

**REVIEW AND ASSESSMENT OF THE
STATUS AND FEASIBILITY OF THE
CITY OF ADELAIDE'S
WORLD HERITAGE BID FOR THE
PARK LANDS AND CITY LAYOUT**

Duncan Marshall AM & Dr Jane Lennon AM

**for the
City of Adelaide**

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The City of Adelaide has commissioned this report to provide an expert review of the possibility of a World Heritage nomination related to the Adelaide Park Lands and City Layout. The project was to assess whether a nomination is justified, consider its scope, to review, revise or develop key aspects of a possible nomination, to identify gaps, and suggest a workplan to achieve a successful nomination.

In addition, another possible World Heritage nomination has been proposed in South Australia, for the systematic colonisation settlement landscape of South Australia, otherwise known as the Mount Lofty Ranges bid. The current review was also to consider whether the two proposals might be integrated in some way.

The 1837 Adelaide town plan does have substantial potential and there are overall advantages in a combined bid. The suggested core narrative of such a bid is as follows.

The Systematic Colonisation Settlement Landscape of South Australia, including the Adelaide plan, is of Outstanding Universal Value as evidence of the nineteenth century Wakefield systematic colonisation model, an important and influential model in the history of European free migration and colonial settlement. It is the most complete realisation of British colonial settlement planning and/or a major achievement of such colonial planning.

In addition to this summary conclusion, the key detailed conclusions from this review are provided below.

Key parts of the **rationale** for the Adelaide plan begin to present a potential core justification for World Heritage listing. However, based on previous World Heritage evaluations, any nomination should include the whole urban form based on the 1837 plan, beyond just the City Layout and Park Lands.

Within the **core narrative** about the Adelaide plan, two options appear worthy of further development:

- A Spatial Illustration of the Wakefield Model; and
- Progressive, Post-Enlightenment Town Planning through its Grid Plan and Encircling Park Lands, perhaps better expressed as Progressive, Post-Enlightenment Colonial Town Planning.

These two options may also draw in the other possibilities considered in the review, as supporting or component elements.

The stronger **World Heritage criteria** relevant to the proposed property are (ii) – especially the influence of British, and possibly Spanish, colonial town planning on Adelaide, (iv) and (vi).

Based on the findings of the analysis, **preliminary value statements** are offered for those criteria which appear worthy of further development and **relevant attributes** are identified.

The possible Adelaide plan nomination is probably best approached as a **cultural landscape** because it is a combined work of nature and people.

A further consideration of **New Zealand examples of systematic colonisation rural landscapes** found that the physical evidence of original rural settlement patterns in New Zealand either no longer remain, or they were never actually developed. Accordingly, South Australia has better examples of such rural landscapes. On the other hand, there are comparisons to be drawn between the urban aspects of Adelaide and some New Zealand cities, such as Christchurch and Wellington.

With regard to the possibility of **a bid that combines the Adelaide plan and the systematic colonisation settlement landscape of South Australia**, the advantages of a combined bid are:

- it represents a substantially more complete portrayal of the colonial settlement model and the whole of the settlement system, which is more likely to be supported by ICOMOS;
- it includes key attributes reflecting the urban settlement dimension of the model, to balance the rural attributes; and
- it includes the colonial capital and the centre of settlement.

The problems of a combined bid are:

- the potentially greater complexity in developing a nomination, at least partly in terms of preparing the justification, but also with regard to management, stakeholder support (community as well as including a range of governments), resourcing and risk; and
- in the case of the systematic colonisation landscape, the boundaries are still to be defined.

In terms of potential Outstanding Universal Value, at this stage in the research, it is probably better to continue with the combined bid. Such a nomination has the more satisfying quality of embracing the whole colonial settlement system, and this will be a strength through the evaluation by ICOMOS.

In recommending the combined bid, this is not to suggest it should be finally decided that such a bid will be developed and nominated. Rather, that there are further stages of research to be undertaken, and this research will either continue to justify a combined bid or steer the potential nomination to a different option. The commitment should be made to further research on the combined bid, with points for review and reflection to ensure it remains the justified option.

The core narrative, attributes and area/landscape features of a combined bid are outlined.

A **preliminary workplan** for initial research, and developing the Tentative List submission and nomination, is provided. This relates to the combined bid of the 1837 Adelaide town plan and the systematic colonisation settlement landscape of South Australia.



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1. INTRODUCTION

The City of Adelaide has commissioned this report to provide an expert review of the possibility of a World Heritage nomination related to the Adelaide Park Lands and City Layout. The review was to consider work undertaken to date and as well as the findings of new research. A summary of the possible values provided as part of briefing materials at the start of the project includes:

- that the Park Lands and City Layout are the spatial illustration of the important Wakefield model of systematic colonisation;
- Adelaide is unique as the only city in the world located within a park, as opposed to a city with a park;
- it is a town planning response to the slums of Victorian England and potentially, a precursor to the Garden City movement;
- it is one of the few examples built of a city plan based on a grid design, and still substantially intact; and
- the Park Lands may be the first publicly planned park system in the world.

The project was to assess whether a nomination is justified, consider its scope, to review, revise or develop key aspects of a possible nomination, to identify gaps, and suggest a workplan to achieve a successful nomination.

In addition, another possible World Heritage nomination has been proposed in South Australia, for the systematic colonisation settlement landscape of South Australia, otherwise known as the Mount Lofty Ranges bid. Given the potential themes and values of this other possible nomination have strong similarities with the Adelaide proposal, the current review was also to consider whether the two proposals might be integrated in some way. If so, the nature of a combined proposal was to be outlined.

The details of tasks noted in the project brief are as follows.

- A review of the rationale for seeking World Heritage listing of the Park Lands and City Layout as a stand-alone nomination.
- An assessment of the values of the Park Lands and City Layout against the World Heritage criteria to determine which, if any, are considered suitable and the strengths/weaknesses of those criteria when applied to the Park Lands and City Layout.
- An assessment and comparison of the strength in progressing a nomination as either an historical site or cultural landscape listing.
- Identification of the attributes/areas that most strongly reflect the potential OUV (Outstanding Universal Value or World Heritage value) in the landscape.
- Identification of research gaps and additional work required to develop the draft OUV, criteria statements and development of World Heritage nomination, including recommended processes and realistic timeframes for preparing Tentative Listing documentation and a nomination document.
- Consultation, discussion and review with other recognised and respected World Heritage experts as required.

With regard to the possible combined proposal, the project brief included the following tasks.

- Given the current understanding of the case for listing the Mount Lofty Ranges bid,

consideration of the pros and cons for a combined bid for World Heritage listing of both the Park Lands and City Layout and the Mount Lofty Ranges as an example of Wakefield's systematic colonisation model.

- If a combined bid is recommended, the identification of the attributes/areas that most strongly reflect the potential OUV in the landscape.
- Views on whether a bid that only lists the Park Lands and City Layout (for ease of management) has less or greater merit on its own. The thinking behind this idea is the listing would apply to the Park Lands and City Layout but the interpretation would also acknowledge and explain the patterns of settlement in the landscape of the Mount Lofty Ranges.
- Consideration of whether the planned settlement of Adelaide's rural hinterland through the preliminary and special survey system is exemplary from a systematic colonisation model perspective, compared for instance with similar examples in New Zealand.

The consultants for the review project are Duncan Marshall AM B.Arch(Hons) BA MICOMOS and Dr Jane Lennon AM MICOMOS. In addition, Professor Robert Freestone of the University of NSW, Emeritus Professor Robert Home of Anglia Ruskin University (UK) and Professor Michael Roche of Massey University (NZ) contributed as expert reviewers.

With regard to the peer reviews, the comments of Professors Freestone and Roche were in the form of track changes on a draft or short comments by email. Professor Home's comments were in the form of a short stand-alone report, and this is included at Appendix B. All peer review comments have been addressed. Nonetheless, responsibility for the final report rests with the primary authors.

A limitation for the project has been the restricted access to reference materials because of library closures during the current pandemic. As a result, alternative online sources have been used where available, recognising these may not be fully authoritative.

The consultants are grateful to the following people for their assistance.

Martin Cook	City of Adelaide
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2. RATIONALE FOR WORLD HERITAGE LISTING OF THE ADELAIDE PARK LANDS AND CITY LAYOUT

This chapter is an initial review of existing information about potential values to identify those which appear worthy of more detailed consideration. The detailed consideration is presented as a discussion of the potential core narrative in the following chapter.

World Heritage listing brings global recognition to a place and a story of Outstanding Universal Value. It also represents an offering and a commitment by a community to protect and present that place. It is a wonderfully ambitious objective. But it is also the most difficult level of heritage listing to achieve, requiring sound research, considerable time and effort, and persistence.

It is worth noting that World Heritage value is formally referred to as Outstanding Universal Value.

2.1 SUMMARY RATIONALE

In the case of the Adelaide Park Lands and City Layout, the summary rationale for seeking World Heritage listing is based on views dating back to 1996, its inclusion on the National Heritage List in 2008, and later research which lead to the proposed values included with the project brief, as follows.

The spatial illustration of Wakefield's model of systematic colonisation. The granting of one town acre in the City as a package with initially, an 80 acre section in the country, is still visible in the landscape of the City and surrounding countryside. Some original town acres have survived without further subdivision such as Waverley House within the grounds of St Andrews Hospital.

Research to date indicates that Adelaide is unique as the only city in the World located within a park, as opposed to a city with a park. This unique form may be argued to be a town planning response to the slums of Victorian England and potentially, a precursor to the Garden Cities movement.

While city plans based on a grid design were common as theoretical town plans in this period (many with a series of small city squares and parks contained within that grid), few were built. Of those constructed, few remain substantially intact. Adelaide's Park Lands and City Layout remain instantly recognisable and remarkably true to the plans drawn and laid out by Colonel Light in 1837.

The Park Lands were purchased by Governor Gawler in 1839 to ensure they remained intact for the residents of the City with Council assuming control of their maintenance and management in 1849. Research conducted so far indicates that the Park Lands may be the first publicly planned park system in the World. Other parks had their origins in common land or hunting grounds, but of the publicly planned park land systems surrounding cities, it appears that Adelaide's are the World's first.

Most of these proposed values relate to the Park Lands and City Layout considered on their own, perhaps under the theme of town planning/urban park lands. However, the first value related to systematic colonisation suggests the need to consider the Park Lands and City Layout along with the systematic colonisation settlement landscape of South Australia, also known as the Mount Lofty Ranges.

The two key parts of this rationale distilled from the above, and supplemented with ideas from a City of Adelaide PowerPoint presentation (2019), are:

- *Wakefield model theme*: that the Park Lands and City Layout is a spatial illustration of the Wakefield model of systematic colonisation, or at least part of that model, indeed its first manifestation, arising from influences from philosophical thinking, and social and political reform, with the implicit suggestion that this model is highly important;
- *town planning/urban park lands theme/s*:
 - that Adelaide is unique as the only city in the world located within a park;
 - that it is a town planning response to the slums of Victorian England, arising from planning movements including colonial town planning, and potentially, a precursor to the Garden City movement and other planning;
 - it is one of the few examples built of a city plan based on a grid design, and still substantially intact regarding its public Park Lands, squares and formal, gridded street layout; and
 - the Park Lands may be the first publicly planned park system surrounding a city in the world.

2.2 A SPATIAL ILLUSTRATION OF THE WAKEFIELD MODEL

Another project has considered the Wakefield model of systematic colonisation, and found it to be a potential theme of Outstanding Universal Value (Marshall and Lennon 2019). The Park Lands and City Layout are certainly part of that story, with Adelaide being the capital for the then colony which was at least partly developed as an integrated expression of the Wakefield model.

2.3 TOWN PLANNING/URBAN PARK LAND THEME/S

As noted, key parts of the rationale relate to town planning/urban park lands theme/s.

The suggested uniqueness of Adelaide as a city within a park is interesting, but claims of uniqueness are common in World Heritage and are generally viewed as not being sufficient. Many places are unique, but the real test is whether they have a very high level of importance – Outstanding Universal Value. This importance is better to stress. In this vein, the suggested value related to a town planning response to slum conditions, or as a precursor to the Garden City movement sound more persuasive as they explain the potential value, or at least link it to broader and important historical themes.

There is also mention of Adelaide being the first publicly planned park system, or a park system that surrounded a city. The first claim appears to reflect a narrative of potential Outstanding Universal Value, although the public planning aspect is probably of less interest than being a planned public park system. However, the second claim is less persuasive, or at least less obviously without some connection to a broader historical theme, such as progressive town planning which pre-figured the Garden City movement.

The values related to the city plan based on a grid design are connected to a theme of potential Outstanding Universal Value. Such city plans are a major thread in the history of town planning globally.

These possible values might be grouped into three somewhat overlapping themes:

- reflecting progressive, post-Enlightenment town planning through its grid plan and

encircling park lands, which were the first (or at least an early) publicly planned park system, developed as a response to slum conditions in the United Kingdom, and which were a precursor to the Garden City movement;

- as a city plan based on a grid design; and
- as the first (or at least an early) planned public park system.

2.4 BOUNDARIES

The rationale also suggests the likely boundary for a possible World Heritage property – the City Layout and Park Lands. A key question is what does the City Layout actually include? If it is just the streets and squares, this may prove a challenge as it will not, for example, include town blocks which are important under one potential value. It may also not be favoured by ICOMOS – the International Council on Monuments and Sites which is the formal adviser to the World Heritage Committee on cultural heritage. The issue is the nomination of the skeletal form of the city, but not the whole of the urban form, which it is suspected would be ICOMOS' strong preference. The nomination of Savannah (USA) in the 1990s appears to have failed because it did not include the city's buildings, but only its skeletal form including parks (see a longer discussion about Savannah in Section 3.3 below and also in Appendix A).

The issue of what a nomination for Adelaide should include is discussed further in Section 6.2 below.

In addition, there are many factors to be taken into account in finally determining boundaries, including the proposed Outstanding Universal Value, the attributes which convey this value, and their authenticity, integrity, protection and management. The Park Lands in particular appear to have integrity issues given substantial modern developments. However, there is also a comparative aspect to these issues – if Adelaide has greater integrity than other examples, then it may still be justified for World Heritage inscription even with these modern developments.

2.5 CONCLUSION ABOUT RATIONALE

The key parts of the rationale noted above begin to present a potential core justification for World Heritage listing in terms which resonate with the purpose, scope, criteria and threshold of the World Heritage List. These relate to:

- the Wakefield model theme: that the Park Lands and City Layout is a spatial illustration of the Wakefield model of systematic colonisation; and
- town planning/urban park lands theme/s.

But this text is, of course, only the start of the justification needed, or rather, it is a brief summary of research already undertaken. The World Heritage nomination would present an extended justification of the proposed Outstanding Universal Value. The following chapters of this report will consider in more detail issues related to the justification, helping to focus any potential nomination.

3. CORE NARRATIVE FOR WORLD HERITAGE LISTING

This chapter presents a more detailed consideration of the potential values of Adelaide through the framework of a core narrative or rather, the several potential threads of that narrative. The chapter sections address:

- A Spatial Illustration of the Wakefield Model;
- Town Planning/Urban Park Land Theme/s – Progressive, Post-Enlightenment Town Planning, which are then addressed in detail in the remaining sections below;
 - Progressive, Post-Enlightenment Town Planning through its Grid Plan and Encircling Park Lands;
 - Town Planning/Urban Park Land Theme/s – A City Plan based on a Grid Design;
 - Adelaide’s Planning as a Response to Slum Conditions in the United Kingdom;
 - Adelaide as a Precursor to the Garden City Movement; and
 - The First Planned Public Park System.

The chapter finishes with a section providing conclusions about the core narrative.

3.1 A SPATIAL ILLUSTRATION OF THE WAKEFIELD MODEL

As noted above, the Wakefield model of systematic colonisation has been found to be a potential theme of Outstanding Universal Value as part of an earlier project (Marshall and Lennon 2019). A key issue is the extent to which the Park Lands and City Layout is important or integral evidence of that theme.

The earlier project provided a brief description of the Wakefield model as applied in South Australia, as follows.

The central features of Wakefield systematic colonisation were related to activating free emigration to Australia:

- the commitment by the colony to massive financing to generate migrant inflows; and
- the recruitment and selection of specific immigrants for a very long-distance destination.

It aimed for long-term sustainability and resilience, rather than a short-term profit for its founders, and the colony was to be self-funding from the sale of land.

Detailed aspects included:

- minimum land pricing to concentrate settlement, and not land grants;
- use of funds from land sales which were synchronised to subsidise immigration of free settlers/labour for the colony, avoiding the need for government support;
- the transfer of colonial labour supply from the private sector to the government;
- prescribing the composition of the population according to age and gender – meaning the recruitment of younger families, to ensure a balance of sexes, and from the lowest occupational strata but still a more literate population than the average;
- recruitment of free rather than indentured labour, that is free settlement, and certainly no convict labour;
- detailed surveying of town and country landholdings ahead of sale;
- containing urban and rural settlement within surveyed districts;

- town acres within the city of Adelaide and a framework of Preliminary Districts and Special Surveys (the latter criticised by Wakefield himself) in the rural areas with 80 acre farm units (sections) in order to promote intensive forms of farming rather than pastoral activities;
- linking 1 acre town block and 80 acre rural land purchases as part of the preliminary land order system;
- generally locating towns near the middle of hundreds (a land area initially of 100 sections), with smaller sections closer to the township;
- settlement policies to avoid unemployment; and
- an Arcadian ideal of a self-supporting society of agriculturists, as well as the founders' utopian principles including egalitarianism, religious freedom and a recognition of Indigenous rights. (Marshall and Lennon 2019, pp. 10-11)

These features are, to some extent, tangible or intangible attributes of the model, and it is possible to see in several cases how these might directly relate to the Park Lands and City Layout. The following list is drawn from the longer description above, with text highlighted where a direct link to the Park Lands and City Layout is apparent.

- minimum land pricing to **concentrate settlement**, and not land grants;
- **detailed surveying of town and country landholdings** ahead of sale;
- **containing urban and rural settlement** within surveyed districts;
- **town acres within the city of Adelaide** and a framework of Preliminary Districts and Special Surveys (the latter criticised by Wakefield himself) in the rural areas with 80 acre farm units (sections) in order to promote intensive forms of farming rather than pastoral activities; and
- **linking 1 acre town block and 80 acre rural land purchases** as part of the preliminary land order system.

For example, the city and surrounding settlement landscape were linked through a process whereby 1 acre town blocks and 80 acre rural land purchases were packaged together as part of the preliminary land order system. It is understood that at least some examples of town blocks remain intact (eg. Waverley House within the grounds of St Andrews Hospital). However, in this case, the extent of such surviving evidence in the city and documented links to specific 80 acre sections is not clear.

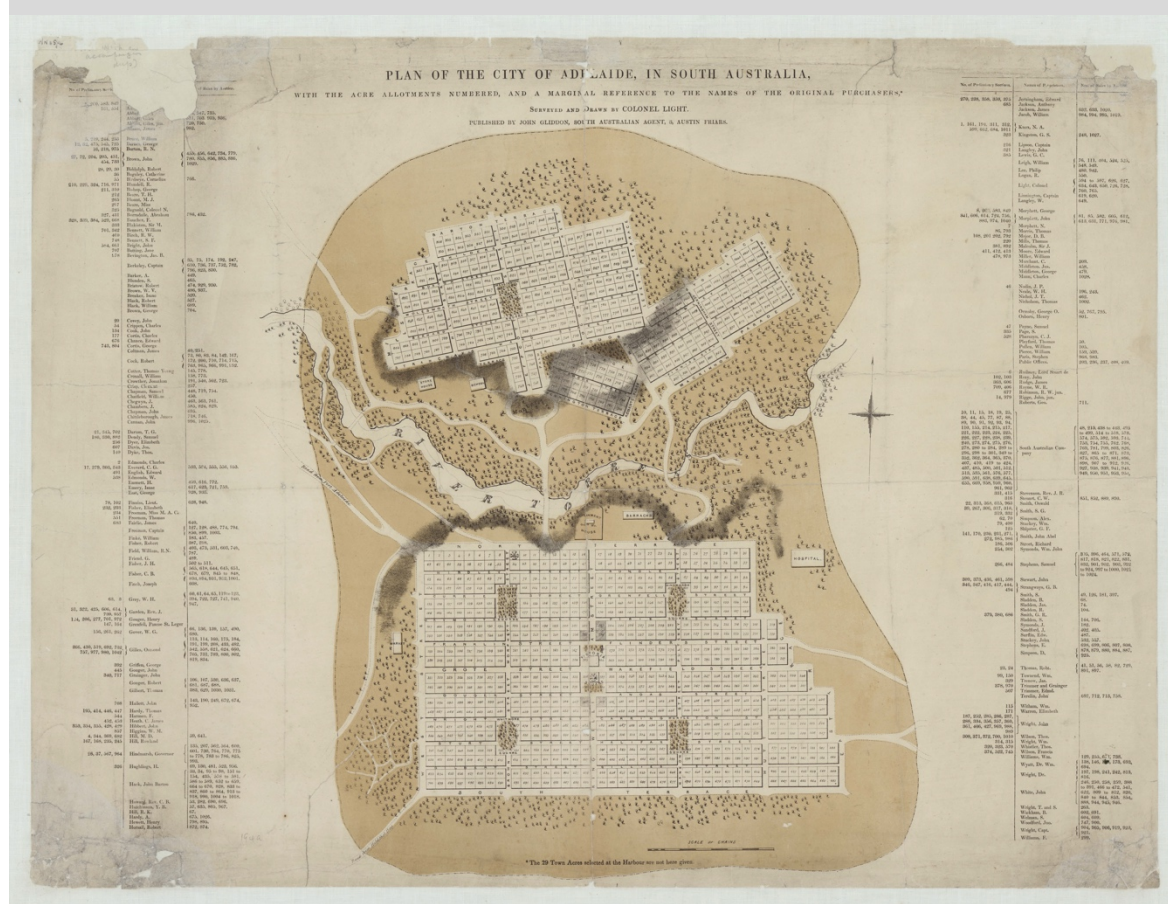
In addition, while detailed surveying of the city was part of the Wakefield model, it is not clear that the particular form of the city plan was part of this model. Rather, consistent with the desire for a systematic or planned approach, a plan reflecting contemporary ideas, elements or proposals for a colonial city was adopted for Adelaide. In any event, the planned form of Adelaide is an expression of one of the highlighted features of the Wakefield model.

