque must be pleased' (Adams, 1853, p 33). Further, as Mark Twain pointed out, Christchurch was 'Junior England', a microcosm of a bucolic English landscape inflected with the Picturesque.

Figure 5: The 1877 map of Christchurch, which shows no trace of the greenbelt, apart from the area maintained as a cemetery in the north east. Lambert, T S. Christchurch, Canterbury [cartographic material]/ compiled from data supplied to City Council and District Drainage Board; T S Lambert, delt. Ref: 834.4492a 1877. (Image: Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. http:// natlib.govt.nz/records/20431535.)
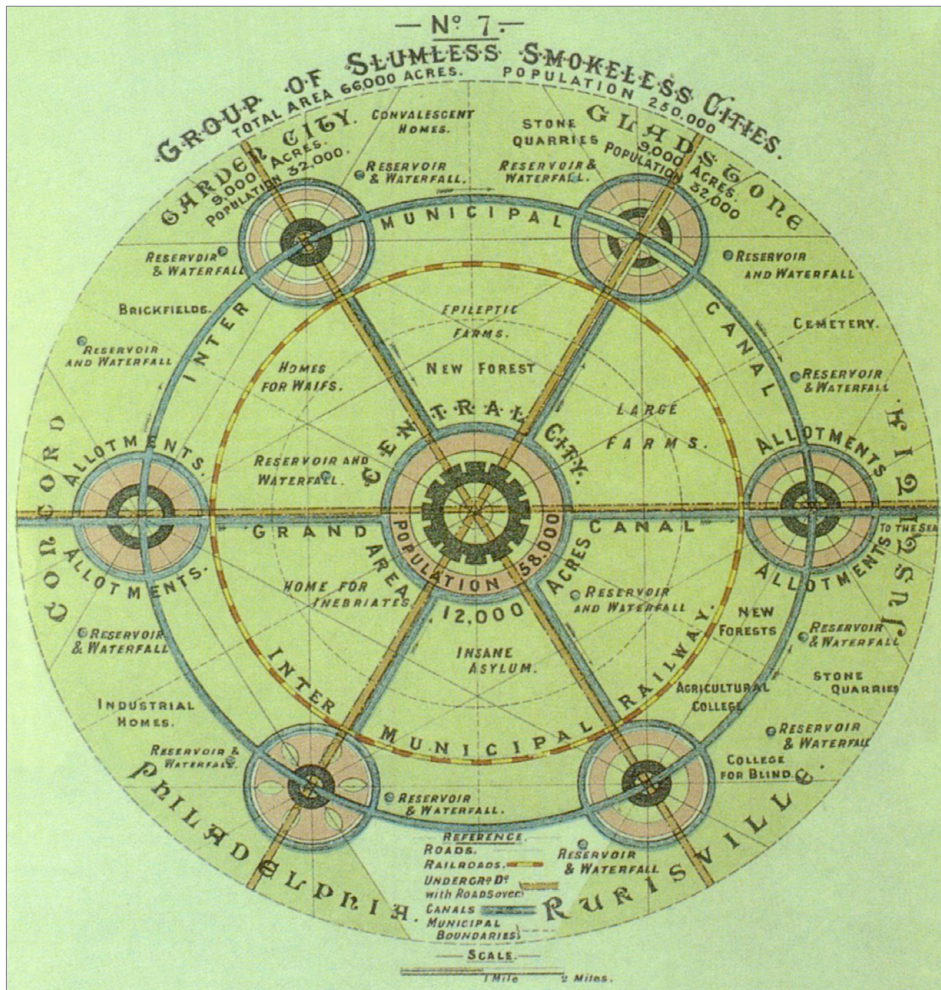
The iconic imagery of the Avon River winding its way through the city is bound up in Picturesque aesthetics and underpins some of the debates over how the riparian planting should be approached. In the decade or so preceding the earthquakes, the riverbank treatment along the Avon had been the subject of a range of debates – which often degenerated into a 'natives versus exotics' argument. Even in the 1900s the Beautifying Association was already exploring these tensions and opportunities, with the discussion of Barker's Plantation – a garden planted on the banks of the Avon, made up only of native plants (*Star*, 1900).

The visualisations produced for the rebuild are shot through not only with the sense of utopian idealism noted above but also with the aesthetic conventions of the Picturesque. The Avon River Precinct is one of the Blueprint anchor projects for the city rebuild and continues this earlier pastoral idealism (Figure 7). In their bucolic imagery, their staged social moments, the blue sky and verdant green, the images remind us of the booster paintings that artists like John Bunney produced to lure settlers to New Zealand (Bowring, 2010). Bunney himself never came to New Zealand, but he knew what people liked and he set out his views of the landscape in order to meet the desires for a particular kind of landscape, with sufficient human control to avoid total wildness, and with the sun always shining.

Figure 7: Vision of the Avon River Precinct.

The imagery for future Christchurch carries this idealism forward, with the legacies of utopia and the Picturesque embedded within the visions of the twenty-first century city. While the imagery for the future of the river simply echoes the kind of visualisations produced internationally, conversely, they are also heavily inflected with 'Christchurchness' and the legacies that bind the city to its design heritage.

In addition, the Avon River Precinct visualisations depict a landscape where the Picturesque legacy underpins the informal riverside indigenous planting (Figure 8). In views like this, the Picturesque has become naturalised; it appears so familiar and is a taken-for-granted compositional device for designing the landscape. This naturalised Picturesque illustrates the transformation from a separate design language, where the indigenous and the imported maintain their autonomy as a 'pidgin', to a 'creole' where the two languages are interwoven (Bowring, 1995). The familiarity of the Picturesque as a design convention can provide a vehicle for introducing planting that challenges aesthetics and ideals. Nassauer's (1995) theory of orderly frames for messy ecosystems advocated the use of a familiar frame as a 'cue to care' to signal to people that a landscape was intentional. This is particularly important in settings where introducing indigenous vegetation is challenged by public perceptions of ecology as messy. For Christchurch, the Picturesque can provide such an orderly frame. And, as with the visions of utopia, the Picturesque forms part of the city's design heritage, an unwitting touchstone as the city goes about recovering from the rupture of the earthquakes.

Conclusion

London and Lisbon experienced starkly different outcomes from the major disasters that devastated their urban fabric. While London reverted to the status quo, Lisbon took a radical approach, akin to utopian thinking. While on the one hand utopian thinking could be considered to reflect the unrealistic ideals of past eras, on the other, it underpins the aspiration for visionary thinking. The very idea that design can enhance wellbeing is core to ideas of utopia, and for a city in the throes of post-disaster recovery this is a valuable perspective.

It is within both the tangible and intangible realms that resilience must be grounded. For Christchurch, both the tangible heritage of the built landscape with its planned grids and the intangible ideas of utopia and the Picturesque provide valuable resources for a city in crisis. Through their familiarity and

aspirational qualities, these elements are part of imagining a new city. Their value in this context challenges some of the critiques made of the baggage from the past and illustrates how a fusion of heritage and innovation can reveal new ways of conceptualising the city and building resilience.

Acknowledgements

NOTE

1   Booster writing and booster painting were carried out to 'boost' the image of the country for potential colonisers, as a kind of propaganda. In the case of booster painting, for example, artists would show fine weather and flat land – an idyllic and inviting scene that would encourage would-be settlers to come to the area.

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Monarto's Contested Landscape

PAUL WALKER, JANE GRANT AND DAVID NICHOLS

The proposal to develop a new city at Monarto in South Australia during the 1970s was an important project of the reforming government of Don Dunstan. Dunstan's view was that Monarto would be a city environmentally suited to the tough conditions of its site, and to an 'Australian way of life'. As planning and preliminary design proceeded from 1972 to 1975, the landscape potential of the city's selected site became central to its conception. This paper draws on new research comprising interviews with key participants and archival material to examine four issues: the adoption of an environmental orientation in Australian urban planning and discourse in the 1970s; strategies in the design proposals that seemingly gave Monarto validity even as the demographic and political drivers for it dissolved away; the investigations that supported Monarto's landscape strategies; and attitudes to social and cultural history that the Monarto project adopted. While ultimately the plan for Monarto was abandoned, the projected city's landscape can be seen as a theatre for competing values in relation to natural and cultural heritage and design ambitions. The paper situates Monarto within national and international urban discourse that is more complex than has been previously acknowledged, indicative of competing values and ideologies in the planning, landscape and design discourses of the period.

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Calls for a second new South Australian city first emerged after the 1962 *Adelaide Metropolitan Development Plan* warned that services and infrastructure would be unable to keep pace with a projected population surge in Adelaide from 600,000 to close to 1.5 million by 1991. The *Adelaide Metropolitan Development Plan* was delivered to the Liberal state government under Premier Thomas Playford, but only the election of Don Dunstan's Labor government in 1968 saw the political will to plan in earnest for an overspill city of 200,000 (Forster and McCaskill, 2007; Hutchings, 1977). While Monarto's rationale lay in population projections, its radical conceptualisation and innovative landscape strategies were arguably informed by the social and economic failings of its predecessor, Elizabeth.

Elizabeth had been established by the Playford government in 1955 to answer the manufacturing needs of the state, with these narrow employment choices reflecting the government's conservative values. Such heavy dependence on manufacturing also left Elizabeth exposed to the 1973 oil crisis and the economic recession of the mid-1970s. Elizabeth's perceived failings, therefore, were both an ideological lesson and a political opportunity for charismatic Labor leader Don Dunstan. Monarto would be a 'new and beautiful city', Dunstan told a press conference in 1974, and, unlike Elizabeth, it would not be vulnerable to 'one mammoth industry' but rather 'have a variety of manufacturing and commercial,

REFLECTION

academic, scientific and government ventures' (Dunstan speech, 1974; Peter Ward papers). Conceptualised at a time when developing economies were in transition to the post-industrial era, Monarto would be planned presciently around tertiary industries (*Monarto Planning Studies*, 1974, p 8). In this post-industrial and environmentally aware era of the early 1970s, the new city would not only prevent Adelaide from becoming 'a congested, smog-shrouded megalopolis' but would also be a city of 'pleasant parklands and literally millions of trees' (Dunstan speech, 1974; Peter Ward papers). Yet, co-opted into the progressive federal Labor government's ambitious, if poorly plotted, new cities project of the mid-1970s, Monarto was to be suspended, and then abandoned, before the end of the decade.

This paper draws on new research, comprising interviews with key participants and archival material, to track four strands of thought about: urban planning and discourse in Australia in the 1970s along with the environmental orientation it included; the urban and architectural designs that seemingly gave the Monarto proposal validity even as the demographic and political drivers for it dissolved; the investigations supporting the landscape strategies for the entire Monarto site; and the attitudes to social and cultural history apparent in the approaches to heritage that the Monarto project adopted. The legacy of Monarto is primarily in the many investigations, design projects, reports and examinations completed in pursuit of its implementation. In thinking through the stages of conceptualisation and planning, as well as the involvement of various agents, this study situates Monarto within national and international urban discourse that is more complex than has been previously acknowledged.

Planning a city for the Australian landscape

Early in 1973, Dunstan painted a verbal picture of the new city:

> [It] will probably be unlike any other city in Australia in its design ... a new vision of the Australian city – one which takes the best of what we have in social planning and family convenience, and gives it a new, refreshed and national place in the sun ... [I]t will accept what perhaps only the early settlers have so far, and that is the vicissitudes of our weather, its widely separated extremes of temperatures, its faults and its delightful advantages ... [I]t will be the first city to understand the beauty and environmental advantage of Australian native flora ... a city in which people will find that a much lower scale of water consumption or work is needed in their parks, streets, courtyards and play areas, because the trees, shrubs, plants and grasses belong to the land they grow in (*Monarto Development Commission Annual Report 1975–1976*, p 5).

The new city's location was nonetheless problematic. Its conception as a satellite city to Adelaide limited its location: the imperative of preserving arable lands and the wine industry near the capital left the Mallee, east of the Mount Lofty Ranges, as the only choice. Advantageously, this area was clearly separated from Adelaide by the ranges, with connection to the transportation corridor between Adelaide and Melbourne and access to water from the Murray River. In 1971, with technical advice from Adelaide's PG Pak-Poy and Associates, the decision to locate the new town in the Monarto district was confirmed. Comprising State Conservation Minister Raymond Broomhill, SA Housing Trust Director Alec Ramsay, head

of the Premier's Department Robert Bakewell and Director of Planning Stuart Hart (chair), the Second City Committee was established to undertake social and environmental research (Briton-Jones, 2007; Ron Danvers, pers com, 2014).

Legislation establishing the Monarto Development Commission (MDC) as an administrative vehicle was passed late in 1973, and gave it the wildly ambitious task of creating the new city by 1980. Idealism, and determination to avoid the autocratic governance of Canberra's National Capital Development Commission, impelled innovative collaboration between the MDC's Environmental, Social, Architectural and Town Planning divisions, commensurate with the stated intention of granting future decision making to Monarto's citizens (*The Social Plan for Monarto*, 1974, p 38). Externally, collaborations would be harder, and the MDC's role was not always acknowledged. Indeed, it was compromised early in the government's separate appointments of consultant Boris Kazanksi and the British planning firm Shankland Cox to produce concept plans for Monarto. Their cosmopolitan urban centre images did not integrate with the MDC's – and Dunstan's – nationalist agenda: to develop 'an Australian living style ... to foster cultural awareness in an Australian setting' (ibid, p 41), an Australian ethos aligning with the federal government's agenda. Tensions between the nationalist ambitions of the MDC and the internationalism of the consultants impeded the progress of Monarto; they also register wider contestation of Australian identity, the 'crisis in national meaning' (Curran, 2004) that underscores the era.

Although Pak-Poy approved the Monarto site (documented in its *Monarto Development Study* published by the Australian National Urban and Regional Development Authority in 1973), a Department of Agriculture study questioned its suitability (Chittleborough and Wright, 1974). The clay soil and a fault line meant it would be difficult to build in much of the area selected. Moreover, the climate was extreme even by Australian standards: prone to subzero temperatures in winter and heat waves of over 40 degrees Celsius in summer. Topographically, it alternated between undulating and flat. The site defied the expert advice of commentators such as Amos Rapoport, who considered that distinguishing and varied features such as a shoreline or adjacency to mountains were essential to the location of a new town (Rapoport, 1972). Sharing this view, Shankland Cox partner Charles Bosel notes that the site would not have been selected had his firm been involved from the beginning (Bosel, pers com, 2014).

The most detailed analysis of the implications of Dunstan's view that landscape was central to the conception of Monarto is perhaps contained in the document *Monarto Planning Studies*, produced by the MDC's Town Planning Division late in 1974. It was based 'to a large extent' on the input by the consultants, PG Pak-Poy & Associates and Kazanski & Associates (associated with Shankland Cox Partners of London) (Figure 1).

Countering the criticism of the Monarto site for its blandness, in *Monarto Planning Studies* (1974) the commission sought to demonstrate a subtle complexity:

> Many other cities have dramatic, broadscale settings formed by mountain ranges, lakes or the sea, but have, internally, relatively uninteresting landscape. Monarto on the other hand is situated in a subdued regional setting but has within the site,

a wide variety of landscape detail formed by complex and rugged gullies, rolling slopes, stands of native vegetation and rock outcrops (p 9).

This description may overestimate the interest value of the site's topography and vegetation cover. Yet these differentiations informed decisions about the location of the city's major elements. The park system would be based on natural drainage channels, giving it an overall east–west orientation, with a north–south parkland spine established to produce linkages – corridors both for wildlife and human recreation. The confluence of two major creek systems, the Dry and Rocky Gully creeks, coincided with a central area, or the 'heartland', with mature stands of tree cover:

> The vegetation in association with the two creeks and complex and varied landforms offer the opportunity to create a central parkland of distinctive beauty which could give Monarto a uniquely Australian image (*Monarto Planning Studies*, 1974, p 24).

This heartland was to be the focus of Monarto's 'landscape concept' and its 'total urban structure', the confluence of natural and built elements creating 'a complex and intense area forming the hub of the city' (ibid, p 26). A new lake would reinforce and complement existing attributes.

Transportation routes within the city were also aligned with the east–west pattern of the site's natural features, complementing the existing major Adelaide–Melbourne road and rail line. The overall road pattern within the metropolitan area was a loose grid threaded with parkland corridors.

Development areas for residential neighbourhoods, the central city, industrial and service areas and institutional uses were allocated in relationship both to the projected parklands and conservation areas and to the transportation grid; employment opportunities would be spread throughout. Areas where sub-soil conditions would make building difficult were to be used for 'broadacre' purposes – particularly reafforestation (ibid, pp 26–29).

The environmentalism of the planned strategy for Monarto and the discursive context of its discussion reflected more than the design ethos brought by the consultants. The environmental cause gathered momentum under the Dunstan and Whitlam governments, as legislative and administrative innovations show. Assent was given to the Australian government's Environment Protection (Impact of Proposals) Act on 17 December 1974, which required environmental factors to be considered during assessment (*Draft Plan for Environmental Study*, 1975, p 9). The MDC took pains not merely to conform to the new requirements but also to make its compliance apparent. The expedited timeframe for the city's implementation – the first tranche of the new population was expected by the end of 1978 – compromised these intentions.

City centre

The environmental cause was of course not confined to government agencies or to Australia. The consultants designing the city centre brought international experience with them, and exposure to important lines of environmental inquiry that reinforced their influence on Monarto.

