

GORDON STEPHENSON AND THE LONG-TERM PLANNING OF CANBERRA

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ABSTRACT

Canberra, Australia's national capital city, was transformed through the 1960s from a straggling city beautiful on garden city lines to a modern new city of international standing by the powerful National Capital Development Commission, established in 1957. Gordon Stephenson first visited the city in 1954, became a consultant to the NCDC in 1960, and was appointed to the National Capital Planning Committee in 1967. His activities ranged across all scales – residential communities, town centres, and the development of a long term metropolitan planning strategy. Stephenson appears to be an underrated figure in the urban metamorphosis of Canberra through the 1960s. Drawing on a mix of extant primary and secondary sources, this paper sketches the extent of Stephenson's role and influence in Canberra, concentrating on his input into a long term urban development strategy.

INTRODUCTION

Prominent British expatriate planner Gordon Stephenson first visited Australia's national capital city in either 1954 or 1955 when working on the metropolitan planning scheme for Perth and Fremantle. Canberra in the mid-1950s had the character of a country town, albeit set within the elaborate geometric template inherited from its historic 1912 plan, but it was on the verge of a growth boom. Stephenson's career at this time was stalled in an interregnum. He had resigned as Lever Professor at Liverpool and his hopes for the chair of planning at MIT were fading. In the uncertainty at the time of his first visit, he may well have imagined that here was another place that might bear his stamp sometime in the future. He could certainly appreciate that the development of the city was set to accelerate. As fate would have it, when he returned to Australia from Toronto in 1960 to take up the role of consultant architect and foundation head of the School of Architecture at the University of Western Australia, and given leave to explore other professional opportunities, he was to play a key role in guiding and refining that process. He says himself that he was 'fortunate enough to share a few of the halcyon days' (Stephenson, 1990, 48).

Taking as read fuller accounts of Stephenson's life and career (Gregory, 2010; Stephenson, 1992), this paper briefly overviews the role Stephenson played in Canberra over a decade to the early 1970s. His major contribution to Canberra was less in operational planning and direct urban design and more in his influential advocacy of a long term, integrated and interdisciplinary approach to strategic planning. This is the main focus of the paper. The first section introduces the city and planning regime which Stephenson encountered. The second summarises his various engagements from 1961 to the early 1970s. The third and major section explores the development of a long term urban strategy for Canberra in the 1960s and Stephenson's role in that process. Overall, Stephenson's roles were mainly behind-the-scenes, often collaborative, and usually as advisor or reviewer, but nonetheless helped indirectly shape design outcomes at a variety of geographic scales.

CANBERRA FROM THE 1950s

Canberra as a new planned capital had been conceived and initiated amid both fanfare and controversy in the early twentieth century (Reps, 1997). The winning scheme in the 1911-12 international design competition by Walter Burley and Marion Mahony Griffin envisaged a multi-centered streetcar city synthesising gridiron and radial morphologies amplifying the fine natural qualities of the site (Figure 1). The Australian Parliament held its first sessions in Canberra in 1927 but thereafter the city languished and far from realising the ‘city beautiful of our dreams’ ideals of the founders became a target for criticism about best planning practices (Freestone, 2010).

By the mid-1950s Canberra was a ‘garden city in the doldrums’ (Stephenson, 1990, 48). It was caught between ad hoc responses to post-war growth pressures, the somewhat ill-fitting geometric legacy bequeathed in 1912, and a small garden town mentality. A single planner, Trevor Gibson, buried away in the Commonwealth Department of the Interior was doing his best to balance the legacy of the past, contemporary best planning practice, and what consensus could be secured on the city’s future. What was shaping as a potential national embarrassment was to be averted by a major parliamentary inquiry by a Senate Select Committee which would bequeath a radical new governance structure. The National Capital Development Commission (NCDC) was formed as an all-powerful body to design, develop and construct the city under an act of parliament approved in August 1957. It was a new town styled corporation inspired partly by British models and the special-purpose Snowy Mountains Hydro-Electric Authority, another contemporary Australian project of national significance. The NCDC’s vertically integrated holistic organisation was conceived to single-mindedly prosecute the specific objective of city development. By the late 1960s the NCDC had transformed the isolated ‘bush capital’ into a city which many contemporary observers regarded as the model planned metropolis of the late twentieth century.



