

CONSERVATION OF THE URBAN LANDSCAPE

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Conservationists have, quite rightly, been primarily concerned with the conservation of our natural landscape and resources.

The case for a conservationist attitude to the urban landscape, where most of us live, is just as cogent.

The same sort of approach is necessary for the urban eco-system as in considering the delicately balanced ecology of some natural bush environment. The ecological principle that any change within an environment will cause other changes, perhaps undesirable, must be drummed home when choices and decisions are being made in our cities and towns.

Our unconcern and lack of knowledge of the effect of changes in the urban environment on the communities that live there is matched only by our indifference to the despoliation of our natural environments and the communities that live in them.

Growth and change in our cities is constant and rapid. The systematic study of the effect of these changes on the urban environment is embryonic. The political and management systems that administer our cities are unable to cope with the pace of change. As a result, our best buildings and urban areas are being damaged and reduced almost by default. Our immediate concern must be the conservation of these buildings and areas. The moral and emotional argument is clear.

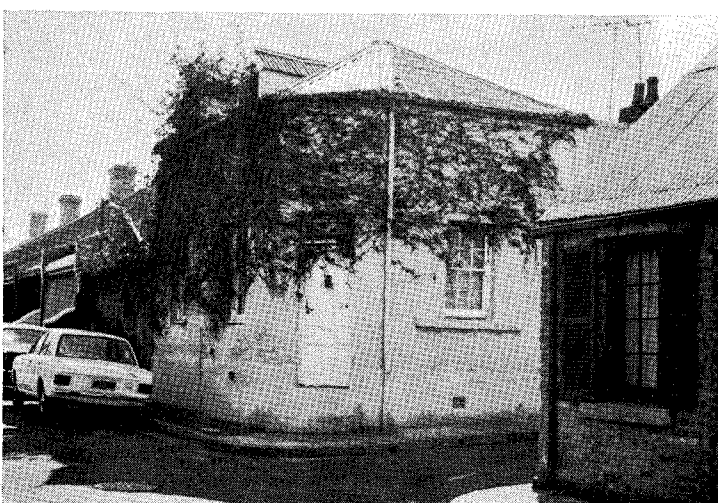
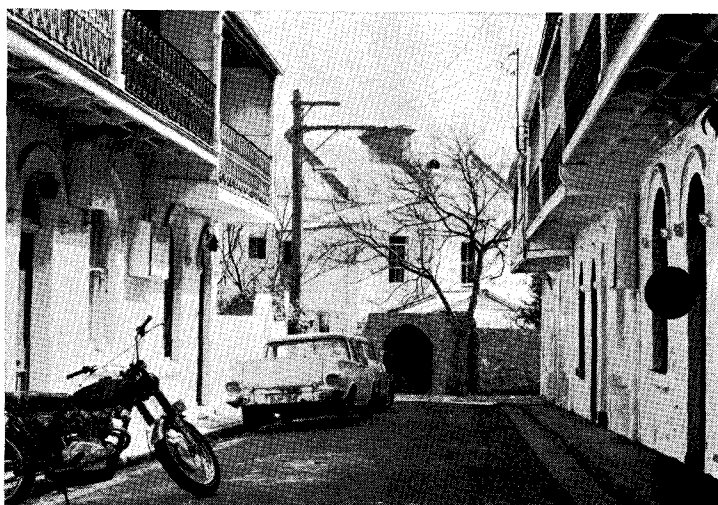
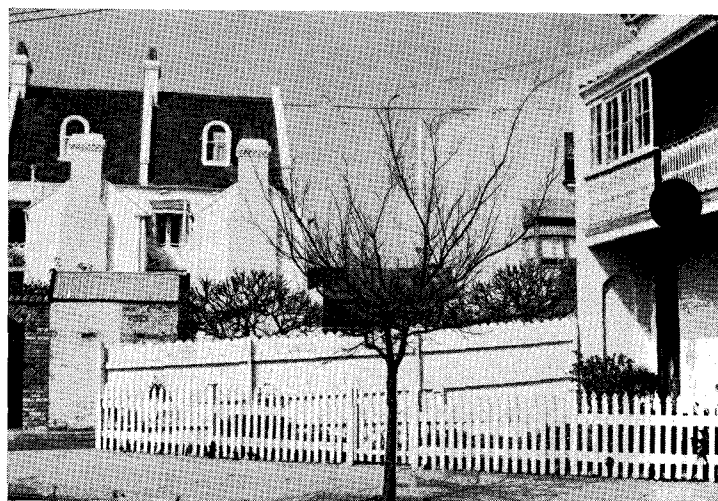
Australians have so little of the built past to remind them of their history that those buildings and areas of value remaining should be kept as a guide by which to judge the present and determine the future. Conservation of these buildings and areas is necessary, not just for their contrasting visual importance in the city, but because we could be said to be custodians of the past for the future. If they go, the opportunity will be lost forever to see and feel a greatness as it existed. History will exist only in books. A living and vital city or town will always retain some examples of its past. If we let progress take its toll, we not only lose part of our visual inheritance, we somehow put a low value on man himself.

There is an Australian tendency to undervalue the quality and uniqueness of some parts of urban Australia in much the same way as earlier Australians undervalued the Australian landscape and painted it in European terms. In arguing for the conservation of the Paddington area in Sydney before a planning enquiry, Art-Historian Professor Bernard Smith pointed out that "it is to be remembered that the study of nineteenth-century architecture is a recent development. When the field has been covered more thoroughly than it has been, I am of the firm opinion that the Paddington area will become quite famous overseas as an outstanding example of late nineteenth-century terrace development. It may indeed be the finest example surviving . . . It compares more than favourably with better-known historic districts in the USA, eg the Charleston historic area, the squares of Savannah, the vieux carré of New Orleans."