The centre's construction was the initial focus. The rationale for this prioritising had several strands: to give Monarto a strong image; to build for administrative,
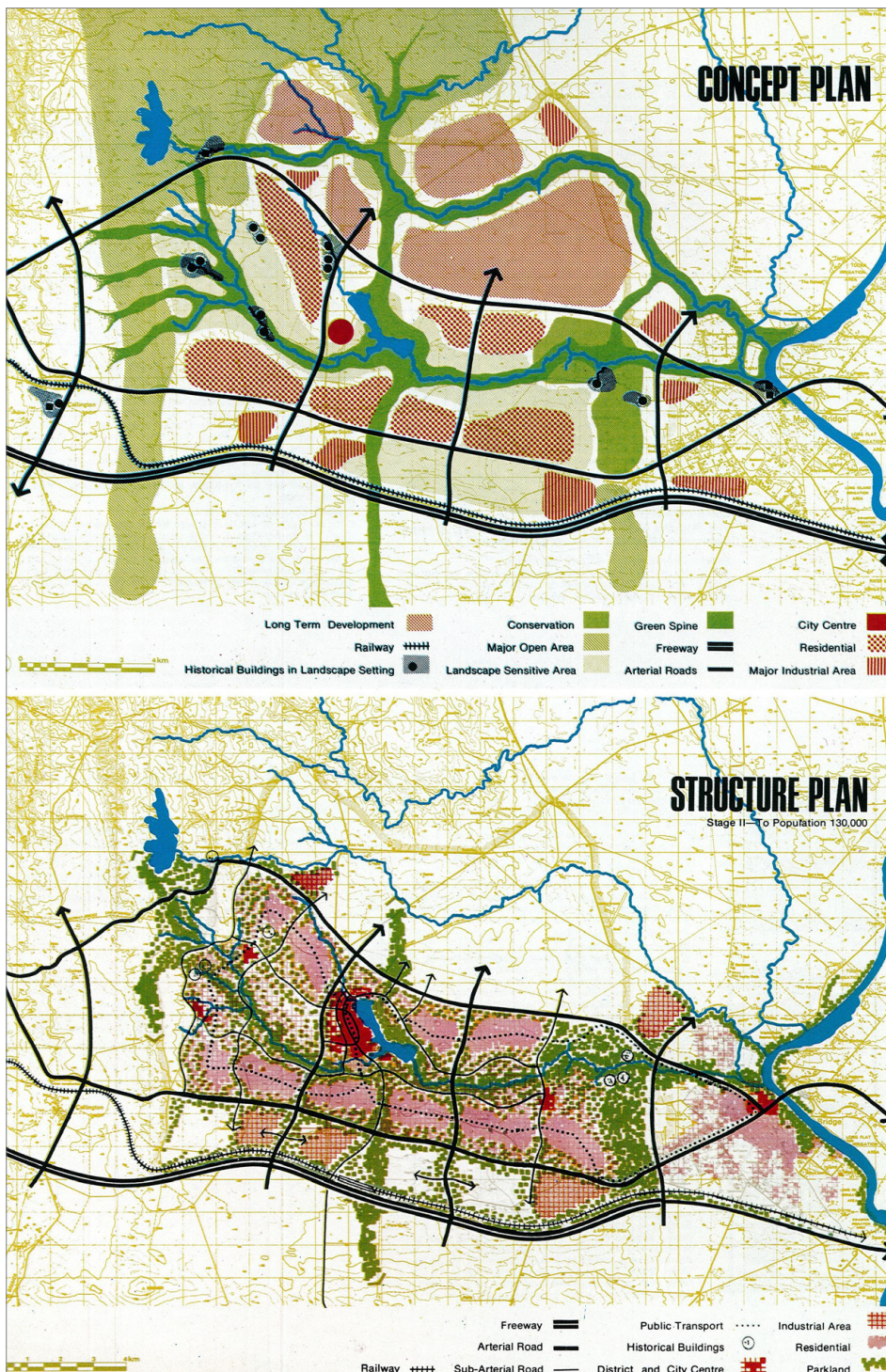
commercial and retail functions to make it a viable entity separate from Adelaide; and to keep it compact but in line with an 'Australian way of life'. To the east of the site designated for the central city and its lake, remnant vegetation immediately offered the bushland amenity of Monarto's conception. An anticipated 1,000 new residents were to be living there by the end of 1978, with 5,000 to 6,000 arriving annually thereafter (*Monarto Planning Studies*, 1974, p 63). Detailed design of the centre was expedited well beyond that of the outlying residential and industrial districts anticipated as part of the long-term plan (*Monarto Development Commission Annual Report 1975–1976*, p 14).

The architects involved in the design of the central city were therefore necessarily involved in the project early in its implementation and had a much wider influence on its design ethos than might otherwise have been the case. Boris Kazanski and his replacement (from early 1975) as the main architectural consultant on Monarto, John Andrews, were both Australian but both brought with them experiences and attitudes from international careers. Kazanski graduated from the University of Adelaide; before Dunstan engaged him in 1972 to work on Monarto and operate as a state urban design consultant, he had worked in Europe. There he formed associations with the Berlin architect Rolf Gutbrod, designer of the West German pavilion at Montreal's Expo 67, and with the Rome studio of Pier Luigi Nervi, highly regarded for innovative and beautiful reinforced concrete structures. Kazanski sought to involve both Gutbrod and Nervi in the Monarto project, and Gutbrod visited the site in early 1974, to give advice based on his experience of building in the arid Middle East. Gutbrod's Mecca Convention Centre, like his Montreal pavilion – both done with the young Frei Otto – featured dramatic tensile roofs. Kazanski's work for the Monarto central city would focus on the 'Monarto Hub', a building also featuring huge, tent-like roofs. A carnivalesque centre for communal activities, the exposition of science and 'fun', it was apparently informed by the aleatory architectural explorations of such international 1960s neo-*avant garde* innovators as Cedric Price and Archigram. The Hub, first appearing in a 1974 report by Kazanski, Shankland Cox and Gutbrod, titled *Concept Plan for Monarto*, was not welcomed by the MDC (Figure 2).

Andrews was slightly older than Kazanski, and brought extensive experience of large, complex projects from his successful career in Canada and Australia. The architectural precedents from which his work developed stretched back to mid-century modernist debates on monumentality and urban form, to which he had been exposed during his Master of Architecture education at Harvard's Graduate School of Design in 1957–1958. This influence is apparent in the project that made Andrews' name as an independent architect, 1965's Scarborough College in Toronto.

Andrews also brought significant connections to two important streams of landscape thinking. At Scarborough, he had worked with the landscape architect Michael Hough, educated at the University of Pennsylvania under Ian McHarg. McHarg's ecological approach was to be a profoundly influential paradigm across the whole international field of landscape architecture – and regional planning – particularly after his *Design with Nature* was published in 1969. Hough was later characterised as one of McHarg's most significant followers (Spirn, 2000, p 113). Whether or not it can be attributed to Hough, Scarborough indicates Andrews had a predisposition to consider building complexes in relation to landscape conditions. Certainly, by the time of Andrews' involvement in Monarto in 1975, an environmental approach pervaded his Australian office: a report from that year on planning for the Palm Beach peninsula, for example, cites *Design with Nature* directly and indirectly.

Scarborough links Andrews to a McHargian line that he in turn brought to Monarto. Cameron Offices, the project that brought Andrews home to Australia in 1969, entails connection to a different landscape tradition. In Toronto, Andrews
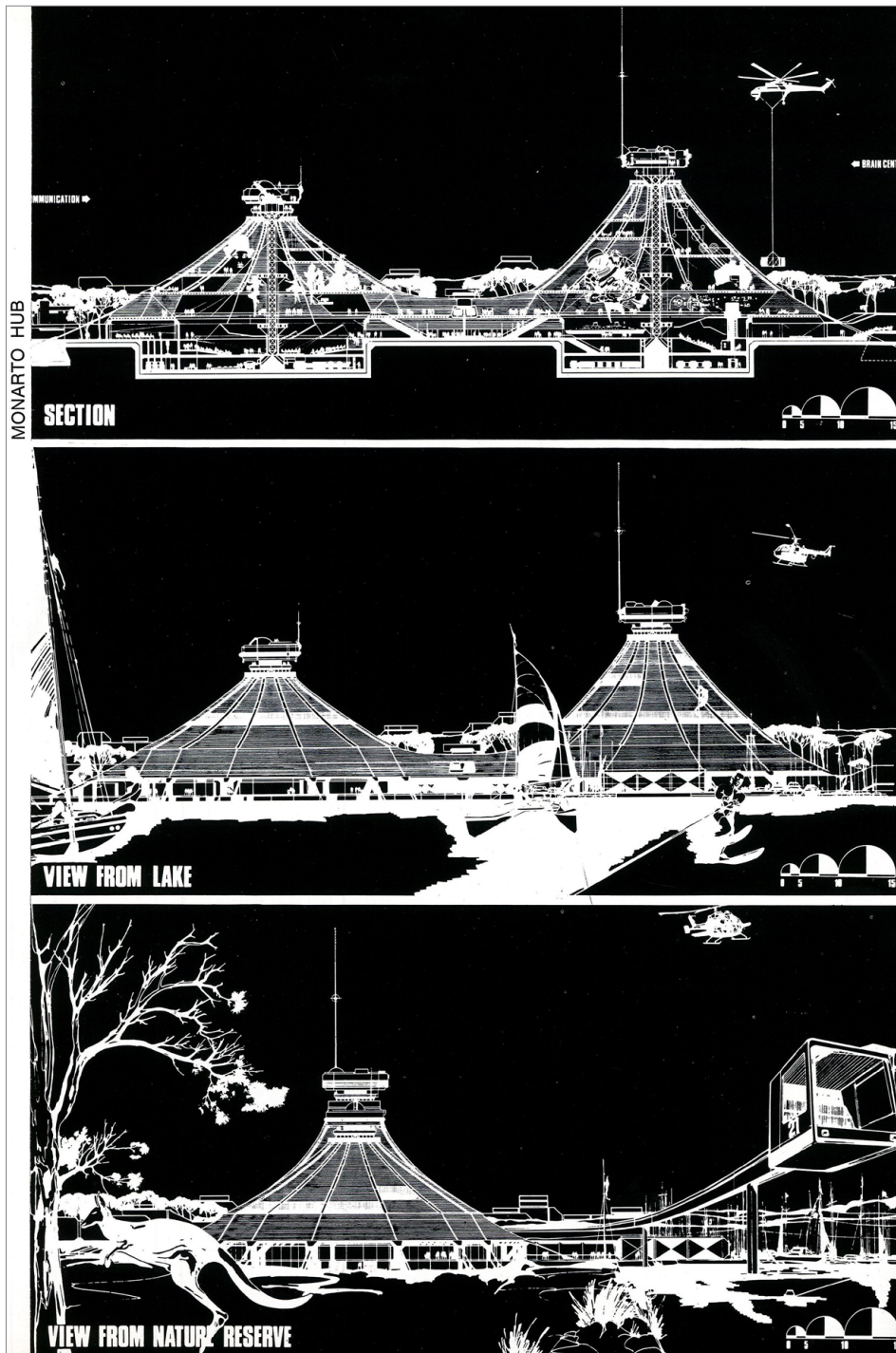
had made a close friendship with the landscape architect Richard (Dick) Strong when both were working in the architectural office of JB Parkin, a leading Toronto practice that had sought to remake itself as a 'modern' company with work akin to that of Mies van der Rohe. Andrews and Strong were to work separately from the same building in Colborne Street in central Toronto; both were part of an informal collective of professionals called Integ. Strong, like Andrews, had studied at Harvard, but his teacher, leading landscape architect Hideo Sasaki, was more conventional than McHarg and continued to see landscape architecture primarily as a modernist, aesthetic enterprise. (On Sasaki as a teacher, see Necker and Tunnard, 1993; and as a landscape architect, see Walker, 1993.) Strong

worked in Sasaki's Boston area office (Simo, 2001) and, later, Strong's own firm in Toronto had a partnership with Sasaki for some time. Strong followed Andrews to Australia to work on the Cameron Offices project, designing landscapes for the long courtyards between the complex's seven fingers, themed to represent different Australian landscapes. Period photographs of these gardens suggest Sasaki's formalism remained entrenched in Strong's approach.

Additionally, Andrews' personal charisma and the fame he enjoyed in the mid-1970s gave his views particular bearing. Andrews' rather schematic work for central Monarto (Figure 3) shows evidence of both the formalism of Strong's landscape approach and McHarg's environmentalism, the growing paradigm of the period. The first can be seen in the diagonal axis that bisects the plan, and in the cascade of pools – each square in the plan – around which Andrews configured the main central city buildings. The second can be found in the environmentalism that marks the broader Andrews approach, stated right at the beginning of his first report for the MDC, *Potentials for Monarto: First Impressions* (1975), co-written with Philip Cox. The authors wrote that Monarto 'presents an excellent opportunity to demonstrate prototypical environmental planning and design … The problems are typical … but containing various ecological systems whose conservation would be an asset to any city'.

Planting the city

During 1975, as planning proceeded, research into environmental conditions of the site accelerated. A *Draft Plan for Environmental Study* issued in January 1975 lists 12 areas in which 'base-line' studies of existing conditions at Monarto either were already being undertaken by independent consultants or experts from the South Australian Museum, universities and other research organisations or were about to be commissioned. These 12 areas (none complete) were: aquatic environment, botany, climatology, ecology, geology, geomorphology, historic
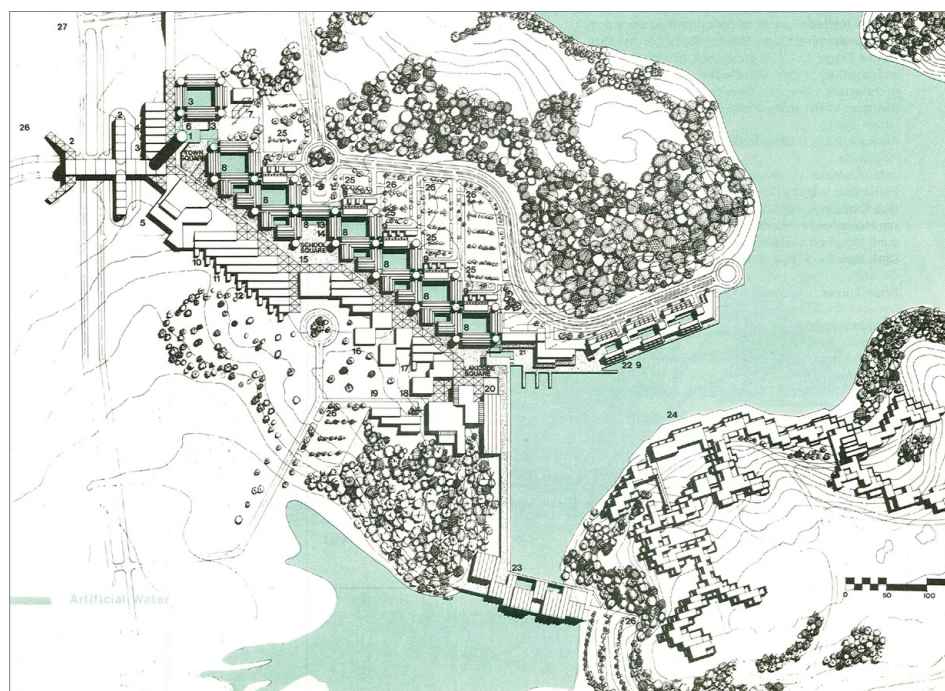

Figure 3: John Andrews' design for the Monarto central city area. (Image: Monarto City Centre Stage One Design Proposal, 1975.)

and archaeological studies, hydrology, pedology, 'regional profile study', wind studies and zoology. Yet specific proposals for the city's physical development had already been made, themselves requiring environmental assessment under the new legislation. Notable among these proposals were Kazanski's central plans and a lake. The plan for 'broadacre treeplanting' also required environmental assessment. The *Draft Plan for Environmental Study* (1975) notes that:

> Plans for the Monarto site envisage eventual planting of up to 50% of the area with trees or shrubs. The tree planting program is therefore, on an area basis, the largest single land use change. The reconversion of the Monarto area to woodland will have a profound effect on the soils, water budget, microclimate and wildlife of the area (p 58).

As with the city centre, while neither baseline surveys of conditions nor environmental impact assessments of the afforestation of thousands of hectares were complete at the beginning of 1975, tree planting on a large scale had already begun. In 1974, 340 hectares had been planted (ibid, p 58), when the only specific technical advice at hand had come from the South Australian Ornithological Association. The Association noted that plant species selected for Monarto needed to suit conditions; while alluding to the suitability of a wide range of Australian species, it recommended 'limiting the selection basically to species indigenous to the Monarto district and surrounding areas' (*Birds of the Monarto Area*, 1974, Appendix B, p 2).

Commitment to extensive planting at Monarto was long-standing. Planting native trees in a district that had undergone land clearance for generations was a major preoccupation of the Second City Committee. Landscape architect Ron Danvers recalls Alec Ramsay's scepticism regarding the new town's future and how he kept 'insisting unrelentingly in meetings I attended on a program to plant most of the site with native trees' (Danvers, pers com, 2014). Revegetation would be partial compensation for the money otherwise wasted on the project.

Like Kazanski and Andrews, Danvers had significant international links: he had recently returned to Adelaide from working with the Italian *avant garde*, anti-city architectural firm Superstudio, most famous for its graphic, 'The Continuous City', an endless built grid encircling the globe, to be wandered by high-tech nomads (Treadwell, 2010). His close connection with Superstudio was important to Danvers: the firm he formed with John Dallwitz was named Super Environment Design and Research Studio and cited its 'Association with Superstudio, Firenze' on its letterhead. While Monarto's landscape planning shows no overt influence of Superstudio, the millions of trees Danvers planted, standing in the place where a fantastical city centre of floating concrete tents was imagined, bring Superstudio and its anti-city imagery to mind.

Answering the question of which plant species should be planted in Monarto exercised a great deal of reflection and expertise. Commentary in *Monarto Planning Studies* (December 1974) shows that the extant natural vegetation of the site was already understood: dominant species were woodland eucalypts on the lower slopes of the Mount Lofty Ranges to the west and mallee eucalypts over much of the rest. That report emphasised the value of every remaining tree: 'every clump of trees or even single tree on the site is important' (ibid, p 52). It also

acknowledged the significance of non-indigenous species in Monarto's extant vegetation (ibid, p 18).

In 1975, studies of the area's botany and ecology – which the MDC had sought from the Waite Institute, the South Australian State Herbarium, the South Australian Museum and, in particular, HG Andrewartha (Emeritus Professor of Zoology at the University of Adelaide) – became available. Andrewartha demonstrated that six major indigenous plant communities of the Monarto region were now present only as remnants.