The role of the Park Lands also needs to be clearer in this systematic settlement theme and the Wakefield model. It is noted that there are several possible explanations for the inclusion of the Park Lands in the plan for Adelaide (see for example: DAWE 2020; and Johnson 2006, p. 15), including their role in concentrating/containing settlement. But other possible explanations are not as closely linked, or not as obviously. The following text comes from the National Heritage place record.

The Adelaide Park Lands may have been provided as a form of enclosure that would concentrate the population in the City and control the supply and value of land, ideas that could have been derived from the work of Wakefield and Bentham. It has also been argued that South Australia's planners sought to control social relations by utilising a town layout that maximised the visibility of the population and encouraged people to form small social groups within well-defined areas. Possibly it was used as a form of concentric zoning that was intended to shape economic and social relationships. Providing democratic access to public lands for health and recreation were other reasons. It has also been suggested that the park belt was intended to provide protection from a perceived threat of attack by Aborigines. (DAWE 2020)

Figure 1. Plan of Adelaide, 1840, showing original purchasers including those who purchased through the preliminary land order system

Source: <http://adelaideia.sa.gov.au/sites/default/files/images/maps/b1831757.png>



In addition, Johnson notes:

We've seen that there was no single source for the park lands and reasons were inherently tangled. Yet it is obvious that a belt of common park land was believed to be socially necessary and part of contemporary thinking about city improvement and planning. The *idea* was not new to Adelaide, it was in the air, obviously current. But its *application* was completely new, fresh, one-of-a-kind in the world. (Johnson 2006, p. 123, emphasis in original)

While links between the Park Lands and City Layout and the Wakefield model are apparent and substantial, the evidence that the Park Lands and City Layout is good and integral evidence of the model should be confirmed/reinforced. More detailed research is needed, beyond the scope of the current project.

3.2 TOWN PLANNING/URBAN PARK LAND THEME/S – PROGRESSIVE, POST-ENLIGHTENMENT TOWN PLANNING

This part of the narrative has several threads, as noted in the text developed in the previous chapter about possible themes of Outstanding Universal Value. This is expressed as – reflecting progressive, post-Enlightenment town planning through its grid plan and encircling park lands, which were the first (or at least an early) publicly planned park system, developed as a response to slum conditions in the United Kingdom, and which were a precursor to the Garden City movement.

The town planning/urban park land theme/s discussed below are:

- Progressive, Post-Enlightenment Town Planning through its Grid Plan and Encircling Park Lands;
- Town Planning/Urban Park Land Theme/s – A City Plan based on a Grid Design;
- Adelaide’s Planning as a Response to Slum Conditions in the United Kingdom;
- Adelaide as a Precursor to the Garden City Movement; and
- The First Planned Public Park System.

These threads are dealt with separately below, although there is, in at least some cases, a degree of overlap.

3.3 PROGRESSIVE, POST-ENLIGHTENMENT TOWN PLANNING THROUGH ITS GRID PLAN AND ENCIRCLING PARK LANDS

The National Heritage place record provides an appreciation of the design qualities of Adelaide:

The national significance of the Adelaide Park Lands and City Layout lies in its design excellence. The Adelaide Plan is regarded as a masterwork of urban design, a grand example of colonial urban planning... The city layout is designed to take full advantage of the topography, an important innovation for the time. The streets were sited and planned to maximise views and vistas through the city and Park Lands and from some locations to the Adelaide Hills. A hierarchy of road widths with a wide dimension to principal routes and terraces and alternating narrow and wide streets in the east-west direction were featured on the historic plan. (DAWE 2020)

In March 1836 the Colonization Commissioners for South Australia provided a “Letter of Instructions” to Colonel William Light regarding the planning for the new colonial capital.

you will make the streets of ample width, and arrange them with reference to the convenience of the inhabitants, and the beauty and salubrity of the town; and you will make the necessary reserves for squares, public walks and quays

One of the possible influences on the Adelaide plan, not least with its encircling Park Lands, was T J Maslen in his published work in 1830. As the historian of urban planning, John Reys notes:

One feature of the model town here described by Maslen may have influenced the real world of Australian planning. This was his proposed permanent belt of open or park land surrounding the model city – a feature of the plan for Adelaide, the pioneer European settlement in South Australia, surveyed only seven years later. It is difficult to escape the conclusion that those who devised the plan in England for the pioneer town in South Australia knew of Maslen's proposal and found it appealing enough to include in their design. In the years that followed, many other smaller so-called "parkland" towns were laid out elsewhere in South Australia on the same model, although none

matched Adelaide in size or importance. The idea of what is now usually referred to as a "greenbelt" did not originate with Maslen. Indeed, he may have known of that feature in the town plan offered as a model for colonial settlements by Granville Sharp in 1796. And, just as Maslen may have borrowed the idea from Sharp, Sharp himself may have derived his ideas from the American colony of Georgia and the plan of its chief town – Savannah – whose design in 1733 included a surrounding belt of open land in the form of a town common. (Reps, http://urbanplanning.library.cornell.edu/DOCS/maslen_1.htm, accessed 29 April 2020)

The Savannah plan was the work of James Oglethorpe and has been described as “an embodiment of all of the major themes of the Enlightenment” (Wikipedia, ‘Oglethorpe Plan’, accessed 30 April 2020). Wilson writes that “The genius of the place [Savannah] resides deep in a design distilled from humanistic principles of the Enlightenment” (2015). This plan included cellular wards set within a grid, with each ward arranged around a square. Information about the World Heritage nomination of Savannah is presented as a case study below.

Influences extend back further as noted by Home and King:

Whether in Ireland, the Americas, Asia, or Australasia, both the theory and practice of town planning for the purposes of permanent settlement and/or the holding of territory was important to the realization of English global expansion...

In its earliest guise, this idea was supported through the rise of ‘plantation’ culture during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries...

by the late seventeenth century certain theories and patterns of colonial urbanism had begun to emerge. These theories and patterns crystallized around the so-called ‘Grand Modell’ of colonial town planning, which established a set of features that would remain a relatively consistent aspect of British colonial settlement worldwide. Alongside a policy of deliberate urbanisation, these features included wide streets laid out in geometric, usually grid-iron form; land rights allocated in standardized, often rectangular plots; space reserved for public purposes, such as public squares; towns planned and laid out in advance of settlement; and a clear distinction between town and country, usually by common land, or, later, by greenbelt.

Some of these features gained credence prior to their formalization in the Grand Modell through the ‘plantation’ settlement of Ulster in the north of Ireland during the early seventeenth century... Londonderry... from 1613... for instance, displayed many of the formal characteristics that would later appear as part of the Grand Modell... (Home and King 2016, p. 57)

They refer to this earlier influence as the “plantation settlement model” (Home and King 2016, p. 59). The interest in formal planning derived from the rebuilding of London after the Great Fire of 1666, including a plan by Richard Newcourt which, “appears to have been the most influential on city planning in early colonial America” (Home and King 2016, pp. 59, 61).

The Grand Modell or Grand Model for the Province of Carolina, was a utopian plan for this province founded in 1670 (Wikipedia, ‘Grand Model for the Province of Carolina’, accessed 30 April 2020). The Grand Model was prepared for the Lord Proprietors of Carolina by the English liberal philosopher John Locke, who was later involved in the Council of Trade and Plantations and the subsequent Board of Trade which were to be influential in later colonial settlements in North America (Akkerman 2019, p. 98; Wikipedia, ‘John Locke’, accessed 20 May 2020; although the name and lineage of the Council and Board seems confusing, see Wikipedia, ‘Board of Trade’, accessed 20 May 2020, with greater clarity provided in Home and King 2016). Colonial planning was influenced by components of the Grand Model. Home identifies the key (town planning?) elements of the Grand Model as:

1. a policy of deliberate urbanisation, or town planning, in preference to dispersed settlement;
2. land rights allocated in a combination of town, suburban and country lots;
3. the town planned and laid out in advance of settlement;
4. wide streets laid out in geometric, usually grid-iron form, usually on an area of one square mile [2.6 square kilometres];
5. public squares;
6. Standard-sized rectangular plots, spacious in comparison with those in British towns of the time;
7. some plots reserved for public purposes;
8. a physical distinction between town and country, usually by common land or an encircling green belt. (Home 2013, p. 10)

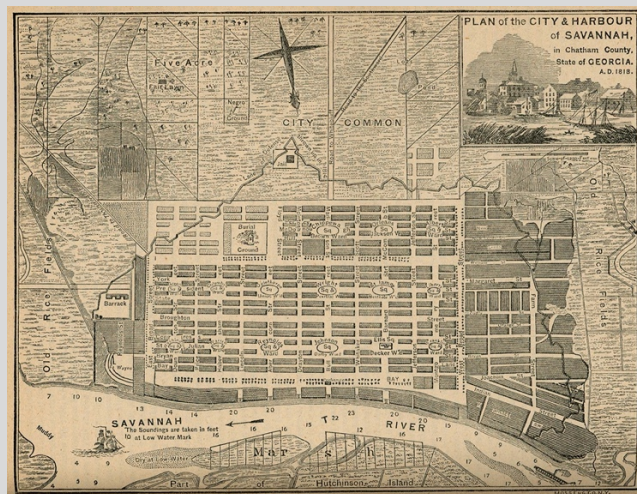
Philadelphia and Savannah in the USA are both regarded as examples of the town planning components of the Grand Model. In both cases, the purchase of town or city lots were also tied to rural land (Home and King 2016, pp. 62-3). It is noted:

The Newcourt-Grand Modell approach to colonial urbanism was promulgated into the latter part of the eighteenth century... (Home and King 2016, p. 66)

However, the Carolina precedent was linked to a quasi-feudal system of government, and the later models, such as that proposed by Granville Sharp, involved a more egalitarian system (Home 2013, p. 29).

Case Study: Savannah (USA) World Heritage Nomination

Savannah's city plan was nominated to the World Heritage List in 1994. It included streets and 52 acres of tree-shaded squares, parks and monuments (sculptures).



It is surmised the nomination highlighted the unique artistic achievement of the city in the history of town planning, and that it was a masterpiece of creative achievement, although the nomination has not been sighted.

It is an outstanding example of a town plan structure which illustrates 18th-century British Colonial expansion. It has widespread influence on urban planning as a man-made spacial organisation that gives a humanly-scaled discipline to the three-dimensional development of a city...

For European countries settling North America, the creation of planned towns was an essential component of the colonization process. Savannah, the last of the major British colonial capital cities in North America, was given a more complex and integrated layout than any of the towns that preceded it. This perhaps was a reflection of the humanitarian and social ideals held by its founder General James Edward Oglethorpe... Unlike many utopian colonial settlements, Savannah survived as a remarkable achievement in British colonial town planning...

The Savannah plan synthesizes elements from a number of essays in town planning of the 16th to 18th century to create a wholly original solution. (US ICOMOS 1995, p. 1)

However, because of the need under US regulations for written agreement by every property owner covered by the nomination, the actual city buildings were not included, presumably because of the difficulty in achieving such agreement.

It was anticipated at the time that the Bureau of the World Heritage Committee would not accept the nomination as proposed, because of the exclusion of buildings, although no record of the Bureau decision has been found to date. Nonetheless, it is known that ICOMOS, as the statutory advisor to the World Heritage Committee, advised the Mayor of Savannah that:

the City Plan lies outside the current interpretation of the [World Heritage] Convention, and so ICOMOS was unable to recommend inscription on the World Heritage List. (US ICOMOS 1995, p. 3)

It is understood the problem was the exclusion of the city's buildings.

In about 2007, another effort was made to nominate Savannah for the World Heritage List. A Tentative List submission was drafted, and the proposal focused on a linear sample of the city – the Bull Street Corridor. However, it appears this proposal for Tentative Listing was not successful, again because of the exclusion of buildings. This decision was apparently taken by the US Government rather than the World Heritage Committee or ICOMOS. (City of Savannah [2007?])

See also Appendix A for a full copy of the US ICOMOS reference.

By the early nineteenth century, “a new spate of colonial urban planning was underway, this time associated with the concept of ‘systematic colonization’ in Australasia” (Home and King 2016, p. 66). Home notes the influence of Sharp’s model on planning in Australia, with Adelaide being a possible example:

the ‘General Plan’ [Sharp’s ‘General Plan for laying out towns and townships on the new-acquired lands in the East Indies, America or elsewhere’] included a diagrammatic layout, with an encircling belt of defensible common land... (Home 2013, p. 29)

The National Heritage place record also provides a summary of the precursors and possible influences on Adelaide:

- the 1788 plan for Toronto by Captain Gother Mann, Royal Engineers, while not actually implemented in Toronto, has been described as “a blueprint for successive new towns in Canada, Australia and New Zealand”;
- the 1789 model town plan of Lord Dorchester, Governor-General of Canada, which included an encircling belt of reserved land;
- in the 1790s the ‘park belt’ idea as part of model town plans for the surveying of Upper Canada. “It has been argued that the use of common or reserved land for “enclosure and separation” became an established planning convention during this period.”;
- “A number of model plans for new towns were also developed in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries with provision for a belt of park lands around the town. In 1794, a model plan was developed by the English social reformer Granville Sharp...”;
- “In 1830, retired English naval officer Allen Gardiner published *Friend of Australia* under the name of T J Maslen, outlining his idea of a model town for the Australian colonies.” (DAWE 2020)

With regard to this last point:

Not much seems to be known about Maslen, which is surprising given his importance in the history of the Green Belt concept. Williams (1974) identified him as a pseudonym of Captain Allen F. Gardiner (1794–1851), and I accepted this in an article (Home 1991b), adding further details of Gardiner’s exotic career (he was an evangelist and missionary who died of starvation in Tierra del Fuego setting up a mission). Subsequently, however, David Elder has pointed out to me that we are in error because of a misinterpreted flysheet dedication, and Maslen was not Gardiner at all... Thomas John Maslen (1787–?1856), as it now appears, was not a pseudonym at all, but, as he states in his book, a former officer of the East India Company. (Home 1997, p. 34)

The National Heritage place record notes:

The Commissioners also directed Light to ‘look to any new town precedent in America and Canada’ for guidance. The grid plan was by then an established planning convention for colonial new towns in the English-speaking world. It probably had its origins in Roman military camps, and was first used by the English for fortified towns or bastides during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the grid pattern making it easy to collect property taxes. The grid plan was later evident in the plans developed for colonial new towns. Many of the new towns established in Upper Canada and in the southern colonies of North America in the eighteenth century had gridded plans and one or more town squares. William Penn’s Philadelphia (1687) was followed by Charleston (1672). In Savannah (1733), and a number of other towns in Georgia, a belt of encircling parkland was also provided. Savannah was laid out by social reformer Oglethorpe who influenced Granville Sharp, a British anti-slavery campaigner and utopian who attempted to establish model towns for freed slaves in which he promoted the benefits of the grid and greenbelt (The Adelaide Review 2004:2). (quoted in DAWE 2020)

Johnson links the Adelaide plan back to the 1550s and the town planning work of the Italian architect Cataneo, at least in terms of similarity if not actual influence (Johnson 2006, pp. 116-7).

One Canadian town not specifically mentioned in these references is Lunenburg. It is of special interest as a planned British colonial settlement from 1753, based on a model town plan, it includes a grid layout, central public spaces, and settlers were provided a town lot and a garden lot outside the town, reflecting a distinction between urban and non-urban land. It is also of particular interest because it is inscribed on the World Heritage List (UNESCO World Heritage List, <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/741>, accessed 15 May 2020; Department of Canadian Heritage & Municipality of the Town of Lunenburg 1994). Although it is smaller than Adelaide, it is not apparent that the size of Lunenburg would be an important factor in comparing the values of the two.

Lunenburg’s planning was based on a model for laying out new towns in the colonies created by the Board of Trade and Plantations (Department of Canadian Heritage & Municipality of the Town of Lunenburg 1994, p. 9). This is the same as the Board of Trade noted above, recognising there is variability about the name and lineage of the Board in some references (clarity is provided by Home and King 2016). Accordingly, it would be the same body associated with Locke from 1673. Only a few years earlier, in 1670, Locke prepared a model town plan for use in Carolina, part of the Grand Model, and there are strong similarities to be found with the planning of Lunenburg in 1753. It remains to be confirmed that the town planning components of the earlier Grand Model are exactly the same as the model plan promoted by the Board of Trade.

Case Study: Old Town Lunenburg (Canada) World Heritage Property

The World Heritage citation for this property notes:

Brief synthesis

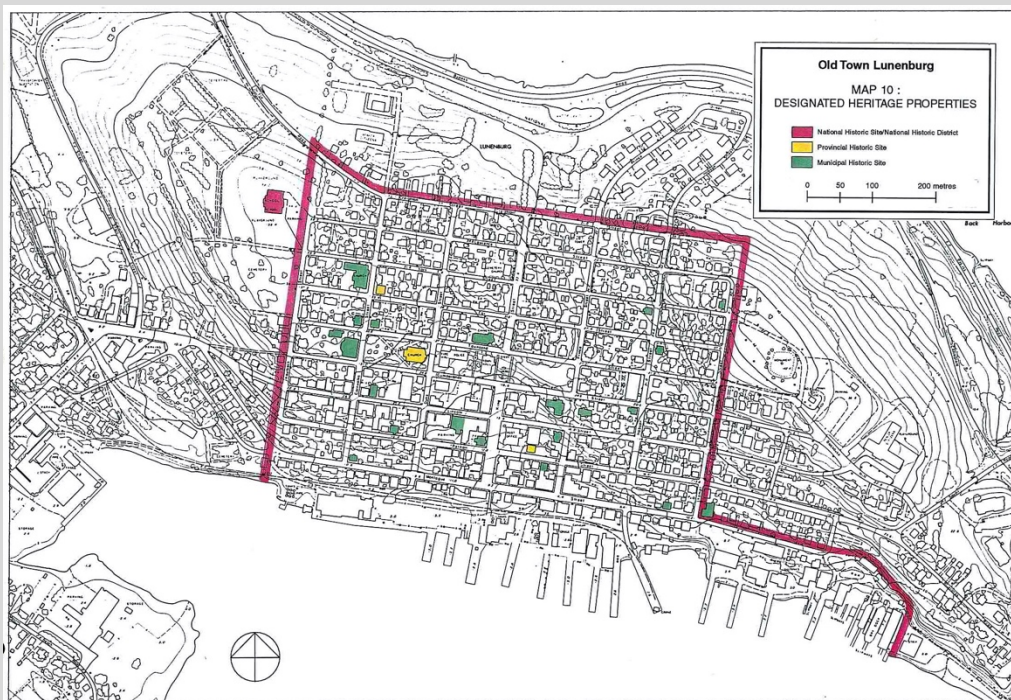
Old Town Lunenburg is the best surviving example of a planned British colonial settlement in North America. Established in 1753, it has retained its original layout and overall appearance, based on a rectangular grid pattern drawn up in the home country. The inhabitants have safeguarded the town's identity throughout the centuries by preserving the wooden architecture of the houses and public buildings, some of which date from the 18th century and constitute an excellent example of a sustained vernacular architectural tradition. Its economic basis has traditionally been the offshore Atlantic fishery, the future of which is highly questionable at the present time.

Criterion (iv): Old Town Lunenburg is a well-preserved example of 18th century British colonial urban planning, which has undergone no significant changes since its foundation, and which largely continues to fulfil the economic and social purposes for which it was designed. Of special importance is its diversified and well-preserved vernacular architectural tradition, which spans over 250 years.

Criterion (v): Old Town Lunenburg is an excellent example of an urban community and culture designed for and based on the offshore Atlantic fishery which is undergoing irreversible change and is evolving in a form that cannot yet be fully defined...

Authenticity

... The original British colonial town plan remains evident, including the regular layout of property parcels in a grid pattern with geometrically regular streets, central public spaces, and key community structures... (UNESCO World Heritage List, <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/741>, accessed 15 May 2020)



The ICOMOS evaluation undertaken in 1994 notes:

Lunenburg was the second British colonial "model" town plan, after Halifax (1749). The model town was an important aspect of imperial policy for the British, to provide the functional space

thought necessary for the smooth working of a colony. The model for laying out new towns in the colonies was created by the Board of Trade and Plantations. The Lunenburg plan (1753) incorporated all the principles of the model town: geometrically regular streets and blocks; the allocation of public spaces; an allowance for fortifications; and a distinction between urban and non-urban areas. Of these all but the fortifications survive in present-day Lunenburg...