Figure 2: The Griffin plan for Canberra, 1912 (from Engineering News (USA), July 1912) A redrawn version of one of the competition winning plans by the Chicago-based Walter Burley and Marion Mahony Griffin. This combined city beautiful, garden city and diverse other influences into a distinctive landscape-driven plan.

Through this golden era, Canberra's population increased from less than 40,000 in 1958 to 155,000 in 1972 (Sparke, 1988). This growth was mostly diffused into low density living so that Canberra for many observers was confirmed as the apotheosis of suburbia, albeit of the meticulously planned variety. The development of its new town structure - large, discrete suburban districts intended to be relatively self-contained - broke the shackles of the Griffin scheme with its design population capped at 75,000. This was a different kind of metropolitan growth model compared to the incremental fringe extension and leapfrogging more characteristic of the longer established coastal capital cities. Canberra came of age in the 1960s, with completion of major civic and public buildings. When long-time Prime Minister RG Menzies retired in 1966 the city lost its chief political patron and the NCDC confronted a more volatile political environment and a less quiescent population scrutinising its decision-making (Sparke 1988). But the authority continued to be well-funded and directed more by parliamentary scrutiny than by the messiness of full public accountability.

The initial blueprint for the phoenix-like new order was laid out by Stephenson's friend, colleague and professional rival William Holford brought in by Prime Minister RG Menzies to advise the Government on future planning needs. Holford's *Observations on the Future Development of Canberra* was published in December 1957 and a later report *The Growth of Canberra 1958-1965 and 1965-1972* appeared in December 1965. Most of his attention focused on the design of central Canberra and the location of parliament house as the key to the functional and aesthetic jigsaw of the entire city. Stephenson's interests would prove complementary, being at once more metropolitan and suburban in orientation.

With a modest professional staff, the NCDC was a project-driven organisation, responsive to the latest trends, and expansive in its use of planning consultants and designers (Fischer, 1984). Stephenson's seniority in the planning world, his big picture thinking, his relative independence from the local scene, his primary and restless commitment to practice rather than research as an academic, and his connections to key Canberra people helped to set up his initial engagement as a consultant.

His first visit in the 1950s was at the invitation of Grenfell Rudduck, then an Assistant Secretary in the Department of National Development. He returned in 1960 with Rudduck an Associate Commissioner of the NCDC. Stephenson's main professional confidante in the Commission was Peter Harrison (1918-1990). Harrison was Chief Town Planner from January 1959 until his resignation in late 1967 (Norman, 1993). He came to Canberra from the University of Sydney where he taught alongside the foundation professor Denis Winston, another of the University of Liverpool alumni (from the same Charles Reilly era as Stephenson) who feature so prominently in post-war Australian planning history (Colman, 1993). Stephenson and Harrison had first met at a planning convention in Adelaide in 1954. They did not agree on everything, but a mutual respect was forged around a shared faith in the modernist planning project, respect for the seminal contributions of American architect-planner Clarence Stein, and personal styles valuing pragmatism and honesty.

On Harrison's recommendation, in December 1960 Stephenson was formally invited by NCDC Commissioner John Overall to inspect planning and development projects and share his impressions. He spent several days touring the city and in discussion with senior officers in late May 1961, offering his impressions in a letter to Overall the following month. While impressed at the tempo and scale of the city building operation, he was nonetheless critical of many aspects. Placement and interrelationship of new buildings lacked a coherent design philosophy and those in the city centre reminded him of anodyne fringe buildings of the kind found in Los Angeles or indeed any big city. He voiced his concern that 'cars were taking possession of [the landscape] wherever it was vulnerable' and that 'a long term plan for the Canberra city-region is most urgently required'. He endorsed the idea then taking hold of new districts separated by open space corridors but recommended a re-examination of 'the whole road system'. Overall continued to cultivate the possibility of Stephenson becoming more formally involved in Canberra. In August 1961 Stephenson indicated that while his main work would have to be his campus development work at the University of Western Australia, he

would be interested to ‘make some small contribution to the work of the Commission’.ⁱ