The same could be said of many other places not as large as Paddington. Some of the squares of Carlton in Melbourne, for example, and the delightful North Adelaide area will be increasingly appreciated as uniquely Australian and must be conserved.

In the same way that scientists will be unable to study unique plant and animal communities if their environments are not conserved, the study of our cultural history will be impaired if unique buildings and urban areas are not conserved—Bernard Smith again on Paddington: "The preservation of the area, apart from its predictable architectural fame as an outstanding example of late nineteenth-century estate development, and a culmination of the balconied terrace type, has a very special importance for the history of Australian architecture. It is no longer possible to trace the details of the history of colonial Georgian in Australia from the surviving monuments, for some quite crucial links in that history, such as Bungarribee, have been demolished. In preserving Paddington we shall be preserving a very important chapter in the history of the verandah and balcony elements which are almost endemic to Australian architecture, and provide it with a great deal of whatever continuity it may possess."

The conservation of the natural or the urban environment is, of course, in conflict with uncontrolled economic development, which will seek the greatest freedom from inhibition of any sort. It isn't really a question of that old political bug-a-boo—planning or not planning—but of who does the planning and with what values. An English Architect, Lionel Brett, has said, "To let it be thought that by letting everything rip we can achieve a civilised, rich and meaningful environment, would simply mean in an age as powerful as ours that someone else would do the planning." Should the community plan which old buildings should



community participation in the planning process, that the act of participating enables a community to find itself, is certainly true of Paddington. The struggle to conserve the area has created an interesting and interested community. Perhaps it could be argued that the loss of these community values is the ecological adjustment made for survival in more dispersed, more mobile and less self-centred suburban areas. In zoning Paddington as a conservation area the only planning control laid down by the Minister was that only two or three-storey terrace houses would be allowed to be built in the area. This prevented the demolition of terrace houses to build multi-storey flats, and ensures that redevelopment of any odd sites will be in scale and character with the area. The society has fleshed this simple control out into the bones of planning ordinance that covers the nitty-gritty things like set-backs, floor space ratios, site coverage, parking requirements, etc, and which suggests some controls on materials to ensure any new buildings are in harmony with the area. Control of appearance of new buildings is a vexed and difficult question. Not only is it difficult to decide how to control appearance, but it is difficult to decide to what detail controls should go. There is obviously a wide divergence of opinion about appearance, even amongst members of the Paddington Society. Some of these people have a sincere love of Victorian style architecture and a dislike for all things "modern" in design. Others, including the architect members, prefer modern design but like Paddington because of its convenience, its "urbaneness" and its sense of community. Also, many of those who profess a love for the "old" are entirely ignorant of architectural style, as can be seen by the numerous "colonial restorations" of the late Victorian houses, which would make the architectural historian or purist shudder.

Restoration and renovation

The conflict between the demands of an historic restoration and those of making a modern, usable building, particularly a house for today's family life, have been pointed out by architect and historian Professor Max Freeland. He says: "It is impossible to reconcile the two requirements successfully. While it is possible, merely by avoiding the incongruous, to make an old building attractive and at the same time retain much of the character and atmosphere of an earlier age, the result should not be supposed to be an historic restoration—it is a renovation and a romantic one at that". With these points in mind it is thought that a fair amount of freedom should be given to individual taste, because the area is large enough to take the resultant diversity as long as the scale and pattern of any new building is consistent. The aim, then, is to preserve this scale without forcing a fake "old world" character onto new buildings. Paddington is a living environment which should be conserved in the best sense, not "preserved". With existing houses there must be a complete ban on closing in the whole front (top and bottom) of a house, and strong discouragement for closing in upper floor verandahs, a practice so common in the past. It would also be desirable to place restrictions on the use of certain materials, such as red texture brick, which are grossly out of character with the existing materials. Conservation of a desirable environment sympathetic to the species it supports must attempt to cope with all aspects of the changing environment. The Paddington Society's proposals to improve the total amenity of the area were many and varied. They included a comprehensive street tree-planting programme, a one-way system of traffic circulation to make narrow streets safe, demolition of ugly hoardings, objections to smoky chimneys, schemes for the revitalisation of a