The layout of the existing town preserves almost in its entirety the model layout of the mid 18th century. The plan consisted of six divisions of eight blocks each, each block being in turn subdivided into fourteen lots. Each settler was given a town lot and a larger "garden lot" (the name survives to the present day) outside the town limits. One section of the town was not divided into lots, to serve as a public parade ground. The streets perpendicular to the harbour are 48 feet (14.6 m) wide and those parallel to the harbour 40 feet (12.2 m) wide. The only exception is the central perpendicular street, King Street, which is 80 feet (24.4 m) wide...

There can be no argument that Lunenburg is remarkably well preserved and that it retains most of the qualities of the original British model colonial settlement, without losing its status as a fully functioning community in the modern world...

The Canadian authorities include in the nomination dossier a survey of what is known of the phenomenon of the model town plan in British North America in the 17th to 19th centuries, covering both the "southern tier" (the Thirteen Colonies that became the United States of America) and the northern tier, now the Canadian provinces of Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick, Quebec, and Ontario.

In the latter group, Halifax was the first to be undertaken (1749), followed by Lunenburg four years later; these were both the work of Charles Morris and are very similar in layout. Variations followed at Charlottetown (PEI), also the work of Morris, in 1768, and Georgetown (PEI) at about the same time. Other settlements in this region, in New Brunswick, include Parr Town (now St John) in the 1780s and St Andrews and Fredericton in 1785. Further examples followed in Newark (Niagara-on-the-Lake), Johnstown, and Cornwall, but these departed significantly from the earlier model. Lunenburg is the only one of these communities which did not decline (as in the case of Georgetown or the earlier plantations at Horton and Canso) or become swamped by subsequent development (as at Halifax and St John's).

In the American colonies this type of settlement is missing from New England, which characteristically eschewed formality of plan, with the exceptions of New Haven (1638) and Hartford (1640), both in Connecticut. Further south most of the new towns in Virginia and Maryland were laid out on a simple grid plan, without the refinements of the later model, following town planning statutes in 1680, 1691, and 1706. Only Charlestown (Maryland), laid out in 1740, exhibits this complexity. In the middle colonies, Philadelphia (Pennsylvania) was laid out on a regular grid in 1682-83, and this five-square grid was repeated elsewhere, notably in Raleigh (North Carolina) in 1792 and Tallahassee (Florida) in 1824. A rudimentary form of the model grid was also used at Charleston (South Carolina). The most successful application of this form of layout is that of Savannah (Georgia), laid out in 1732-33 and inspired most probably by Philadelphia. Of this important group of towns, most have expanded enormously, obscuring the original plan. The overall layout of Charleston was largely lost following disastrous fires in 1740 and again in 1778, whilst Savannah has lost its common land and garden plots (still surviving at Lunenburg) with the addition of new gridiron extensions in the 19th century.

To summarize, it may fairly be claimed that Lunenburg is the only one of over twenty British settlements in North America to retain all the elements of its original plan virtually intact, as a result of the remarkable way in which its population, vocation, and development have remained unchanged for over two centuries. As such, therefore, it is the best surviving example of this colonial settlement phenomenon...

ICOMOS does not dispute the claim of Lunenburg to be the best surviving representative of British colonial town planning in North America. It is concerned, however, that a piecemeal approach has been, and is being, adopted to the phenomenon of planned European colonial settlements in other continents. A number of Spanish and Portuguese colonial towns in the New World are already inscribed on the World Heritage List (eg Cartagena, Lima, Puebla, Ouro Preto, etc). Dutch colonization is represented by Galle (Sri Lanka). There are, however, a number of other European colonial towns in Asia and the Caribbean that have not so far been nominated by

the States Parties on whose territories they are situated. ICOMOS feels therefore that priority should be given as part of the Global Strategy to a comparative study of all the cultural properties of this type, perhaps supported by both the ex-colonial powers and the "host" States parties...

ICOMOS recommends that consideration of this nomination be deferred for two years to await the outcome of a comparative study of European colonial planned settlements. In the event of the British component of this study not being completed by that time, ICOMOS recommends that consideration be given to inscription of Lunenburg on the List without further delay, on the basis of criteria iv and v. (ICOMOS 1994)

The World Heritage Committee did not accept ICOMOS' recommendation, and decided to inscribe the property.

See also Appendix A for a full copy of the ICOMOS evaluation.

Another possible line of influence is suggested by Hutchings:

In recent decades scholars in the English-speaking world investigating colonial town planning history have been intrigued by the parallel Spanish tradition. (Hutchings 2006, p. 106)

Hutchings notes similarities between the Adelaide plan and Spanish town planning instructions codified in the 1570s. England and Spain provided "two great traditions for the planning of New World settlements", and it is known that Light was fluent in Spanish (Hutchings 2006, p. 111). While an acknowledged speculation, influence from Spain on the planning of Adelaide is a possibility – Light served in Spain during the Peninsula War and was fluent in Spanish. On the other hand, influence from British and British colonial sources would seem a certainty.

Home offers an appraisal of the Adelaide plan:

It is, however, the foundation of Adelaide in South Australia which offers the most complete realization of the colonial town planning model... Adelaide and the settlement of South Australia have all the essential elements of the 'grand model', preserved largely intact. (Home 2013, pp. 29-30)

Probably Light's most significant contribution to planning history was the Adelaide park belt. Commons or defensive zones around the town plantation had been included in most of the earlier plans, but were usually built on as a settlement expanded. The recreational use of these green belts was a concept that Montgomery had suggested in his Azilia plan, and was urged in F J Maslen's [*sic*] *Friend of Australia* (1830), upon which Light seems to have drawn.

At the time when Light was being given his instructions by the South Australia Commissioners, the idea of public parks was being promoted by new Radical Members of Parliament... Light was well informed about the Radicals' ideas and was able to give Adelaide a public park to beat them all – the circular park belt...

A total of 370 government townships were surveyed and recorded on official cadastral plans... two-thirds of them incorporated the colonial town planning model... with a central square and four smaller square squares... and a park land reservation about half a mile... wide. (Home 2013, pp. 31-2)

Home and King write:

Adelaide... thus witnessed the extended use, albeit in evolved form, of the Grand Modell of colonial urban planning, as was the case for the layout of Melbourne... The plan for Adelaide... was clearly based on the key principles of the model, with its wide, orthogonal streets, grid-iron planning (in two parts, separated by the river Torrens), strategically located public squares, and greenbelt... The extended district plan showed now the methodically arranged and numbered pots in the city proper were to be associated with surveyed rural subdivisions spreading beyond the outer limits of the city. (Home and King 2016, p. 66)

Freestone comments that Adelaide was:

The most memorable national expression of the 'grand model' of the colonial urban planning tradition, distinguished by encircling parklands and internal public squares. (Freestone 2010, p. 275)

He also notes:

South Australia was a distinctive experiment in planned land settlement and the Adelaide plan of 1837 was a major achievement of colonial urban design, with parklands framing and encasing urban spaces sited with sensitivity to the natural landscape. (Freestone 2010, p. 11)

Bowie comments on the park belt or encircling parklands:

Light's plan is however recognised for bringing into effect the utilitarian radicals' concept of a green belt or parkland. (Bowie 2016, p. 35)

Williams documents the local influence of the Adelaide plan in South Australia:

From the time Adelaide was created in 1837, the threefold pattern of town land, parkland and suburban land served as a model for 249 out of the 370 government townships... The basic elements of design were copied with slight variations, and 'little Adelaide' was stamped on the countryside monotonously. (Williams 1974, p. 356)

Other Australian examples were in the Northern Territory and Western Australia. In New Zealand, parkland belts were developed in over a dozen localities, including Wellington, Christchurch, Dunedin, Invercargill and New Plymouth (Williams 1966). Bowie comments about some of the cities and towns influenced:

Adelaide was itself to be a prototype for the development of other 'parkland towns' in Australia and New Zealand, many promoted by Wakefield's New Zealand Company, including Wellington, Nelson, New Plymouth and Canterbury. It is however noticeable that these plans move away from the standard grid arrangement to more flexible arrangements which reflect the topography of the specific locations. (Bowie 2016, p. 36)

The National Heritage place record also discusses the influence of the Adelaide plan:

A number of towns in New Zealand were also based on the Adelaide plan, including Wellington, Christchurch, Dunedin, Invercargill, Wanganui, Hamilton, Alexandra, Clyde, Cromwell, Gore, Port Chalmers and New Plymouth. In Wellington, a crescent-shaped town belt was provided, and in conjunction with the harbour it encloses the city and separates it from the surrounding land. It remains substantially intact. (DAWE 2020)

While not specifically referencing Adelaide, Home and King note:

Both the 'system' and model were carried forward to the colonization of New Zealand in the 1840s, with the planning of settlements such as Wellington (1841) in Christchurch (1848), both of which display fundamental characteristics of the... [Grand Modell], especially Christchurch... (Home and King 2016, p. 67)

However, an early reference by Reade is more skeptical of the influence of Adelaide:

It had yet to be proved that the New Zealand system, dating from 1839-40, was the outcome of Colonel Light's example in South Australia during 1836-7, or whether both were not part of an inspiration derived from pioneer reformers in London, who from 1830 onwards gave such distinctive character and force to the reforms affecting the colonisation of these countries at the time. (Reade 1926, p. 10)

Other international examples of parkland belts around cities include Boulder, Frankfurt and Kraków, although in a number of instances there are gaps in the enclosure (APPA 2001).

With regard to another aspect of the Adelaide plan, green spaces and squares in Australian cities, Freestone notes:

Adelaide is again the exceptional colonial city with incorporation at birth of six public squares... (Freestone 2010, p.250)

The National Heritage place record also provides a further appreciation of the Adelaide plan:

the design of Adelaide was a crucial part of British planning for the new colony of South Australia as a self-supporting land settlement, and the city's plan forms the most enduring and tangible evidence of that colonial experiment...

the generous layout also reflected the aspirations of British reformers, and their hopes of developing a new, more civilized, social order in Australia...

With a grid street pattern, systemic provision of town squares, and defining parkland, the 1837 city plan of Adelaide combined numerous physical planning ideas and innovations of the colonial era. Many influences have been identified, from ancient Roman camps to ideal city plans such as William Penn's Philadelphia and James Oglethorpe's Savannah, as well as more abstract models including Granville Sharp's ideal township of 1794 and T.J. Maslen's ideal town in his *The Friend of Australia* (1830). Most of the Adelaide Plan's elements were not novel but their arrangement on the ground was an inspired response to site and opportunity, and represented the culmination of the whole colonial planning movement of the time (City Futures 2007 Vol 2:184)...

The Adelaide Plan displayed all of the key elements that made up the 'grand model' of the era, including: a policy of deliberate urbanisation, or town planning, in preference to dispersed settlement; land rights allocated in a combination of town, suburban and country lots; the town planned and laid out in advance of settlement; wide streets laid out in geometric, form, usually on an area of one square mile; public square; spacious, standard-sized rectangular plots; plots reserved for public purposes; and a physical distinction between town and country, by common land or an encircling green belt (City Futures 2007 Vol 2:184). (DAWE 2020)

Home and King suggest there are three phases to the history of colonial planning: a period up to the early twentieth century; a second period beginning in the early twentieth century that coincided with the development of formally stated town planning theory etc; and a third period of post or neo-colonial developments in the mid twentieth century (Home and King 2016, p. 73). After the establishment of Adelaide, they note,

By the time we reach the middle of the nineteenth century, however, colonial urban planning in Britain's colonies had taken on a degree of laissez-faire liberalization, with the followers of Wakefield arguing against government-controlled urban development. (Home and King 2016, pp. 67–68)

What emerges from these sources are a series of summary statements strongly suggestive of potential Outstanding Universal Value:

- the most complete realization/a grand example/a major achievement of the colonial town planning model. With parklands framing and encasing urban spaces, the city layout is designed to take full advantage of the topography, an important innovation for the time. Adelaide has all the essential elements of the 'grand model', distinguished by encircling parklands and internal public squares, preserved largely intact;

- most of the Adelaide plan's elements were not novel but their arrangement on the ground was an inspired response to site and opportunity, and represented the culmination of the whole colonial planning movement of the time;
- with a grid street pattern, systemic provision of town squares, and defining parkland, Adelaide combined numerous physical planning ideas and innovations of the colonial era; and
- Adelaide was itself to be a prototype for the development of other 'parkland towns' in Australia and New Zealand – although this geographic scope is not very impressive.

However, the discussion above also suggests the context and comparisons that will need to be addressed. For example:

- the colonial town planning model will need to be outlined in terms of its history and the essential elements of that model or models (eg. is it just the town planning components of the Grand Model?). The City Futures Research Centre reference (2007) has not been sighted but might answer many of these needs;
- the standard or common and novel elements of the Adelaide plan need to be clearly articulated;
- the historical and surviving qualities of other examples of colonial town planning need to be documented, potentially including Savannah, Philadelphia, Charleston and new towns in Upper Canada. The World Heritage nomination for Lunenburg contains a short comparative analysis, including mention of many North American examples (Department of Canadian Heritage & Municipality of the Town of Lunenburg 1994, pp. 24-6);
- the integrity of other examples will be an important factor in the comparative analysis; and
- the international influence of the Adelaide plan needs to be clearly understood, including numerous New Zealand examples (suggestions include Wellington, Christchurch, Dunedin, Invercargill, New Plymouth, Nelson, Canterbury, Wanganui, Hamilton, Alexandra, Clyde, Cromwell, Gore and Port Chalmers) as well as any influence in other countries.

Of particular note is the case of Lunenburg. This town appears to have very close similarities to the many claimed values and attributes of Adelaide, it is much earlier, the built form appears to be more intact, and it is already on the World Heritage List. The documentation related to the World Heritage listing helpfully outlines the context for the comparative analysis. It also indicates ICOMOS' concerns at the time (1994), and the need for a better comparative analysis of European (not just British) colonial planned settlements. It is not clear that such a thematic study has ever been undertaken.

3.4 TOWN PLANNING/URBAN PARK LAND THEME/S – A CITY PLAN BASED ON A GRID DESIGN

The following discussion only considers the Adelaide grid plan on its own, separated from other possible attributes or qualities such as the Park Lands.

City plans based on a grid design can be found in ancient civilisations and across many cultures, through to the modern era. Town planning is a major theme of Outstanding Universal Value, and grid plans fall within this theme.

Major cities which were part of the Indus Valley Civilisation employed grid designs by 2600 BCE, and other examples in the Indus and Kathmandu Valleys can be found up to the eleventh century CE. When Babylon was rebuilt in the seventh century BCE it also employed a grid design. Examples can be found in China from the fifteenth century BCE. Teotihuacan is the largest ancient pre-European city in the Americas to display a grid design. (This section is based largely on Wikipedia, 'Grid plan', accessed 27 April 2020; other potential sources, not sighted, include Rose-Redwood and Bigo 2018, and van Zyl 1963)

Cities employing a grid design spread throughout the colonies of the Roman Empire after being introduced to Italy by the Greeks.

Japanese societies adopted Chinese grid designs in many locations from around the 7th century CE including Nara and Kyoto. European towns were planned using grids from the twelfth century CE and this continued until the seventeenth century CE.

In the new world, some earliest cities in the United States of America adopted a grid design such as Philadelphia from 1682 and later major examples include New York from 1811. The plan of Savannah from 1733 is a variation on the grid plan. In Australia, the Adelaide plan of 1836 and the Melbourne plan of 1837 are key examples. The Christchurch grid plan in New Zealand dates from 1850.

Grid plans continue to be used from the late nineteenth century CE through to the present. The British new town of Milton Keynes from 1967 is a relatively recent example, portraying a larger scale to meet the demands of the motor age.

This very brief summary of the extensive history of grid plans from ancient times through to the modern era, and across many regions of World, demonstrates the importance of this specific theme. Accordingly, it would strongly appear to be a theme or sub-theme of Outstanding Universal Value on its own, separate but obviously within the broader theme of town planning.

The challenge in the case of the Adelaide example would be to demonstrate that it is in some way outstanding in this context, for example as an outstanding example of this type of town planning. It is clearly not one of the few examples built of a city plan based on a grid design, as there would seem to be numerous examples.

One of the suggested values is that Adelaide is still substantially intact regarding its public Park Lands, squares and formal, gridded street layout. While this may be correct, it would require further detailed analysis of the range of surviving relevant examples to demonstrate the particular value of Adelaide.

In addition, other claims of value might relate to Adelaide being an example from the high point in the period when the theme existed, the first or last example, the most influential example, the best example or the largest example. Some of these possibilities clearly do not apply (ie. first or last example, given the history noted above), and Adelaide is not the largest example (eg. New York is about 10 times the size of Adelaide).

Adelaide might date from the high point in the creation of cities based on grid plans. World population more than doubled in the period 1500 to 1850, then grew by another 30% up to 1900. In 1500 only 4% of the world's population was urbanised, this rose to 7% in 1800 and 16% in 1900 (Ritchie and Roser 2019). These increases in overall population and the proportion of urbanised population are reflected in both the growth of existing cities as well as the creation of new cities, with some, perhaps many of the latter, created using grid plans. This may be the high point in the creation of cities based on grid plans, but this would require more detailed research to substantiate.

However, the very brief history above indicates that there were a number of examples of cities based on grid plans created in the nineteenth century, especially in the opening up of the 'new world' of North America and Australia, and the justification for Adelaide as the outstanding example from the high point would also need to be developed.

This leaves possible claims that Adelaide is the most influential and/or best example of a grid plan. Freestone refers to Adelaide as having a "conventional gridiron plan", although it did display a "creative on-the-spot response to actual site conditions" and that:

More impressive in regional if not world terms was the stamping of the South Australian rural landscape with hundreds of little Adelaides. (Freestone 2002, p. 70-1)

Nonetheless, this is more suggestive of state or national value and does not yet look a convincing justification of Outstanding Universal Value.

There are already several cities on the World Heritage List because of, or which display, grid plans. They include Cuenca in Ecuador, Old Town Lunenburg in Canada, New Town, Edinburgh in the UK, George Town in Malaysia and Jaipur in India. There are also proposals for nominations, such as La Plata in Argentina.

It would be possible to research this theme further, especially targeted to consider the possible influence of Adelaide and whether it is an exemplar. However, based on the limited review undertaken so far, there is nothing to strongly suggest either of these aspects would rise to the level of Outstanding Universal Value. The existence of other examples of grid plans already on the World Heritage List also reduces the chances of success of a nomination for Adelaide.

This finding is narrowly related to Adelaide's grid plan considered on its own. In conjunction with other attributes or qualities such as those discussed elsewhere in this chapter, then a different finding regarding possible Outstanding Universal Value may result.

3.5 ADELAIDE'S PLANNING AS A RESPONSE TO SLUM CONDITIONS IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

This is another thread in the overall planning story of Adelaide, and on first view it has a potentially impressive scope and connection to important international themes in history. It is addressed here to consider whether it is strong enough to be separately regarded as a theme or value of Outstanding Universal Value.

This theme has a consequential expression in the form of the Adelaide plan as an attempt to create a new town or city with qualities which would improve the lives of residents and society as a whole. On the other hand, the progenitor expression are the slum conditions found in the United Kingdom in the period. The theme is linked to the Enlightenment in the period.

Though it is not clear that the basis of Adelaide's planning can simply be reduced to it being a reaction to the slum conditions of Britain. In other parts of this chapter it is clear that the colonial town planning model has a long and complex history – Adelaide's plan was not the first and a singular inspiration to address slum conditions. The town planning component of the Grand Model of 1670 was influenced by planning for London following the Great Fire in 1666, with consideration for public health and safety, land use efficiency and urban aesthetics (Wikipedia, 'Grand Model for the Province of Carolina', accessed 20 May 2020).

In this context, all progressive British or British-influenced planning from this time, in Britain and including colonial town planning, might claim a link to this theme. The Adelaide plan also has a link to this theme, but there is nothing special or outstanding about the connection. Adelaide is one amongst many towns and cities which have this link.

This theme is not alone sufficient to formulate a justification of Outstanding Universal Value for Adelaide. It is better linked in as a supporting argument to the positive planning story expressed by Adelaide.

3.6 ADELAIDE AS A PRECURSOR TO THE GARDEN CITY MOVEMENT

There is evidence the Adelaide plan was regarded as a precursor to the Garden City movement, with the suggestion of an important influence on town planning theory and practice. Evidence of these views is presented below.

The National Heritage place record for the Park Lands and City Layout notes:

The emphasis on public health, amenity and aesthetic qualities through civic design and provision of public spaces [in Adelaide] were to have an influence on the Garden City Movement, one of the most significant urban planning initiatives of the twentieth century. Ebenezer Howard, the founder of the Garden City Movement cites the Adelaide Plan as an exemplar in his *Garden Cities of Tomorrow...*

The Adelaide Plan was highly influential as a model for planning other towns in Australia and overseas. It is acknowledged by town planners and historians as a major influence on the Garden City Planning movement, one of the most important urban planning initiatives...

The Adelaide Park Lands and City Layout is an exemplar of a nineteenth century planned urban centre. It demonstrates the principal characteristics of a nineteenth century city including a defined boundary, streets in a grid pattern, wide streets, public squares, spacious rectangular blocks and expansive public open space for commons and public domains. The expression of these features with their generous open space reflects the early theories and ideas of the Garden City movement of an urban area set in publicly accessible open space with plantings, gardens, designed areas and open bushland. (DAWE 2020)

As stated above, Ebenezer Howard was the founder of the Garden City movement. His *Garden Cities of To-Morrow* (1902, p. 129) refers to the Adelaide plan, but only to mistakenly characterise North Adelaide as a good example of how a Garden City should grow, whereas North Adelaide was established at the same time as the main and southern part of Adelaide (John Reps, <http://urbanplanning.library.cornell.edu/DOCS/howard.htm>, accessed 30 April 2020; Freestone 2006, p. 42)).