Nevertheless, Australian species not indigenous to the Monarto area were evaluated and widely planted. The *Monarto Development Commission Annual Report 1975–1976* notes that:

> The Commission, in association with the Department of Agriculture and Fisheries, is developing an irrigation experimental station at the Monarto site to investigate the effects of garden watering on the local soils and to determine a range of trees, shrubs and ground covers suitable for the soils and climate of Monarto (p 8).

Forty-six species of exotic and native shrubs and groundcovers (the natives selected from across Australia) were subjected to differing degrees of irrigation over 10 years (Meissner and Lay, 1985), continuing well beyond the demise of the urban plan for Monarto. Vestiges of this initial regeneration programme still thrive in what is now designated the Monarto National Park. As Ramsay foresaw, tree planting produced Monarto's most enduring physical legacy.

But it was not just environmental issues that guided plant choice. Aesthetic considerations were also significant. The *Monarto Development Commission Annual Report 1975–1976* comments that local species, such as *Callitris preissii* and *Eucalyptus leucoxylon*, would dominate parkland plantings and thus produce a common visual quality across the city (the green foliage of the callitris contrasting with the white of the eucalyptus trunks) (p 26). Other species would be selected partly because they thrived either 'naturally' at Monarto or in other low-rainfall areas of South Australia, and partly on the basis of horticultural qualities of 'colour, shape and other visible attractions' (ibid).

A report produced by the Landscape Architects Section (which apparently consisted of one person, landscape architect GS Sanderson) of the MDC's Town Planning Division in April 1976 promotes the 'city in the bush' mentality pervading much of the official discourse on Monarto. Yet it also notes facilities such as sports grounds would need irrigation beyond that required for passive recreational areas, and that in 'private open space' – presumably private gardens – '[t]he vivid colour of subtropical plants, the cool shade of grape vines and plane trees, and the grace and character of Eucalypts will be part of the Monarto urban landscape' (*Landscape Approach to Monarto*, 1976, p 11). Sanderson's report finds value in the existing farm landscape too. While citing the negative impacts of farming – deterioration in indigenous plant communities, creek beds and so on – nevertheless he notes that 'farming has left many interesting stone buildings, dry stone fences and pleasant country roads, and has avoided non-arable land distinguished by its accompanying bush. Farming made a mixed contribution to the elements which form the essence of Monarto's landscape' (ibid, p 3).

Remembering the past and forgetting

Sanderson's *Landscape Approach to Monarto* (1976) report seems to have been the only item in the vast documentation of Monarto's conception and early implementation that acknowledges significance in the agricultural landscapes to be replaced. The survey activities undertaken in 1974 and 1975 did, however, address the site's history of human occupancy, primarily through documentation of artefacts and specific locations rather than of the broader modifications brought about by human habitation. Monarto was named after a late-nineteenth-century tribal woman, a reminder of indigenous heritage, which the Department of Environment and Conservation, under Broomhill, was already documenting. The department commissioned Betty F Ross to write on the occupation and dispossession of the Ngarlta people of the Ngarrindjeri nation of the lower regions of the Murray. Ross's short, non-scholarly *Aboriginal History of the Monarto Area* (1974) is distinguished by its romantic representation of the indigenous people and their 'harmonious relationship with the land'. More significantly, it documents the neglect and vandalism of known Aboriginal sites, and includes a photograph of rock art erased by semi-literate teenage declarations of love. Ross co-authored a more professional report for the MDC with Bob Ellis of the South Australian Museum, *Aboriginal Relics in the Lower Mount Lofty Ranges, Murray River, and Monarto Area* (May 1974). This was one of several reports commissioned from experts at the South Australian Museum and the Australian Museum in Sydney on 'aboriginal sites' (painting sites, canoe and shield trees, middens and so on) from the Murray to the Mount Lofty Ranges. These reports were important precedents for the Historical Guidelines produced six years later by the Department of Environment and Planning (as it had been renamed), which would more insightfully note the subtle changes to the landscape that indigenous people effected through their burning practices.

No report treated the heritage of the farming families that subsequently occupied Monarto with similar thoroughness. This was a farming heritage forged by nineteenth-century German immigrants who brought with them building styles and cultural practices (Young, 1985). While physical evidence of this migration survived in buildings such as the Lutheran Church, the cultural heritage had been partially suppressed through anti-German sentiment in the early twentieth century, when institutions such as the Monarto German school were closed. The MDC itself produced a report titled *Monarto Old Buildings* (1974) (Figure 4), with photographs of 11 buildings that were among those to be conserved: churches, the modest existing municipal offices, farm houses and sheds. Schubert farm was '[a]pproved as the preferred site for a future folk museum and recreation area' (p 4). Items collected for this purpose – generally agricultural implements and sundry household objects (a butter churn, a mantle clock and so on) – had been donated by descendants of the German settlers, and it was anticipated that more would be forthcoming as those descendants left their properties (*Monarto Artefacts Report and Recommendations*, 1974). The exact status of each object and its restoration and conservation requirements were assessed by Dallwitz and Danvers through their Super Environment Design and Research Studio.

Although by the mid-1970s folk museums were well established across regional and rural Australia, typically, collections were collated by amateur local

historical societies (McLennan, 2006). Dallwitz and Danvers, by contrast, were drawing on international developments in museum studies to professionalise what had hitherto been amateur and ad hoc: as they boldly announced to the MDC, their report expressed 'the current state of the art' (introductory letter, *Report on Restoration*, 1974). The report deals only with white settlers, but other contemporaneous work by Dallwitz on the Heritage Guidelines exhibits an equally sensitive awareness of the relationship between cultural practice and Aboriginal identity. Heritage, then, was one of several disciplines for which Monarto would act as a proving ground, informing the South Australian Heritage Act that was to be passed in 1978.

Whether intentional or not, the poignant descriptions in Super Environment Design and Research Studio's report on the objects collected from Monarto's farms, and in the MDC's own report on Monarto artefacts, underscored the impoverished material lives of the Monarto farmers (Figure 5). A television documentary, made by the MDC at the time, on the plight of dispossessed families – while rather elegiac in tone – suggested that the ways of life of the existing Monarto population were deeply rooted in the past (*Monarto*, 1975). The evidence of the site's history collected and commissioned by the MDC seemingly underwrote the inevitability of change and the desirability of a completely new start. The past was to be seen through a lens of nostalgia that, while lending it a sepia glow, made it distant and individual. It also disavowed the contradiction of valuing traces of the farming communities that had lived there while anticipating massive interventions to erase their greatest achievement, their farm landscapes.

Conclusion

It was not long after Monarto's demise that a narrative emerged in Australian urban planning discourse in which the Monarto project figured as either mere profligacy or a failed but cynical attempt to politically manipulate the South Australian electorate to the benefit of the Labor Party. Or both. Certainly, the

tangible legacy that Monarto left to the South Australian community was mixed: a farming community dispossessed to no end but also a revegetation programme that achieved significant environmental improvements.

Other less tangible legacies remain, however. South Australia's next new town proposal – the Multi-Function Polis project of the 1990s – was driven by a new wave of technological fantasy coupled with neoliberal economics that had learnt nothing from experiments of a generation earlier. It, too, failed. Other impacts are evident at a less grandiose scale. The prospect of realising Monarto diminished from the middle of 1975. Even before the dismissal of Whitlam's government in November 1975, the country's economic woes were sapping the political will to fund Monarto, although it was not until the Liberal Party again won power in South Australia in 1979 that the project was officially abandoned. Nevertheless, the project influenced planning practice in the state throughout the late 1970s as staff at the MDC worked on smaller-scale and more immediate urban planning projects for other locations. The commission's director of architecture, Hank Den-Ouden, was to go on to write guidelines for the state government on streetscape design, residential design and urban tree planting, promoting good practice at the grassroots level aimed at influencing townscape in such growth areas in South Australia as the mining town of Roxby Downs.

Individual careers also developed through Monarto. Another paper examines the place of Andrews' Monarto work in the development of his architecture (Nichols et al, 2014). Kazanski and Shankland Cox's Monarto team members each went on to undertake further work in arid locations – central Australia and Saudi Arabia – passing on the knowledge Gutbrod had brought to Monarto. Kazanski's grand ambitions for the Hub were never to be realised either at Monarto or elsewhere. However, the environmental values – perhaps poorly grasped but nevertheless genuinely sought – that drove the Shankland Cox plan within which Kazanski's urban centre was elaborated were real and stayed with figures involved with the Monarto project long after the plug was pulled.

The projects and plans for Monarto index the multiple strands of urban and landscape thinking extant in professional circles in the 1970s and their encounter with the ecological and environmental concerns whose urgency was just becoming apparent. *Monarto Planning Studies* (1974) implied a systematised, logical form in Monarto's design following from the 'demands of the site and the interactions of urban functions at metropolitan scale' (p 29). However, the diversity of approaches among consultants and organisations working or advising on Monarto led to moments of ideological confusion and contradiction. This complexity in the conceptual development and first steps in implementation at Monarto can be construed as an index of competing values and ideologies in the planning, landscape and design discourses of the period, both in Australia and internationally. In particular, Monarto's landscape became a theatre for competing values in relation to natural and cultural heritage and design ambitions.

The history of Australia's new cities in the 1970s and their flawed implementation is often depicted by historians and participants as entailing too much, too soon, with ambitions thwarted by economic reality. Even direct participants in Monarto's planning and execution claim with hindsight to have

Figure 5: Cover image from Dallwitz and Danvers' Report on Restoration. *(Super Environment Design and Research Studio, November 1974.)*

regarded the city as, in large part, an 'exercise'. Forty years later, it seems difficult to believe such cynicism could have produced the extensive documentation and discussion especially apparent in the investigation of Monarto's landscape conditions and opportunities.

The legacy of Monarto is a rich body of reportage, research and activity. Little remains on the ground to signify the Monarto project. Kazanski recalls that an offhand comment made in the aftermath of the project – that the land acquired should become a zoo – was, to his surprise, made a partial reality. Most of the land was 'just put up for open sale' (Frances Gibson, pers com, 2014) and, while an ardent group at Murray Bridge continues to agitate for the concerted development of the area, it is the thousands of trees planted in the region that bear witness to the extraordinary Monarto enterprise.

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Milton Keynes and the Liquid Landscape, 1967–78

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Language describing planned landscapes has often relied on organic imagery; however, it is less common to analyse the political functioning of such symbolism. This paper analyses metaphors of flow, liquidity and drought used to describe idealised landscape forms in early national print media responses to Milton Keynes. Designated in 1967, this large-scale, low-density, explicitly post-industrial city sought to improve on previous models of urban development by actively pursuing a non-deterministic plan. In these early responses to the town, drawing on the longer context of post-war discussions of 'overspill', urban landscapes were interpreted as determining receptacles for an inert population mass that, when left unbounded, would flood and subsume the surrounding countryside. By 1978, however, informed by escalating national political crises, these preoccupations had evolved into an indictment of the town as overtly deterministic, interpreting its newness as a rejection of historically legitimated landscape forms. Even as the specific values associated with these metaphors shifted under changing political circumstances, definitions of 'good landscapes' consistently used fluid metaphors that opposed the nourishing capacity of water with the potential catastrophes of flood and drought. Tracing the evolving politics of metaphorical representations of ideal landscapes in British print media helps challenge essentialist readings of Milton Keynes while locating them within the chaotic ideological context of 1970s British politics.

The British new town of Milton Keynes was designed to respond to the growing backlash against post-war urban planning. Its revisionist plan was presented as 'learning from' late 1960s concerns about the perceived overt determinism of tower blocks and early new towns. Despite these corrective intentions, Milton Keynes has been widely reviled in British media and popular culture. Negative responses to the town have often been presented as deriving from its essential features, with the implication that Milton Keynes' failings are caused by and inherent in its master-planned origins. Milton Keynes' early development, however, occurred in the context of national political and economic crises, and escalating criticisms of urban planning as a form of 'socialist' public policy. Such essentialism has detracted from study of the town's changing meanings within this wider cultural context.

Much historical discussion of Milton Keynes has assessed the town's 'success' or 'failure' against the initial goals of its plan (for example, Bendixson and Platt, 1992; Clapson, 1998, 2004; Finnegan, 1998). While this approach is valuable given the ambitious nature of the plan, its dominance has replicated the limitations of early media coverage of the town by debating its single essential meaning. As such, this approach limits the potential scope for considering Milton Keynes'

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changing cultural meanings, and to account for its often-negative reputation (compare Vaughan et al, 2009, p 485). Examining early print media responses to Milton Keynes helps escape the limitations of essentialism, while allowing a closer focus on the changing meanings of planned space that have constituted the backlash against urban planning in Britain.

In response, this article uses close and sometimes resistant reading of metaphors that appeared in national print media coverage of Milton Keynes from 1967 to 1978, while relating these metaphors to the wider political and economic environment of 1970s Britain.[1] This is motivated by the Gramscian approach to cultural history where the 'spontaneous philosophy' of everyday utterances is seen as encoding and reinforcing political beliefs, framing them as organic forms of 'common sense' (Gramsci, 1972, p 323; S Hall et al, 2013 [1978], pp 152–153). In this way, this paper locates Milton Keynes' history within broader national narratives, by indicating that these metaphors reflect wider cultural anxieties about the relative value of tradition and innovation, especially in the context of economic crisis and the rise of neoliberal politics (compare Baucom, 1999; M Gardiner, 2013). While a full exploration of these influences on attitudes to Milton Keynes is beyond the scope of any single paper, focusing on this aspect of its metaphorical representation helps foreground the political contestation of landscape meanings within ideological and national identity debates.

Designation and *The Plan for Milton Keynes*

The New Town Act of 1946 was part of a suite of post-war reforms intended to improve the amount and quality of state housing stock while preserving desirable land-use patterns. Drawing on the pre-war garden city tradition at Letchworth and Welwyn Garden City, state-planned new towns were intended to be self-contained, constrained from sprawl by green belts, and to provide the ideal combination of urban and rural amenities (P Hall and Tewdwr-Jones, 2011, p 68). Early post-war new towns such as Crawley and Basildon aimed to cater to a mix of social classes; however, the employment opportunities they provided largely targeted the skilled working class, leading to criticisms of monoculturalism (Clapson, 1998, p 29). Generally, low provision of leisure and social amenities in new towns, along with the social disjuncture created by large-scale population movement, engendered criticisms that their forms causally generated social atomisation and psychological malaise. This idea of 'new town blues' linked urban forms with collective psychological health and featured heavily in national print media accounts of new towns through the 1950s and 1960s (compare Clapson, 1998, p 66; P Hall, 1966). These criticisms were compounded by high-profile arguments against population dispersal. For example, the influential sociological studies by Michael Willmott and Paul Young (1957; 1960) suggested that emphasis on dispersal destroyed valuable existing community bonds.

Despite these concerns, during the late 1960s, state-sponsored urban planning remained politically ascendant. On Labour's return to power in 1964, the new town programme was expanded with the second New Town Act of 1965, which in part responded to substantial population increases anticipated in London (Ministry of Housing and Local Government, 1964).

Milton Keynes was designated on 1 January 1967 on a 21,880-acre site halfway between London and Birmingham, with a projected population of 250,000. This drastic increase in scale immediately suggested a rejection of the kind of revisionism modelled by Cumbernauld's high-density, low-rise modernism, and indicated the influence of the Centre for Environmental Studies (CES) think-tank based at University College London. While local councils had long been agitating for a new town to be established in North Buckinghamshire, their proposed plan conformed to the kind of classical modernist high-rise, high-density model that the Ministry of the Environment was increasingly keen to distance itself from, in recognition of the extensive criticisms of the overt determinism in early post-war planning (Ortolano, 2011, p 480). Conversely, the CES aimed to integrate sociological research with urban planning practice through lower-density, 'flexible' planning, which would facilitate greater resident agency and greater capacity for formal adaptation, intervention and change over time (Clapson, 2012, p 44). The firm Llewelyn-Davies, Weeks, Forestier-Walker and Bor, closely connected to CES and with experience in planning Washington new town and developing the unsuccessful plan for Hook in Hampshire, was selected as planning consultants to the Milton Keynes Development Corporation (MKDC) board.

Published in 1970, *The Plan for Milton Keynes* aimed to provide 'opportunity and freedom of choice' to residents through decentralised planning that dispersed a range of architectural styles, housing densities and industrial, social and commercial facilities throughout the designated area (MKDC, 1970, p 12). Chief planner Lord Llewelyn-Davies summed up this approach as follows:

> The future is rather indeterminate … in planning of this sort it's futile to make guesses. You have to design a city with as much freedom and looseness of texture as possible. Don't tie people up in knots (*Illustrated London News*, 1970).

This statement frames human agency as opposed to planning, while implying that ideal landscapes are defined by lack of constraint. This echoes *The Plan for Milton Keynes*, which explicitly rejected enforcing 'any fixed conception of how people ought to live' (MKDC, 1970, p 23). This focus positioned Milton Keynes as unambiguously revisionist, seeking to correct and transcend the failings of earlier planned landscapes.

Overspill: 1967–73

Milton Keynes' designation and early development attracted widespread media coverage. Much of this discussion drew on existing metaphorical frameworks for interpreting cities, including organic metaphors of birth and deformity (b'Arr, 1970; *The Times*, 1970b). Among these approaches, metaphors of liquidity and flow, particularly those that drew on the associations of the term 'overspill', were widely used to describe Milton Keynes. Overspill had been used historically to describe planned population movement from established conurbations to peripheral, newly constructed estates, especially in the Greater London area (Clapson, 2005, p 60). It was also used more loosely to describe any planned population movement, including to new towns. Consistently, however, overspill represented a teleological relationship between a new planned development and an existing city, and the deliberate act of moving population through government

mechanisms. Overspill was thereby opposed to unplanned urban sprawl; like sprawl, however, it implied that the ideal city rigidly contained a finite capacity, which risked breaching its borders without ongoing maintenance through urban planning intervention (compare Best, 1970; P Hall, 1970; P Hall et al, 1973).