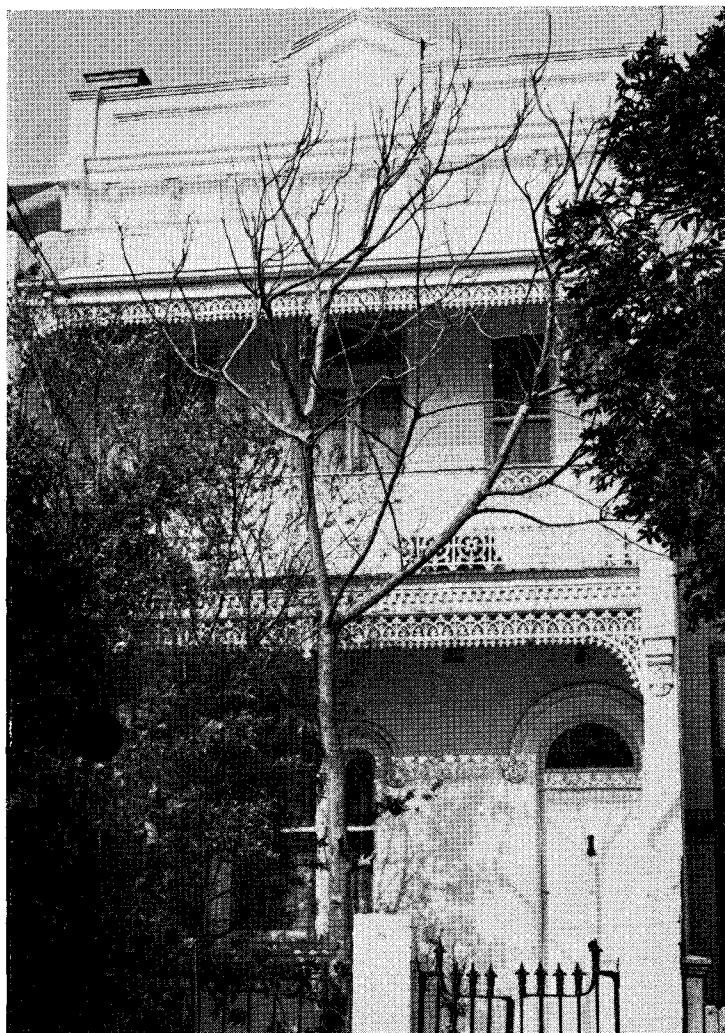
traditional, rather dead shopping strip with the provision of some off-street parking coupled with a proposal to close a narrow street as a shopping mall, objections to undesirable or badly run industries and various attempts to reduce noise. Many proposals have been made for closing or reclaiming small unnecessary sections of street in the residential areas to create small play spaces and open squares or places. Bus services were improved when a survey made by the society showed that the service wasn't as good as the standard claimed by the Department of Government Transport. Proposals have been made for existing playgrounds to be improved, constant vigilance was kept on all development proposals in the area and we have tried to get electric wires underground. Attempts have been made to improve Council garbage removal services and library services and to stop arbitrary lopping of trees and the use of dangerous pesticides and weed killers by Council. There is a great scope for many simple, low-cost streetscape improvements, like the small squares mentioned above in all urban areas, as they can make an enormous difference to the quality of the environment at the level of the ordinary citizen. They make the planning process visible and show that justice is being done. All too often Councils are so concerned with the large, pressing problems, like traffic congestion (that they can't solve anyhow!), that they never get around to considering the small things that make a great difference—the tree and seat that the old-age pensioner or mother with small children can use.

Fortunately, Paddington has been increasingly protected by natural economic forces. Values of houses have increased three to four times over a period of six years, and these values (currently around \$30,000-\$35,000 for a 15ft wide two-storey terrace house) had made it quite uneconomic for developers to acquire enough houses to give sufficient site area for flats, even before the zoning had been changed. This sort of protection by market forces is obviously very helpful. It doesn't always occur, however, and it is important that the most valuable areas of our cities and towns be legally protected before it is too late. Once commercial redevelopment starts, a chain reaction commences that tends to downgrade older buildings and bring about more redevelopment. Such redevelopment seems to be increasing in North Adelaide and I want to make a strong plea to the Minister to freeze the area, to not allow any more new development until a conservation plan can be worked out for this charming area.

North Adelaide must be made a conservation area. From Wellington Square to the Victorian houses in Barnard Street, the old stone sea captains' houses at the west end of Molesworth Street, and the rows of workmen's cottages in Stanley Street, the area has a charm, diversity and quality that merits its conservation. There are many individual buildings, like the Oxford Hotel in O'Connell Street, the hotel in Tynt Street, the Police Station in Archer Street and that magnificently restored Georgian/Regency house, No 62, in the same street, that are outstanding examples of our architectural heritage. We will all be the poorer if they are allowed to disappear.

References

1. "Estate Subdivision Paddington 1875 to 1890", Max J. Kelly (Australian Economic History Review, Volume X, No 2, September, 1970).
2. "Extent, Progress and Location of Rehabilitation Activity in Paddington", John Roseth (Planning Research Centre, University of Sydney, 1967).
3. Paper presented at 1969 Weekend Workshop of Australian Planning Institute (NSW Division).
4. "Urban Australia", by George Clarke. "A Chapter in Australian Society", ed. Davies and Encel (Cheshire, 2nd edition).



Photographs: Donald Gazzard T. Dorrrough

be conserved or should the petrol companies decide? That is the real issue.

There have been varying planning approaches in different countries to urban conservation controls. In England, there has been a long history of interest in preservation of historic buildings. By the action of various trusts, particularly the National Trust, which is a non-government organisation, a great number of old buildings are preserved. The government has also, over the last 80 years, enacted quite strong legislation to protect 'Listed Buildings' and 'Scheduled Ancient Monuments' and provides grants for their restoration and upkeep.

In 1967, however, a new Act aimed at protecting whole areas of architectural and historic interest, 'The Civic Amenities Act, 1967', was introduced. This Act requires local planning authorities to designate 'conservation areas'. These are 'areas of special architectural or historic interest, the character and appearance of which it is desirable to preserve or enhance'.

The local planning authorities and the Minister must pay special attention to the character and appearance of these areas when exercising their powers of planning control.

Conservation policies

Applications for permission to carry out development that would affect the character of these areas must be advertised, and the views expressed by the public must be taken into account by the planning authority before they decide the application.

Concurrently with the passing of this Act the Ministry of Housing and Local Government commissioned four reports by independent consultants on the historic towns of Bath, Chester, Chichester and York. These reports were to examine how conservation policies might be sensibly implemented in these, and other, historic towns.