Howard also briefly mentions favourably Bournville and Port Sunlight (Howard 1902, p. 166) which are industrial model villages and precursors of the Garden City.

In any event, the prominent twentieth century British town planner Sir Patrick Abercrombie, who was influential in Garden City initiatives, wrote rather expansively for a local audience in his preface to the first modern Australian textbook *Town and Country Planning* (Brown and Sherrard 1951) that:

the park surround and urban units of Adelaide are direct precursors of the Greenbelt and Neighbourhood planning. (Abercrombie 1951)

Greenbelts were a feature of Garden City planning. Abercrombie was very interested in the use of greenbelts to control city growth, with new towns located outside of such belts. His most prominent example was planning for London in 1943-44. This comment arose during his visit to Australia in 1948. Brown and Sherrard later in the book also state that:

It should be a matter of great interest to Australians that one of [Howard's] ideas, the encircling green belt, came from Adelaide. (Brown and Sherrard 1951, p. 281)

The historian John Hirst wrote of Adelaide that:

By the early twentieth century... the city's boosters claimed that all Adelaide's citizens could enjoy the pleasures of both town and country, as the gentry had done. Adelaide was described as a Garden City in which all the people were close to parkland and public squares, or farms, orchards and vineyards.

The claims made for Adelaide as a Garden City were to some extent justified, though they encouraged an enormous complacency about the city's condition and inhibited any planning for its future growth. (Hirst 1973, p. 218)

In a study of the Garden City movement in Australia, the planner and planning historian Robert Freestone notes:

The nineteenth century produced no planned towns pointing the way toward modern garden cities. Novel features distinguished some designs but only Ballarat West with its central garden reserve, and Adelaide with its encircling parklands were singled out. (Freestone 1989, p. 52)

The Park Lands, or this example of a green belt, are the key attribute underpinning claims of influence on the Garden City movement. In an introduction to a collection of essays about Ebenezer Howard's legacy, it is noted that:

Robert Freestone's valuable contribution analyzes the various types of green-belts that have been used in planning since the 1837 platting [*sic*] of Adelaide, which was surrounded by parklands. Howard cited and illustrated the Adelaide plan in *To-morrow* as an example of how the garden city would replicate itself. Freestone presents the diverse uses greenbelts have served over time, including the preservation of agriculture and rural life, natural and heritage conservation, recreation, pollution minimization, and growth management. He demonstrates that the idea of the greenbelt has proved to be remarkably resilient and adaptable and that, in its various guises, a buffer of green space has been effective in helping to control how cities decentralize. (Schuyler 2002, p. 10)

Part of Freestone's actual essay states that:

The showpiece of systematic colonization is the 1837 layout of Adelaide, a brilliant "blend of order and opportunism" conventionally attributed to William Light, the first surveyor general of South Australia. Its conventional gridiron plan betrays a formula decided in London even before the site was selected. But its breaking apart (with one-third of the required 1,000 acres of town lands placed north of the Torrens River), the river floodplain kept free of development, various fragments and jagged edges arranged to fit topography and outlook, and the whole encircled by green, together indicate a creative on-the-spot response to actual site conditions.

Growth pressures and land speculation have whittled away the original belts of peripheral commons of colonial planted towns. Despite incursions from public institutions and railway lines, Adelaide remains the most intact, with about 75 percent of the original 930-hectare reservation remaining as parkland. More impressive in regional if not world terms was the stamping of the South Australian rural landscape through the second half of the nineteenth century with hundreds of little Adelaides. A threefold morphological division of town, parkland, and suburban land in these government "parkland towns" was codified by State Surveyor General G. W. Goyder in the 1860s. As government-owned land, the parkland was envisaged as providing for general public and recreational uses. That function has been exploited in many different ways through time, as the parkland has accommodated racecourses, swimming pools, show grounds, lawn bowling greens, camping areas, golf courses, and more utilitarian uses like railway tracks, rubbish dumps, slaughterhouses, and even sewage treatment plants. (Freestone 2002, pp. 70-1)

Another planner and planning historian, Marco Amati, writes:

In many cities green belts were attempted at this time [the mid-twentieth century]. The New Zealand and Australian cities of Wellington, Christchurch, Brisbane, Melbourne and Sydney drew their inspiration for their green belts from the UK but also from earlier schemes such as Colonel Light's Adelaide Parklands... (Amati 2008b, p. 5)

...Garnaut describes the history of the Parklands, one of the earliest and most influential attempts to implement a green belt. (Amati 2008b, p. 13)

Of course, there are other and earlier examples of green belts, such as those discussed in the text above, including Savannah.

In a specific study of the influence of the Adelaide plan, Freestone writes:

Yet a search through contemporary planning texts from 1900–1920 reveals very few additional references to Adelaide, even in elaborations of the garden city idea...

the Plan of Adelaide, entrapped by its limited colonial reach and values, had nowhere near the same global impact as more modern schemes such as, for example, the Burnham and Bennett Plan of Chicago (1909)...

The outcome is that the Howardian conceptualisation of Adelaide proved less enduring than its traditional ‘garden city’ charms.

Nevertheless, the fragments reported here are sufficient to strengthen the case for the historical significance of the Adelaide Plan as a critical bridge between colonial town morphology and modern ideas of polycentred town expansion. (Freestone 2006, pp. 43, 45, 52)

Johnson notes:

The [Adelaide] town plan had no influence on the Garden City Movement. Howard merely referred to it. (Johnson 2013, p. 167)

In the case of Adelaide, overall these references certainly point to some influence, even possibly an important influence. However, what is not clear is that such influence rises to the high level of Outstanding Universal Value. The commentaries above in some cases reflect only a national context, and there are also suggestions of other precursors.

The reliance on Howard’s views is somewhat problematic, as Adelaide is given prominence for a quality it did not actually possess – a model of growth for a Garden City. Nonetheless, Adelaide may have had influence even if this was based on a misunderstanding.

It is also worth noting the other precursors which Howard mentions – Bournville and Port Sunlight. These are not on the World Heritage List, although there have been suggestions in the past that both should be nominated. There are two other model villages on the World Heritage List, New Lanark and Saltaire, and in both cases these are regarded as precursors of the Garden City movement.

These other examples express the Garden City approach in a different sense/at a different scale, with built environments delivering space, healthy green environments and dignity to working families. These are not the Garden City qualities Howard attributed to Adelaide. On the other hand, the four industrial communities did not contribute much to broader strategic understandings of metropolitan expansion and regional growth.

There will be some sense in any World Heritage (ICOMOS) evaluation of a limit to the number of precursors to the Garden City movement that can be included on the World Heritage List, and the existing listings may be regarded as sufficient. The other part of this context will be the actual representation of Garden City places on the List, including potentially the earliest Garden Cities such as Letchworth and Welwyn, which are not yet listed. There are also many other possible examples to consider.

In summary:

- while there are indications of an international influence, there is not a strong and consistent impression of the outstanding global significance of Adelaide as a

- precursor for the Garden City movement; and
- the existence of other Garden City precursors already on the World Heritage List, or as potential listings, reduces the chance of success of a nomination for Adelaide on this basis alone.

One of the peer reviews of this report suggests that if the Garden City thread was developed, then a different selection of components should be considered. This suggestion goes beyond just the idea of Adelaide as a precursor, re-focuses on the Park Lands, a representative square and North Adelaide, and includes examples of Garden City developments such as Colonel Light Gardens, and possibly a transnational series of sites from other countries. It was also suggested that the narrative be strengthened to include the role of scientific survey, by Light, in demarcating land, the Park Lands/green belt/public reserve.

While the precursor thread does not appear promising, as noted, a differently conceived Garden City nomination has not been evaluated, and is beyond the scope of the current project.

3.7 THE FIRST PLANNED PUBLIC PARK SYSTEM

This section considers the theme of public park systems in isolation to see whether it might be worth pursuing as a theme of Outstanding Universal Value in its own right. The Park Lands are part of the overall colonial town planning theme discussed above, and are obviously also to be considered in this other context.

The concept of ‘public park’ rests on the principle of openness and accessibility for all people to visit and enjoy. The concept is not limited or defined by size. Public parks are typically in public ownership and represent ‘common wealth’. The concept of ‘park’ is sometimes used synonymously with words such as garden, square or similar expressions. Fundamental to the identity of historic urban parks is their composition and dependency on such elements as vegetation, architectural elements, water features, paths or topography. These elements contribute to their character, seasonal interest, shade, and spatial and visual identity. Historic promenades, boulevards, avenues, and tree-lined streets are not public parks, but constitute a special category of public space. It is important that adequate care be taken to preserve their particular characteristics. In many cases, historic urban public parks may be located along, or linked by, boulevards or tree-lined streets. They form green arteries that can connect public parks with other public spaces. They and their component parts are significant, regardless of the fact that some parts may have been created at different times. (ICOMOS-IFLA 2017, 6-3-2)

One definitional aspect of the claim is problematic – that the Park Lands were a system. That phrase since the nineteenth century has related to the integration of separate if connected open space elements at a citywide or regional scale. It is most conspicuously linked to the networks of greenways, regional parks and playgrounds advocated and implemented by US park reformers in the second half of the nineteenth century – Olmsted, Cleveland and the like. It is later applied to particular typologies at different scales, eg. national parks. But the Adelaide Park Lands were an entity not a system in the same terms with a geography and management to match.

English ‘parcs’ existed from as early as 1260 but access was limited. Early (medieval) rural parks were part of aristocratic estates, often used for hunting, and access by commoners was forbidden. These game preserves evolved into landscaped parks set around mansions and country houses from the sixteenth century onwards, such as Studley Royal Park in Yorkshire, which were inspired by the great French landscape designers of Fontainebleau and Versailles. A distinctive landscape design aesthetic began in these stately home parks where the natural landscape was enhanced by landscape architects such as Capability Brown.

As cities grew, private aristocratic parks evolved into public parks, sometimes involving their re-design with pathways and carriage roads. For several centuries the reigning sovereigns of Britain allowed members of the public to enter the royal parks of London such as St James Park and Kensington Gardens. As the population increased during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, it became more difficult for officials of the Crown to preserve the amenities and control the crowds, so in 1851 the powers and duties were transferred to the Office of Works and Public Buildings, today the Ministry of the Environment. (Williams 1978)

Early opportunities for the creation of urban parks in both Europe and the United States also grew out of medieval practice to secure pasturelands or common lands within the safe confines of villages and towns. The most famous early US example of a city park evolved

from this practice is the Boston Commons in Boston, Massachusetts (1634). Parks also evolved from cemeteries.

UNESCO has designated as World Heritage designed parks and open spaces, including the Summer Palace and Imperial Garden in Beijing (China), the gardens of ancient Kyoto and ancient Nara in Japan, the gardens and castle in Kromeríz (Czechia), the parks of Versailles and Fontainebleau (France), and the Studley Royal Gardens of Fountains Abbey in the United Kingdom.

Urban parks in Australia also evolved from common lands and/or cemeteries in the vicinity of urban areas (eg. Hyde Park in Sydney).

Irrespective of their origins, large urban parks did become a feature of nineteenth century cities.

Parks and park creation grew in importance in response to the Industrial Revolution when green open space was regarded as a necessity for public health in the increasingly polluted cities.

Parks also arose as elements in the integrated design or re-design of towns and cities. Specific designs were created for public parks like Muskauer Park on the German-Polish border, the redevelopment of the historic centre of Vienna with its late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the palaces and parks of Potsdam and Berlin with 500 hectares of parks and 150 buildings constructed between 1730 and 1916, and the Palladio designed public elements of the city of Vicenza, all are recognised as of Outstanding Universal Value and on the World Heritage List.

Parks are a theme of Outstanding Universal Value, and public parks are a major sub-theme which are also likely to be a theme of Outstanding Universal Value. Within this, an example which can justify the claim of being the first planned public park system would appear to be worthy of further investigation.

Noting the highly select nature of the World Heritage List, it is also worth recognising that not just the first example within a major theme might be worthy of inscription. For example, other worthy general claims might include examples from the high point in the period when the theme existed, the last example, the most influential example, the best example, the largest example, and so on. However, in theory, not all of these examples would likely be considered to have Outstanding Universal Value, given the highly selective nature of the World Heritage List and the approach of ICOMOS and the World Heritage Committee which would not support inclusion of each variation within a theme or type (eg. first, last, best example, etc).

In any case, the Adelaide example would not appear to be the first planned public park, or even an especially early example. Much earlier examples include La Alameda de Hércules in Seville from 1574, Alameda Central in Mexico City from 1592, Városliget (City Park) in Budapest from the 1790s, and even Hyde Park in Sydney from 1810 (Wikipedia, 'Urban park', accessed 28 April 2020).

It may be possible to suggest alternative claims of value or themes, such as planned public parks which encircle a city. However, the more specific such claims become, the less likely they are to represent a theme of Outstanding Universal Value, as with this alternative. The theme of planned public parks encircling a city would appear to be a very

narrow specialisation within the larger park-related themes, being limited in terms of the number of examples as well as apparent outstanding and universal qualities.

One alternative is to consider early and surviving planned parks. For example, while Savannah had a greenbelt, this no longer survives. On the other hand, Adelaide's Park Lands largely survive. However, this does not overcome the point that the several earlier examples of planned parks noted above all substantially survive.

It is also possible to differentiate parks which evolved from other uses, such as hunting grounds or common lands, compared to planned parks which had no prior use, such as Adelaide on one view. This is not obviously a strong and meaningful distinction. The important thing would seem to be the decision to create a park, however conceived, and such a decision might involve the conversion of land from a previous use, or from no use. Conversion in either circumstance might be construed as an act of planning, albeit working from a different starting point. In any event, La Alameda de Hércules, for example, had no prior use and was a swampy pond. The view that Adelaide had no previous use is also to ignore the long prior history of Aboriginal occupation.

Another suggested theme arises because:

Light's original and unique design was the first practical implementation of the English Philosophic Radical ideal of securing public walks for the health and recreation of a town's inhabitants. (Henderson 2006, p. 73)

Links have been drawn between Jeremy Bentham, Wakefield and the parliamentarian John Roebuck.

From as early as 1828, Roebuck was concerned at the loss of open and common lands and outlined a town-planning program on Benthamite principles. Roebuck advocated public green and open spaces for towns and encircling 'large tracts of common land...' (Henderson 2006, p. 74)

Such concerns led to a parliamentary inquiry.

In February 1833 a House of Commons' Select Committee on Public Walks was appointed to consider the 'best means of securing Open Space in the Vicinity of populous Towns, as Public Walks and Places of Exercise, calculated to promote the Health and Comfort of the Inhabitants'. (Henderson 2006, p. 75)

The provision of 'public walks' was included in the instructions for the planning of Adelaide. Henderson suggests the origin of the Adelaide Park Lands was Roebuck or the Select Committee, and draws a distinction between such areas for public recreation and other types of open space outside towns such as liberty lands and commons (Henderson 2006, pp. 76-7).

However, other sources suggest there is a more complex history surrounding the initiative to include the Park Lands to contend with. As noted in the previous chapter, "We've seen that there was no single source for the park lands and reasons were inherently tangled." (Johnson 2006, p. 123)

While this theme of public walks appears to have some importance within the context of early nineteenth century Britain and colonial South Australia, it is less clear that this somewhat narrow context reflects Outstanding Universal Value. For example, a broader historical consideration might draw in the development of alamedas (tree lined avenues) within the Spanish empire. These alamedas also served the purpose of public walks, and

there were many examples from the sixteenth century onward, including those from Seville and Mexico City noted above. The Paseo del Prado in Madrid is another early example, and this is the subject of a current World Heritage nomination.

The idea of public walks also overlaps with public parks, and this broader theme is discussed above. What distinguishes the Adelaide Park Lands is the connection to a specific historical concern of the English Philosophical Radicals for the provision of public recreation areas. However, this connection, even as the “first practical implementation” of a solution to this British issue, does not seem a theme of Outstanding Universal Value. Nonetheless, it may be a contributory element in a justification related to a broader program of colonial town planning arising from this philosophical context.

It has previously been claimed that the size of the Adelaide Park Lands make it significant, currently being 821 hectares (Adelaide Parklands Preservation Association 2001; the original Park Lands were 930 hectares). But a list of urban parks in the world includes 83 larger examples (Wikipedia, ‘List of urban parks by size’, accessed 1 May 2020). It may be possible to refine the characteristics and thereby reduce the number of international comparators. However, as above, greater specificity can undermine claims of Outstanding Universal Value.

One possible refinement is to narrow the scope to inner city parks, as opposed to what might be regarded as urban parks (ie. within an urban municipality), and to test whether Adelaide was large or the largest in this context. The Bois de Boulogne and Bois de Vincennes, both in Paris, Richmond Park in London, Pippy Park in St John’s, Canada and even the Appian Way Regional Park in Rome are all larger examples of inner city parks, although this discussion starts to beg the question about what ‘inner’ means in this context. In any event, it is not clear that urban versus inner city parks would be regarded as a meaningful distinction in an evaluation of Outstanding Universal Value.

Another suggested possible value relates to the accessibility of the Park Lands (Adelaide Parklands Preservation Association 2001).

However, in both these contexts, these do not appear as a promising pathway to World Heritage. On the one hand there is the great number of larger urban parks, even if the number of comparators could be reduced through a refined understanding of characteristics or a narrowing of consideration to what might be called inner city parks. Size alone is also not necessarily a crucial quality.

On the other hand, there is the apparently subjective concept of an accessible urban park which may be difficult to use to construct a robust case for the particular significance of Adelaide. It is also not yet clear that accessibility as such is a quality of Outstanding Universal Value. The claim for accessible parks may also simply refer to public parks, and this aspect is discussed above.

Johnson makes a number of claims for Adelaide which reflect some of the claims made above:

This research has revealed that the first... intentional, internal *city parks* and the first *green belt* in the world were Adelaide’s in 1837. Those two historical distinctions enhance the third: the first *public* parks in the world were Adelaide’s. (Johnson 2013, p. 186)

However, on closer review, none of these claims appear well-founded. In fairness, it is

worth noting that limitations on research for the project meant that Johnson's full argument could not be reviewed.

Finally, the problematic history of the Park Lands which were "constantly exploited and mistreated" until well into the twentieth century undermines all of the themes focused on them being a public park (Johnson 2006, p. 124). With such a difference between the concept of a public park being created, and the reality of a park being achieved, a World Heritage nomination for Adelaide might struggle in comparison with parks created at a later date but which were actually realised as a park much earlier than the Park Lands.

Accordingly, this theme and its component aspects of significance present a number of difficulties and do not seem worth pursuing further on their own.

3.8 CONCLUSIONS ABOUT THE CORE NARRATIVE

This chapter considers a number of threads of possible Outstanding Universal Value. A summary of each thread and its potential is as follows.

A Spatial Illustration of the Wakefield Model – The Wakefield model of systematic colonisation has previously been found to be a potential theme of Outstanding Universal Value (Marshall and Lennon 2019). While links between the Park Lands and City Layout and the Wakefield model are apparent and substantial, the evidence that the Park Lands and City Layout is good and integral evidence of the model should be confirmed/reinforced. More detailed research is needed, beyond the scope of the current project.

The remaining text below provides a summary of those threads which relate to the overarching town planning/urban park land theme/s.

Progressive, Post-Enlightenment Town Planning through its Grid Plan and Encircling Park Lands – What emerges from these sources are a series of summary statements strongly suggestive of potential Outstanding Universal Value:

- the most complete realization/a grand example/a major achievement of the colonial town planning model. With parklands framing and encasing urban spaces, the city layout is designed to take full advantage of the topography, an important innovation for the time. Adelaide and the settlement of South Australia have all the essential elements of the ‘grand model’, distinguished by encircling parklands and internal public squares, preserved largely intact;
- most of the Adelaide plan’s elements were not novel but their arrangement on the ground was an inspired response to site and opportunity, and represented the culmination of the whole colonial planning movement of the time;
- with a grid street pattern, systemic provision of town squares, and defining parkland, Adelaide combined numerous physical planning ideas and innovations of the colonial era; and
- Adelaide was itself to be a prototype for the development of other ‘parkland towns’ in Australia and New Zealand – although this geographic scope is not very impressive.

However, the discussion above also suggests the context and comparisons that will need to be addressed. For example:

- the colonial town planning model will need to be outlined in terms of its history and the essential elements of that model or models (eg. is it just the physical town planning components of the Grand Model?). The City Futures Research Centre reference (2007) has not been sighted but might answer many of these needs;
- the standard or common and novel elements of the Adelaide plan need to be clearly articulated;
- the historical and surviving qualities of other examples of colonial town planning need to be documented, potentially including Savannah, Philadelphia, Charleston and new towns in Upper Canada. The World Heritage nomination for Lunenburg contains a short comparative analysis, including mention of many North American examples (Department of Canadian Heritage & Municipality of the Town of Lunenburg 1994, pp. 24-6);
- the integrity of other examples will be an important factor in the comparative analysis; and
- the international influence of the Adelaide plan needs to be clearly understood,

including numerous New Zealand examples (suggestions include Wellington, Christchurch, Dunedin, Invercargill, New Plymouth, Nelson, Canterbury, Wanganui, Hamilton, Alexandra, Clyde, Cromwell, Gore and Port Chalmers) as well as any influence in other countries.