Print media coverage of Milton Keynes from 1967 to 1973 frequently described it as an 'overspill town' or as a receptacle for London's 'overspilling' population, alongside associated imagery of decanting, flooding, pouring and submerging. This conceptualised the town as a determining container whose construction would avert a population 'flood' from eradicating the inert rural landscape under indiscriminate urban sprawl (Craigie, 1968; *The Times*, 1972; Willmott, 1974). In such coverage, the act of populating Milton Keynes was to be achieved through 'decanting' and 'dispersal', emphasising the need for expert intervention in 'filling' the new container (*The Times*, 1967a; 1967b; compare *New Society*, 1970). Some accounts, however, questioned Milton Keynes' ability to perform effectively as a container due to its planned high population and low density. The 'looseness of texture' Llewelyn-Davies championed relied on filling unplanned 'empty' spaces and adapting them to the as-yet-unknown needs of future residents, while also allowing generous space for private gardens and communal public spaces. More critical accounts interpreted this approach as too closely resembling the thin population dispersal of unplanned sprawl (Allan, 1972; Gibbard, 1971; Pahl, 1969). In such accounts, Milton Keynes was described as 'drowning', 'engulfing' or 'flooding' the Buckinghamshire greenfield 'countryside' through extravagant use of space (*Daily Telegraph and Morning Post*, 1967; Lewthwaite, 1967).

This concern intersected with fears about the 'American' form of Milton Keynes, with its car-friendly gridded plan and suburban-style housing, a fear that drew on broader anxieties about the increasing American cultural and political influence in the post-war period (Weight, 2004). Indeed, while it is beyond the scope of this paper to explore the implications of metaphors of foreignness in Milton Keynes' reception, it is significant to note that they formed another major body of response to the town, framing its experimental form as fundamentally irreconcilable with implied national norms. Significantly, these 'American' design features attempted to generate 'flow', in the sense of alleviating traffic congestion; yet this was represented as rejecting the forms of unplanned, historic cities established before the advent of the car (Lewthwaite, 1967; *The Times*, 1970a). Car-friendly flow, associated with sprawling unplanned suburbia, was frequently represented as too great, evoking imagery of a flood attributed to insufficient regulation and the encroachment of American cultural influence (Gibbard, 1971; *Guardian*, 1976; Ward, 1978).

This metaphorical language positions relationships between humans and landscape as potentially catastrophic and in need of expert control (Hall, 1973). By conceptualising Britain's population in terms of fluid dynamics, 'overspill' metaphors depersonalised subjects of planning policy, while constructing elite containment as a social good. While *The Plan for Milton Keynes* sought to address criticisms that urban planning was too deterministic, the media's use of overspill metaphors in its early reception continued to reflect faith in the necessity of spatial determinism.

Crisis and decline: 1974–78

This framework for understanding the role of cities, however, came increasingly under challenge as Britain's long-precarious economic situation worsened substantially under Edward Heath's Conservative government, with cycles of rising inflation and industrial action leading to the 'three-day-week' during the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) oil crisis (Turner, 2008, p 21). The Labour government from 1974 only temporarily stabilised this situation, and in 1976 the declining pound was stabilised through an International Monetary Fund (IMF) loan. The 'IMF crisis' was widely interpreted as a form of national humiliation and proof of Britain's decline in national status (Moran, 2010, p 177). The loan was followed by substantial funding cuts and the abandonment of the goal of full employment; yet this policy shift away from Keynesianism was insufficient to navigate resurging inflation and the impact of the second oil crisis on costs of living. The ensuing 1978–79 strikes featured widespread and highly visible interruptions to civic function and significantly damaged the reputation of the Labour Party, which was replaced as government in May 1979 by the Conservative Party under Margaret Thatcher.

This narrative of recurrent crisis is highly significant in considering the focus of British journalism from 1974 onwards. The late 1970s saw a resurgence in political journalism that attempted to diagnose the cause of current crises relative to a longer projected history of national decline (Glendinning and Muthesius, 1994, p 310; Tomlinson, 2000). Part of a wider trend of post-war British cultural anxiety about post-imperial national status, theorised as declinism, such journalism identified specific targets as metonymically reflective of a declining national state and as having caused or substantially contributed to it (Edgerton, 2004, p 5). This process helped construct the economic and political challenges of 1970s Britain as crises of national legitimacy and survival (S Hall et al, 2013 [1978]; Moran, 2010). Among the 'usual suspects', such as trade unions, which were singled out for especial blame, a significant minority of journalists linked post-war decline to post-war, state-sponsored urban planning (Tomlinson, 2009, p 246). Through its state-interventionist origins, post-war urban planning was a highly visible, tangible symbol of expensive reformist investments that were now, in the context of crisis, seen to have failed.

The marked polarisation of reportage on Milton Keynes from 1974 onwards, peaking in 1978, reflected and helped perpetuate this diagnostic media culture. Along with other major state investment programmes, the new town programme underwent drastic funding cuts in 1976 and 1977, under a Labour government keen to alleviate the pressures of IMF loan conditions (Booth, 1976). Milton Keynes was considered by the Callaghan government to have developed too far to be cancelled; while its population targets were cut, it therefore continued to receive lower levels of state funding, which nonetheless attracted criticism (Ardill, 1976; Baws, 1976). Moreover, the 1964 population projections justifying Milton Keynes' designation had proved inaccurate, with London now losing population at a significant rate, partly through the success of planned dispersal particularly among London's white working-class population (Department of the Environment, 1978). In light of these statistics, London was no longer depicted as

an overspilling container but as rendered 'hollow' by over-absorptive new towns, which had 'siphoned' population too effectively (Adamson, 1977; Booth, 1976; Hillman, 1977).[2]

'What went wrong?'

This political context shifted the values attributed to flow and containment, with determinism increasingly seen as intrinsic to state-interventionist policies, while 'flow' became associated with the idea of Britain's long history shaping its landscape and culture incrementally by osmosis. From 1976, in particular, this attitude came to dominate even positive assessments of Milton Keynes, with its planning innovations increasingly presented as opposed to 'authentic' historical landscapes that had slowly developed over time (*Guardian*, 1976; Karpf, 1977; Lewis, 1977; Wainwright, 1977). Despite encompassing market and railway towns and Roman archaeological sites, Milton Keynes had a 'new town' identity and swift development that could not be reconciled with this notion of historically venerated flow (Ward, 1978; Young, 1976). This disjuncture implied a perception that visible historical continuity was psychologically beneficial to urban residents, with archaic forms providing a sense of meaningful connection with history, which also gave a sense of identity and comfort (*Guardian*, 1976; compare Gardiner, 2012, pp 3–4). While this idea of tradition and archaism as psychologically beneficial was far from new, this time of perceived crisis and lapse in historical prestige was accompanied by more vocal criticisms of urban forms that were seen to reject historical legitimation (Baucom, 1999, p 21; Glendinning and Muthesius, 1994, pp 307–310).

This perception of imminent crisis and the privileging of historical 'flow' coalesced with extreme criticism of Milton Keynes by Christopher Booker and Jeremy Seabrook. These two journalists interpreted Milton Keynes as overtly deterministic, causing psychological malaise to its inhabitants while reflecting a wider culture of decay. For Christopher Booker, founder and former editor of *Private Eye*, post-war urban planning was both inherently deterministic and inherently socialist, a form of totalitarian imposition that inhibited personal and collective freedom. Booker returned repeatedly to Milton Keynes as a pivotal example of state betrayal of a purportedly historical British identity. This argument was most extensive in his 1978 'Urban Rides' series for the *Spectator*, which emulated domestic travelogues by Priestley and Nairn through assessing the 'state of the nation' as expressed by the state of British cities (Booker, 1978a, 1978b).

Throughout 'Urban Rides', Booker presents urban planning as a fundamental imposition on British people, who benefit only from landscapes that bear evidence of historical living patterns (Booker 1978b). This is framed as both more democratic and as generating more meaningful and 'authentic' lifestyles. Booker sees Milton Keynes as the site of an 'unimaginative authoritarianism', which is both aesthetically unpleasing and a 'cruel … planner's fantasy' imposed onto unwitting residents 'lured' to the town under false pretences. He argues that the revisionist rhetoric of the town is mere 'propaganda', which facilitates the kind of intense social control he interprets as fundamentally 'totalitarian' and innate to 'socialist' public policy. Combining laissez-faire celebration of market-driven, long-term historical 'flow' with nostalgia for 'traditional' landscape

forms, Booker's ideal city is fundamentally opposed to Llewelyn-Davies' notion of a loose-textured, freeing planned town. Booker argues Milton Keynes is best understood as 'a last fitting memorial to the past thirty years of British planning', whose innately oppressive forms represent the last throes of an 'authoritarian' and interventionist state.

This interpretation of Milton Keynes as overtly deterministic was not unique to proto-neoliberal critics, but was shared by vocal left-wing critic of new town planning, Jeremy Seabrook. Seabrook published extensively throughout the late 1960s and 1970s on the individual and collective effects of slum clearances and new town developments (Seabrook, 1967; 1971; 1974). Seabrook visited Milton Keynes in 1978 for a feature for the *Observer Magazine* entitled 'Milton Keynes: A Mirror of England' (Seabrook, 1978a), which was later expanded into a chapter of his 1978 book *What Went Wrong? Working People and the Ideals of the Labour Movement* (Seabrook, 1978b). In the *Observer*, Seabrook's criticisms of the town were moderate and qualified heavily by claims that British society as a whole was similarly flawed. While he interpreted MKDC control as 'benevolent', he also argued Milton Keynes was 'deeply imprisoning' and caused 'pain and bewilderment' to residents. Nonetheless, he suggested the new town was a 'success', despite urging further improvement.

Any moderation or praise was abandoned in the expanded book form of the article (Seabrook, 1978b, pp 234–240). Additions included more extensive interviews with despairing residents who describe feelings of trapped hopelessness. Seabrook uses these additions to refocus his argument on the determinism belying Milton Keynes' ostensible multiplicity of choice. Choices of suburbs, schools or houses, for Seabrook, push residents into a range of predetermined possibilities that reinforce new structures of post-industrial capitalism, from the marketisation of leisure to increased consumerism. This latter point is central to what has 'gone wrong' in British working-class life in Seabrook's view; Milton Keynes is a 'carceral' site, which illustrates the wider 'remodelling and perfecting' of working-class people towards alienating post-industrial roles. Far from his earlier description of MKDC as 'benevolent', in *What Went Wrong?* Seabrook depicts it as accelerating this 'assimilation' into 'dehumanized inauthenticity [sic]'.

In both accounts, the relative values ascribed to flow and containment have been reversed from their early 1970s associations, with containment now presented as a stultifying, toxic force. The only 'flow' in Seabrook's account is the unbroken 'sterile progression' towards aspirational consumerism; elsewhere the town suffers from a drought of choice and opportunity. This drought is especially ascribed to the town's newness; the lack of visual continuity with the past is understood as an interruption, a break with the flow of history, which renders the town's innovations superficial and insubstantial. This is also true for Booker, who interprets Milton Keynes' futurism as a dystopian aberration, rejecting the proliferation of meanings accumulated by more 'historical' landscapes. Milton Keynes' drought of meaning is presented in both accounts as a deliberate and disastrous interruption of an idealised flow of incremental, osmotic landscape change; in this sense, the town is now seen not as too flowing to perform good urban functions but as too constricted.

The change in values associated with flow and containment is wholly consistent with wider trends in late 1970s politics, especially the ascendance of proto-Thatcherite rhetoric, which constructed the state as being in crisis due to the fundamentally toxic, constraining and unnatural policies undertaken during the 'socialist consensus' (S Hall, 1979, p 16). Such rhetoric allowed the presentation of a political solution in eroding these constraints in order to restore an imagined pre-existing 'flow' of individualistic and free market self-determination. While Seabrook is highly critical of this rhetoric, Booker is distinctly in favour of it; yet both participate in the reattribution of values that reframed containment not as a necessary urban function but as a dangerous interruption of an idealised flow that appealed to a historical narrative of legitimacy. According to such criteria, Milton Keynes could not be interpreted as a valuable urban space, even with its rhetoric of flexibility and not 'tying people up in knots'; the association of the town with state-planning, combined with its newness, rendered it fundamentally irreconcilable to neoliberalised ideals of 'flow' on the one hand and of visible historical continuity on the other. In this way, despite its avowed rhetoric of flexibility and freedom, Milton Keynes was caught up in a diagnostic culture of declinism where post-war planned spaces were increasingly seen as inauthentic, undesirable and toxically deterministic.

Conclusion

The value and perceived necessity of flow shifted over the 1970s, while consistently failing to favour Milton Keynes' combination of master-planned origins and flexible revisionist intentions. Designated early enough to benefit from a faith in the redemptive power of urban planning, Milton Keynes' development was nonetheless late enough that even its revisionism was interpreted as epitomising, rather than correcting, the worst excesses of state-sponsored urban planning. Despite its progressive origins and revisionist positioning, Milton Keynes became caught between cultural shifts around the value of agency and containment, generating a formative and resilient media narrative of a town at odds with ideal British landscapes, which continues to resonate today.

Study of the media response to innovatory urban forms such as Milton Keynes highlights the deeply political process of defining valuable landscapes and, simultaneously, how this political context is encoded at the level of representation through language and metaphor. It foregrounds the radically contingent nature of definitions of landscape value, the political contexts that shape them and the way they are both reflected and constituted through metaphors that often prove unstable. Moreover, the case of Milton Keynes highlights that even a town explicitly planned and marketed as flexible could be understood as the epitome of urban planning determinism, and the potential vulnerability of experimental landscape forms to changes in cultural values. Examining the metaphorical representation of Milton Keynes not only contributes to an emerging cultural history of post-war British landscape but also points to the wider importance of landscape as a symbolic site for wider political debates and as a focal point for anxieties around change, identity, agency and determinism.

NOTES

1   The print media material examined here originated from London and southeast England, reflecting the concentration of media industries in this area. These sources, however, largely purported to be of 'national' interest, not only to England but also to the rest of Britain. For the purposes of this paper, 'British' media will refer to this southeastern English media elite construction of a national audience.

2   Race and attitudes to Commonwealth immigration form a crucial aspect of this 'urban decline' narrative; however, it is beyond the scope of this paper to discuss this topic in detail. For early to mid-1970s analysis of this trend, see S Hall et al 2013 [1978].

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Haptic and Olfactory Experiences of the Perth Foreshore: Case Studies in Sensory History

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The liminal zone where a city meets 'the water's edge' is a place of heightened sensory experiences. In Australia, these settings have been continually reshaped and experienced, individually and collectively, both before and after European settlement, and so they provide a physical domain for reinterpreting Australian history. In Perth, Western Australia, at the turn of the twentieth century, two recreational buildings on the foreshore, the Perth City Baths (1898–1914) and the Water Chute (1905–unknown), promoted new aquatic leisure practices that provided heightened sensory experiences of the Swan River and the city foreshore. These buildings are examined from the perspective of 'sensory history', an alternative form of cultural and environmental analysis that has been garnering interest from a range of disciplines over the past several decades (see, for example, the work of Constance Classen, Alain Corbin, David Howes and Mark M Smith). Sensory history seeks to reveal through historical inquiry the informative and exploratory nature of the senses in specific contexts. The potential value of sensory history to studies of built and natural environments lies in drawing attention away from the overweening and frequently generalising dominance of 'the visual' as a critical category in humanities research. The case studies explore how evolving swimming practices at the City Baths and 'shooting the chutes' at the Water Chute provided novel, exciting and sometimes unpleasant haptic and olfactory experiences and consider how changing forms of recreation allowed for broadly sensuous rather than primarily visual experiences of the foreshore and Swan River. These case studies are part of a larger body of research that seeks to 'make sense' of the Perth foreshore and, more broadly, Australian urban waterfronts as sites of varied and evolving sensory experience.

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Perth, Western Australia, is a city situated at the edge of a 'waterside' nation. In Australia, a large percentage of the population lives within 50 kilometres of the continental fringe and almost every major city is situated on a harbour, a coast or a river approaching its coastal outlet. Urban waterfronts are often celebrated for their visual appeal; however, the 'fluidity' of water-, river- and ocean-fronts as sites of building and occupation makes them ideal settings for exploring the multi-sensory nature of such places. Sensory historian Alain Corbin (2014) writes that:

> ... a sensory appreciation of the city does not begin and end in the stones of its architecture, that is to say, in a nature morte or still life. It goes far beyond this materiality. A city's sounds, odours, and movement make up its identity as much as its lines and perspectives (p 47).

Considering the sensory history of urban waterfronts offers a new perspective on some of Australia's most celebrated places.

REFLECTION

In Perth at the turn of the twentieth century, two recreational buildings promoted new aquatic leisure practices that provided heightened sensory experiences of the Swan River and the city foreshore. Case studies of the Perth City Baths (1898–1914) and the Water Chute (1905–unknown) explore how technological developments and cultural change facilitated the rise of new and decidedly modern forms of recreational engagement with the river. Swimming at the City Baths and 'shooting the chutes' at the Water Chute transformed encounters between an individual's body, the bodies of others, and built and natural environments. This paper addresses sensations of touch, movement and smell, presenting a broadly sensuous rather than primarily visual perspective on the Perth foreshore around the turn of the twentieth century.

Sensory history

'Sensory history' is a field of historical, anthropological and cultural inquiry that emerged in the 1980s and 1990s from the work of scholars including Constance Classen, Alain Corbin, David Howes and Mark M Smith. It seeks to explore the different cultural meanings that are attached to particular sensations in specific places and times (Smith, 2010, p 860). Sensory history acknowledges the importance of philosophical (that is, Locke, Descartes), phenomenological (Heidegger, Pallasmaa) and scientific (biological or evolutionary) perspectives on senses, but also recognises how such approaches risk neglecting the cultural construction of the senses and the historical specificities of places and times. It considers the role of the senses 'in shaping peoples' [sic] experience of the past, shows how they understood their worlds and why, and is (or, at least, should be) very careful not to assume that the senses are some sort of "natural" endowment, unchangeable and constant' (Smith, 2007, p 842). The increasing number of publications and scholars from diverse fields undertaking research on sensory history in recent decades is evidence of expanding interest in the field. Examples of recent publications on the subject include *The Cultural History of the Senses* series (Classen, 2014) and the journal *Senses & Society* (published by Taylor and Francis since 2006).