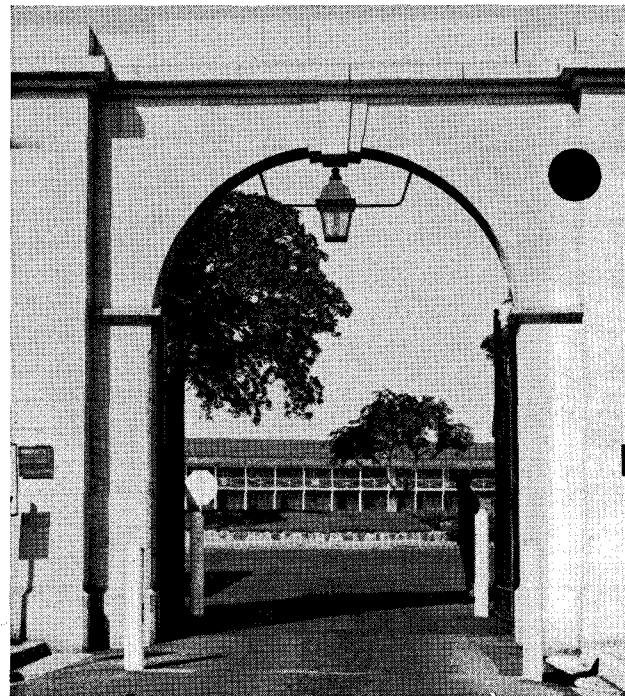
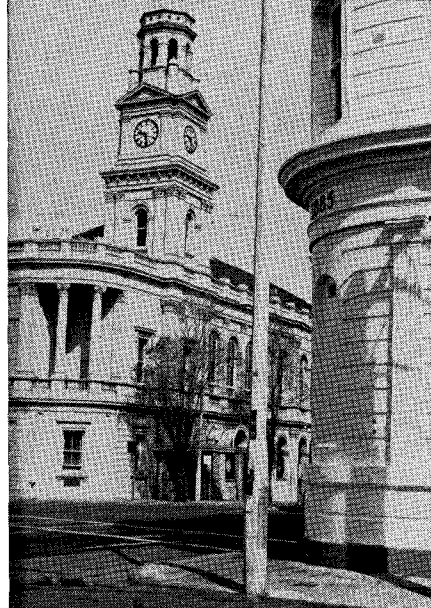
The majority conclusion from these reports is that the system of 'Listed Buildings' must be extended and made more comprehensive as a positive protection for all important structures in a conservation area (not just buildings) and that the government must be prepared to spend much more in grants and loans for restoration and repair of protected buildings. One report does make the point, however, that *'the key to success lies not so much in direct aid as in the normal process of planning: the removal of conflicting uses, the diversion of traffic and the deflection onto other sites of pressure for redevelopment'*.

In the USA there has been a great loss of historic buildings (estimated at 40% loss since 1940), but at the same time a very rapid growth of 'Historic District' architectural controls (over 60 such districts existed in 1964). Their spread has been encouraged by court rulings that such controls are 'within the constitutional bounds of due process and general welfare and are not a compensatable deprivation of property'.

The American approach to laws for the preservation of Historic Districts can be summed up:

1. Designates a specific historic district to be controlled.
2. Establishes a *board* or *commission* to administer the law.
3. Requires that no changes be made to an exterior architectural feature of a structure within the district until plans are submitted to the board, and the board has ruled that the changes are appropriate to the architectural character of the district.
4. Provides for appeals from decisions of the board and for penalties for infractions.

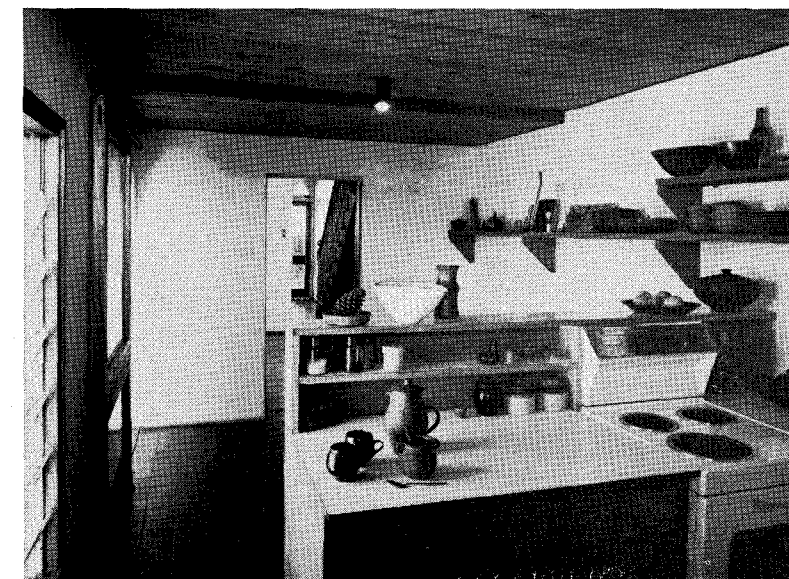
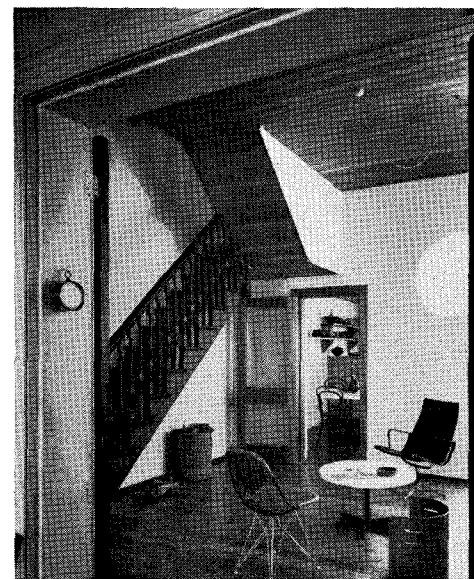
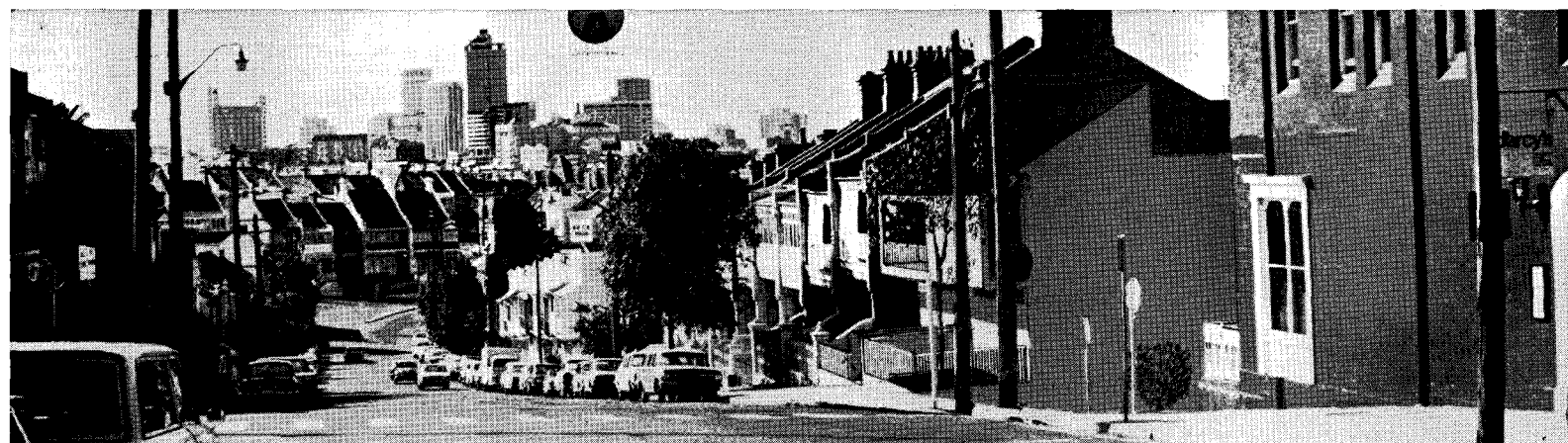
One Report points out that if the Historic District is to be successful, *it needs a majority of buildings of the right style, reasonably economic maintenance of the*