Of particular note is the case of Lunenburg. This town appears to have very close similarities to the many claimed values and attributes of Adelaide, it is much earlier, the built form appears to be more intact, and it is already on the World Heritage List. The documentation related to the World Heritage listing helpfully outlines the context for the comparative analysis. It also indicates ICOMOS' concerns at the time (1994), and the need for a better comparative analysis of European (not just British) colonial planned settlements. It is not clear that such a thematic study has ever been undertaken.

Town Planning/Urban Park Land Theme/s – A City Plan based on a Grid Design – It would be possible to research this theme further, especially targeted to consider the possible influence of Adelaide and whether it is an exemplar. However, based on the limited review undertaken so far, there is nothing to strongly suggest either of these aspects would rise to the level of Outstanding Universal Value. The existence of other examples of grid plans already on the World Heritage List also reduces the chances of success of a nomination for Adelaide.

Adelaide's Planning as a Response to Slum Conditions in the United Kingdom – This theme is not alone sufficient to formulate a justification of Outstanding Universal Value for Adelaide. It is better linked in as a supporting argument to the positive planning story expressed by Adelaide.

Adelaide as a Precursor to the Garden City Movement – In summary:

- while there are indications of an international influence, there is not a strong and consistent impression of the outstanding global significance of Adelaide as a precursor for the Garden City movement; and
- the existence of other Garden City precursors already on the World Heritage List, or as potential listings, reduces the chance of success of a nomination for Adelaide on this basis alone.

The First Planned Public Park System – This theme and its component aspects of significance present a number of difficulties and do not seem worth pursuing further. Parks are a theme of Outstanding Universal Value, and public parks are a major sub-theme which are also likely to be a theme of Outstanding Universal Value. However, in a range of contexts, the Adelaide Park Lands would not appear to be outstanding (eg. it would not appear to be the first planned public park, or even an especially early example, it is not the largest example, and its connections to the English Philosophical Radicals does not seem a theme of Outstanding Universal Value given the narrow context of early nineteenth century Britain and colonial South Australia). In addition, the concept of a park system does not relate to Adelaide in the way this phrase has been commonly used since the nineteenth century. In this context, the Adelaide Park Lands would be an entity not a system.



Accordingly, only two of these options appear worthy of further development:

- A Spatial Illustration of the Wakefield Model; and

- Progressive, Post-Enlightenment Town Planning through its Grid Plan and Encircling Park Lands, perhaps better expressed as Progressive, Post-Enlightenment Colonial Town Planning.

These two options may also draw in the other possibilities considered, as supporting or component elements.

4. ASSESSMENT AGAINST WORLD HERITAGE CRITERIA AND ASSOCIATED ATTRIBUTES

This chapter takes the findings from the previous chapter about the core narrative and outlines the assessment of that narrative against the World Heritage criteria. The chapter also considers the likely relevant associated attributes which embody or convey the potential Outstanding Universal Value. It also contains a discussion about whether a potential World Heritage property should be considered a historical site or cultural landscape. The chapter concludes with a consideration of a possible nomination in the light of the *Global Strategy for a Representative, Balanced and Credible World Heritage List*.

4.1 ASSESSMENT OF THE VALUES OF THE PARK LANDS AND CITY LAYOUT AGAINST THE WORLD HERITAGE CRITERIA

To achieve World Heritage inscription, a property needs to meet at least one of the criteria defined in the *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention* (UNESCO World Heritage Centre 2019). The summary justification against any criteria which are met can be referred to as criteria statements, and these statements form a core part of the Outstanding Universal Value. Another useful reference regarding the criteria is the World Heritage nominations resource manual (UNESCO 2011).

Based on the findings regarding the core narrative, the following table outlines the assessment of that narrative against the World Heritage criteria relevant to cultural properties, in terms of whether particular criteria are applicable or not. The World Heritage criteria relevant to natural properties are not considered.

Table 1. Analysis of World Heritage Cultural Criteria and their possible application to the Park Lands and City Layout		
No.	Criteria	Analysis/Comments
(i)	represent a masterpiece of human creative genius	This criterion is possibly applicable, on the basis that the Adelaide plan represents a high degree of creativity in the field of town planning. However, it is not obvious that the very highest level of creativity could be justified. The long history of colonial town planning which appears to have influenced the Adelaide plan suggests an incrementalism, rather than a creative leap. In addition, appraisals of the plan suggest only limited creativity, “Most of the Adelaide Plan’s elements were not novel but their arrangement on the ground was an inspired response to site and opportunity...” (City Futures Research Centre 2007, vol. 2, p. 184) In summary, there does not seem to be the very high degree of creativity needed to support claims of Adelaide being a masterpiece of creative genius.
(ii)	exhibit an important interchange of human values, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture or technology,	Adelaide was influenced by town planning designs from the British empire, possibly also the Spanish empire, and in turn it influenced town plans throughout South Australia and in New Zealand. There are also suggestions of influence on Garden City planning. Accordingly, this criterion is relevant to

Table 1. Analysis of World Heritage Cultural Criteria and their possible application to the Park Lands and City Layout

No.	Criteria	Analysis/Comments
	monumental arts, town-planning or landscape design	consider, and the two influences, to Adelaide and from Adelaide, need to be addressed separately. The influence of British and/or Spanish colonial town planning on Adelaide appears to be worthy of further investigation. This is particularly the case if claims that Adelaide is the most complete realisation of the colonial town planning model are sustained by wider research. The weakness of the influence from Adelaide to elsewhere relates to the scope of that influence. The impact on South Australian towns while impressive in scale, is a national story, not a matter of Outstanding Universal Value. In the case of the influence on New Zealand, while an international influence, it is still somewhat limited. Nonetheless, at this stage, it is still probably worth exploring further. The influence on the Garden City movement might be noted as a contributing aspect, although it does not appear strong enough to be a primary value.
(iii)	bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living or which has disappeared	This criterion does not appear to be strongly relevant to the Adelaide proposal. The planning of Adelaide is not obviously a cultural tradition within the meaning of the criterion, and it is highly unlikely that it would be regarded as exceptional testimony of British civilisation. There are many possible examples of such testimony, and it is by no means clear that the planning for a colonial capital would be regarded as exceptional in this context. Further exploration of this criterion is not recommended because of the apparent weaknesses.
(iv)	be an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history	While it is not a plainly obvious interpretation, the town planning qualities of Adelaide should be considered under this criterion in the sense of an architectural ensemble or a landscape. In practice, this criterion has been used for many World Heritage properties with urban planning values such as Brasilia, Asmara, Levuka, Le Havre, Lunenburg, the White City of Tel-Aviv and Rabat. This criterion would appear a strong contender given Adelaide's potential as the most complete realization/a grand example/a major achievement of the British colonial town planning model during the period of European colonialism. Further research is needed to support this claim.
(v)	be an outstanding example of a traditional human settlement, land-use, or sea-use which is representative of a culture (or cultures), or human interaction with the environment especially when it has become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible change	This criterion is probably not relevant. Even though Adelaide's plan dates to the 1830s, with earlier influences, it may not be regarded as meeting the definition of 'traditional settlement' as interpreted in the World Heritage system given the relatively short time period involved. Traditional is sometimes interpreted as meaning ancient, which does not relate to Adelaide. There is also the requirement for the property to be an outstanding representation of a culture or human interaction with the environment. Again, Adelaide does not obviously have these qualities or values.
(vi)	be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal	The Adelaide plan is associated with ideas such as those arising from the Philosophical Radicals and utopians. The former, at least, were prominent in the period, if not as a group then as key individuals. They also remain widely known, at least in the

Table 1. Analysis of World Heritage Cultural Criteria and their possible application to the Park Lands and City Layout		
No.	Criteria	Analysis/Comments
	significance. (The Committee considers that this criterion should preferably be used in conjunction with other criteria)	English speaking world. This group is also linked to the Enlightenment and its ideas. As noted in the review of the systematic colonisation proposal, Enlightenment influences are many throughout the world and the key will be demonstrating the outstanding qualities in any proposal which rests upon such influences (Marshall and Lennon 2019, p. 14). It is also worth noting that the New Lanark World Heritage inscription includes this criterion, based on the connection to the social philosophy (utopian socialism) of Robert Owen. While Owen is linked to the Philosophical Radicals and Bentham in particular, his philosophy was distinctive. However, the point of the comparison is to highlight the acceptance on an earlier occasion of the World Heritage Committee of another British philosophical approach as being of outstanding universal significance. This criterion is relevant to the Adelaide proposal, and is worth developing further.

4.2 STRENGTHS/WEAKNESSES OF CRITERIA WHEN APPLIED TO THE PARK LANDS AND CITY LAYOUT

The preceding analysis indicates those criteria which are stronger, weaker and not relevant. In summary:

- the stronger criteria relevant to the proposed property are (ii) – especially the influence of British, and possibly Spanish, colonial town planning on Adelaide, (iv) and (vi);
- weaker or more difficult criteria are (i), (ii) – the influence of Adelaide elsewhere, and (iii); and
- the criterion which is probably not relevant is (v).

In the case of criterion (vi), it is important to note that the World Heritage Committee prefers that this criterion is used in conjunction with other criteria. What this might effectively mean is that Outstanding Universal Value is justified under other criteria, and if so, then if a reasonable case can be made to justify criterion (vi), then this can also be accepted.

4.3 PRELIMINARY VALUE STATEMENTS AGAINST CRITERIA

Based on the findings of the analysis in the preceding section, preliminary value statements are offered for the three criteria which appear worthy of further development.

Criterion (ii) exhibit an important interchange of human values, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture or technology, monumental arts, town-planning or landscape design

The Adelaide plan of 1837 reflects an important interchange given the influence of British colonial town planning in a period of major European colonisation. British colonial activities were a major global theme in the period from the late sixteenth century through to the mid twentieth century, and variously encompassed substantial territory in North America, Africa, India and Australia. Town planning was part of this colonisation and settlement, and model town plans evolved and guided British settlers. Adelaide's plan was strongly influenced by the evolved model, and it is the most complete realisation of the colonial town planning model.

In addition, the Adelaide plan was to influence the development of hundreds of smaller towns in South Australia, as well as colonial towns in New Zealand.

The Adelaide plan is also of significance in the history of town planning because of its influence on the founding ideas of the Garden City movement.

Additional notes:

- The possible influence of the Spanish Empire could be further researched.
- The influence on New Zealand colonial planning, and elsewhere, should be further researched in order to substantiate the importance of this influence.

Criterion (iv) be an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history

The Adelaide plan as part of systematic colonisation is the outstanding example of the British colonial town planning model developed during the period of European colonialism. This was a major historical period which grew out of the Age of Discovery and saw European powers establish colonial settlements throughout many parts of the world. This period re-shaped world history and its consequences are still substantial and evident.

British colonialism was a very substantial part of this history from the late sixteenth century. Town planning was part of this colonisation and settlement, and model town plans evolved and guided British settlers. Adelaide's plan was strongly influenced by the evolved model, and it is the most complete realisation and a grand example of the colonial town planning model. It includes key features such as concentrated settlement, land rights allocated in a combination of town and country lots, the town planned and laid out in advance of settlement, wide streets laid out in geometric, grid-iron form, a settlement area of about one square mile, public squares, standard-sized rectangular plots, spacious in comparison with those in British towns of the time, some plots reserved for public purposes (including major public buildings reinforcing the plan), and a physical distinction between town and country by an encircling green belt of park lands.

Another important feature of the Adelaide plan is its distinctive response to the topography and natural qualities of its location, reflecting early environmental planning.

Criterion (vi) be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance. (The Committee considers that this criterion should preferably be used in conjunction with other criteria)

The Adelaide plan is directly and tangibly associated with ideas arising from the Philosophical Radicals in Britain during the nineteenth century. With links to the Enlightenment which preceded it, the Philosophical Radicals advanced Jeremy Bentham's utilitarian philosophy which defined the maximisation of happiness as the moral standard for action. The Philosophical Radicals and their ideas were a prominent in Britain and also influential in other parts of the world.

The social and economic planning for the new colony in South Australia which derived from the Philosophical Radicals was coupled with urban planning, and a range of features in the Adelaide plan are the tangible expression of their ideas, in particular the provision of open spaces/squares and parklands.

Additional notes:

- It would be helpful to reinforce the claims made under this criterion in various ways, especially whether other aspects of urban planning, apart from the open spaces/squares and parklands, can be identified as evidence of the ideas of the Philosophical Radicals (useful sources may be Bowie (2016), Hutchings (2007), Hyde (1947) and Pike (1967)).
- The naming of Adelaide streets after some of the Philosophical Radicals, while not a strong justification for this criterion, would nonetheless be worthwhile noting in some way in a nomination.

4.4 IDENTIFICATION OF THE ATTRIBUTES/AREAS THAT MOST STRONGLY REFLECT THE POTENTIAL OUV

Attributes are those tangible or intangible aspects of a place that embody or convey heritage values, including Outstanding Universal Value in the case of World Heritage. Tangible aspects might include the urban form, planning and land uses, whereas intangible aspects might be uses and activities associated with the place, including commemoration.

The starting point to identify attributes is the proposed Outstanding Universal Value, as presented in the previous section. In the following table, key text from the draft Outstanding Universal Value is presented along with the related attributes.

Table 2. Analysis of Draft Outstanding Universal Value and Related Attributes	
Draft Outstanding Universal Value	Attributes
Criterion (ii): The Adelaide plan of 1837 reflects an important interchange given the influence of British colonial town planning in the period of major European colonisation. British colonial activities were a major global theme in the period from the late sixteenth century through to the mid twentieth century, and variously encompassed substantial territory in North America, Africa, India and Australia. Town planning and land settlement was part of this colonisation process, and model town plans evolved and guided British settlers. Adelaide's plan was strongly influenced by the evolving best practice, and it is the most complete realisation of the colonial town planning ideal. In addition, the Adelaide plan was to influence the development of hundreds of smaller towns in South Australia, as well as colonial towns in New Zealand. The Adelaide plan is also of significance in the history of town planning because of its influence on the Garden City movement.	The 1837 Adelaide plan.
Criterion (iv): The Adelaide plan is the outstanding example of the British colonial town planning model developed during the period of European colonialism. This was a major historical period which grew out of the Age of Discovery and saw European powers establish colonial settlements throughout many parts of the world. This period re-shaped world history and its consequences are still present. British colonialism was a very substantial part of this history from the late sixteenth century. Town planning was part of this colonisation and settlement, and model town plans evolved and guided British settlers. Adelaide's plan was strongly influenced by the evolved model, and it is the most complete realisation and a grand example of the colonial town planning model. It includes key features such as concentrated settlement, land rights allocated in a combination of town and country lots, the town planned and laid out in	- The 1837 Adelaide plan. - Concentrated settlement, land rights allocated in a combination of town and country lots, the town planned and laid out in advance of settlement, wide streets laid out in geometric, grid-iron form, a settlement area of about one square mile, public squares, standard-sized rectangular plots, spacious in comparison with those in British towns of the time, some plots reserved for public purposes, and a physical distinction between town and country by an encircling green belt of park lands. - Government House and grounds, former Mounted Police Barracks on North Terrace, West Terrace Cemetery. - Other colonial buildings reflecting the town plan. The definition of the colonial period needs to be resolved. The year of Australia's federation, 1901, may be a suitable option,

Table 2. Analysis of Draft Outstanding Universal Value and Related Attributes	
Draft Outstanding Universal Value	Attributes
advance of settlement, wide streets laid out in geometric, grid-iron form, a settlement area of about one square mile, public squares, standard-sized rectangular plots, spacious in comparison with those in British towns of the time, some plots reserved for public purposes (including major public buildings reinforcing the plan), and a physical distinction between town and country by an encircling green belt of park lands. Another important feature of the Adelaide plan is its distinctive response to the topography and natural qualities of its location, reflecting early environmental planning.	though this may be worth further consideration. Aspects reflecting the planning response to topography and natural qualities.
Criterion (vi): The Adelaide plan as part of systematic colonisation is directly and tangibly associated with ideas arising from the Philosophical Radicals in Britain during the nineteenth century. With links to the Enlightenment which preceded it, the Philosophical Radicals advanced Jeremy Bentham's utilitarian philosophy which defined the maximisation of happiness as the moral standard for action. The Philosophical Radicals and their ideas were a prominent in Britain and also influential in other parts of the world. The social and economic planning for the new colony in South Australia which derived from the Philosophical Radicals was coupled with urban planning, and a range of features in the Adelaide plan are the tangible expression of their ideas, in particular the provision of open spaces/squares and parklands.	- The 1837 Adelaide plan. - Open spaces/squares and Park Lands.

4.5 ASSESSMENT AND COMPARISON OF THE STRENGTH IN PROGRESSING A NOMINATION AS EITHER A HISTORICAL SITE OR CULTURAL LANDSCAPE LISTING

By way of background, it is worth considering the definitions provided in the *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention* (UNESCO World Heritage Centre 2019). Several key extracts are below.

For the purposes of this Convention, the following shall be considered as “cultural heritage”... sites: works of man or the combined works of nature and of man, and areas including archaeological sites which are of outstanding universal value from the historical, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological points of view. (Paragraph 45, quoting the World Heritage Convention)

Cultural landscapes are cultural properties and represent the ‘combined works of nature and of man’ as designated in Article 1 of the *Convention*. They are illustrative of the evolution of human society and settlement over time, under the influence of the physical constraints and/or opportunities presented by their natural environment and of successive social, economic and cultural forces, both external and internal. (Paragraph 47)

Three categories of cultural landscape are defined:

the clearly defined **landscape designed and created intentionally by man**. This embraces garden and parkland landscapes constructed for aesthetic reasons which are often (but not always) associated with religious or other monumental buildings and ensembles...

the **organically evolved landscape**. This results from an initial social, economic, administrative, and/or religious imperative and has developed its present form by association with and in response to its natural environment. Such landscapes reflect that process of evolution in their form and component features. They fall into two sub-categories:

- a relict (or fossil) landscape is one in which evolutionary process came to an end at some time in the past, either abruptly or over a period. Its significant distinguishing features are, however, still visible in material form.
- a continuing landscape is one which retains an active social role in contemporary society closely associated with the traditional way of life, and in which the evolutionary process is still in progress. At the same time it exhibits significant material evidence of its evolution over time...

the **associative cultural landscape**. The inscription of such landscapes on the World Heritage List is justifiable by virtue of the powerful religious, artistic or cultural associations of the natural element rather than material cultural evidence, which may be insignificant or even absent. (Annex 3, paragraph 10)

Importantly, sites include cultural landscapes because sites are a higher order definition of cultural heritage under the World Heritage Convention, along with monuments and groups of buildings. Nonetheless, many sites are generally small and comprise a feature such as a building, rock art, garden or archaeological ruin. On the other hand, some sites can be quite extensive, such as large archaeological sites.

Cultural landscapes tend to be larger and contain features developed on the natural landform such as roads following contours or water courses, settlements at crossing points, community buildings, farm units and boundaries. They must include the geography of the landscape as the basis of the human interaction with it. On the other hand, designed landscapes, for example, can be quite small, such as town squares.

Accordingly, the key issue is not to contrast sites and cultural landscapes as different categories, because sites include cultural landscapes. The key issue is whether the

Outstanding Universal Value relates to a place being a combined work of nature and people. If it is not, then it will be a site, or monument or group of buildings being the other potential categories of cultural heritage. If it is a combined work, then it will be a site as well as a cultural landscape.

The Adelaide plan can be regarded as a cultural landscape because it displays this interaction, this combination of a 'natural' environment, recognising this was in fact an Aboriginal landscape, with the work of people – European settlers. The adaptation of an idealised colonial town planning model to the local topography are clear examples of this interaction. This includes the response to the River Torrens, the layout of south and North Adelaide, and the treatment of the eastern boundary of the city. Reinforcing this view, Light himself commented on the site selection for Adelaide:

Because it was on a beautiful and gently rising ground, and formed altogether a better connection with the river than any other place. (Light 1839)

In summary:

- sites and cultural landscapes can both be large or small in area; and
- in formal terms, sites include cultural landscapes because sites are a higher order definition of cultural heritage under the World Heritage Convention.

With regard to the Adelaide plan, this is probably best approached as a cultural landscape because it is a combined work of nature and people.

4.6 GLOBAL STRATEGY FOR A REPRESENTATIVE, BALANCED AND CREDIBLE WORLD HERITAGE LIST

At this point it is worth reflecting that these options relate to European settler colonialism and, as noted by one of the peer reviewers, nominations with a Eurocentric or town planning focus are not a priority under the World Heritage Committee's *Global Strategy for a Representative, Balanced and Credible World Heritage List* (<https://whc.unesco.org/en/globalstrategy/>, accessed 8 July 2020). Europe and historic towns are considered over-represented in the World Heritage List.

It can be countered that Adelaide is not Europe, although European in character, and the over-representation of towns may be within Europe rather than in other places.

It is also important to recognise that the *Global Strategy* does not stop countries bringing forward nominations they think are worthy. The strategy is an attempt to re-focus efforts on under-represented regions and themes. In practice, it is not known that any nomination has been rejected because of the strategy.

On the other hand, the comparative analysis component of a nomination dossier is vital, and if it cannot clearly demonstrate there is a gap in the World Heritage List addressed by a particular nomination, then it is likely to struggle, if not fail. So in this sense, the comparative analysis can be seen in part to achieve the objectives of the strategy.