OVERVIEW OF STEPHENSON’S ACTIVITIES IN CANBERRA

Directly arising from these exchanges with Overall, Rudduck and Harrison came Stephenson’s engagement as a planning consultant and the unfolding of crucial professional inputs across a range of projects. As a planner of world standing, he was called on for commentary on a range of matters through the 1960s, although there appears to have been little professional interaction with Holford or Holford’s man in Canberra, Richard Gray, whose main brief was civic and landscape design. But both men played comparable roles as external critics alongside a cast of other consultants brought in regularly to help scrutinise and validate the direction of NCDC decision-making.

Stephenson’s primary interest throughout was a regionally-scaled plan for the long term development of the city. His first major commission, however, was to advise on the planning of Civic, Canberra’s main commercial area. He was also prevailed upon to comment on plans for Woden Town Centre, the first major civic-commercial area outside the city centre. His peer review role evolved into a more formal appointment in two 3-year terms as a member of the National Capital Planning Committee between 1967 and 1973. Alongside that role was a skilful juggling act which saw him project managing a novel social science-infused planning process for the suburb of Wanniasa and collaborating with an architectural firm on the design of the Radburn-styled suburb of Charnwood. Table 1 provides a distillation of these various roles.

Table 1: A summary of Gordon Stephenson’s roles for the National Capital Development Commission

Role	Projects	Period
General planning consultant	Advice on specific projects including Woden Town Centre; 1962 plan for Civic (CBD); 1963 Transportation Study	1961-1966, and intermittently to 1984
Advisor on city outline plan	Input into the Long Term Planning Committee	1963-1966
Member of the National Capital Planning Committee	The NCPC was the peak body advising the NCDC on planning, development and construction	1966-1973
Consultant for the Belconnen 20 residential neighbourhood	Working with Perth architects Cameron Chisholm & Nicol on conceptual planning and design for the Radburn suburb of Charnwood	1969-1970
Project head for the Wanniasa residential neighbourhood	Directing the interdisciplinary Tuggeranong Residential Environment Study to devise a new conceptual designs for the suburb of Wanniasa	1969-1971

The discussion below concentrates on just one of these encounters, his role in the development of a new city outline plan. This was his main concern and obsession, as he recalled in 1992: ‘From the beginning, I realised that the development of Canberra was about to accelerate, and that Griffin’s plan should remain inviolate, but be greatly extended in such a manner as to allow for continuous growth’ (Stephenson, 1992, 192).

LONG TERM PLANNING

For the first couple of years, the NCDC’s long term plan for a metropolitan-scale Canberra was Trevor Gibson’s scheme for 110,000 produced for the Senate Select Committee (Sparke, 1988). Before joining the Commission, Peter Harrison had worked on his own scheme for a target population of 250,000 inspired by Ebenezer

Howard's 'group of slumless, smokeless cities' (Fischer, 1984). This had been presented to the NCDC as a private proposal and was instrumental in Harrison's appointment in early 1959. Other champions of the need to look towards the long term included senior planner Keith Storey and engineer-planner Ian Morison. For Harrison the choice was clear - coupling urban sprawl and renewal typical of existing cities or 'preserving the open character of the City by limiting the existing population area and forming new areas or residential districts on the surrounding rural areas' (Norman 1993, 226). The hills-and-valleys topography of the city site fortuitously accommodated this vision.

The NCDC produced its first long term strategy in 1959 - an outline development plan for a city of 250,000, with residential areas as comparatively self-contained new districts in open valleys (Gilchrist, 1985). Essentially, this was the vision published in *The Future Canberra* (1965), underpinned by a transport study undertaken by American planning consultants De Leuw Cather two years earlier. However by this time even official thinking within the Commission had moved on. The 1963 transport plan 'strangled' Griffin's city with roads (Reid, 2002, 259). The prevailing view was that it would generate intolerable central area congestion because of the dominant radial-concentric structure of the city. Around this time, the desired scale of districts also expanded as the concept of self-contained new suburban towns was better appreciated. Associate Commissioner Bill Andrews reported back from an overseas trip in 1963 proposing the optimum size of new urban districts as 100,000.