buildings in that style, enthusiastic endorsement of a majority of the residents, continual vigilance from some local civic organisation and a properly drawn law.

National Trusts have been active in recent years in most Australian States in preserving individual buildings, although limited finances greatly restrict the numbers involved. Most planning ordinances, too, have some preservation provisions. In New South Wales the Cumberland County Council ordinance, later adopted by the State Planning Authority and most local councils, allows the responsible authority to declare buildings to be of architectural or historic importance. However, it also stipulates that, upon the request of the owner, the responsible authority must purchase any property so declared. This provision has naturally resulted in very limited use of these powers. In South Australia, the State Planning Authority drafted planning regulations for buildings and sites of architectural or historical interest in 1970 and set down seventeen buildings for preservation under these regulations (including four in North Adelaide). The regulations provide for compensation to be paid, calculated on the basis of the difference in value of the land as it is now and what it would be if permission to develop the land were given. These regulations have never been adopted.

Recently the Minister for Lands proposed to make Berrima in New South Wales an 'Historic Site' under



Photographs: David Moore

but it bears thinking about and one wonders, if the identical areas were considered today, whether the view that they were slums and nothing less than total clearance would suffice, would prevail. The ecology of urban change is made up of the continuing process of preservation, rehabilitation (ie adaptation to change) and redevelopment. All are important and we will be husbanding our scarce resources as well as causing less social disruption and unhappiness if we look upon the need to change our older neighbourhoods as a type of conservation cycle where some buildings are preserved, some rehabilitated or modernised, and those past redemption rebuilt. This should be combined with attempts to improve the amenity of our neighbourhoods and to assimilate the impact of increasing numbers of cars. Community links and associations will be reinforced and made stronger if this is done with full public participation. This sort of approach would tend to avoid the sort of segregation and social uniformity that Hugh Stretton attacks in his book 'Ideas for Australian Cities'.

Paddington is interestingly atypical of other Sydney suburbs in ways that make it more diverse and, to my mind, more interesting. Clearly one can't attribute the diversity to any one simple cause, but it's also clear from the way new suburbs develop, from settled older suburbs and from what happens when older suburbs are redeveloped wholesale, that they tend to get populations that are biased heavily one way or the other. They are either heavily weighted in age distribution, or in social and economic grouping.

The proportions of the population in different age groups is more evenly distributed across the board in Paddington, there is a higher proportion of the population in the workforce and the distribution into occupation and economic groupings is also much more evenly distributed than most Sydney suburbs. Only 62% of the Paddington population at the 1966 Census were Australian born as against a metropolitan average of 78%.

Mumford's dictum about the educative value of

political way to achieve its objectives, had refused to enter local government politics directly. However, constant frustration with the three Labor Party aldermen currently representing the area, who have consistently opposed all Paddington Society proposals, has led to a decision to contest elections. One of the early successful persuasive efforts of the Paddington Society was on the various lending authorities, who at that stage would not lend on houses as old as the average Paddington terrace house. A large number of inspections of renovated houses were arranged for the leading lending authorities, and this evidence, coupled with rising values, has persuaded most of them to relax their attitudes to lending on old buildings. The Paddington Society has always been conservation minded in the broadest sense, giving moral and financial support to many conservation causes from Colong to Clutha, and attacking pollution in the area long before this became a popular issue. I must say modestly, however, that the success of the Paddington Society in defeating new through road and major road-widening proposals and getting the area zoned as a conservation area cannot be subscribed to the society's efforts alone. There were a number of contributing factors, not least the "sympathetic" attitude of the Minister for Local Government in appointing a special commission of enquiry just prior to a general election, to relieve pressure in what was at that time, fortuitously, a swinging seat!