5. COMPARISON WITH RURAL SETTLEMENT EXAMPLES OF SYSTEMATIC COLONISATION IN NEW ZEALAND

This chapter responds to a specific issue raised in the project brief – to compare rural settlement examples in New Zealand with those in the Mount Lofty Ranges. This chapter is not focused on the City Layout and Park Lands of Adelaide considered above, although both the rural settlement and Adelaide were part of the same colonisation story, planning and historical process.

The independent review of the Mount Lofty Ranges World Heritage bid found that:

The Systematic Colonisation Settlement Landscape of South Australia is the outstanding example of the implementation of the 19th century Wakefield systematic colonisation model, which in part took advantage of the pre-existing Aboriginal managed landscape. Key features of the model included land sales synchronised to subsidise immigration of free settlers/labour for the colony, the recruitment of younger families as ideal settlers, concentrated settlement, 80 acre farm units (sections), and broader utopian principles such as religious freedom.

This model is reflected in the landscape and marks an important change in the period of major European migrations and associated colonisation towards a progressive society and free migration to the far-distant lands of Australia. The property is the original and most enduring expression of systematic colonisation. (Marshall and Lennon 2019, p. 16)

However, it is necessary to undertake a comparative analysis of other like settlements in order to support the justification for World Heritage.

Wakefield's well-known theory of systematic colonisation greatly influenced the design of South Australia and several separate settlements in New Zealand, drawing freely on the Enlightenment's legacy of "liberalism, rationalism, naturalism, empiricism, and materialism" (Olssen 1997, p. 200). The unprecedented colonisation strategy championed free settlement and the abolition of slavery, assisted free migration, free markets, gender equality, the secret ballot and Aboriginal rights, in order to create a secular, self-governing, democratic and modern society. Wakefield, who was raised in a pacifist Quaker family, believed that he had identified "how to transplant civilization into the wilderness".

The main ideas of the Enlightenment were quickly adopted in England and Scotland as shown by development of scientific agriculture and the technological inventions which denoted the beginnings of the industrial revolution. Wakefield published wide-ranging appraisals of English civilization highlighting the gulf between rich and poor, urban and rural, which:

together with his analysis of the social pathology of the American frontier, provided a powerful justification for his exposition of systematic colonization. (Olssen 1997, p. 204)

Government as envisaged by Wakefield had minimal functions – the control of surveys and land sales, control over the recruitment and flow of migrants, administration of the law and promotion of public works. His plan was constantly being adapted and modified in its implementation in New Zealand to address problems the New Zealand Company had tried to resolve in one scheme when planning the next (Olssen 1997, p. 205). His planning for

combining town and country allotments to provide migrants with the social, cultural and economic opportunities of the town was a modern movement. His:

generous provision for parks, public institutions, churches, schools, and cemeteries persuaded the great American planner, Frederic Law Olmsted, to describe the New Zealand Company as a major precursor of 'the Garden City movement' (Olssen 1997, p. 207)

The chequered history of the New Zealand Company's efforts to systematically colonise New Zealand is also regarded as "the final piece of damning evidence in a chain of reckless land settlement experiments foisted upon Europeans and Maori alike" (Montgomery 2010, p. 391). However, the most detailed plans were for the settlement of the Canterbury region. These plans for the Canterbury Association did not become concrete until 1847 despite overtures to influential people by Edward Gibbon Wakefield and his son Edward Jerminingham Wakefield during the first half of the 1840s. These 'plans' as they were titled, were simply tracts on colonisation by the sale of land at a sufficient price, and not detailed ground plans.

The Canterbury Association plans have been summarised as follows:

an area of approximately 1,000 acres was to be set out and include the lines of the principal streets, squares, the sites of all public buildings and parks 'required for the convenience of the future inhabitants.' The remainder of the land in the town was to be marked out in quarter-acre sections whilst adjoining the capital an area of similar size i.e., 1,000 acres, was to be identified and marked off in ten-acre suburban lots. Authority was also given to the... Chief Surveyor... to establish an unspecified number of satellite towns. They were to be set out according to the same principles except that the total area of each would be 500 acres with a similar area set out as adjoining suburban land. (Montgomery 2010, p. 392)

Montgomery has argued that:

...Canterbury was simply a late addition to the pattern of colonial settlement-making in Australasia in the mid-nineteenth century. The layouts of capital and port towns are not unlike those in other settlements and these typologies have often been discussed in terms of the use of grid templates, greenbelts and other conventions of the period. What is not well understood is that there was in fact an ambitious master plan for the Canterbury region and at least one fully designed town plan that was never executed. (Montgomery 2010, p. 391)

In early 1849, eight towns were superimposed on the Canterbury Plains and by early 1850 only two remained. The planned comprehensive scheme for dispersed but orderly small farm holdings centred around market or service towns, ended up as pasturage and farmland served by a port town and a capital.

In the capital of the settlement, Christchurch, quarter-acre sections were to cost settlers £25 while the equivalent quantity of land in other towns was to be sold at £12 per section. Suburban ten-acre blocks near the capital were to be priced at £150 and suburban land near other towns was expected to sell at or near £80. The most important proviso was that rural land was to be sold to settlers at £3 per acre and no rural order was to be issued for less than 50 acres. In the Canterbury area the regional plan came first and then followed the town plans. Montgomery noted that:

By contrast, in the settlements at Port Nicholson, Wanganui, New Plymouth, Nelson and Otago carried out in the years between 1840 and 1847, the first plans were almost invariably only town plans. (Montgomery 2010, p. 394)

In Wellington, established in 1840, a crescent-shaped town belt was provided along the

steep ridge, and in conjunction with the harbour it encloses the city and separates it from the surrounding land. It remains substantially intact.

Montgomery also notes that:

There has been frequent speculation that the Adelaide plan of 1837 was a direct influence on the design of Christchurch and, it has often been inferred that the town reserves, which were subdivided and sold as ordinary town land from 1856 onwards, were a deliberately designed green belt in the same way that Park Lands were set out around Adelaide from its inception. (Montgomery 2010, p. 399)

However, no empirical evidence has been found to make such a connection (Montgomery 2006a, p. 153).

In accordance with the aims of the ‘Association for the Founding of the Settlement of Canterbury in New Zealand’ in England in 1848, the first colonists to arrive in 1850 quickly set about creating a compact settlement, an agricultural landscape with 200 acres fenced and 500 acres under crop cultivation by February 1852. Most of the land had been purchased before leaving England and was within six miles of Christchurch. This decisive agricultural expansion was short lived. In February 1852 new pastoral regulations were introduced and the limited agricultural prospects of a small settlement remote from markets gave way to sheep raising on the extensive grasslands (Cant 1968, pp. 164-5). On the original lots many private land purchases were for expansion on to adjacent land and the most rapid turnover of landownership occurred on properties of between 50 and 100 acres in the Eyreton district for example (Ricchtik 1975, p. 66).

Montgomery has summarised the planning history:

What began as a carefully sketched model for six villages, one capital, and one port town in February, 1849, ended up as a pared down but relatively advanced scheme at two sites (Lyttelton and Christchurch) in December, 1850, on the eve of the arrival of the first paying Canterbury settlers. (Montgomery 2010, p. 400)

The detailed original settlement patterns no longer remain. Nevertheless, Montgomery believes that the regional plan is still recognisable over the Canterbury Plains.

But by 1856 the province was one vast sheep walk, a secure economic base for settlement. Wakefield had been critical of pastoralism with extensive sheep farming across vast areas of unfenced land resulting from large land grants so that colonists were scattered across the landscape, towns did not develop properly and thus social connections which had the power of fostering civilisation emerged very slowly (Ballantyne 2014, p. 92). Olssen, Montgomery and Ballantyne all agree that Wakefield’s reforming ideas for systematic colonisation “turned out to be awkward and ineffectual templates for building functioning colonies” (Ballantyne 2014, p. 96) and that New Zealand historians generally give Wakefield’s six colonies there “failing grades” (Olssen 1997, p. 198).

The difference in Adelaide’s rural hinterland is that the original pattern of preliminary districts available from 1838 along the western side of the Mount Lofty Ranges and south of the Onkaparinga River, and the special surveys from 1839 to 1841, in which surveyed land was selected and sold, remain (Herraman 2017, p. 2-3, 8). Either the original Wakefieldian rural settlement proposals in New Zealand no longer remain physically intact or were never actually developed.

In South Australia, the land also remains largely as agricultural land. Its use for a range of crops such as grains, orchards and vineyards has been constant, although there have been changes in specific areas. In terms of other qualities, the new settlement had “a more equitable gender balance, a free labour market and colonists quickly invested in political institutions”, and freedom of worship attracted many diverse settlers – in line with the original social and economic ideas underlining systematic colonisation. These outcomes contrast with the patchy growth and Maori wars in New Zealand. (Ballantyne 2014, p. 97)

6. RECOMMENDATION REGARDING WHETHER THE BID WOULD BE STRENGTHENED OR WEAKENED BY COMBINING WITH THE MOUNT LOFTY RANGES BID

6.1 CONSIDERATION OF THE PROS AND CONS FOR A COMBINED BID FOR WORLD HERITAGE LISTING OF BOTH THE PARK LANDS AND CITY LAYOUT AND THE MOUNT LOFTY RANGES AS AN EXAMPLE OF WAKEFIELD'S SYSTEMATIC COLONISATION MODEL

The review of the Systematic Colonisation Settlement Landscape of South Australia, otherwise known as the Mount Lofty Ranges, raised the possibility that the city of Adelaide might contain attributes of the potential Outstanding Universal Value identified for that landscape. The central story related to the Wakefield systematic colonisation model, and the attributes considered at that time, included the town acres linked to rural land which were part of a single purchase in the colonial period (Marshall and Lennon 2019). In this context, some form of combined bid has previously been contemplated.

However, the previous study was not able to define the extent of the colonial Adelaide city that might be included in a nomination, and the current study suggests an extensive part or area of the city, and the associated attributes, derived from Table 2 above:

- The 1837 Adelaide plan.
- Concentrated settlement, land rights allocated in a combination of town and country lots, the town (Adelaide) planned and laid out in advance of settlement, wide streets laid out in geometric, grid-iron form, a settlement area of about one square mile, public squares, standard-sized rectangular plots, spacious in comparison with those in British towns of the time, some plots reserved for public purposes, and a physical distinction between town and country by an encircling green belt of park lands.
- Government House and grounds, former Mounted Police Barracks on North Terrace, West Terrace Cemetery.
- Other colonial buildings reflecting the town plan.
- Aspects reflecting the planning response to topography and natural qualities.
- Open spaces/squares and Park Lands.

The current study also outlines the potential Outstanding Universal Value of the Adelaide plan which is focused on the theme of British colonial town planning.

The key issue regarding a combined bid is the extent of overlap of the two major themes present in the Systematic Colonisation Settlement Landscape and the Adelaide plan – these being the Wakefield systematic colonisation model and British colonial town planning. These themes are not identical. Nonetheless, what seems possible, if not likely, is that the systematic colonisation model incorporated the prevailing, evolved colonial town planning approach. That is, a structured approach to town planning was part of the broader systematic colonisation model. But being more than just an isolated or disconnected component within the broader systematic colonisation model, early colonial town planning in South Australia contained an integral representation of broader ideals, notably linked town and rural landholdings, as well as the concentrated town settlement physically separated from rural lands by the Park Lands.

This outline of the relationship between the two major themes needs development and greater substantiation. In addition, looking back at the work on the Systematic Colonisation Settlement Landscape study, it discussed the need to develop text on the broader theme of migration, into which the South Australian example and systematic colonisation can be contextualised. Perhaps this systematic colonisation might otherwise be expressed as part of, or a major element within, a British colonial settlement model or models.

There are several striking conclusions made about the Adelaide plan, as noted above. Home refers to it as the “most complete realization of the colonial town planning model” and Freestone says it is “a major achievement of colonial urban design”. Perhaps similar conclusions can be made about the Systematic Colonisation Settlement Landscape including Adelaide – that it is the most complete realisation of British colonial settlement planning, and/or a major achievement of such colonial planning?

Several peer reviewers also expressed doubts about the inclusion of the systematic colonisation landscape with Adelaide, with greater support for the urban components compared to the rural landscapes.

In summary, the advantages of a combined bid are:

- it represents a substantially more complete portrayal of the colonial settlement model and the whole of the settlement system, which is more likely to be supported by ICOMOS;
- it includes key attributes reflecting the rural settlement dimension of the model, to complement the urban attributes; and
- it includes the colonial capital and the centre of settlement.

The problems of a combined bid are:

- the potentially greater complexity in developing a nomination, at least partly in terms of preparing the justification, but also with regard to management, stakeholder support (community as well as including a range of governments), resourcing and risk; and
- in the case of the systematic colonisation landscape, the boundaries are still to be defined.

There are also issues of integrity to consider, but this affects both the Systematic Colonisation Settlement Landscape as well as Adelaide. In World Heritage terms:

Integrity is a measure of the wholeness and intactness of the natural and/or cultural heritage and its attributes. Examining the conditions of integrity, therefore requires assessing the extent to which the property:

- a) includes all elements necessary to express its Outstanding Universal Value;
- b) is of adequate size to ensure the complete representation of the features and processes which convey the property’s significance;
- c) suffers from adverse effects of development and/or neglect. (UNESCO World Heritage Centre 2019, paragraph 88)

6.2 WHETHER A BID THAT ONLY LISTS THE PARK LANDS AND CITY LAYOUT HAS LESS OR GREATER MERIT ON ITS OWN

As noted early in this report, a nomination that only includes the Park Lands and City Layout is not likely to succeed given the previous approach of ICOMOS to such nominations. The failed nomination of Savannah is a clear indicator of potential problems.

A nomination for the Adelaide plan would have to be for the whole of the urban form, such as related to the 1837 plan, as realised. But this does not necessarily mean that every building in the city, even very modern buildings, need be regarded as an attribute of Outstanding Universal Value.

By way of an example, the Royal Exhibition Building and Carlton Gardens World Heritage property in Melbourne contains the large and modern Melbourne Museum building. However, the museum building is not an attribute of this property. Similarly, there are many World Heritage cities, many of which containing some modern buildings which again are not attributes. The property, Paris, Banks of the Seine, includes many historic buildings and landscapes within its boundaries, including the modern Pyramide du Louvre, but the Pyramide is not an attribute of this property.

Exactly how a nomination would be framed for Adelaide to satisfy ICOMOS' requirements has not yet been determined. But it would seem possible to address both these requirements and stakeholder concerns about constraints arising from any World Heritage inscription. This might, for example, involve the identification of colonial era buildings as attributes which provide sympathetic urban form and fabric to complement the colonial town plan. The general development character within town acres might also be regarded as giving expression to the town plan – that is buildings generally within and often to the boundaries of blocks, irrespective of their architectural style, scale and age, which give form to the streets and squares, and an edge to the Park Lands.

The alternative question is therefore whether a bid that only lists the Adelaide plan has less or greater merit on its own. Firstly, there are merits in both possible nominations – the Adelaide plan on its own, as well as the Adelaide plan as part of the Systematic Colonisation Settlement Landscape. However, the claimed values are likely to be somewhat different in each case – one focused on colonial town planning, the other on the broader theme of colonial settlement.

In terms of potential Outstanding Universal Value, at this stage in the research, it is probably better to continue with the combined bid. Such a nomination has the more satisfying quality of embracing the whole colonial settlement system, and this will be a strength through the evaluation by ICOMOS.

This is also likely to be more complicated. But the degree of complexity is not yet really known, as for example, an assessment of integrity may substantially restrict the potential area/s of Outstanding Universal Value. It is also worth recalling that the possible boundaries and extent of a Systematic Colonisation Settlement Landscape nomination have not yet been defined. While quite extensive areas have previously been suggested, ultimately, a smaller, perhaps much smaller area might be recommended, and this might also be as a serial of several areas. There is further work to identify the appropriate boundaries and area/s.

In recommending the combined bid, this is not to suggest it should be finally decided that such a bid will be developed and nominated. Rather, there are further stages of research to be undertaken, and this research will either continue to justify a combined bid or steer the potential nomination to a different option. The commitment should be made to undertake further research on the combined bid, with points for review and reflection to ensure it remains the justified option.

7. OUTLINE OF A COMBINED BID

7.1 CORE NARRATIVE ASSOCIATED WITH A COMBINED BID

The suggested core narrative associated with the combined bid, in its basic form, is as follows.

The Systematic Colonisation Settlement Landscape of South Australia, including the Adelaide plan, is of Outstanding Universal Value as evidence of the nineteenth century Wakefield systematic colonisation model, an important and influential model in the history of European free migration and colonial settlement. It is the most complete realisation of British colonial settlement planning and/or a major achievement of such colonial planning.

This narrative contains claims which require further research to fully substantiate, especially the last sentence about colonial planning.

7.2 ATTRIBUTES FOR A COMBINED BID

The attributes associated with the combined bid are as follows. For convenience, these have been broken into those relevant to Adelaide, those relevant to both Adelaide and the Mount Lofty Ranges, and those only relevant to the Mount Lofty Ranges. Attributes associated with the Mount Lofty Ranges have been drawn from Marshall and Lennon (2019).

Adelaide:

- The 1837 Adelaide plan.
- Concentrated settlement, the town planned and laid out in advance of settlement, wide streets laid out in geometric, grid-iron form, a settlement area of about one square mile, public squares, standard-sized rectangular plots, spacious in comparison with those in British towns of the time, some plots reserved for public purposes, and a physical distinction between town and country by an encircling green belt of park lands.
- Government House and grounds, former Mounted Police Barracks on North Terrace, West Terrace Cemetery.
- Other colonial buildings reflecting the town plan.
- Aspects reflecting the planning response to topography and natural qualities.
- Open spaces/squares and Park Lands.

Adelaide and the Mount Lofty Ranges:

- Surveyed town and country landholdings – town acres within the city of Adelaide and a framework of Preliminary Districts and Special Surveys in the rural areas with 80 acre farm units (sections).
- Concentrated settlement – contained urban and rural settlement within surveyed districts.
- Linked 1 acre town block and 80 acre rural land purchases as part of the preliminary land order system.

- Survey markers, roads, fences and other markers of section, hundred, county, Preliminary District and Special Survey boundaries.
- The diversity of places of religious worship and other cultural places reflecting religious/cultural freedom (eg. related to German, Austrian and Polish Lutherans, Jesuits and Catholic migrants).

Mount Lofty Ranges:

- Surveyed towns and villages generally located near the middle of rural hundreds, with smaller sections closer to the township.
- 80 acre farm units (sections), including those with surviving original farmhouses and rural buildings.
- An area of McLaren Vale representing the purest grid form of the Wakefieldian survey system.
- Original rural land uses.
- Aboriginal reserves reflecting the early but practically limited recognition of Indigenous rights.
- Examples of adaptation of the land settlement to environmental conditions.
- Examples of adaptation of the land settlement to different cultural groups (eg. Hufendorfer settlement), and the religious and cultural places associated with such groups.
- Examples of adaptation by farmers and latterly by vigneron.
- Examples of early surviving land uses including vineyards and orchards.

7.3 RECOMMENDED AREA/LANDSCAPE FEATURES TO BE LISTED IN THE CASE OF A COMBINED BID

Defining the area for a World Heritage nominated property normally relies on identifying the spatial extent of attributes of Outstanding Universal Value. Once the relevant attributes are mapped, it is possible to seek a rational boundary that incorporates them, adjusted for a range of factors such as management and legibility on the ground. There is also the issue of a possible buffer zone to consider at a later stage.

In the case of a combined bid, this standard process would also apply. The attributes noted above would be mapped and this used to define an overall boundary, or the boundaries of a property comprising a series of component parts.

In the case of the Mount Lofty Ranges, the previous expert review noted that the maximum possible extent of the potential World Heritage property is known, corresponding to the extent of the Preliminary Districts and Special Surveys. However, refining the mapping of attributes beyond this point becomes difficult because of the lack of detail about the exact location of attributes. The previous review also identifies the qualities present in the landscape of the likely property area, for example, the area including the best surviving evidence of Wakefield systematic colonisation, including rural area/s with 80 acre farm units (sections), especially those with surviving original farmhouses and rural buildings, etc.

In the case of the attributes related to Adelaide, the overall boundary for this component is likely to be the perimeter extent of the Park Lands. Within this, comments about mapping the extent of the particular attributes is provided in the following table.