The 'notional pattern' thus emerging was a more emphatic corridor-shaped urban footprint concentrating growth to the north and underpinned by 'free use of the private car' with mass transit a long term option only (Harrison, 1964). Evidence of radial corridor expansion was already evident in metropolitan planning strategies for other Australian and overseas cities including Washington DC (1961) and Adelaide (1962), and would surface later in Melbourne (1967), Sydney (1968) and Perth (1970). The Central Lancashire New Town (1968) study would come 'closest to Canberra's current long-range development plans' (Fischer, 1984, 69). While the conception was thus not completely exceptional, Canberra was uniquely positioned to pursue the formula because 'public ownership of land ... eliminated the expensive and tortuous acquisition processes' characteristic of other cities (Fischer, 1984, 77).

The analytical justification for Canberra's liaison with linearity came from an urban planning and transport study undertaken by American consultants Voorhees and Associates. Alan Voorhees (1922-2005) was already known to Bill Andrews and NCDC Secretary-Manager Bob Lansdown. Ian Morison who wrote the study brief spent several months of 1966 in the Voorhees office in Washington DC. The methodology was able to link the dynamics of urban structure with transport options. The study assumed a metropolitan population of one million and evaluated six different growth scenarios in concentric, fan-shaped and linear arrangements. This led to the preferred general plan arrangement, with corridors of new communities extending along two arms out of the Australian Capital Territory and into the neighbouring state of New South Wales; hence the description, the 'Y Plan'.

Fischer (1984) notes that while the plan was in the tradition of Howard's garden city there were important differences: an enlarged scale, increased degree of functional independence of districts, linear spatial structure, and a rectangular road system geometry with the addition of peripheral transportation corridors. Harrison felt it more flexible than the earlier sub-centralised plan model (Freestone, 1991). In draft form the concept was endorsed by the NCPC in October 1966. It was previewed by Harrison in 1968 in *Architecture in Australia* (Figure 2).