Need for public participation

The rise of local action groups (there are now over a dozen in Sydney) points out the obvious need for greater public participation in the planning process. Olympian planning from on high, done secretly in back rooms and then launched on a public who can only object, inevitably breeds distrust and suspicion. My office has successfully used techniques of involving the public in the process of planning in Battery Point in Hobart, and in Darling Point and the Artarmon area in Sydney, and on all these occasions, apart from the valuable insights gained by the planners into the complex communities they were studying, confidence was engendered in what was being attempted and public acceptance of the final schemes has been very good. Planning is, after all, like politics, the art of the possible. We live in a democracy and are planning for an increasingly aware urban population. Planners who believe that only they truly understand the public interest and who ignore the interested public will do so at their own risk. They should remember the salutary tale of the planners in Sydney's Hunters Hill, who followed the "development" policy of the local Council and didn't adequately seek out and consider the views of a local conservation group, the Hunters Hill Trust. They were embarrassed when the Trust contested and won all seats at the next Council elections and forced them to change the plans!

The conventional wisdom of post-war planning on inner area redevelopment was, of course, closely bound up with the idea of stopping suburban sprawl by housing more people in inner areas like Paddington. If indeed this were the case, then the desire to conserve desirable places like Paddington would be in conflict with the desire to prevent sprawl and conserve the countryside.

My partner, George Clarke, has discussed this point in a recent book.⁴

"It is a popular fallacy that increases in the site density of dwelling units automatically lead to increases in the broad area density of population. We have, for example, suffered prominent architects recommending that the wholesale redevelopment of inner suburbs with multi-storey or high-density flats would reduce or 'alleviate' or even eliminate the 'problem' of horizontal metropolitan sprawl. Yet it is

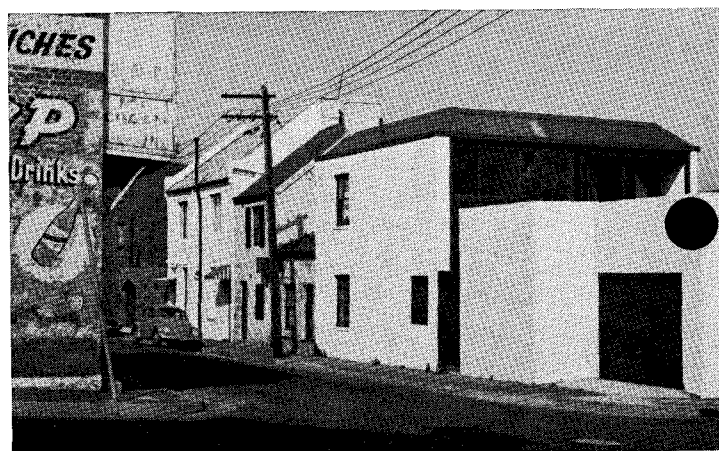
an Australia-wide phenomenon that those local government areas where most new flats are being built are at the same time losing, or barely maintaining, total population. The explanation lies in the fact that the net area of residential land constantly shrinks as a percentage of the total area of a neighbourhood, district or local government area, in fairly direct relationship with closeness to the central business district and with increases in net site density.

Residential land within the inner and middle metropolitan ring suburbs is constantly being taken out of residential production and devoted to road widenings, new expressways and freeways, car parking, commercial buildings and social and educational facilities. As individual site densities increase, demand for car parking, commercial and social facilities increases. If a few sites are intensively redeveloped with high-rise flats for Housing Commission families, there are usually needs for additional ground area to be devoted to schools, play areas, parks and other community or tenant facilities. If these are not provided, then additional social problems result.

As individual sites are intensively redeveloped for middle and upper income groups, the site population density which can be achieved is limited, not merely by amenity or social considerations, but much more strictly by the amount of car parking which it is physically and economically possible to provide." A slum clearance project recently quoted in Sydney had, in round figures, 75 acres redeveloped at a cost of \$25 million (excluding land costs) and resulted in an average density of 130 people per acre.

The existing density of approximately 216 acres of Paddington, based on 1966 Census figures, is around 60 people per gross acre or between 90 and 100 people per net acre.

Now quoted population densities have to be viewed with suspicion, as they are capable of much casual, accidental or deliberate distortion. It is not suggested the redevelopment area quoted above was as unique or cohesive as Paddington or as suited to rehabilitation,

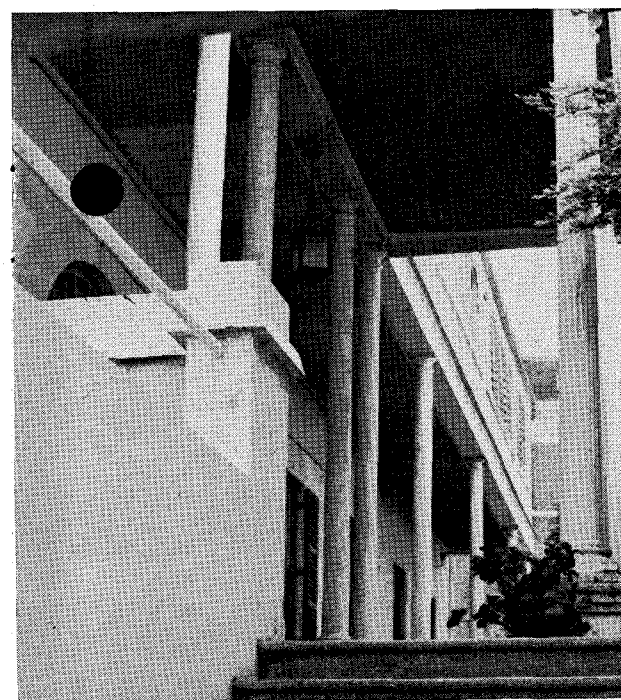


Two contemporary buildings which harmonise with the scale and the materials of Victorian Paddington in the way envisaged by the Paddington Society proposals.

Above: a new house on a small corner site.

Above right: a drawing of a proposed house is super-imposed (second building from right) on a photograph of the existing street.