The value (and a primary aim) of sensory history for studies of the built environment lies in drawing attention away from the overweening and potentially generalising dominance of 'the visual' as a critical category in humanities research (Classen, 2005; Pink, 2006; Smith, 2010). Sensory seeks to 'look behind assumptions that the visual is necessarily the dominant sense in modern western cultures to explore how the relationships between categories of sensory experience figure in informants' lives' (Pink, 2006, p 42).

Sources or 'evidence' for sensory history come primarily from the period being considered and can be diverse, including writings on hygiene and social practices, letters, diaries and photographs. Period newspaper articles in community newspapers, particularly letters to the editor, provided a forum for citizens to learn about and express their opinion on urban matters or to highlight social concerns. Letters or narratives of events were often lively and descriptive, particularly when photographs were not included and the author endeavoured to convey not only the event but also the physical and human context in which it took place. This, in turn, contributed to communal understandings of places or activities and in some instances facilitated social change. Many early articles do not list an author or

they use a pseudonym. Within this paper, pseudonyms are indicated by enclosing them in single quotation marks – for example, 'Diver' or 'Visitor'.

This paper examines haptic and olfactory senses, which provide specific types of information about places, bodies and environments. The haptic system encompasses the sensations of touch and movement in a perceptual system that provides information about the surrounding environment and the position, movement and tactile encounters of the body (Gibson, 1966). The olfactory system processes scents, which are 'subtly involved in just about every aspect of culture, from the construction of personal identity and the defining of social status to the confirming of group affiliation and the transmission of tradition' (Drobnick, 2006, p 1). Smells, and their associated cultural meanings, can indicate whether a place is clean, salubrious and appropriate or contaminated and dangerous. For example, the skin, muscles and joints of a swimmer entering the water sense temperature, current and depth, while the olfactory system detects odours and determines their source. These sensations and their interpretation simultaneously provide an understanding of the state of their immediate environment, determining how they feel (physically and emotionally) and how they should proceed.

Around 1900, the Perth foreshore, situated nearly 15 kilometres up the Swan River, was occupied by light industry, maritime transport infrastructure, parklands and facilities dedicated to sailing, rowing and swimming. Flint (2014) argues 'the busy thoroughfares of nineteenth and early twentieth-century cities continually stimulated the eye, nose and ear, refusing sensory rest to the perceiver' (p 25). Perth depended on the Swan River for transport, industry and recreation, and waterside activities would have generated a myriad of sights, smells and sounds, as well as novel and modern material encounters. Around the turn of the twentieth century, the Public Recreation Grounds were constructed on the foreshore (Figure 1) along with riverside walls that reduced physical access to the river. Social conventions and restrictive bylaws also limited when and where people could swim and bathe, and thus the City Baths and Water Chute were important as structures that provided socially sanctioned physical access to the river.

Perth City Baths

The Perth City Baths, designed by Mr GE Johnson, opened in March 1898 after decades of calls for public bathing facilities to address issues of hygiene, public propriety and leisure. The building perched at the end of a wide jetty that extended 91 metres into the river, attempting to avoid the shallow mudflats edging the foreshore (figures 2 and 3). The timber structure had four cupola-topped towers framing a promenade facing the foreshore and was described by *The West Australian* (1898) as 'Moorish'. The visual appeal of the exotic building was emphasised: it was said to form a 'pretty backdrop to the Esplanade' (ibid), a feature that became the building's only enduring positive attribute. A decade later, 'Recte et Suaviter' (1908) wrote in a letter to the editor, 'the only thing in favour of the present baths is its outward appearance, in that it somewhat resembles an Oriental mosque. But a person need be no cynic to assert that its position is unsuitable'.

The jetty led to two entry vestibules where bathers entered spatially and visually separated men's and women's bathing facilities, each providing river bathing, private hot-water bath chambers, showers and changing rooms. Maintaining

visual propriety within the baths was a key aim of the building. In a 1902 letter to the editor, H Seiler, a female bather, complained that she was 'subjected of rude stares and remarks of the men', who could see into the ladies' baths while waiting for their turn in the men's hot baths. Maintaining complete visual segregation, and thus propriety, was crucial to many female bathers at the time.

The baths were well patronised soon after opening; however, early hints indicated that the building's tenancy on the foreshore would be tenuous owing to negative haptic and olfactory experiences of the site caused by the fetid mud lining the foreshore. The preferential attention given to aesthetics and convenience over haptic and olfactory concerns when selecting the site proved problematic shortly after opening.

Malodorous mud

Classen (2014) writes that the 1800s and early 1900s were 'a malodorous time' for cities and 'the streets and waterways which traversed cities, in turn, often

stank of refuse and waste' (p 5). London's 'Great Stink' of 1858 exemplified the trials of providing sewerage and refuse disposal for a rapidly increasing urban population (Daunton, 2004). The 'smellscape' of the foreshore was a noted and widely reviled aspect of Perth around 1900. In 1894, four years before the opening of the baths, a column in *The West Australian* expostulated:

> ... daily, as the tide recedes, the atmosphere in the vicinity of the river is poisoned by a smell, or rather by a variety of smells, which baffles description, and while the water is low, a walk along the bank is an ordeal which no one with a normal nostril would willingly undergo.

(See also *The West Australian*, 1903.) Natural river smells, including brine, tannin, and riverine flora and fauna, were significantly altered by human waste generated over seven decades of settlement. Sources causing the odours were manifold, such as sewerage, runoff, refuse, animal waste and fertilisers, which over time altered the biological and chemical balances of the river. Boats manoeuvring along the foreshore and swimmers in the baths churned up the silty riverbed, turning the water fetid and murky.

Smells were a major source of anxiety and preoccupation before Pasteurian notions of germ theory became widespread (Corbin, 2014). Odours were often associated with the threat of disease-causing miasmas, and towards the end of the nineteenth century campaigns for sanitation and initiatives to introduce sewerage and garbage collection began to address the issue (Classen, 2014, p 5; Corbin, 1986). Corbin (2014) argues that, in the urban context of the nineteenth century, the sense of smell, considered a more animalistic sense, 'could detect and evade the threats posed by this organic matter, this human swamp associated with sin, sickness and mortality' (pp 50–51).

Many found the bodily pleasures of a bath (such as relief from the hot climate) sufficient to disregard the muddy, foul-smelling conditions of the site; however, some believed that, far from being merely malodorous, the foreshore emanated a vaporous threat to human health. It was only after the baths were in operation that the physical and olfactory experiences of the muddy water generated anxieties about miasmas, concerns about health and debates about the baths' location. An anonymous visitor from the Goldfields wrote to the *Sunday Times* in 1903 after a visit to the baths, declaring that 'when one emerges from the sewer (mistakenly called a bath) a shower is absolutely essential in the interests of cleanliness'. At a 1904 City Council meeting, Councillor Haynes described the baths as 'a duck pond' that generated work for the city's doctors, and argued that removing the baths would 'be better for the people and worse for the doctors' (*Daily News*, 1904). While many perceived the facility to be operating in opposition to one of its original intentions and detracting from the overall health of the population, the need for enclosed bathing spaces to maintain visual propriety, prevent open bathing in the river and cater to an increasing number of swimmers kept the baths in operation.

Haptic pleasures of swimming

Swimming, as both a competitive sport and a recreational pastime, was an active form of engagement with the river that garnered increasing interest and

participation around 1900. The Perth Swimming Club promoted swimming as a 'manly and delightful' activity, 'which improves the health, physique, and cleanliness of the community and the individual' (*Daily News*, 1905a). The physical lifesaving skills frequently learnt alongside swimming, and the associated moral mindset, were cited as reasons that the sport could 'act as a legitimate counter attraction to gambling on horses and other demoralising habits' (ibid).

Swimming was a decidedly haptic activity, connecting the body with a series of distinct objects and activities, such as swimming costumes, the riverbed, the swimming enclosure and swimming styles, which were associated with cultural traditions of bathing and swimming. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the sport of swimming was evolving, with new ways of moving through water being developed, tested, displayed and promoted. As one Perth observer noted, 'this race (220 yards) will be an eye-opener to swimmers and spectators, when they see the Australian champion "crawling" with his unique stroke over the course' ('Diver', 1908). New strokes were novel both in the way they appeared to spectators and for the sensations they induced in swimmers. The preceding observer continued, 'it was thought at the inception of this mode of swimming that the "crawl" would be of little use over 100 yards. That this has proved a wrong prediction is evinced by the fact that Healy has proved successful in all distances up to the half-mile with this stroke alone' (ibid). The baths and the river became a site for exploring new relationships between the body and water.

Swimming carnivals during hot summer months featured exhibitions that both demonstrated and inspired new swimming, diving and lifesaving techniques. An 1899 exhibition at the City Baths by Captain Gore's professional swimming and diving troupe included:

> ... ornamental swimming, imitations of the whale and porpoise, swimming with the hands and feet tied. The best methods of rescuing the drowning, the Monte Christo feat, a long dive, and a laughable water sketch entitled 'Angling; or, a bite at last.' The final item is a sensational high dive (*The West Australian*, 1899).

Ornamental swimming had links to forms of dance, with the physical challenge of simulating the fluidity and tempo of dance against the resistance and buoyancy of water. New diving techniques allowed participants to experiment with height, distance and the moment of weightlessness before the powerful haptic experience of impact and immersion. Escape acts such as 'the Monte Christo' feat provided spectators with excitement and suspense, playing on the risks associated with water. In opposition to such risky feats, lifesaving displays demonstrated the potential to mediate the risks and dangers of water.

Swimming, and the body of the swimmer, was legitimised in part by association with an appropriate venue under certain visual conditions, as opposed to taking place in the often restricted or contested river. Above water, the walls of the baths limited visual access into, or out of, the facility but, as they were unroofed, subjected bathers to local climatic conditions. The underwater portion of the structure was partly enclosed by timber pickets spaced three inches apart, partially screening the view of the bodies of bathers, but allowing water to move through the enclosures (Figure 4). The motion of tides, currents, wind and bodies in the baths provided a participatory haptic experience of the river water as swimmers
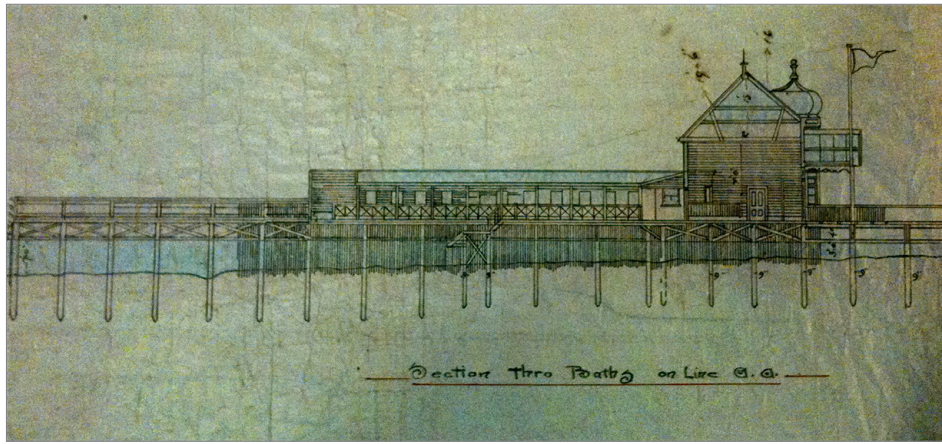
both touched and were touched by the water. They were conscious of the impact of aquatic conditions on their sensory experiences and physical performance. A 1905 race commentator wrote:

> ... though the temperature of late has been more akin to winter than to summer conditions, the swimmers did not find the water too cold for the sport, though several complained that the stream had rather too much 'body' in it to permit of record-breaking performances (*Western Mail*, 1905b).

Thermal encounters between the skin and material surfaces or substances are reciprocal in nature as temperature transfers between surface and skin, not only making one or the other warmer or colder but also providing a sensation that may have an emotional component such as pleasure or dislike (Heschong, 1979, p 19). Repeated haptic experiences of the water and riverbed generated individual, place-specific environmental knowledge of daily and seasonal patterns, such as temperature and flow, making people increasingly familiar with both the river and their own bodies in ways that could not be attained through visual experience alone.

From the opening of the baths, it was clear that the site, depth and river conditions during certain tides and seasons were not conducive to swimming. In an 1899 letter to the editor, J Cullen, protesting the results of a swimming race, describes the physical trials of racing within the baths:

> [T]he depth of water at the shallow end of the baths on that day was from 2ft. 3in. to 2ft. 6in., and, the top of the push-off board (which was 6in. wide) was 9in. clear of the water ... I touched the board at each end of the bath with my hand out of water, and there being nothing for a swimmer to push off from under the water, he is compelled to stand and turn.

The conditions of the riverbed (generally mud, silt, sand or shells), and how it felt underfoot or behaved when disturbed, could also render the haptic experience of swimming pleasant or otherwise. 'Four Amateur Swimmers' wrote to the editor in 1906, describing how:

> ... anybody who has been in the Perth baths can testify that there are two or three feet of mud at the bottom of the baths, and it is simply impossible to walk on it, while any unfortunate who takes a dive, and puts his head in the mud will remember the

occasion for a long time. There are often dead fish in the baths, and the water turns as thick as soup when two or three people begin to swim. It can not be healthy, it is certainly not pleasant.

'Cygnet' (1907) observed that 'the piles are covered with sharp barnacles which are a source of danger to the unwary bather, as I can testify, having cut my feet severely on them on one occasion, whilst I have seen many others similarly injured'. In a January 1908 letter, 'Recte et Suaviter' wrote that 'one need only see [bathers] come out of the sluggish water with slime caked on their faces and cut and bruised feet to also assert that the water is dirty and unhealthy and the bottom jagged and uneven'.

The shallow, muddy and malodorous conditions of the baths along with increasing participation in the sport of swimming prompted demands for larger, cleaner facilities. In 1905, local swimming clubs put forward a petition calling for 'the removal of the baths from the present mud-hole to a spot where immersion is calculated to produce cleanliness and not increased dirtiness' ('Trudgeon', 1905). The petition demanded new facilities 'at the nearest spot at which clear and deep water can be found or formed, with a clean and sloping bottom' (*Western Mail*, 1905a). The strongly haptic nature of swimming meant that having a clean bodily condition, and encounters with clean water, surfaces and materials, were central concerns for swimmers. A 1912 article argued that 'the first essential for swimming baths is, of course, cleanliness' and listed 'everything that could be desired for the purpose [of bathing and swimming] – unpolluted water, a gentle slope to depth, and a clean, sandy bottom' (*The West Australian*, 1912).

One proposal was to relocate the baths to a site at the foot of Mount Eliza, below Kings Park. The Kings Park Board expressed concerns about the visual and auditory experiences of park visitors, insisting that 'there should be no chance of persons on the high grounds of the Park, the terraces, for example, looking into the baths' and demanded that new baths be located 'out of ear shot of the frequented parts of the Park', citing concerns over 'disgraceful' language (*The West Australian*, 1905c). The president of the Western Australian Amateur Swimming Association declared that concerns about noise and disgraceful language were unfounded and it was 'the exception to at any time hear bad language in any of our public swimming baths' (Mitchell, 1905, p 3). The swimming clubs endeavoured to promote their sport, and the bodies and behaviours of swimmers, as physically and morally principled, while others perceived the activities and bodies at the baths to be morally questionable.

To allay concerns about the potentially negative visual and auditory experiences of park users, the proposed site was shifted further west towards the local breweries. Swimmers argued that it was 'bad enough in all conscience to have to swim in practically mud, without having the refuse from two breweries as well' (*Sunday Times*, 1905a). Selecting a site proved problematic for years to come (Figure 5).

During the debates over the location of the new baths, keen bathers and swimmers visited potential sites to experience the physical conditions themselves. In a 1911 letter to the editor, 'Swan Riverite' presented an explanation of why one site was unsuitable, drawing from multi-sensory observations. The material conditions, discovered through physical exploration of the riverbed, were

described as 'silt fully three to four feet deep, on hard clay and oyster shell in patches'. Sight was also used to understand the patterns of the area: 'one has only to view the waters from the terraces on a calm morning to witness proof of the moving of the silt, and see the resultant banks or spits of silt and sand jutting out'. Finally, 'Swan Riverite' suggested that one should 'visit the site during the prevailing sea breezes, and if you care for a mouthful of the water, try it. You won't want another, let alone swim in it with the bottom churned up by bathers and the wash of the ever-increasing river steamers and traffic passing'. In another 1911 letter, 'Motor Launch' wrote:

> I used to visit the proposed site, and on one occasion was foolish enough to enter the water to bathe. The tide had carried the refuse discharged from the breweries to the place in question, the result being that the river at this spot was a mixture of salt water and brewer's dregs, whilst the bottom was covered with a deposit which rendered bathing the reverse of inviting.

New Crawley Baths

In February 1914, after delays due to bureaucracy, finance and disputes over location, the long-awaited Crawley Baths opened along the shoreline west of the city. The site was less conveniently located, but it was favourably received for the haptic experiences it provided: 'the site of the baths is an exceptionally good one, the water being beautifully clean, and the sand bottom hard and white' (*Daily News*, 1914).

A marked difference between the physical structure of the City Baths and the Crawley Baths was that the latter used social behaviours rather than physical and visual barriers to demarcate men's and women's bathing areas: 'for the present it is not intended to divide the swimming enclosure into hard and fast division for the different sexes – men will be expected to keep to the left of the central block, except round the extreme outside near the back fence' (ibid). For some, this situation caused ostensible concern over the potential for women to be

'insulted', though the root of the anxiety was not the welfare of women as much as uncertainty over undesired social change (Stoddart, 1981, p 669). Greater separation from the city and the behaviours associated with an urban context, as well as wider social changes, eased expectations of visual and behavioural propriety. Along with increased physical participation in swimming and bathing came a loosening of social codes, allowing for more extensive visual encounters with other bathers, but maintaining physical gender separation (Figure 6).

The opening of the Crawley Baths resulted in the closure of the City Baths, which soon came to be regarded as an 'eyesore to be removed' (*The West Australian*, 1918). Following the removal of the baths, opportunities to haptically encounter the river on the immediate foreshore were limited; it instead became a place of primarily visual and terrestrial sensory experiences.