Table 3. Extent/Area of Attributes related to the Adelaide Plan

Attribute	Comments about Extent/Area
The 1837 Adelaide plan.	This is essentially known, its extent corresponding to the perimeter of the current Park Lands. However, it is noted that the 1837 outer extent of the Park Lands was not formally defined.
Concentrated settlement, the town planned and laid out in advance of settlement	This is the extent of the 1837 town acres, and their form.
wide streets laid out in geometric, grid-iron form	The existing main streets retain their width and geometric, grid-iron form.
a settlement area of about one square mile	This is the extent of the main southern town area of 1837 town acres.
public squares	The boundaries of the squares are clearly defined. The contributing qualities of these attributes deserve more detailed research, given changes made over the years, and that some fabric is relatively modern.
standard-sized rectangular plots, spacious in comparison with those in British towns of the time	This is the extent of 1837 town acres. A check would need to be made to ensure the original town acre boundaries survive on the ground, even if further subdivision has taken place within the acres. It is possible that some block amalgamation has obliterated such boundaries. It is understood that few original town acres survive without subdivision, but the extent of surviving acres is to be confirmed.
some plots reserved for public purposes	The location and extent of reserved plots needs to be documented. Presumably the GPO and Town Hall are examples, and possibly the churches.
a physical distinction between town and country by an encircling green belt of park lands	This is the extent of the current Park Lands, noting the outer extent was not formally defined in 1837.
Government House and grounds, former Mounted Police Barracks on North Terrace, West Terrace Cemetery.	The boundaries of Government House and the West Terrace Cemetery are well defined. In the case of the former Mounted Police Barracks, as its original curtilage has been lost, the likely boundary for this attribute is the footprint of the building.
Other colonial buildings reflecting the town plan.	These buildings need to be identified, subject to determination of the colonial period to be adopted. Nonetheless, good examples would likely be the GPO, Town Hall, former Treasury Building, St Xavier Cathedral, Pilgrim Uniting Church, etc.
Aspects reflecting the planning response to topography and natural qualities.	This is the extent of the 1837 plan.
Open spaces/squares and Park Lands. (Noting the overlap above.)	The boundaries of the squares and Park Lands are clearly defined. The contributing qualities of these attributes deserve more detailed research, given changes made over the years, and that some fabric is relatively modern.
Surveyed town and country landholdings – town acres within the city of Adelaide and a framework of Preliminary Districts and Special Surveys in the rural areas with 80 acre farm units (sections).	A check would need to be made to ensure the original town acre boundaries survive on the ground, even if further subdivision has taken place. It is possible that some block amalgamation has obliterated such boundaries.
Concentrated settlement – contained urban and rural settlement within surveyed districts.	This is essentially known, corresponding to the perimeter of the current Park Lands. However, it is noted that the 1837 outer extent of the Park Lands was not formally defined.
Linked 1 acre town block and 80 acre rural land purchases as part of the preliminary land order system.	This linking is known to have occurred but surviving examples are not fully researched and documented.
Survey markers, roads, fences and other markers of section, hundred, county, Preliminary District and	The surviving 1837 road pattern is essentially known, though there may need to be some research

Table 3. Extent/Area of Attributes related to the Adelaide Plan	
Attribute	Comments about Extent/Area
Special Survey boundaries.	to fully confirm all details, especially minor roads where there may have been changes after 1837.
The diversity of places of religious worship and other cultural places reflecting religious/cultural freedom (eg. related to German, Austrian and Polish Lutherans, Jesuits and Catholic migrants).	An inventory of such colonial religious places of worship would need to be generated, analysed by religious/cultural affiliation. In addition, other cultural places would need to be identified, noting that some of this may have already been undertaken for the Mount Lofty Ranges.

8. WORK PLAN INCLUDING RESEARCH GAPS AND ADDITIONAL WORK FOR TENTATIVE LISTING AND A NOMINATION

This chapter begins with some general comments about Tentative Listing and World Heritage nominations. This is followed by a summary of major research gaps for developing the Tentative List submission and nomination, and then a preliminary work plan for preparing a Tentative Listing and nomination. The chapter concludes with some additional comments about developing the Tentative List submission.

8.1 TENTATIVE LISTING AND NOMINATIONS

There are several initial points to recall in the development of a World Heritage nomination:

- such nominations are the largest and most complex tasks in the heritage sector, usually taking many years, requiring resourcing and persistence, and resulting in a substantial document of many hundreds of pages. There is a set format for the contents of a nomination provided in Annex 5 of the *Operational Guidelines*;
- a carefully planned approach is essential, usually involving a team and a lead author, and supported by other experts, stakeholders and political leaders, often structured into groups or committees;
- developing a nomination is invariably an iterative process. For example, Outstanding Universal Value may be drafted, tested, revised, tested, informed by the comparative analysis, revised, informed by issues of integrity, authenticity, protection and management, revised, peer reviewed, and so on. This is normal and part of the strength of the process;
- while the task is large it is commensurate with the rewards of World Heritage listing;
- successful nominations are usually the result of a body of expert work coupled with a campaign to develop a broader international body of expert opinion in favour of the nomination – a critical mass of supportive expert opinion. There are various ways of encouraging such support, and the efforts of other countries provide a range of examples in achieving this;
- successful nominations are also the result of ensuring or developing support within governments and the local community; and
- in the case of the Adelaide plan, the support of the City of Adelaide is very important, and complements the support of a range of local governments for the Mount Lofty Ranges bid.

The development of the nomination may be broadly divided into the following stages:

- initial research, which will underpin the later Tentative List and nomination stages;
- development of a Tentative List submission, to some extent also drawing on the initial tasks noted below;
- development of the nomination – initial tasks – refine draft Outstanding Universal Value, develop comparative analysis, refine attributes and identify boundaries;
- development of the nomination – later tasks – ongoing refinement of Outstanding Universal Value, comparative analysis, attributes and boundaries, and development of the remaining parts of the nomination; and

- other important tasks (eg. development of a management plan or system which will be vital to support the nomination).

The Tentative List is a formal part of the overall process for the development of the World Heritage List, especially related to nominations to the List. As noted in the *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention* (UNESCO World Heritage Centre 2019):

A Tentative List is an inventory of those properties situated on its territory which each State Party considers suitable for nomination to the World Heritage List. States Parties should therefore include, in their Tentative Lists, details of those properties which they consider to be of potential Outstanding Universal Value and which they intend to nominate during the following years. (Paragraph 62)

Tentative Lists are a useful and important planning tool for States Parties, the World Heritage Committee, the Secretariat, and the Advisory Bodies, as they provide an indication of future nominations. (Paragraph 70)

Several important points to note are:

- Tentative List submissions are checked for completeness of the documentation, but are not evaluated in terms of the claimed Outstanding Universal Value;
- the submission is usually quite short, perhaps a few pages;
- Tentative List submissions are not meant to be based on a fully developed case for World Heritage listing. There needs to be reasonable expert grounds for believing a property may meet the requirements for World Heritage, but this does not mean absolute certainty is required. Such certainty, or at least greater certainty, only arises through the research to prepare the actual nomination dossier. State Parties have on occasions included properties on the Tentative List which have subsequently been found through such research not to have a good case for Outstanding Universal Value. This is exactly how the Tentative List should operate;
- a property needs to be on the Tentative List for one year before it can be nominated;
- Australia has, over decades, not been able to develop a meaningful Tentative List for many reasons. One of those reasons has been that successive governments have been reluctant to list properties unless the Commonwealth and relevant State or Territory governments were in full agreement. While this is largely a political issue, there is also a technical dimension as the support of Commonwealth, State or Territory heritage authorities is also a factor. This has also sometimes meant that Tentative Listing has only occurred when there has been a full commitment to proceed with a nomination;
- it is noted that South Australia has another likely Tentative List proposal, and other States are also likely to have proposals (eg. Victoria with regard to the Goldfields). Tentative Listing is not a competition. State Parties can submit any number of properties and there is no limit. The only limit applies to nominations that can be submitted in any given year – which is one nomination. But recognising that it takes considerable time to develop a nomination, there is actually likely to be no competition between ‘rival’ Australian nominations;
- the development of a Tentative List submission is a much smaller and simpler technical/expert task compared to a nomination. Nonetheless, it requires careful consideration and a good expert foundation; and
- one challenging task may be achieving Commonwealth and State support in terms of politicians and heritage experts within government.

In the case of the Tentative List submission, the connection between this step and National

Heritage listing should also be clarified. In the case of Adelaide, the Park Lands and City Layout are already on the National Heritage List, although it is suspected the whole of the city within the Park Lands will need to be the basis of a World Heritage nomination. If this basis is accepted, then the link between Tentative Listing and National Heritage will need to be tested. While previously the policy has been to require National Heritage listing before inclusion on the Tentative List, recent developments suggest this is not strictly always the case.

8.2 SUMMARY OF RESEARCH GAPS

The following is a summary of the major research gaps for developing the Tentative List submission and nomination. These tend to focus on gaps which relate to the justification of Outstanding Universal Value, and there are no doubt other gaps to be addressed later, once the justification is reasonably robust.

These research gaps relate largely to the Adelaide plan and less to the systematic colonisation settlement landscape of South Australia, and there are overlaps as well.

The gaps are:

- developing a thematic study of European colonial settlement models;
- exploring whether systematic colonisation might otherwise be expressed as part of, or a major element within, a British colonial settlement model or models;
- confirming that the systematic colonisation model incorporated the prevailing, evolved colonial town planning model, including integral elements, such as the linked town and rural landholdings, as well as the concentrated town settlement physically separated from rural lands by park lands;
- preparing a thematic study of European colonial planned towns, including some comparative analysis (King (1990, pp. 141-2) contains a useful list of British colonies and major cities);
- developing a better understanding of the colonial town planning model in terms of its history and the essential elements of that model or models (eg. is it just the town planning components of the Grand Model?);
- confirming that the town planning components of the Grand Model are the same as or at least connected to the model plan promoted by the British Board of Trade;
- documenting the historical and surviving qualities of other examples of colonial town planning, potentially including Savannah, Philadelphia, Charleston and new towns in Upper Canada, perhaps linked to the thematic study noted above;
- documenting the integrity of comparable and key examples of colonial town planning, perhaps linked to the thematic study noted above;
- establishing whether the Adelaide plan was influenced by the Spanish town planning instructions codified in the 1570s;
- developing a better understanding of the links between town blocks and rural land purchases in the case of Adelaide, ie. specific examples;
- clearly identifying the standard or common and novel elements of the Adelaide plan;
- seeking to better understand the designed purpose of the Park Lands;
- researching whether other aspects of urban planning, apart from the open spaces/squares and parklands, can be identified as evidence of the ideas of the Philosophical Radicals; and
- researching the international influence of the Adelaide plan, including numerous New Zealand examples (suggestions include Wellington, Christchurch, Dunedin,

Invercargill, New Plymouth, Nelson, Canterbury region, Wanganui, Hamilton, Alexandra, Clyde, Cromwell, Gore and Port Chalmers) as well as any influence in other countries. While some of this influence is discussed in Chapter 5 above, the focus is on the settlement landscapes rather than the colonial town plans.

These gaps are addressed in the following preliminary workplan.

Developing the Tentative List submission and nomination will require information on a range contexts, such as the several thematic studies noted above, and other matters noted in the preliminary workplan below. At this stage, these various contexts seem important to explore as part of developing the justification of Outstanding Universal Value. However, it is worth noting the research may lead to some contexts being more important than others, or refinement of the relevant context/s, all as part of the process to develop a robust justification of Outstanding Universal Value.

Finally, while not part of the work required for a Tentative List submission or a nomination, it may nonetheless be important to simply document a few relevant case studies of other World Heritage cities which contain both attributes of Outstanding Universal Value, and non-attributes. This would be to re-assure stakeholders that a World Heritage inscription of the whole of the City of Adelaide will not impose unreasonable constraints on modern existing or future developments.

8.3 PRELIMINARY WORKPLAN

Table 4 below presents an overall preliminary workplan for the stages noted above. Initial tasks are highlighted in green. To some extent, there is some potential or real overlap between the Tentative List tasks and the nomination tasks. Hopefully, at least some tasks may be able to build upon previous work undertaken. Further development of the workplan would include an assessment of previous work and its usefulness for the next phase of the project. No timings for tasks are indicated at this stage.

The workplan also integrates tasks from the previous expert review of the systematic colonisation settlement landscape of South Australia.

Table 4. Preliminary World Heritage Nomination Workplan

No.	Task	Comments	Timing
Initial Research			
	Thematic study of European colonial settlement models	Including: • exploring whether systematic colonisation might otherwise be expressed as part of, or a major element within, a British colonial settlement model or models • confirming that the systematic colonisation model incorporated the prevailing, evolved colonial town planning model, including integral elements, such as the linked town and rural landholdings, as well as the concentrated town settlement physically separated from rural lands by park lands	
	Thematic study of European colonial planned towns, including some comparative analysis	Including: • developing a better understanding of the colonial town planning model in terms of its history and the essential elements of that model or models (eg. is it just the town planning components of the Grand Model?) • confirming that the town planning components of the Grand Model are the same as the model plan promoted by the Board of Trade • documenting the historical and surviving qualities of other examples of colonial town planning, potentially including Savannah, Philadelphia, Charleston and new towns in Upper Canada • documenting the integrity of comparable examples of colonial town planning	
	Further research on specific issues related to Adelaide and the systematic colonisation landscape	Including: • establishing whether the Adelaide plan was influenced by the Spanish town planning instructions codified in the 1570s • developing a better understanding of the links between town blocks and rural land purchases in the case of Adelaide, ie. specific examples • clearly identifying the standard or common and novel elements of the Adelaide plan • seeking to better understand the designed purpose of the Park Lands • researching whether other aspects of urban planning, apart from the open spaces/squares and parklands, can be identified as evidence of the ideas of the Philosophical Radicals • researching the international influence of the Adelaide plan, including numerous New Zealand examples (suggestions	

Table 4. Preliminary World Heritage Nomination Workplan			
No.	Task	Comments	Timing
		include Wellington, Christchurch, Dunedin, Invercargill, New Plymouth, Nelson, Canterbury, Wanganui, Hamilton, Alexandra, Clyde, Cromwell, Gore and Port Chalmers) as well as any influence in other countries	
	Case studies of other World Heritage cities which contain both attributes of Outstanding Universal Value, and non-attributes	This would include documentation of a few relevant cases. This information would be to re-assure stakeholders that a World Heritage inscription of the whole of the City of Adelaide will not impose unreasonable constraints on modern existing or future developments.	
Tentative List Submission			
	Clarification of connection between National Heritage listing and inclusion on the Tentative List, and other matters	At present it appears there is some flexibility in the policy linking National Heritage and World Heritage. This flexibility should be confirmed in the case of the proposed property, noting that part of the proposed property (Adelaide Park Lands and City Layout) is already National Heritage listed. Given the creation of the colony on Aboriginal lands, continuing connections to country, and the possible inclusion of Aboriginal managed lands within the property, the requirements of the Commonwealth regarding demonstrating Aboriginal consent should also be clarified.	
	Preparation of draft Tentative List submission (number of drafts TBA)	Initial task • The submission is quite short, and will draw on the initial research above and the tasks below related to the development of the nomination itself • Identify lead person for the submission and core team • Develop more detailed workplan for the submission • Review of current or possible additional committees or reference groups to support the submission • Strengthen the understanding of Outstanding Universal Value as much as possible, noting this task will continue through the development of the nomination dossier • Refine the understanding of attributes • Give some indication of possible draft boundaries, noting these are subject to further refinement • Develop initial information about likely management implications	
	Expert review/s	Initial task • Related to the expert reviews for the nomination itself, but with a more limited scope	

Table 4. Preliminary World Heritage Nomination Workplan

No.	Task	Comments	Timing
		Identify experts to support the submission development through reviewing drafts (suggestions might include the International Planning History Society, Global Urban History Project, International Garden Cities Institute and possibly the International Federation of Surveyors)	
	Governments/community/stakeholder engagement	Initial task - Develop a strategy to promote understanding and encourage government/community/stakeholder support, including Aboriginal stakeholders and government heritage authorities - Implement the strategy	
	Government agencies' review/s	Initial task Presumably review by related local government Councils including the City of Adelaide, the SA Heritage Council, SA Department for Environment and Water, Australian Heritage Council and Commonwealth Department of the Environment	
	State government support/agreement	Initial task Building upon earlier engagement with State government agencies as part of other tasks, this task is the decision point for formal State government support to take the proposal to the Meeting of Environment Ministers (or other replacement mechanism)	
	Meeting of Environment Ministers agreement (given changes to COAG, it is assumed this or another mechanism will be established)	Initial task	
	Final government review	Initial task	
	Preparation of final Tentative List submission	Initial task	
	Despatch to the World Heritage Centre (WHC) by the Commonwealth	Initial task	
Nomination – General Tasks			
	Nomination planning	Initial task This workplan is a first draft version	
	Coordination	Ongoing task - Should include a review of current or possible additional committees or steering/reference groups to support the nomination - Identify lead person for nomination project and core team	
	Community/stakeholder consultation	Initial task Develop a communication strategy (this might include an evolving short	

Table 4. Preliminary World Heritage Nomination Workplan			
No.	Task	Comments	Timing
		nomination summary and other fact sheets to address issues, amongst other products) Implement the strategy	
	Draft Nomination (number of drafts TBA)	Later task	
	Expert review/s	Ongoing task - Maybe worth establishing a panel of reviewers whose support will be needed periodically, including World Heritage and subject matter experts – not clear if this group will meet or work separately - Includes international peer review, which might partly be addressed through an international workshop - Develop an indicative schedule for expert reviews	
	Government agencies' review/s	Later task	
	Printing of draft	Later task	
	Send draft nomination to WHC	Later task	
	WHC review of draft nomination	Later task	
	Final government review	Later task	
	Final Nomination	Later task	
	Nomination production	Later task	
	Despatch to WHC by the Commonwealth	Later task	
Nomination – Components of the Dossier			
1.	Identification of the Property		
1.a	Country (and State Party if different)	Later task	
1.b	State, Province or Region	Later task	
1.c	Name of Property	Initial task Important for the branding/recognition/publicity of the property, even if it may change later	
1.d	Geographical coordinates to the nearest second	Later task	
1.e	Maps and plans, showing the boundaries of the nominated property and buffer zone	Initial task - Source good quality topographical and cadastral base mapping - Generate base mapping of relevant attributes - Begin mapping of possible boundaries based on identified attributes - Refine as attributes are refined and other issues considered (integrity, authenticity, protection, management)	
1.f	Area of nominated property (ha.) and proposed buffer zone (ha.) Area of nominated property: _ ha	Later task	

Table 4. Preliminary World Heritage Nomination Workplan

No.	Task	Comments	Timing
	Buffer zone _____ ha Total _____ ha		
2.	Description		
2.a	Description of Property	Later task	
2.b	History and Development	Later task	
3.	Justification for Inscription		
3.1.a	Brief synthesis	Initial task	
3.1.b	Criteria under which inscription is proposed (and justification for inscription under these criteria)	Initial task • Development of the justification text to support/refine the criteria text • Develop text on the broader theme of migration, into which the South Australian example and systematic colonisation can be contextualised • Prepare summary text on the theme of European colonial settlement models, and the place of the Wakefield model within this context • Develop background text on the character of non-systematic colonisation, with examples • Develop background text on the Enlightenment/post-Enlightenment, and the impact on the development of model societies • Develop an understanding of the role of the city of Adelaide (eg. the town acres and more broadly) in the systematic colonisation story • Refine the description of the characteristics of systematic colonisation, including the size and variability of sections (farm units) • Ensure the presentation of systematic colonisation reflects both the idealised theory as well as the reality of its implementation, including a fair reading of positive and negative aspects • Develop an overview of the authoritative historical assessments of systematic colonisation, including whether there is a prevailing consensus about its importance • Prepare summary text on European colonial planned towns, and the place of British towns and Adelaide within this context • Otherwise draw on the initial research to inform the justification text • Revise the draft OUV in the light of the comparative analysis	
3.1.c	Statement of Integrity	Initial task • Ongoing identification and refinement of attributes	

Table 4. Preliminary World Heritage Nomination Workplan			
No.	Task	Comments	Timing
		Establish integrity of attributes and overall property	
3.1.d	Statement of Authenticity (for nominations made under criteria (i) to (vi))	Initial task Establish authenticity of attributes and overall property	
3.1.e	Protection and management requirements	Later task	
3.2	Comparative Analysis	Initial task - Develop the analysis, especially regarding other examples of systematic colonisation in the world and what landscape evidence exists of these, as well as European colonial planned towns - Also develop the analysis related to agricultural innovation - A close/closer check of Tentative Lists should be included	
3.3	Proposed Statement of Outstanding Universal Value	Initial task Based on inputs from other tasks	
4.	State of Conservation and factors affecting the Property		
4.a	Present state of conservation	Later task	
4.b	Factors affecting the property	Later task	
4.b(i)	Development Pressures (e.g., encroachment, adaptation, agriculture, mining)	Later task	
4.b(ii)	Environmental pressures (e.g., pollution, climate change, desertification)	Later task	
4.b(iii)	Natural disasters and risk preparedness (earthquakes, floods, fires, etc.)	Later task	
4.b(iv)	Responsible visitation at World Heritage sites	Later task	
4.b(v)	Number of inhabitants within the property and the buffer zone Estimated population located within: Area of nominated property Buffer zone Total Year	Later task	
5.	Protection and Management of the Property		
5.a	Ownership	Later task	
5.b	Protective designation	Later task	
5.c	Means of implementing protective measures.	Later task	
5.d	Existing plans related to municipality and region in which the proposed property is	Later task	

Table 4. Preliminary World Heritage Nomination Workplan

No.	Task	Comments	Timing
	located (e.g., regional or local plan, conservation plan, tourism development plan)		
5.e	Property management plan or other management system	Later task	
5.f	Sources and levels of finance	Later task	
5.g	Sources of expertise and training in conservation and management techniques	Later task	
5.h	Visitor facilities and infrastructure	Later task	
5.i	Policies and programmes related to the presentation and promotion of the property	Later task	
5.j	Staffing levels and expertise (professional, technical, maintenance)	Later task	
6.	Monitoring		
6.a	Key indicators for measuring state of conservation	Later task	
6.b	Administrative arrangements for monitoring property	Later task	
6.c	Results of previous reporting exercises	Later task	
7.	Documentation		
7.a	Photographs and audiovisual image inventory and authorization form	Later task	
7.b	Texts relating to protective designation, copies of property management plans or documented management systems and extracts of other plans relevant to the property	Later task	
7.c	Form and date of most recent records or inventory of property	Later task	
7.d	Address where inventory, records and archives are held	Later task	
7.e	Bibliography	Ongoing task	
8.	Contact Information of responsible authorities		
8.a	Preparer Name: Title: Address: City, Province/State, Country: Tel: Fax: E-mail:	Later task	
8.b	Official Local Institution/Agency	Later task	
8.c	Other Local Institutions	Later task	
8.d	Official Web address http://	Later task	

Table 4. Preliminary World Heritage Nomination Workplan			
No.	Task	Comments	Timing
	Contact name: E-mail:		
9.	Signature on behalf of the State Party	Later task	
Other Tasks			
	Development of management plan/system	Later task	
	Development of tourism management plan, including interpretation	Later task	

8.4 ADDITIONAL COMMENTS ABOUT DEVELOPING THE TENTATIVE LIST SUBMISSION

While it might be possible to proceed with developing a Tentative List submission based on current information, it would seem prudent to firstly undertake the initial research identified in the preliminary workplan above. This will provide a more robust basis for the submission, and the eventual nomination. It will also help persuade the Commonwealth of the merits of the case.