Right: examples of converted interiors in a typical Paddington terrace house.



This type of regulation. The proposal to declare the village historic was supported by a promise of the public acquisition of properties if the owners so desired, and a proposal for tight controls over development, though no embargo was envisaged. A considerable amount of local opposition was received, however, despite endorsement by the National Trust and the Berrima Trust, so the proposal was dropped. Thus, even a modest proposal such as this (Berrima is only a small village) encountered great difficulties. An alternative approach would be to rely more on the normal process of planning. One relevant example in Australia is the Battery Point Scheme, which was carried out by Clarke, Gazzard and Partners for the Hobart City Council and approved in July, 1969. Battery Point is an old area of Hobart containing a number of buildings and groups of buildings which are considered to be of some historic or architectural importance.

The Scheme uses a combination of the following points:

1. Listing particular "buildings, curtilages and objects" to be preserved.
2. Creating special "Historic Zones" within the area where approval of development applications may be subject to a report from the National Trust or a special committee of qualified persons and will be subject to special architectural and townscape consideration.

3. Use of normal planning controls of land use, plot area, site coverage, setbacks, plot ratio, height and car parking requirements. These vary from zone to zone within the area, depending upon the desired character.

4. Use of positive works by the council, such as the creation of new streets and car parks, clearing of some existing streets, creation of pedestrian paths and malls and tree-planting schemes to enhance the environment, improve tourist facilities, and encourage redevelopment in certain areas.

The history of Paddington—boom, decline, and then regeneration as a conservation area—has many factors in common with other inner-city areas in Australia and is worth tracing in some detail, not only for the proposals that have evolved, but the way they have come about.

Paddington is one of a ring of suburbs around the city core of Sydney which were largely developed in the latter part of the last century. Unlike the others, it is on the eastern side of the city and for the most part occupies a northward-facing slope running down towards the harbour, thus benefiting from a good micro-climate and many pleasant views. Also, unlike the other inner suburbs, the 400-odd acres of Paddington have remained largely intact as it was when first developed and is remarkably free from later industrial invasion.

Although there was a scattering of buildings from the early days of the Sydney settlement (the most notable being Juniper Hall, circa 1825, and Victoria Barracks from the 1840's), the character of Paddington was virtually established during the great building boom of the 1870's and 80's.

"The population of the Municipality increased sevenfold between 1861 and 1891 from 2,692 to 18,392. The number of houses had increased by the same proportion and the number of rooms ninefold.

Within 30 years the Municipality had grown from a sprawling and distant village into a fully built up and highly integrated community . . . Within these 30 years most of Paddington was subdivided and developed for residential occupation. The division of large parcels of land began earlier than 1860 and extended well into the twentieth century. But by 1890 seven-eighths of the total 400 acres had been subdivided in some form and the suburb had assumed its modern form. Furthermore, the activities of the sub-divider as well as the builder had reached a peak in the period 1880-5 when over 1,000 new dwelling houses were added to accommodate over 4,000 new inhabitants. Land prices, which had risen only slightly throughout the first half of the period, accelerated rapidly in the period of active speculation and development (1875-85) and by 1890 a marked change had occurred in the nature of house tenure as well as in the rents paid for tenanted houses."

The terrace houses of Paddington are basically all similar in style and design. They are predominantly of two storeys, with living areas downstairs and bedrooms on the upper floor. They have steeply pitched slate roofs and projecting party walls. On the street facade there is a full-width verandah decorated with iron lace. Houses are mostly in small terraces of half a dozen houses on individual blocks on an average 15ft wide by 100ft deep. Max Kelly has explained the process in detail.¹

"The majority of Paddington houses were built for letting. This fact does, however, obscure the actual process of building activity. Because those who built were essentially small builders, there was an element of 'transitional owner-occupation' whereby a builder, having completed one house of a terrace, would live in it until able to finance and so continue with the building of his second or third house.

"The evidence is sufficiently strong to suggest that this procedure was common practice.

"The predominance of the small scale operator does much to explain the particular characteristic of overall Paddington development. It is rare to find a terrace exceeding six or seven houses. Even then the row could have taken five or six years to build. The striking fact is that by the mid 1880's over 60 per cent of rental houses were owned by landlords whose property holding did not exceed four houses, and about one-third of these were owned by landlords renting only one or two houses. Again, even the landlord owning from five to ten houses rarely had them in one line—normally his houses were scattered, in small groups of two, three and four, throughout the suburb. Terraces exceeding (say) eight houses were mainly built towards the end of the period and after the building boom had reached its peak; only then did the large developer play a significant role in the creation of the suburb. By this time, however, the principal characteristics of Paddington had been determined—by the small man."

Residents moulded development

"In almost every instance, whether in land speculation, builder development or non-builder development, the individual involved was a Paddington resident. The domestic nature of Paddington's growth helps to explain the degree of municipal pride overt at the century's close. The small-scale landlord (holding more than 60 per cent of tenanted houses by 1885 at a time when only 26 per cent of total houses were owner-occupied) was a Paddington man. At the same date one-fifth of tenanted dwellings had the landlord living next door.

"By the late 1920's the area had begun to decline as the middle classes began to move out to the new and more spacious outer suburbs. The terrace house became unfashionable and the depression and the effects of wartime rent control hastened the decline so that by the end of the Second World War, Paddington was officially recognised as a slum. In the 1948 County of Cumberland Planning Scheme, along with most of the other inner areas of Sydney, Paddington was designated as "totally sub-standard—requiring replacement, either immediately or within 25 years".

Complete redevelopment was the conventional wisdom of the time. The intention to completely redevelop the area was still enshrined in the 1958 Draft City of Sydney Planning Scheme when it was exhibited by the Minister for Local Government in early 1965.