Perth Water Chute

Around the world at the turn of the twentieth century, developments in technology and transport along with cultural changes led to the increasing popularity of mechanical amusements such as merry-go-rounds, swinging boats and water chutes in amusement parks and recreational areas. Sally (2006) argues that Coney Island, the birthplace of many mechanical amusements, became:

> … a beacon of technological innovation that reconfigured the consumption of leisure as participatory and kinaesthetic. Spectacle became not solely a visual experience but a corporeal one, an experience that catapulted pleasure seekers out of their everyday experiences into unexpected and fantastic circumstances (p 300).

In Perth, 'shooting the chutes' at the Water Chute was to create strong multi-sensory experiences of the river and the foreshore (Figure 7).

It was Manly, however, that saw the first chute in Australia opened in 1903 (Figure 8). The author of a 1904 article described the experience of the chute as 'ultra sensational' and 'a thrill of particularly thrilling character, earthly and unearthly at the same time' (*Albury Banner and Wodonga Express*, 1904). The appeal of this new form of amusement lay in the power of modern technology to create novel, pleasurable, thrilling and potentially risky bodily experiences.

Figure 6: The Crawley Baths in the 1910s. High walls no longer visually separate male and female bathers from each other and mixed-gender bathing is permitted. (Photo: Perth History Centre, 2012.)
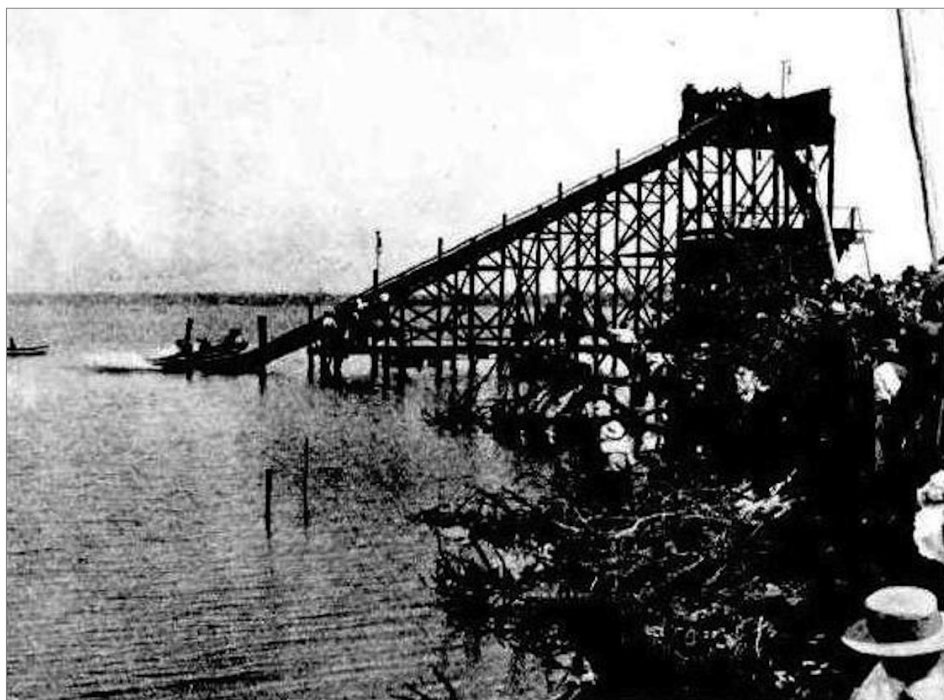
As word spread, new chutes opened in St Kilda, Bendigo, Brisbane, Perth and elsewhere.

In early 1905, the Perth Water Chute was erected at Point Lewis, modelled on the highly successful Bendigo chute (*The West Australian*, 1905d). Stairs leading up a three-storey (11-metre) Jarrah tower brought participants to the start of the chute, which consisted of two sets of slide rails angled down at 26 degrees, with a slight upward shift at the end to increase the trajectory of the boats. Boats holding 8 to 12 people were launched down one set of rails and pulled to the top on the other by an electric motor. Given the chute was a new form of entertainment for Perth, before its opening, the *Daily News* (1905b) described not only the structure and how it operated but also what was enjoyable about it: 'the fun, which is described as exciting and exhilarating, is derived by descending the chute in specially built boats at great speed, and dashing into the water at the foot of the incline'.

The opening ceremony and inaugural launch were staged as a spectacle containing moments of excitement and dramatic tension. Hints that it was the first time the boats had been trialled added an element of potential danger, exacerbated by delays and 'extra' safety checks. *The West Australian* (1905d) described the first launch:

> [T]he word was given, the cradle tilted, and the boat slid with the velocity of an infant avalanche down the slippery rails. In a second she struck the water, flinging off a huge shower of spray on either side, and rose gracefully several feet above the surface; dropping again, again she jumped, and flitted out into the river as neatly as a skipping pebble. A sigh and a cheer from the crowd on shore hailed the successful launch.

A month after opening the chute was described as a 'great novelty to Perth in the way of amusements' (*The West Australian*, 1905a), an 'exhilarating enjoyment' (*The West Australian*, 1905b), 'the subject of much curious speculation' (ibid),

and 'something very new and very amusing in water sports' (*The West Australian*, 1905d). It was noted that while 'the sensation of a ride ... doubtless would not be appreciated by many ... there are scores who enjoy the fun' (*Western Mail*, 1905a).

Sensational chutes

Many descriptions of water chutes cite speed and trajectory as the physically appealing aspects of the experience, noting how the boats would 'rush with lightning speed' and would be 'travelling with great velocity when they strike the water, and consequently they leap four or five feet into the air, repeating the leaps until they lose their impetus' (*Catholic Press*, 1903). The boat's descent and trajectory and the body's movement as part of the boat's inertial frame of reference resulted in novel experiences of touch and movement, potentially enhanced by momentary sensations of weightlessness. The emphasis on the body as the locus of exhilaration and excitement was a shift from more traditional understandings of excitement as an emotion often associated with visual or auditory experiences (as a spectator), or even experiences of taste and smell. Sally (2006) argues that 'mechanical amusements celebrated and fostered thrill seekers as sensuous beings who experienced leisure not just through their eyes, but with and through their entire bodies' (p 294).

The spectacle of the water chute was consumed physically by participants and visually by spectators. Both spectators and participants heard the shouts of the riders and smelled the river and their surroundings, while the haptic sensations were something spectators could only speculate on. A 1904 spectator described watching a descent at the Manly chute: 'it looks to the spectators as if the occupants must inevitably be pitched out into the water or irretrievably drenched, but as a fact, not a drop of water touches them and the exhilarating ride is safe' (*Albury Banner and Wodonga Express*, 1904) (Figure 9). The amusement parks of Coney Island during the same period were 'an invitation to spectators to become corporeally engaged in the manufacture and consumption of spectacle, spectacle that was not solely visual but that appealed to all of the senses' (Sally, 2006, p 299). For the owners of the chute, the sensory spectacle of the chutes and accounts of the riders were the primary means of promoting and capitalising on the experience, as they would encourage spectators to imagine the bodily sensation and then choose to experience it for themselves. Spectators and riders experienced similar sounds and smells associated with the chute, but the haptic experience, central to the chutes, was only available to riders. An article in the *Sydney Morning Herald* (1903) declared that 'the "thrill" of "shooting the chutes" exerts so unique a fascination that visitors return and again and again to the boats to experience the sensation'.
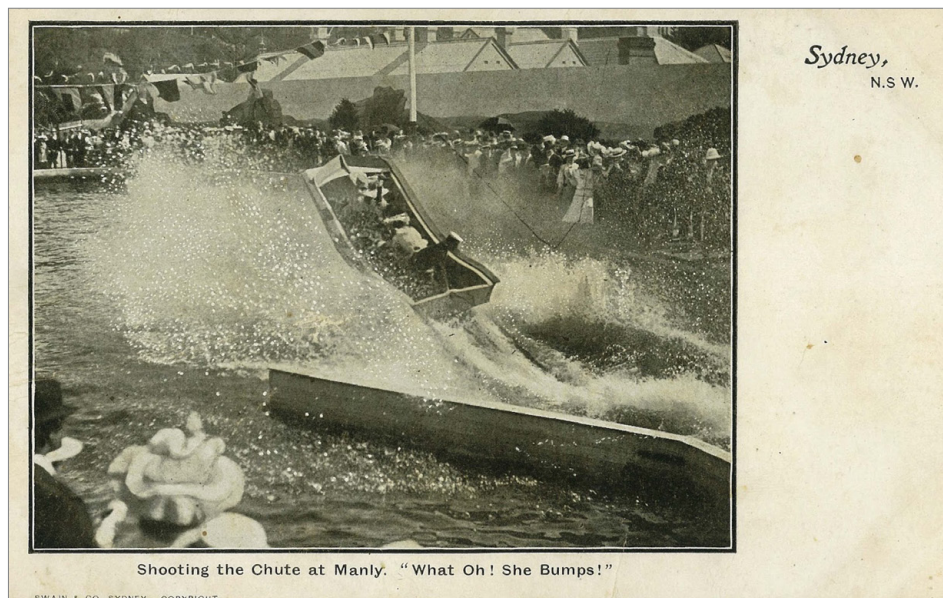
Shooting the Chute at Manly. "What Oh! She Bumps!"

SWAIN & CO. SYDNEY. COPYRIGHT

Sensationalised accidents in newspapers, countered by assurances from proprietors that human error was to blame, fostered perceptions of the chutes as a risk whose benefits, in the form of novel and pleasurable bodily sensation, were worthwhile. Rabinovitz (2001) argues that imagination and the 'fantasy of seeing technology go out of control' (p 90) were a significant part of the experience of mechanical amusements. Imagining disaster was linked to the surrender of the body to the control of mechanical technology (Sally, 2006, p 301). The bodily sensations of speed and trajectory were associated with the potential for disaster, and the lack of personal control over the situation generated 'thrills' or a domesticated sense of terror, in which technology played a central role. Rabinovitz (2001) argues that mechanical rides:

> … reversed the usual relations between the body and machinery in which the person controls and masters the machine: the person surrendered to the machine which, in turn, liberated the body in some fashion from its normal limitations of placement and movement in daily life (p 89).

Highly publicised accidents at the chutes also highlighted the element of real corporeal risk associated with such entertainments and the links between risk, technology, novelty, sensory pleasure and emotional thrill. Accidents, and even a death at the Manly chute in 1903, were ultimately blamed on human ignorance, miscalculation or poor decision making rather than technological malfunction (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 1903).

Water chutes also generated concerns relating to behavioural propriety, as 'rapid-motion mechanical rides had explicitly sexual overtones: couples (or complete strangers!) were thrown together from the movement of the rides' (Sally, 2006, p 301). Shortly after the Perth chute opened, a gossip columnist wrote, 'the water chute is the most thrilling invention that has yet struck Perth. That the girls hang grimly on to the nearest man when the boats strike water. That seasoned shootists agree that this is the most satisfying thrill of the show' (*Sunday Times*, 1905b). Sally (2006) notes that, at the turn of the century, such active, public

physical encounters between men and women were a profound shift away from traditional Victorian understandings of public bodily propriety. They were also evidence of the way technology and mechanised entertainments were beginning to reshape social expectations relating to behavioural propriety (p 301).

Recreational pleasure in Perth took on new forms at the turn of the century, gradually through the transformation and expansion of swimming practices at the baths, and more powerfully in the encompassing bodily experiences of the water chute. These features of the foreshore are distinctive because both activities were primarily valued and actively sought as entertainments that induced pleasurable and exciting haptic experiences. The quest for pleasure and thrills, whether through bodily immersion or the corporeal rush of the chute, was often satisfied through novel experiences that in some instances also incorporated elements of risk and fear. At the same time, the olfactory experiences of waterside places warned bathers and swimmers about the potential dangers of water. While developments in early twentieth-century swimming and the bodily thrills of the water chute may seem pedestrian a century on, and it is impossible to understand fully the experience of an early-twentieth-century swimmer or thrill-seeker, accounts from the time suggest that such sensory experiences partially transformed people's experiences of the environment and their own bodies.

## Sensory speculation: Elizabeth Quay 2015

Today, the Perth foreshore remains a place of primarily visual rather than active physical experiences of the river, though this is changing as the Elizabeth Quay waterfront development proceeds (figures 10 and 11). The project, scheduled to partially open in December 2015, centres around an inlet, which is being dredged at the time of writing, in an area that was previously reclaimed from the river, and will bring part of the river back to its original shoreline at the time of European settlement. An artificial island in the centre of the inlet is planned to have a series of paths, gardens and opportunities to physically encounter the river via softened-edge design, possibly mimicking a 'natural' beach. Details about the form of the island remain to be seen; however, as a wholly constructed feature, any 'beaches' or shorelines will likely endeavour to present the 'clean' water, sand and surrounds so favoured by early swimmers, but will have little in common with the historical foreshore at any earlier time, particularly the malodorous decades around the turn of the twentieth century.

Figure 10 (left): The Perth foreshore in August 2015, showing the ongoing Elizabeth Quay redevelopment. (Photo: Metropolitan Redevelopment Authority, 2015.)

Figure 11 (right): Computer-generated model of the Elizabeth Quay project. (Image: Metropolitan Redevelopment Authority, 2015.)
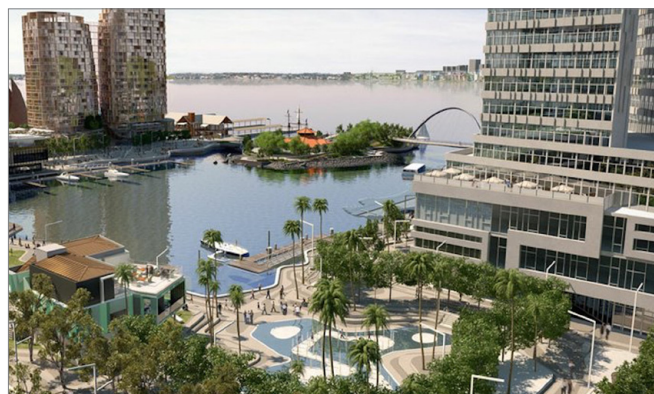
Elizabeth Quay will offer another opportunity for physical interaction with water at the Station Park water feature, an AU$10 million project by BHP Billiton (Figure 12). The water feature is positioned at a major entry area to the precinct and will incorporate water jets, lighting and sound, inspired by the seasonal nature of many Western Australian lakes (Metropolitan Redevelopment Authority, 2014; 2015). Information on the specific materials and characteristics of the water feature is yet to be released, but computer-generated images suggest concrete will be the main material, and it is likely that the water will be fresh and filtered. Concrete is a ubiquitous urban material with tactile and olfactory characteristics that reveal little about the 'place' in which it is situated. Likewise, fresh, filtered water carries none of the scents or physical characteristics, pleasant or otherwise, that define the brackish Swan River. The only aspect of the water park that suggests 'Western Australia' is the ability to drain the water feature in minutes to create a public event space, a 'drying' process vaguely akin to the seasonal drying of local lakes, and at the same time a feat of modern technology.

The sensory encounters with filtered fresh water, concrete, tile or whatever materials are used to make the water feature will certainly be considered more pleasant than the noxious smells, murky water and muddy riverbed of the 1900s. However, these experiences are also likely to be more generic and more controlled, and there is little to suggest that it will include room for sensory experiences that are novel, thrilling or risky (real or imagined) in these waterside places. A lengthy discussion of sensations on contemporary waterfronts is beyond the scope of this paper; however, in creating safer and more pleasant places, it is also worth considering the types of sensations that have been lost or curtailed, and what this means for people's experiences of natural and built environments as well as of their own bodies.

Conclusion

Sensory history offers an alternative perspective from which to consider urban waterfronts. This article has highlighted the role of the senses of touch, movement and smell on the Perth foreshore. Closer scrutiny of the non-visual components of
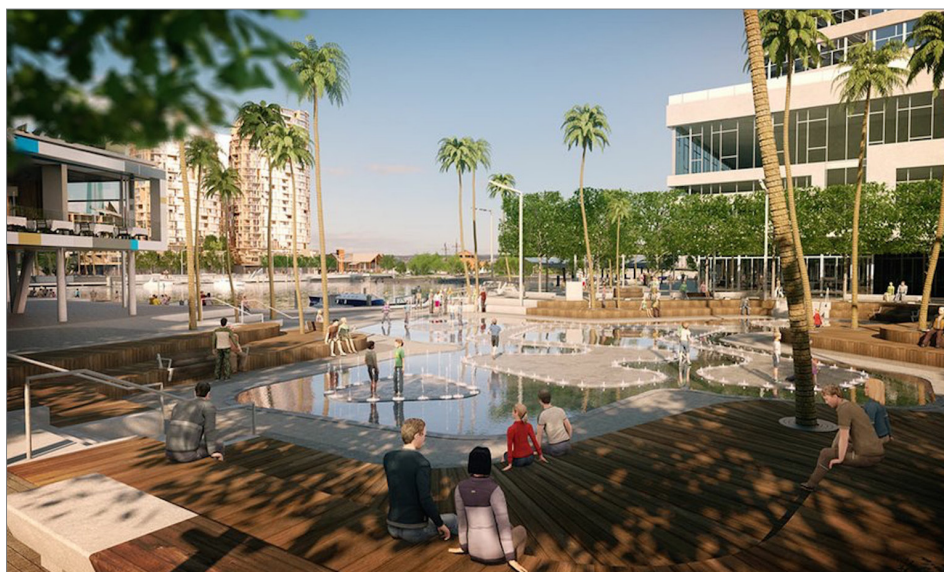
Figure 12: Computer-generated image of Station Park with its interactive water feature. (Image: Metropolitan Redevelopment Authority, 2015.)

sensory experiences, particularly haptic and olfactory experiences, can enhance understanding of places, bodies and environments in ways that are not easily disregarded as matters of 'taste' or 'style', but can contribute to understandings of places, including what is natural or constructed, and what has been sustained, or not, over time.