This would also allow time to begin engagement with stakeholders and the local community about the possibilities of World Heritage, especially if more than just the City Layout and Park Lands are likely to be included, which is recommended. The key issue may be the management implications if World Heritage inscription is achieved, and early work can be undertaken to begin the development of an understanding of those implications, for use in consultations.

It should be noted the Tentative List submission does not include or require boundary information. Such information is only provided with the nomination. Nonetheless, it is likely there will be keen interest from stakeholders and the local community in the possible/likely boundary, and developing a draft boundary should probably be an early priority.

Accordingly, the initial research and work undertaken for the Tentative List submission should usefully:

- strengthen the understanding of Outstanding Universal Value as much as possible, noting this task will continue through the development of the nomination dossier;
- refine the understanding of attributes;
- give some indication of possible draft boundaries, noting these are subject to further refinement; and
- develop initial information about likely management implications.

The tasks on OUV and attributes will be inputs to the submission, and the boundary and management implications information will be helpful for stakeholders including governments, their heritage authorities and the local community.

In order to address the issues noted regarding governments, community and stakeholders, including government heritage authorities, it seems worthwhile also developing a strategy to promote understanding and encourage support for the submission.

9. CONCLUSIONS

This review is underpinned by two simple questions, does the 1837 Adelaide town plan have World Heritage potential, and is a nomination better or worse if combined with the systematic colonisation settlement landscape of South Australia (otherwise known as the Mount Lofty Ranges)? The Adelaide plan does have substantial potential and there are overall advantages in a combined bid. The suggested core narrative of such a bid is as follows.

The Systematic Colonisation Settlement Landscape of South Australia, including the Adelaide plan, is of Outstanding Universal Value as evidence of the nineteenth century Wakefield systematic colonisation model, an important and influential model in the history of European free migration and colonial settlement. It is the most complete realisation of British colonial settlement planning and/or a major achievement of such colonial planning.

In addition to this summary conclusion, the key detailed conclusions from this review are provided below.

Key parts of the **rationale** for the Adelaide plan begin to present a potential core justification for World Heritage listing. However, based on previous World Heritage evaluations, any nomination should include the whole urban form based on the 1837 plan, beyond just the City Layout and Park Lands.

Within the **core narrative** about the Adelaide plan, two options appear worthy of further development:

- A Spatial Illustration of the Wakefield Model; and
- Progressive, Post-Enlightenment Town Planning through its Grid Plan and Encircling Park Lands, perhaps better expressed as Progressive, Post-Enlightenment Colonial Town Planning.

These two options may also draw in the other possibilities considered in the review, as supporting or component elements.

The stronger **World Heritage criteria** relevant to the proposed property are (ii) – especially the influence of British, and possibly Spanish, colonial town planning on Adelaide, (iv) and (vi).

Based on the findings of the analysis, **preliminary value statements** are offered for those criteria which appear worthy of further development and **relevant attributes** are identified.

The possible Adelaide plan nomination is best approached as a **cultural landscape** because it is a combined work of nature and people.

A further consideration of **New Zealand examples of systematic colonisation rural landscapes** found that the physical evidence of original rural settlement patterns in New Zealand either no longer remain, or they were never actually developed. Accordingly, South Australia has better examples of such rural landscapes. On the other hand, there are

comparisons to be drawn between the urban aspects of Adelaide and some New Zealand cities, such as Christchurch and Wellington.

With regard to the possibility of **a bid that combines the Adelaide plan and the systematic colonisation settlement landscape of South Australia**, the advantages of a combined bid are:

- it represents a substantially more complete portrayal of the colonial settlement model and the whole of the settlement system, which is more likely to be supported by ICOMOS;
- it includes key attributes reflecting the rural settlement dimension of the model, to complement the urban attributes; and
- it includes the colonial capital and the centre of settlement.

The problems of a combined bid are:

- the potentially greater complexity in developing a nomination, at least partly in terms of preparing the justification, but also with regard to management, stakeholder support (community as well as including a range of governments), resourcing and risk; and
- in the case of the systematic colonisation landscape, the boundaries are still to be defined.

In terms of potential Outstanding Universal Value, at this stage in the research, it is probably better to continue with the combined bid. Such a nomination has the more satisfying quality of embracing the whole colonial settlement system, and this will be a strength through the evaluation by ICOMOS.

In recommending the combined bid, this is not to suggest it should be finally decided that such a bid will be developed and nominated. Rather, that there are further stages of research to be undertaken, and this research will either continue to justify a combined bid or steer the potential nomination to a different option. The commitment should be made to further research on the combined bid, with points for review and reflection to ensure it remains the justified option.

The core narrative, attributes and area/landscape features of a combined bid are outlined.

A **preliminary workplan** for initial research, and developing the Tentative List submission and nomination, is provided. This relates to the combined bid of the 1837 Adelaide town plan and the systematic colonisation settlement landscape of South Australia.

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APPENDIX A: COPIES OF SELECT REFERENCES

A.1 US ICOMOS NEWSLETTER ITEM ON SAVANNAH

A.2 ICOMOS EVALUATION OF LUNENBURG OLD TOWN

APPENDIX B: HOME PEER REVIEW

REVIEW AND ASSESSMENT OF THE STATUS AND FEASIBILITY OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE'S WORLD HERITAGE BID FOR THE PARK LANDS AND CITY LAYOUT

Expert reviewer report

1. Qualifications and experience

1.1 Robert Home is Emeritus Professor in Land Management at Anglia Ruskin University, UK. He holds a PhD in Geography (London School of Economics), a Master's in History (Cambridge University), and a Diploma in Town Planning (Oxford Brookes University), and is member of the Royal Town Planning Institute.

1.2 He has published books and articles on law and urban development, and undertaken many research consultancies. Relevant publications are (2013) *Of planting and planning: The making of British colonial cities* (2nd ed, Spon), and chapter contributions to the *Routledge Handbook of Planning History*, *Urban Planning in Sub-Saharan Africa*, *Perspectives on the Right to Development*, and the *Oxford Handbook on Slums*. He is currently editing an essay collection on *Issues in African Urban Land Governance* (Springer Nature, publication date October 2020), and is on the editorial boards of *Planning Perspectives* and *Journal of African Real Estate Research*.

2. Unesco global strategy for World Heritage (WH) sites.

2.1 There are 1,121 inscribed WH Sites in 167 countries (July 2019 figures), and another 1735 on the tentative list under consideration. The inscribed list is classified as follows: 869 cultural, 213 natural and 39 mixture of the two. The past decade (2010-2019) saw an average of 21 new sites inscribed annually, so there is a waiting list of many years.

2.2 The WH Committee Global Strategy has since 1994 aimed to ensure 'a representative, balanced and credible WH list'.¹

2.3 Unesco organizes WH Sites into five geographic regions.² The Europe/North America region has the most (40% of the inscribed list), Africa the least (10%), and Asia/Pacific has 22%, with Australia ranked fifth in that region for number of sites (after China, India, Iran, and Japan). The WH Committee Global Strategy has identified a Eurocentric bias, with over-representation of towns and religious monuments, Christianity, and 'elitist' architecture, and under-representation of living cultures, and especially 'traditional cultures'.

2.4 The theme for World Heritage Day (held on 18 April each year) in 2020 is 'Shared Cultures, Shared Heritage, Shared Responsibility', reflecting the 'global context of heritage as part of cultural identity at a time of rapid population shift, conflict, and environmental uncertainty'.

¹ Sophia Labadi (2005) 'A review of the Global Strategy for a balanced, representative and credible World Heritage List 1994–2004', *Conservation and Management of Archaeological Sites*, 7:2, 89-102. Buckley, K (2014), The World Heritage Convention at 40: challenges for the work of ICOMOS, *Historic Environment*, 26:2, 38-52.

² The five regions are: Africa, Arab States, Asia/Pacific, Europe/North America, Latin America/Caribbean.

2.5 The WH strategy aims to benefit both the international and the local community, not just some intermediaries, and to strengthen connections between international and local. Benefits for local communities include respect for traditional lifestyles and investment of revenue (notably from tourism) in property, housing and educational facilities.³

2.6 The above are all relevant to any Adelaide proposal, which can expect a long wait to progress through the procedure, with no guarantee of success.

3. WH sites of urban planning

3.1 A number of WH sites are associated with particular architects (eg Horta, Lloyd Wright, Le Corbusier) and the Modern Movement (eg Brasilia, Bauhaus, Berlin housing). WH town planning sites in the UK include Saltaire and New Lanark (utopian industrial communities), and Bath and Edinburgh (Old and New Towns). Modern examples of town planning (19th/20th centuries) are arguably under-represented, although there have been recent inscriptions: White City Tel Aviv (Israel, 2003). Rabat (Morocco, 2012), Levuka (Fiji, 2013), and Asmara (Eritrea, 2017).

3.2 The adoption by the United Nations in 2015 of Sustainable Development Goals, particularly SDG11 (Cities), and the UN-Habitat New Urban Agenda, has been a recognition that over half the world's population now live in towns and cities, and also the importance of urban planning in managing that growth. There is a continuing tension between formal planned (rather than informal) urban settlements, and of surveying and governance arrangements. In the fifty years of the Unesco WH register, the number of academic and professional bodies concerned with urban planning has grown, for example the World Urban Forum (and regional versions), the International Planning History Society and the Global Urban History Project, which reach beyond Europe and North America.

4. Rationale and core narrative

4.1 Core narrative. The draft review and assessment offers this core narrative in the executive summary, developed in sections 2 and 3:

The Systematic Colonisation Settlement Landscape of South Australia, including the Adelaide plan, is of Outstanding Universal Value as evidence of the 19th century Wakefield systematic colonisation model, an important and influential model in the history of European free migration and colonial settlement. It is the most complete realisation of British colonial settlement planning and/or a major achievement of such colonial planning.

That proposed narrative contains five mentions of colonial or colonisation, but white settler colonialism represents a Eurocentric focus that the WH Global Strategy seeks to move away from.⁴ The draft review also cites Lunenburg (inscribed as WH in 1995), a planned British colonial settlement which deserves mention in any application, but is much smaller and was inscribed a quarter-century ago.

4.2 Commenting in turn on the seven elements proposed in support of the core narrative (secs. 3.1-3.7):

3.1 'A Spatial Illustration of the Wakefield Model' (sec. 3.1) may not be seen as justifying WH status (4.1 above).

³ *Linking Universal and Local Values: Managing a Sustainable Future for World Heritage* Conference Netherlands National Commission for UNESCO 2003.

⁴ Veracini, Lorenzo (2010). *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview*. Hampshire, UK: Palgrave MacMillan. *Routledge Handbook of the History of Settler Colonialism* (2016). Pedersen & Elkins *Settler Colonialism in 20th century* (2005).

3.2 and 3.3 ('Progressive, Post-Enlightenment Town Planning') are more promising, as discussed below.

3.4 ('One of few examples of a city plan based on a grid design and still substantially intact') does not seem to acknowledge other examples of intact grid plans, some of them WH sites such as Cuenca (Ecuador, inscribed 1999).⁵

3.5 ('Response to Slum Conditions in the United Kingdom'). This is true of much of the town planning movement, but I suggest of marginal importance for this core narrative.

3.6 ('Adelaide as a Precursor to the Garden City Movement') is promising. Apart from the Modern Movement, the garden cities and town planning movement has been unquestionably a major modern influence, with examples in Europe, Russia, China, Japan, South America, and Africa. It could relate to criterion (vi): living traditions of outstanding universal significance (preferably used in conjunction with other criteria). I consider that it deserves greater recognition at WH level but is not recognised (to my knowledge) by WH inscriptions hitherto, apart from Brasilia and White City Tel Aviv. The latter, which has a strong Patrick Geddes connection, successfully argued for criterion (ii), as:

[A] synthesis of outstanding significance of the various trends of the Modern Movement in architecture and town planning in the early part of the 20th century. Such influences were adapted to the cultural and climatic conditions of the place, as well as being integrated with local traditions.

3.7 ('The First Planned Public Park System') The draft review considers that it presents a number of difficulties and does not seem worth pursuing further. I do, however, propose that the concept of encircling parklands, if linked to Green Belts, has promise for any submission, and suggest some additional references below.⁶

4.3 Section 4 of the draft review assesses these against WH criteria, and I broadly agree, but suggest changing the emphasis towards garden cities and green belts. The best options for going forward in my view are 3.2, 3.3 and 3.7, set against criteria (ii) (iv) and (vi). Important components in any submission will be the statements on Outstanding Universal Value, authenticity, integrity, protection and management, and comparative analysis. I recommend strengthening the core narrative to include the role of demarcating land by 'scientific survey' (Colonel Light)⁷, and the themes of green belt/public reserve and garden city movement. These would bring the post-enlightenment theme into the modern era and relate it more explicitly to recent international developments (eg SDG 11 and New Urban Agenda). They would also support a boundary delimitation that includes Colonel Light Suburb and/or North Adelaide.

5. Possible combined bid

5.1 Mount Lofty Ranges (Sections 5, 6 & 7). The draft review mentioned the lack of detail about exact locations, and I consider that including Mount Lofty within the delimitation of boundaries would not strengthen a WH application, but deserves mention in the documentation.

5.2 Combining garden cities into a future multiple transnational inscription. There is an existing WH comparator in 'The Architectural Work of Le Corbusier, an Outstanding Contribution to the Modern Movement' (inscribed 2016), which is a serial property with 17 sites in seven countries (France, Argentina, Belgium, Germany, India, Japan, Switzerland). The emphasis is on 'the way the

⁵ Santa Ana de los Ríos de Cuenca Ecuador 'still observes the formal orthogonal town plan that it has respected for 400 years', according to its nomination document. The Wikipedia entry 'Grid plan' lists many examples from different regions.

⁶ The Wikipedia entry 'Green belts' lists many examples from different regions.

⁷ For 'scientific survey' see R. Home (2006), 'Scientific survey and land settlement in British colonialism, with particular reference to land tenure reform in the Middle East 1920-50', *Planning Perspectives* 21(1): 1-22 (attached).

sites convey the innovative nature of the buildings and the influence they have had all over the world'. The Garden Cities Movement (and garden suburbs) can provide examples from different regions and countries.⁸ Such a serial list would take decades to progress, but an Adelaide bid could initiate the process, if supported by the proposed international panel, and the comparative analysis section could develop the concept.

6. Some comments on detail

6.1 Boundaries. The draft Review and Assessment (sec. 2.4) identified a likely boundary for possible WH status - the City Layout and Park Lands - but expressed concern about the failure to progress Savannah's tentative list application because it did not include structures or town blocks. If the garden city aspect for Adelaide is developed I would recommend including the park lands, a representative square within the square mile (my preference would be Light Square with its surveying instruments monument), and also Colonel Light Suburb and/or North Adelaide. The larger the area included, the greater the management challenges, and the delimitation of boundaries requires careful consideration, especially linked to the regulatory provisions in the conservation and management section of the documentation.

6.2 A minor correction. The draft Review and Assessment 3.2/3.3 quotes the National Heritage place record:

In 1830, retired English naval officer Allen Gardiner published *Friend of Australia* under the name of T J Maslen, outlining his idea of a model town for the Australian colonies. (DAWE 2020)

This, however, was corrected in *Home Of Planting and Planning* (fn26 on p34, 1st edition):

Not much seems to be known about Maslen, which is surprising given his importance in the history of the Green Belt concept. Williams (1974) identified him as a pseudonym of Captain Allen F. Gardiner (1794–1851), and I accepted this in an article (Home 1991b), adding further details of Gardiner's exotic career (he was an evangelist and missionary who died of starvation in Tierra del Fuego setting up a mission). Subsequently, however, David Elder has pointed out to me that we are in error because of a misinterpreted flysheet dedication, and Maslen was not Gardiner at all... Thomas John Maslen (1787–?1856), as it now appears, was not a pseudonym at all, but, as he states in his book, a former officer of the East India Company.'

6.3 The research gaps (sec. 8 of the draft review) are lengthy, and amount to a substantial academic research agenda that could encompass many doctoral dissertations. There is a wider existing literature than mentioned in the review references (see below). Case studies of other World Heritage cities should be included in the comparative analysis.

6.4 Establishing a panel of reviewers, perhaps with international peer review and an international workshop (Sec. 8 of the draft review) is important. Such a panel could include representation from the International Planning History Society, Global Urban History Project, and the International Garden Cities Institute (Letchworth Garden City Heritage Foundation), but also FIG (International Federation of Surveyors) for the surveying and SDG 11 aspects, and Adelaide local community stake-holders. Beware, however, of the possible criticism about 'intermediaries' mentioned in 2.5 above.

⁸ Garden Cities Movement (and garden suburbs) can provide examples from: South America: Ciudad Jardin Lomas del Palomar (Buenos Aires, Argentina), Vina del Mar, Chile, Cianorte, Brazil, Maringa, Brazil. Asia: Den-en-chofu, Ōta, Tokyo, Japan, Kowloon Tong, Kowloon, Hong Kong, China, Menteng, Jakarta, Indonesia, Kebayoran Baru, Jakarta, Indonesia, Sha Tin, Hong Kong, Tel Aviv, Israel. Africa: Edgemoor, Cape Town, South Africa, Pinehurst, , South Africa, Pinelands, Cape Town, South Africa.

6.5 Future developments. Sec. 8 of the draft review states: 'Re-assure stakeholders that a World Heritage inscription of the whole of the City of Adelaide will not impose unreasonable constraints on modern existing or future developments.' The risk of a future WH property being added to the endangered list should be anticipated, as occurred with Vienna (2015) and Liverpool (2012).⁹ This could be addressed by careful delimitation of boundaries, perhaps in consultation with local policy planners.

6.6 References (sec. 10 of the draft review). If the garden city and green belt case is pursued, then supporting references would need to be reviewed to reduce the number, but include the following:

Andrés Duany, Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk, and Albert Aliminana, *The New Civic Art: Elements of Town Planning* (New York: Rizzoli, 2003).

Peter Hall and Colin Ward, *Sociable Cities: The 21st-Century Reinvention of the Garden City* (New York: Routledge, 2014).

Hardy, Dennis *From Garden Cities to New Towns: Campaigning for Town and Country Planning, 1899-1946*, (London: E & F.N. Spon, 1991).

Robert A. M. Stern, David Fishman, and Jacob Tilove, *Paradise Planned: The Garden Suburb and the Modern City* (New York: Montacelli Press, 2013)

Stephen V. Ward, *Peaceful Path: Building Garden Cities and New Towns* (Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press, 2016).

7. Conclusions

I commend the initiative and would support a proposal based upon progressive town planning (both post-enlightenment and more modern), garden city and green belt themes, linked to criteria (ii), (iv) and (vi). Support from academic and professional bodies, and from local community stakeholders, will be more important than further academic research. The work plan should focus upon supporting the statement of outstanding universal value with careful drafting of sections on delimitation of boundaries, conservation and management, authenticity and integrity, and comparative evaluation.

R.K. Home, 13 July 2020

⁹ The Vienna report stated: 'The Vienna Ice-Skating Club—Intercontinental Hotel project fails to comply fully with previous Committee decisions, notably concerning the height of new constructions, which will impact adversely the outstanding universal value of the site.' The Liverpool report stated: 'the proposed construction of Liverpool Waters, a massive redevelopment of the historic docklands north of the city centre. The Committee contended that the development will extend the city centre significantly and alter the skyline and profile of the site inscribed on the World Heritage List in 2004. Furthermore, experts argued that the redevelopment scheme will fragment and isolate the different dock areas visually'.

ATTACHED DOCUMENTS

Asmara Proposed World Heritage Site: Integrated Management Plan 2016-2021.

Buckley, K. (2014), 'The World Heritage Convention at 40: challenges for the work of ICOMOS', *Historic Environment*, 26 (2): 38-52.

Home, R. (2006), 'Scientific survey and land settlement in British colonialism, with particular reference to land tenure reform in the Middle East 1920-50', *Planning Perspectives* 21(1): 1-22.

Jokilehto J. (2006), 'World Heritage: Defining the outstanding universal value', *City & Time*, 2 (2): 1.

The Architectural Work of Le Corbusier (2016) (France, Argentina, Belgium, Germany, India, Japan, Switzerland) WH nomination text, No 1321.

Levuka (2013), *Levuka Historical Port Town*, WH Nomination Text.

MacDonald, G. (2013) *Fixing boundaries: An international review of Green Belt boundaries*. Major Research Paper, Master of Planning in Urban Development, Ryerson University (Canada).

White City of Tel-Aviv -- the Modern Movement (2003), WH Nomination Text.