Objections in 1965 to the redevelopment zoning of the area made to the Commissioner appointed to hear objections to this scheme exhibited in that year, pointed out the changing character of the area to no avail and the intention to allow wholesale redevelopment was not officially changed until 1968. However, despite the planners and their intentions,

something quite different happened. First came the influx of European migrants after the war. They were without the Australian's prejudice against terrace houses and finding the inner suburbs to their liking, also found that the terrace houses were a convenient and cheap form of dwelling. They soon began to purchase and improve their own houses. The visible sign of this was an explosion of colour as rainbow hues of pink and green and blue transformed the drab brown terraces.

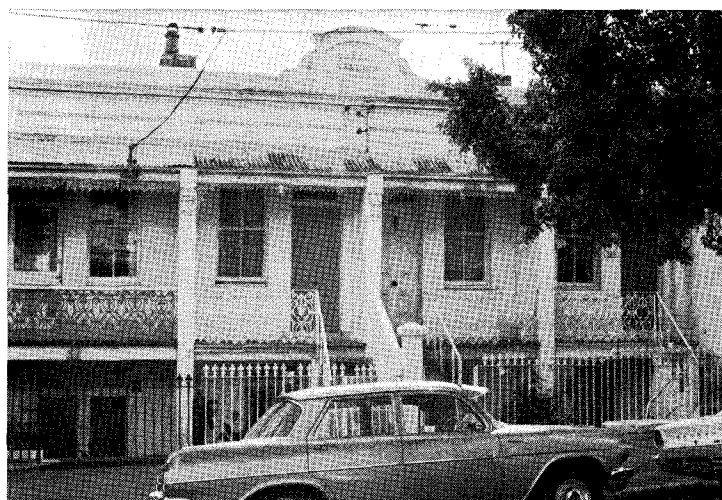
The reaction of landlords after the war and a decade of rent control was to sell off their holdings and with rising post-war affluence many old Australians, pre-war tenants, took the opportunity to purchase the house they had previously rented. As circumstances permitted they modernised their houses with pride, if not always with taste. A real community with all its subtle networks and relationships existed in Paddington among these older residents along with a real pride in the area. This community feeling was amplified and given more articulate form by the next wave of middle class Australian immigrants, refugees from outer suburban sprawl.

During the middle and late 1950's a trickle of old Australians, dissatisfied with outer suburban living or returning from sojourns overseas, and attracted by the convenience, charm and architecture of Paddington, began to move there. By 1960 the Paddington terrace had become fashionable again, and a new professional and middle class group began another transformation of the area. White paint or stripped brickwork appeared everywhere. Balcony enclosures were removed and cast iron restored. The houses were renovated inside and out. Between 1959 and 1966 John Roseth² estimated that 2,000 terrace houses out of a total of 4,800 in the area studied by him changed hands, and that in this period the total



investment on rehabilitation from individual private sources was over \$2 million. About 1960, another change occurred. Because of the renewed popularity of Paddington, developers found that it was at last profitable to erect new flats in the area, so that on any unusually large sites, new buildings of quite a different scale and character to the terraces began to appear. The new "urbanites" concerned over this and other threats to the harmony and amenity of the area in 1964 organised a society dedicated to preserving Paddington. By 1968, after four years of campaigning, the Paddington Society had managed to convince the State Government that the redevelopment zonings set down in the Planning Scheme should be removed and that Paddington should be declared "a special area of architectural and historic interest" and rezoned Residential 2 (g) (Preservation).

Before discussing the rehabilitation and conservation measures proposed and attempting to evaluate what has happened in Paddington in a wider planning context, it may be worthwhile to discuss the formation and growth of the Paddington Society as typical of what Dr John Power has described as "The New



Politics of the Old Suburbs" and typical of the type of local action group, basically conservationist, that planners will increasingly be forced to contend with. The Paddington Society was founded in 1964. By 1964 there were a fairly large number of new "urbanites" who shared a common view on the desirability of Paddington as a convenient living area and a liking for Victorian terrace house architecture and townscape. At the same time they were worried that various new road and road-widening proposals, as well as the development of flats mentioned earlier, would, within a few years, completely ruin the very characteristics of Paddington which they so admired. So in June, 1964, a small group of between 15 and 20 residents met together to form a society which would attempt to protect Paddington. The society was publicly founded in August, 1964, at an overflow meeting in the Paddington Town Hall which resulted in the enrolment on the spot of 102 members.

Emphasis on conservation

The stated aims of the society are almost entirely concerned with environmental amenity, with the emphasis on conservation and rehabilitation. The membership of the society has grown steadily from 230 in the initial year, 1964-65, to a present active and financial membership of over 1,150 people in July, 1971. Thus, something like one in eighteen of Paddington residents is a member of the Paddington Society.

The society has been able to harness many professional talents to its cause and has shown considerable skill in its handling of town planning disputes. It has a flair for organising effective demonstrations and petitions and has been able to marshal the testimony of experts favourable to its position and to raise considerable sums of money to enable its case to be well presented. Expert members of the society have engaged in prolonged research into the details, as well as the broad principles of planning for the suburb. This work culminated in a well-presented and illustrated 57-page Report in October, 1970, entitled "PADDINGTON: A PLAN FOR PRESERVATION". This Report was presented to the responsible authority, Woollahra Municipal Council, to assist the Council to prepare an overall control plan and ordinances to flesh out the Residential 2 (g) (Preservation) zoning laid down by the Minister for Local Government.

Woollahra Council held a public exhibition of the plans and work prepared by the Paddington Society in January, 1971, inviting comment and objections. A small number of replies have been received on aspects of the Paddington Society proposals after this exhibition and these are currently being considered by the Council before proceeding further. Up till recently the society, while behaving in a very