We are all 'in touch', through our skin, muscles, joints, noses and ears, with our immediate environment, though we are often most consciously aware of the view from our eyes. Exploring the 'view' through our fingertips and toes, arms, skin and joints, our bodily experiences of waterfront places, reveals how bodily experiences and, importantly, expectations of these places have changed over time as our cities have grown and their waterfronts have developed. The history of the full range of sensory experience is also a history of human society and relations between people, including power relations and connections (however partial, misleading or abused) between individuals, communities and the natural environment. It seems timely for us to consider these relations and connections at a time when the sustainability of our physical relationship with the natural world has become one of our greatest challenges. These case studies are a portion of a larger body of research that seeks to 'make sense' of the Australian urban waterfronts as sites of varied and evolving sensory experience.

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The National Trust and the Heritage of Sydney Harbour

CAMERON LOGAN

Campaigns to preserve the legacy of the past in Australian cities have been particularly focused on the protection of natural landscapes and public open space. From campaigns to protect Perth's Kings Park and the Green Bans of the Builders Labourers Federation in New South Wales to contemporary controversies such as the Perth waterfront redevelopment, Melbourne's East West Link, and new development at Middle Harbour in Sydney's Mosman, heritage activists have viewed the protection and restoration of 'natural' vistas, open spaces and 'scenic landscapes' as a vital part of the effort to preserve the historic identity of urban places. The protection of such landscapes has been a vital aspect of establishing a positive conception of the environment as a source of both urban and national identity. Drawing predominantly on the records of the National Trust of Australia (NSW), this paper examines the formation and early history of the Australian National Trust, in particular its efforts to preserve and restore the landscapes of Sydney Harbour. It then uses that history as a basis for examining the debate surrounding the landscape reconstruction project that forms part of Sydney's highly contested Barangaroo development.

In recent decades there has been a steady professionalisation and specialisation of heritage assessment, architectural conservation and heritage management as well as a gradual extension of government powers to regulate land use. This has occurred in parallel with the rise of environmentalism as a distinct sphere of political activity and professional expertise. In combination, these trends have had the effect of splitting place protection into two distinct terrains: heritage conservation and nature conservation. Each has its own subsets of specialised knowledge and skills and its own civic organisations and activist movements. In Australia, at the state level, where heritage protection and nature conservation are generally managed, they tend to have separate legislative apparatuses as well. Consequently, an earlier continuity between heritage and environmental conservation has been obscured. It is now mostly forgotten that the impulse to keep places – as a way of enriching memory and promoting certain place-based identities – was shared by those who wanted to protect the natural environment and its scenic places from desecration and those who wanted to preserve and repair old buildings and townscapes. This paper helps to resituate our understanding of place protection in Australia by highlighting the importance of landscape conservation to efforts to foster place-based citizenship at both urban and national levels.

The architectural and urban historian Daniel Bluestone has argued that the familiar origin story of historic preservation in the United States – the protection of George Washington's home by the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association

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(1858–60) – and the origin of wilderness protection in the form of the creation of Yellowstone National Park (1872) should be considered together (Bluestone, 2011). Both efforts, he argues, 'aimed to protect valued resources from the unfettered and often destructive prerogatives of a market economy ... and both movements claimed that social refinement, cultivation and enjoyment' would result from the protection of these singular places (ibid, p 104). Bluestone's own account of the effort to save the 'scenic landscapes' of the Hudson River Palisades is richly illustrative of the intertwined histories of city and nature in New York and New Jersey. Likewise, the centrality of landscapes and their meaning to the role of the national trusts in both England and Scotland is almost too obvious to mention. But to even begin to claim the same for Australian cities and their settings demands that we understand something of the institutions and individuals who initiated and shaped place protection efforts in Australia.

The standard story of heritage conservation as it developed in Australia in the early twentieth century understandably focuses on the apparent clash between proponents of modernisation and the antithetical development of a heritage conservation sensibility among a loosely defined group of cultural conservatives, antiquarians and nationalists (Davison and McConville, 1991; Freestone, 1999). But when the wider issue of landscape protection is included, the picture begins to change. It becomes evident that heritage advocacy also contained within it a strand of progressive reform that sought to constrain economic development by both government and the private sector on behalf of citizens and their environment. The task of building this more comprehensive historical picture of place protection in Australia has been enabled by new perspectives and research that have appeared since 2000. In *Colonial Earth*, for example, Tim Bonyhady (2000) has argued that many Australian colonists in the nineteenth century were strongly attached to the Australian landscape. This view stands in contrast to the historical clichés that have depicted European settlers as universally afraid of and hostile to the distinctiveness of the Australian landscape and careless of their physical surrounds generally. Moreover, a desire to 'protect and preserve' parts of that landscape was quite evident, Bonhady argues. Understandably, given the concentrated and urban character of Australian settlement in the nineteenth century, many of the places that were treasured were 'within easy access of the cities' (ibid, p 314). Indeed, Bonyhady argues that 'preservation of Sydney Harbour's beauty' was part of 'a local tradition in which the encouragement of culture and protection of the environment were all of a piece' (ibid).

The story of how such affection and care for natural places in and around Australian cities evolved into an institutional apparatus has been taken up recently by Andrea Witcomb and Kate Gregory (2010). Their history of the National Trust in Western Australia is attentive to the full range of activities that motivated Trust founders and members in that state and highlights the shortcomings of the existing literature on heritage and conservation in Australia. Witcomb and Gregory view the activities of the Western Australian Trust as comprising a wide-ranging effort to foster urban and regional place identity by protecting wild flowers, visual perspectives and parkland as well as significant historic buildings. 'Embedded in the Trust's early understanding of landscapes,' they argue, 'was a sense that they, just as much as buildings, were redolent of the evidence of the

past and offered a connection to it' (ibid, p 80). Protecting the existing course and expanse of the Swan River was just as important to early Trust activists in Western Australia as the well-known effort to save the Barracks at the end of St Georges Terrace. The concerns of the National Trust's founders in New South Wales (NSW) were similarly expansive. Seeing the landscape of the city and its surrounds as integral to Sydney's distinctive identity, they likewise viewed the protection of parts of that landscape as absolutely essential to the Trust's mission.

Using the archives of the National Trust of Australia (NSW), especially the documents connected with its founding and early decades, this paper argues that the protection of bushland, and what was often called the scenic landscape, was integral to heritage protection in Australia. The protection of the Sydney Harbour landscape – notably its 'natural' headlands and foreshore areas – is one of the more pronounced aspects of that story. In the final section of the paper, I use this history to examine the recent landscape reconstruction project at Sydney's Barangaroo. In particular, I consider whether that piece of landscape design and reconstruction extends or travesties the long-standing tradition of scenic landscape preservation that has been so important to heritage protection in Sydney.

Origins of the National Trust of Australia (NSW)

Where the shared terrain of nature conservation and heritage conservation has been recognised by researchers in this field, it has mostly been in the context of discussions of the policy innovations of Australia's National Estate programme in the 1970s or the Green Bans (NSW) initiated by the Builders Labourers Federation (BLF), which were active in the early 1970s (Burgmann and Burgmann, 1998; Yencken, 2001). Yet a continuous tradition of place protection in Australia stretches back to the efforts in the 1890s, described by Bonyhady, through the reform-oriented groups of the early twentieth century and on to the national trusts and the widening efforts of government and civil society in the 1970s and beyond.

In the 1880s and 1890s, the effort to protect Sydney Harbour from being despoiled by industrial development – especially by the proposed colliery at Cremorne – became a major public issue. Moreover, as Bonyhady (2000) has noted, the issue was explicitly linked to issues of cultural heritage and national identity. The future parliamentarian AB Piddington remarked at that time, 'We in Sydney are the trustees for all Australia and of all time of that national heritage of beauty which gives us our pride of place amongst the capitals of this continent' (ibid, p 314). This same note of national feeling and pride in the Sydney region's natural gifts motivated Annie Wyatt, who would go on to become a founder of the National Trust of Australia (NSW). In the inter-war decades, Wyatt and her neighbours on the North Shore formed the Ku-ring-gai Tree Lovers' Civic League (1927). The aim of the group was to 'foster the love of our own Australian trees, as being peculiar to our land, and likely to thrive best in its soil and climate' (Save the Trees – Conserve our Forests, 1944). The league's activities included a significant 1931 project to work with the North Sydney Council to protect and restore the landscape at Ball's Head on Sydney Harbour. In the developing but still bushy terrain of Sydney's North Shore in the 1920s and 1930s, theosophism, progressive educational thinking and nature conservationism all thrived as part of a new cultural outlook that attempted to establish a more meaningful and holistic connection between spirituality, place and nature.

The North Shore, however, was not the only source of inspiration for the tradition of conservation that developed in Sydney from the late nineteenth century onwards. Today, the outer western-Sydney suburb of Rooty Hill is best known for its outsized Returned Servicemen's League (RSL) Club. But the history of heritage and conservation in Australia is steeped in the experiences of a largely forgotten Rooty Hill. As the place where Annie Wyatt grew up, the district was a source of inspiration for her pastoral evocation of the Sydney region in an earlier phase of its settlement. In 1956, she wrote a short memoir that described the area during her childhood in the 1890s:

> I wish I could give you a glimpse of how lovely Rooty Hill was then; most of it was heavily timbered, yet large sections set out in orchards, vineyards and grazing land. The soil was deep and rich and all things grew to perfection. There were paddocks waving knee-high in bluebells and buttercups, and one which seemed to specialise in orchids, pink and yellow. Mother saw to it that the cows be kept out of those places many weeks before the flowers were due. After rain the low lands were white with mushrooms, as large as bread and butter plates – one never sees the like of them now-a-days (Wyatt, 1987, p 10).

Wyatt's conservation activism, which began in earnest in the 1920s, was evidently motivated by the steady loss of Sydney's hinterland to urbanisation. Alongside this concern with the destruction of the natural environment and its scenic and environmental qualities, she worried about the destruction of historic buildings. The loss of some of the city's most recognisable early colonial buildings in the inter-war years, such as the Commissariat Stores in Circular Quay and Burdekin House in Macquarie Street, caused her, she recalled, 'to lie awake and wonder desperately what could be done about the destruction' (ibid, p 12).

Wyatt's memoir makes quite clear that, in enacting her place-centred citizenship, she gave equal weight to protecting places of natural or scenic beauty and buildings of historical or architectural significance. This dual mission was imprinted in the National Trust of Australia (NSW) from its early years. The group who came together with Wyatt to found an Australian version of the Trust first seriously considered the idea at a 'Save the Trees – Conserve our Forests' conference in 1944. For most of that group, the protection of flora and fauna had been a central factor motivating their civic engagement before their involvement in the Trust and would be intrinsic to their activities as Trust founders and members.

In 1948, less than 12 months after it was formally constituted, the National Trust of Australia (NSW) campaigned for the protection and purchase of Chinaman's Beach at Middle Harbour so as to protect 'one of the few remaining beaches with unbuilt background in Sydney Harbour' (National Trust, 1948b). In the Trust's second official *Bulletin*, it noted that it had strongly 'urged the Mosman Council to acquire Chinaman's Beach and the Council of the Trust has now congratulated the Mosman Council on its public spirit and vision in acquiring the beach' (ibid).

Minutes of Trust meetings in the early years reveal that the Chinaman's Beach campaign was just one of several efforts to protect the headlands, islands and harboursides, in which the incipient advocacy group invested energies in the late 1940s and early 1950s. In 1947, Wyatt, along with linguist and amateur landscape designer EB Waterhouse, and others associated with the Trust lobbied

the responsible state minister to resume the lands known as the Dingle (National Trust, 1947a). It was a piece of steep foreshore below Kirribilli Avenue, just to the east of the Sydney Harbour Bridge, which included what the *Sydney Morning Herald* described at the time as a 'giant Moreton Bay Fig, 30 feet around at the base' (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 1947). In 1948, the Trust joined the local campaign against the erection of oil tanks at Greenwich Point, a headland area also on the North Shore of the harbour and just to the west of North Sydney. It was noted in the minutes at the time that the Trust should 'support the local movement against despoiling of such harbour foreshores' (National Trust, 1948c). The Trust also turned its attentions to places further from the city centre. In 1951, it mounted a campaign to protect land at Cottage Point on Cowan Creek at the top of Ku-Ring-Gai Chase and prevent its sale to private owners (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 1951).

While most of the Trust's energies from this early period were invested in places threatened by new development or destructive neglect, its council also mounted a more strategically focused effort to identify key places worthy of long-term protection. Rae Else-Mitchell, the jurist and legal scholar who was an energetic contributor to National Trust activities in its early years, successfully argued for the creation of a register of 'places of natural beauty' that should be preserved and/or acquired for the public benefit. Priority should be given, he argued, 'to areas and places fronting harbours and rivers, places suitable for recreational facilities or parklands, view points and lands giving access to such areas and places' (National Trust, 1948d).

The range of existing civic groups who offered their support and endorsement to the National Trust was testimony to the breadth of its activities. Prominent among groups that affiliated themselves with the Trust, as one might expect, were the historical societies. But equally notable were the progressive planning groups and conservation-oriented societies. The Parks and Playgrounds Movement of NSW was one of those and, like the Tree Lovers' League, was engaged in lobbying local government to maintain and restore coastal and foreshore landscapes, such as the Kurnell Peninsula on Botany Bay. The Wildlife Preservation Society was another group that affiliated with the National Trust in 1948.[1] The early involvement and influence of such groups gave the National Trust its scope and left a powerful mark on the organisation.

In brochures the Trust produced through the mid-1950s, it highlighted that protecting nature and scenic landscapes was central to its activities. In a short list of aims and objectives, one such brochure noted that the Trust aimed '(t)o safeguard the charm and interest of the Australian countryside in the form of wildflower patches, stands of timber, primitive reserves, aboriginal relics, vistas, lagoons or streams etc, with special regard to the breeding places of native birds, animals and plants'. In the same brochure, the Trust noted that in March 1953 the federal government had given the Trust full 'control of the fauna and flora of Montagu Island, the main breeding ground on our coast of seals, fairy penguins and sooty terns etc'; it boasted that its sponsorship had seen the formation of the 'Hawkesbury Scenic Preservation Council to consider the controlled development of the Hawkesbury River'; and that it had 'successfully requested the State Government to declare Cabbage Tree Island a Fauna Reserve' (National Trust, 1954).

The founding members of the National Trust drew a distinction between natural beauty and historic buildings but they did not necessarily privilege one over the other. The motto they adopted when they formalised the group in 1947 was 'For the preservation of historic buildings and natural beauty'. In the vision of Annie Wyatt, the farms of the Rooty Hill district, the tributaries and banks of the Hawkesbury River, the bushy harbour headlands, the busy harbour and mellow old buildings at Circular Quay were a continuous landscape. It was a romantic vision in which Sydney's historical and geographical identities were one and the same and therefore the protection of the city implied wide-ranging efforts that went beyond individual buildings or properties.

The reputation of the Trust in later decades as primarily a protector of buildings has tended to colour perceptions of the organisation and obscure its origins and breadth of interests. Certainly, it was concerned with buildings from the very beginning. During the late 1940s, for example, protecting a group of 'Macquarie buildings' – the Hyde Park Barracks, St James Church and the Government House Stables, among others – was a high priority (National Trust, 1947b; 1948a). In the 1950s, the effort to create a register of historic buildings, based on the advice of the Royal Australian Institute of Architects and the labours of architect and historian Morton Herman, was probably the most prominent aspect of its activities (Cumberland County Council, 1956). But the formal recognition of the Trust in state legislation and its activities in 1960 underlined the ongoing commitment to place protection in the wider sense, as well as the importance of environmental protection and of landscape identity to the work of the Trust.

The National Trust and the 1960s

In 1960, some 15 years after the National Trust of Australia (NSW) was founded and a decade after it was incorporated, the New South Wales parliament passed legislation establishing its role and status as the pre-eminent organisation in NSW vested with the authority to 'protect and preserve' lands, buildings, works, structures etc 'for the benefit of the public' (National Trust of Australia (New South Wales Act) 1960). One of the objects of the Trust, as defined by the Act, was 'to protect and preserve the natural features of, and to conserve the fauna and flora on, any lands referred to in paragraph (a) and acquired by or under the control of the National Trust'. With the Act in force in the 1960s, therefore, the National Trust was legally obliged to engage in nature conservation and scenic landscape preservation.

However, the Trust defined for itself a wider sphere of activity than what was specified by the Act. A National Parks Act for NSW, the reserving of municipal land for public use and the promotion of other planning tools and public powers to prevent the destruction of places of natural beauty all remained firmly on the National Trust agenda in the 1960s. During the 1960s, lectures on fauna conservation, articles on the establishment of specific national parks and reviews of books about a wide range of environmental concerns were a staple of National Trust bulletins. Rachel Carson's landmark book *Silent Spring* (1962) was given an extensive and favourable review in a 1963 edition of the Trust *Bulletin*, and concern about the fate of bushland on Bradley's Head on the North Shore of Sydney Harbour was a front-page story for the Trust in May 1964 (National

Trust, 1963; 1964). Nature conservation and the wider realm of environmental protection both remained in the forefront of Trust activity even as architects took on growing prominence in the organisation.

A perennial complaint of non-architect heritage specialists in Australia has been that architects and canons of architectural taste have exercised too much influence on registers of historically significant places (Davison and McConville, 1991). Certainly, this concern is borne out to some extent by the experience of the National Trust in Victoria in its early years, where Roy Simpson, Robin Boyd and John and Phyllis Murphy all exercised considerable influence (Clark, 1996). However, while heritage conservation was guided by prevailing architectural tastes in the period, the greatest contribution of architects to the heritage discussion nationally in the 1960s was not related to the finer points of formal criticism and questions of stylistic development. Rather, their most significant interventions were motivated by a broad-based environmentalism.

In their writing and activism, architects Robin Boyd (1960), Donald Gazzard (1966) and the son of well-known conservationist Myles, Milo Dunphy (Goad and Higham, 2012), drew explicitly on the work of North American and British commentators Peter Blake (1964), Ian Nairn (1955) and Gordon Cullen (1961) in criticising the visual environment of Australian cities and their surrounds. In 1964, Sydney-based architect–planner Gazzard attempted to synthesise these concerns in his landmark exhibition staged by the Royal Australian Institute of Architects (NSW). The exhibition had the title 'Australian Outrage' – which referred directly to a 1955 special issue of British journal *Architectural Review*, edited by Ian Nairn and released later as a book – and Gazzard's exhibition shared Nairn's concern with what he called the 'disfigured landscape' created by post-war urbanisation.

Gazzard's international sources were overt and acknowledged (Atchison, 2013). But it is equally clear that the environmental and landscape protection discourse of the National Trust in the early 1960s deeply informed Gazzard's position, and that it was something of a launching pad for his critique of Australian habits of landscape destruction. In the text of the 1966 book that followed the Outrage exhibition, Gazzard (1966) quotes extensively from a 1964 National Trust *Bulletin*. The piece he quotes carried the heading 'Preservation of Bush and Shore', and the author argued that the public must be more responsible for the destructive actions of their local authorities. This author further warned that if a person wishes to drive all the way to sites of natural beauty 'instead of his beauty spot he will probably find a car park not unlike the one at his nearest regional shopping centre' (National Trust, 1964). Gazzard shared the National Trust's concern with the intergenerational benefits to be derived from the proper protection of beautiful and important places and understood implicitly how the protection of 'parks and bushland, beaches, headland and waterways' (Gazzard, 1966, p 29) was connected to the wider effort to protect and foster place identity through the conservation of buildings. He invoked the idea of custodianship of place and concluded, 'If we let progress take its toll, we not only lose part of our visual inheritance, we somehow put a low value on man himself' (ibid, p 29).

It is no coincidence that Gazzard's architectural practice in the 1960s is strongly identified with the so-called Sydney school of architecture (Taylor, 1972). The

best-known buildings of this Sydney school – the Ken Woolley House, Mosman (1962) and the Johnson House, Chatswood (1963) – emphasise the integration of building and landscape. Gazzard's own Wentworth Memorial Church, Vaucluse (1965) is likewise a self-effacing building referring to vernacular precedents and establishing a strong relationship to its site. The operative ethic in this self-conscious Sydney regionalism was connected to the protection and enhancement of clear markers of place. Distinctive views, the preservation of bushland and topographical character were all vital to this architectural project. The Sydney school of architecture was, therefore, coherent with, and supportive of, the place protection efforts championed by the National Trust, as made explicit in Gazzard's work as both designer and activist.

The efforts of the National Trust and of sympathetic architects and planners to strengthen place identity in the Sydney region were supported by a growing infrastructure of environmental law and policy, culminating in the passage of state heritage legislation in 1977 (Boer and Wiffen, 2006). Around the same time, members of the burgeoning landscape architecture profession undertook a series of large-scale landscape reclamation and restoration projects in places that had been degraded by industrial activities (Saniga, 2012). Such efforts to recognise and renew landscape elements in the Sydney region built on the early traditions of Trust activism – traditions that acknowledged the landscape as a powerful source of cultural meaning as well as an important source of what we now call ecosystem services.

Barangaroo: 'A new natural headland'

The National Trust never ceased to be an advocate for environmental protection, but by the 1980s and 1990s its environmental activism was not as prominent as it had been. Given its statutory recognition as a body responsible for preserving lands of historical, cultural and natural significance in NSW, the National Trust was certainly capable, in theory, of accepting responsibility for the series of defence and other government-controlled sites around the harbour that successive federal governments sought to dispose of in the 1980s and 1990s. But the fact that the National Trust was not seriously in contention for this role highlights just how marginal the organisation had become to the landscape protection effort. In 1950, 1960 or 1970, it would likely have been regarded as the obvious steward for these places, given its record of advocating for the protection of natural profiles of the harbour headlands and for a de-industrialised harbour environment. Instead, a new Commonwealth body, the Sydney Harbour Federation Trust, was formed to take responsibility for preserving and renewing the defence sites.

Significant shifts in thinking in relation to heritage conservation in Australia in the 1980s and 1990s coalesced in the work of the Harbour Trust. Its focus was on regenerating and opening up several prominent harbour sites: Cockatoo Island, Middle Head Park at Mosman and Snapper Island among others. The architects and planners who led this effort – Geoff Bailey, Richard Leplastrier and Rod Simpson – promoted a tolerance for change and encouraged the sense that these sites, inaccessible to the public over many decades, should be knitted back into the urban fabric. While the lands were not to be treated as mere real estate, neither should they be simply 'bushwalks or museums', according to the

Harbour Trust at the time (Marr, 2000). This approach to harbourside lands was different from the National Trust's landscape conservation efforts from the 1940s to the 1960s and, for that matter, from the famous Green Ban at Kelly's Bush in Hunter's Hill. In those cases, conservation was seen as being in opposition to economic or urban development and the protection of bushland was the central value in the campaigns.

But not everyone understood or sympathised with the values of the Harbour Trust in its approach to the natural and cultural qualities of these places. As the campaigns to protect harbour lands going back to the early twentieth century revealed, the public had mostly valued such places for their natural profiles and the opportunities they afforded to glimpse sections of the harbour that appeared to be untouched by urban or industrial development. In 2000, New South Wales Premier Bob Carr told the writer and commentator David Marr that the former defence land 'is bushland and it's going to be saved as bushland because it conveys something of the ancient history of the place, that is water glimpsed through eucalypts' (Marr, 2000).

By the turn of the century, the ideal of unspoilt areas of harbour foreshore was in tension with an emerging professional consensus in architecture and heritage around the need to see the landscape of the harbour as being natural and urban all at once; nature inscribed with distinct cultural and industrial patterns. The fruits of this professional consensus in the new century can be seen at places such as Pirrama Park (2006–09) at Pyrmont, a landscape project realised in collaboration between Hill Thalis, Aspect and CAB, and the Hassell-led Coal Loader parkland project on Waverton Peninsula in North Sydney (2005–11). This difference between professional assumptions about how harbour conservation and regeneration should be achieved and an older set of public expectations has shaped the character of the debate about the Barangaroo project. That is, the two models for creating new public space at Barangaroo have reflected a clash of ideas between those who see the harbour's heritage as embodied in protected or restored – even reconstructed – natural headlands, and those who take a more design-led approach to regenerating former industrial sites as public urban places.

Dubbed the Hungry Mile by waterside workers in the 1930s, Darling Harbour East is now the focus of the vast urban redevelopment project known as Barangaroo, a name chosen to honour a Cammeraygal woman. The project has highlighted the great difficulties involved in reaching agreement about how to evoke the past and reinstate natural qualities in such areas. The project overall is a mixture of generic high-rise, commercial and residential development (South Barangaroo); a gambling palace that will make the Rooty Hill RSL blush (Central Barangaroo); and a landscape restoration project that the Barangaroo Delivery Authority (2013) described as a 'new natural headland' at the northern end of the site.

Every dimension of this renewal project has been deeply contested. The density and scale of development have been criticised; the lack of diversity in the tenure status of the land has come under fire as well. Special exemptions from site remediation requirements were created and overturned. Most controversially, the design development process was deeply politicised: the New South Wales state government dismissed the winner of a global competition to provide a masterplan and landscape design framework – Hill Thalis – and discarded the

plan. But, for the purposes of this paper, I am interested in just one aspect of the debate: the reconstruction of the so-called natural headland at the northern end of the site.

The newly landscaped area has been described as a 'fattened version of the 1836 foreshore' (*Butterpaper*, 2010) and is an attempt to evoke and recreate an earlier historical profile for that section of the harbour. The landscape design as a whole does not attempt to hide its artificiality or its designed character. It is, nevertheless, a strong contrast to the Hill Thalis scheme for the area, which used the orthogonal profile of the expansive 1960s-era concrete wharf to define the project's northern and western edges. The Barangaroo Delivery Authority has highlighted this characteristic and has insistently focused on what it describes as 'the restoration' of the 1836 headland profile. It recently noted that 'the works here will restore one of Sydney's most stunning green headlands, visually linking the headland archipelagos of Balls Head, Goat Island and Ballast Point' (Barangaroo Delivery Authority, 2014).

The National Trust (NSW), far from embracing a reconstructed harbour headland, has been one of the Barangaroo project's most insistent public critics. Trust representatives described the proposed naturalistic headland as 'false' (ABC News, 2010) and argued that the project 'disregards the area's maritime history' (National Trust, 2010). They sponsored alternative proposals that emphasised the protection of more of the industrial fabric of the area and suggested locating an international passenger terminal at the site to animate urban activity in the area and maintain the area's connections to shipping.

The Trust's commitment to a more finely honed sense of material authenticity is understandable, given the professionalisation of conservation standards and focus on authenticity developed by the conservation field internationally, especially under the auspices of the International Council on Monuments and Sites and their Venice Charter, which was created in 1964 and the subsequent adoption of the Burra Charter in Australia in 1979. Reconstructing buildings, except under very particular circumstances, is almost always frowned on in the field. But given that the particular historical fabric in question does not have established heritage significance, and given that questions of landscape heritage involve less clear-cut divisions between conservation, restoration and reconstruction than buildings, the merits of this reconstruction are more open to interpretation. It is not completely clear, for example, that the National Trust's critique, or its vision for the area, would have better served the heritage embodied there than the landscape reconstruction project that has just been completed. Advocates of the headland scheme, especially former Prime Minister Paul Keating, have argued that the project is about remediating environmental damage – damage that notably affected the scenic profile of the harbour environment. In this sense, it has something in common with what happened at Ball's Head in the inter-war years, and at Kelly's Bush in the 1970s – the battle that initiated the storied Green Bans.[2]

The point, then, is not to endorse or absolve the Barangaroo project either as an urban strategy or in its particulars as design and landscape reconstruction. Rather, my purpose is to question what it is we are trying to achieve when we protect places under the banner of heritage. The eventual use and meaning of the Barangaroo site raise interesting questions about how the past is recognised

and understood in the urban environment. It is certainly conceivable that a more profound heritage can be evoked at Barangaroo by actually destroying or demolishing several of the items that the National Trust wanted to be retained. For example, might important national narratives about settlement and dispossession be presented more cogently in the completed scheme than in one that retained more of the fabric of the area's shipping history?

Paul Keating, who has championed the landscape reconstruction concept for the Barangaroo headland, has repeatedly described the 1960s container wharf facilities that extended out on reclaimed land into Sydney Harbour as a piece of 'industrial vandalism' with 'no heritage value' (Moore, 2009). Moreover, he has argued that the evocation of the pre-European landscape on this important piece of Sydney Harbour represents a great opportunity to address Australia's settlement history, an approach that is more important than the physical evidence of maritime activity, especially the 1960s shift to containerisation, that provided the prevailing structure in the Hill Thalis masterplan.

Arguably, constructing a new landscape that evokes the character of the environment in the period before and during early settlement is an appropriate way to address questions of Aboriginal dispossession and to continue the cultural work of reconciliation between settlers and Aboriginal people. The lead designer for the landscape restoration project, Peter Walker, has expressed a desire to promote the significance of the site as a place of reconciliation. In a 2012 interview with the *Sydney Morning Herald*, he explained that 'Mr. Keating had educated him about its place in the area's Aboriginal history and its connection to nearby Goat Island and surrounding headlands' (Moore, 2012). In other words, this part of the Barangaroo site might also be viewed as part of a larger landscape, one that testifies to the ongoing effort to evoke what the historian Bill Gammage calls 1788: his shorthand for the landscape created and managed by Aboriginal people before the arrival of British colonists (Gammage, 2011). Taken in this sense, the protected and recreated contours that define the harbour landscape might also become a richer setting for a new story of national origins and Aboriginal–settler encounter. While the focus on Aboriginal–settler encounter is a relatively new justification, the remediation of industrial damage and pollution in the environment is a long-standing theme of harbour landscape protection. It could be contended, therefore, that the Barangaroo Headland Park is a direct descendant, albeit an intensively engineered descendant, of the long tradition of harbour headland protection that goes back to Cremorne Point in the 1880s.

Conclusion

The heritage enterprise in Sydney and its surrounds has been deeply marked by efforts to protect the natural landscape as a way of fostering the identity of the place and paying tribute to its early history. The pride of incipient nationalists such as Piddington in the glories of the harbour and its surrounds; the somewhat nostalgic pastoral vision of Annie Wyatt; the regionalist commitments and sense of authenticity of Donald Gazzard; and the critical revisionism of Paul Keating: each assumed that Sydney's history and identity are embedded in its landscape. How each addressed the perennial conservation issues of renewal and restoration versus continuity and repair certainly differs, and is the subject for a separate

paper. The ideological resonances of settler colonialism in each phase of these landscape protection and restoration efforts have shifted subtly and are likewise a subject deserving of its own paper. But the clear commitment to landscape protection as cultural heritage has remained fairly constant. Notwithstanding its position on the Barangaroo development, the National Trust of Australia (NSW) has been the central institution in promoting this view: a role contrary to the widely held idea that it has been mostly interested in fixing up nice old houses.

NOTES

1   The National Trust corresponded with each of these organisations in 1947 and 1948. Correspondence 1947–48, Wyatt Papers, The National Trust of Australia (NSW) Archives.

2   The 'Green Bans' are among the best-known environmental and heritage protection campaigns in Australian history and are the subject of a number of detailed studies. The most comprehensive is Burgmann and Burgmann (1998).

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Seascapes: Shaped by the Sea: Book Review

NANCY VANCE

Seascapes: Shaped by the Sea, Mike Brown and Barbara Humberstone (eds), Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2015; ISBN 9781472424334.

Mike Brown and Barbara Humberstone's *Seascapes: Shaped by the Sea* draws from an eclectic collection of ocean experiences, threaded together by the guiding principle that lived experiences with the sea shape who we are – they are 'transformative of who we are and how we think' (p xiii). As the authors correctly point out, the sea has been largely ignored in our terrestrial-centric world. With this overwhelmingly untapped academic field in front of them, they have placed 'the understanding of human relationships with the sea through experience' foremost in the list of things that must be understood, before we can successfully 'utilize and allocate resources, regulate its management, determine territorial authority and work to preserve or deplete non-human life' (Steinberg, 2013, cited p 6).

The book is written by scholars from a variety of fields – including human geography, sociology and education – whose brief was to write about their 'experiences of the sea and how they have contributed to [their] way of being in the world and how this might connect to broader issues in society' (p 2). While exploring the boundaries of this brief, the authors draw on frameworks for understanding, including work by Bourdieu, Deleuze, Foucault, Bateson and Thrift. To highlight the diverse perspectives of the sea, co-editor Mike Brown opens the book with a summary of the changing representations of the sea over time, beginning with Judeo-Christian narratives portraying the sea as a dangerous, chaotic and fearsome force, followed by the capitalist construct of the sea-space as a non-territorial domain or 'the sea as blank public space' (further reinforced by the cartographic traditions of representing the oceans as uniform, blue shapes between territories of jurisdiction), through to the sea as an exemplar of the sublime in the Romantic period, the 'wilderness that stood in contrast to the domesticated and despoiled landscape' (p 17). Just as the picturesque aesthetic has endured in the interpretation of landscape over the past 200-plus years, seascape is typically considered in a picturesque framework, and like landscape's continual defining and revealing of meaning, these narratives highlight the rich and layered interpretations and understandings yet to be explored in seascape.

Each chapter explores a personal experience with the sea through auto-ethnographic narratives in which the authors reflect on culture, identity and the human and more-than-human relationships with the sea. Although not taken into

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the design realm, these narratives enable designers and researchers in landscape architecture to explore beyond the physical or visual aspects of seascape – the watery complement of landscape. The narratives incorporate embodied or lived experiences as inspiration for, and understanding of, our experiences with the sea. Co-editor Barbara Humberstone expands on the value of embodied narratives, offering a greater appreciation of sensuous and embodied knowledge from scholars who are intimately engaged with the sea. These offer a personal and powerful way of knowing so that we may empathise with another person's experience, feelings and thoughts without having had the same experience ourselves.

Most of these experiences are focused physically on the coastline, the edge where land and sea interact. It is this threshold, or liminal space, that resonates with and provides opportunity for the landscape architect; the authors' trails of cultural association, personal attachment, physical and perceptual encounters, and their derived meanings offer inspiration and an understanding of the qualities of this space, described by Brian Wattchow in his chapter as 'physical and metaphorical, sensual and spiritual' qualities (p 125). While written for a multidisciplinary audience, the book offers the landscape architect who is researching or designing in these spaces a direction from which to navigate this ever-changing edge. The insights gathered from each author's experiences certainly fall within the brief of many a landscape architect. Wattchow considers the meaning of the coastal edge and the sea in deriving and enforcing national and personal identity, Barbour's narratives of ocean-crossings offer tangible images and feelings of departure and arrival, while Zink approaches the sea as a landscape of limits, or risks, and testing those limits to give different perspectives and truths. These are all essential drivers or elements of design at the land–water interface.

A thread tracing through the text, and highlighted by chapter authors Jon Anderson (p 58) and Peter Reason (p 107), is that an embodied human experience of the sea is often mediated through technology. As many authors illustrate from their own lives, we use boats, surfboards, bodyboards, kayaks and wetsuits between us and the sea to gain these experiences. It could also be argued that we need good landscape architecture as a vehicle to experiencing the sea, whether through the planning and management of the land–sea edge, or through the design of mediating technologies, such as wharf, slipway, seawall or waterfront plaza. As designers of public spaces, we work to understand a place; the experiences of it or offered by it, in turn, through a design intervention, offer the public a physical experience to highlight or heighten this experience. We create a landscape (or seascape) narrative or analogy where it is not possible to directly experience it for oneself. We may see the value of creating a greater empathy towards a place, person, thing or experience in the methods of design firm IDEO, which aims to increase the 'spectrum of stakeholders' to inspire innovative and responsive design solutions (Battarbee et al, p 5). While by their nature auto-ethnographic accounts are deeply personal, applying this thinking of increasing empathy to the effect of design in the public realm can be rich and meaningful, where the experience can reach more people and the effect may influence and endure.

Here, in New Zealand, where no one is more than 130 kilometres from the coast and the land–sea interface is often experienced in the public realm, we are led to question how these liminal spaces are traversed, occupied, looked from or

looked at, while also examining how these interventions affect and are affected by human and non-human agents. The book reminds us that embodied experience is both a means and an end result of understanding what constitutes seascape.

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