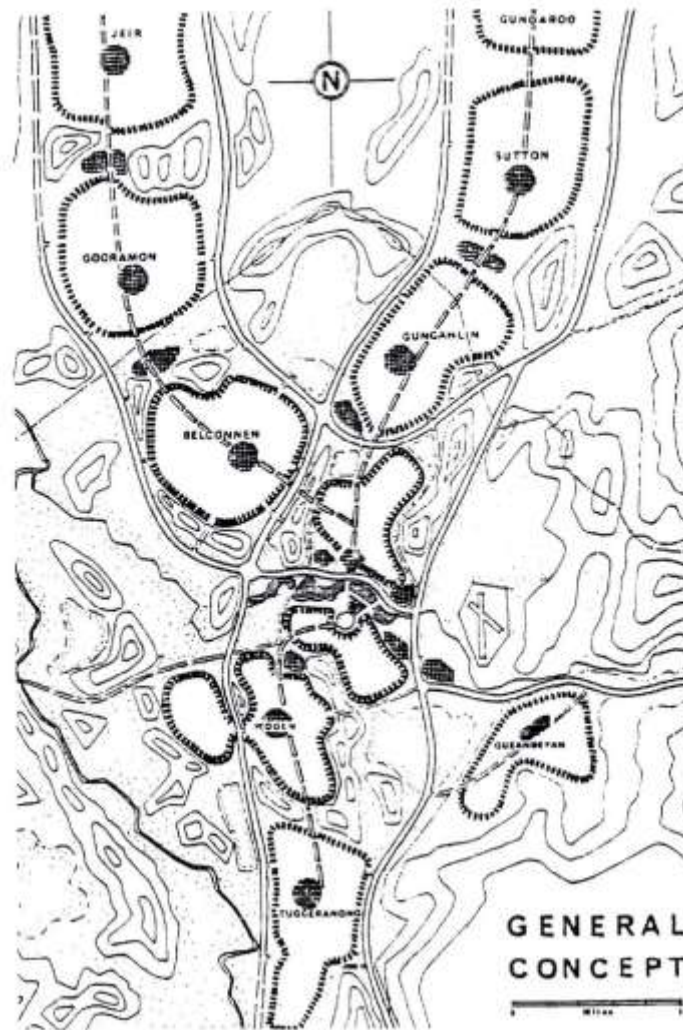


Figure 2: Peter Harrison's 'General Concept' plan for Canberra (Harrison, 1968)
 The area covered by the Griffin Plan reproduced in Figure 1 is confined to the two central cells of North and South Canberra. A grid of freeways frame the projected districts with their town centres connected by a mass transit line. Over 40 years later this plan has largely come true, minus the mass transit and without spreading across the state border to spawn the new towns of Jeir, Gundaroo, Gooramom and Sutton that still remain rural-residential zones.

Stephenson made an important if somewhat intangible contribution to this evolution of thinking. Morison suggests that in the first instance he may have been co-opted by the NCDC to help get it 'off the hook' following the release of the disastrous De Leuw Cather transportation study.ⁱⁱ He was well equipped to assist the Commission given his reputation for weighing up all considerations in search of balanced solutions, familiarity with both British and North American city planning, and an insistence on the need for the NCDC to organise for long-range planning needs. His first advice to the NCDC on the transportation study early in 1963 stressed the desirability of looking further into the future. He floated the idea of planning a road network for two million people, developing it incrementally as the need arose.ⁱⁱⁱ

In May 1963 the NCDC held a three day retreat at the Academy of Science to discuss various strategic matters including the future 'outline plan' for the city and the structure of urban government. Stephenson joined a discussion on the 'relationship between policy and administration and proposals for transportation in the outline plan' in the exclusive company of John Overall, his two Associate Commissioners (Rudduck and Andrews), and the Secretary-Manager (Lansdown). At another meeting on 11 May he variously offered critiques of and support for the planning assumptions on the table. Stephenson agreed that 10 persons per acre was a reasonable density and that higher densities were 'impracticable' at that

time, but he disagreed with some of the thinking about parklands and stressed the need for open spaces ‘left specifically for expansion to meet unforeseen requirements [and] which might be planted in the meantime’.^{iv}

His earliest and most sustained contribution was consistent advocacy of the philosophy of ‘continuous growth’.^v Stephenson himself recalls:

In the general debates about Canberra (ever since I’ve known Canberra) people refuse to take the long-term view. I always disturbed them in the sixties by saying that, “it’s not going to be Burley Griffin’s city you are going to end up with, you are going to end up with a large city, so the first thing to do is prepare a plan for half a million”. This is when there would be only 100,000 at the most I said “You need to plan for a million because the place will go on growing and you don’t want to try to restrict the growth because that has proved all over the world an impossible task You cannot restrain growth.”^{vi}

Peter Harrison somewhat apocryphally recalls Stephenson ‘stalking around the corridors in a loud voice, “Where’s your plan for a million?”’.^{vii} They were to collaborate in a landmark paper that first canvassed the need to allow for continuous growth (Morison, 2000). This was presented at the combined Australian Planning Institute Convention and Planning Officers’ Conference at the Canberra Rex Hotel on the theme ‘Planning in the National Capital’ in November 1963. A conference flier records the original title of their paper ‘The Crystal Ball’ with an explanatory note: ‘Although long term planning must be speculative about future needs and activities, its aims are to provide a flexible framework for future growth which avoids any notion of a target population or arbitrary limitation upon the ultimate size of the city’.^{viii} This was the paper published under Harrison’s name only in the *Australian Planning Institute Journal* in 1964. Just why this was done is unknown; in the identical conference version Stephenson is accorded the status of senior author.

Morison speculates that Stephenson may actually have been a quiet catalyst for formation of the NCDC’s Long Term Planning Committee around 1963.^{ix} This Committee comprised all the senior people minus Overall with Lansdown as chair and planner Tom McKenna as executive member for most of its life. The forum was intended for the exchange of ideas and information between specialists reviewing the plan for 250,000 towards a new outline plan based on a population target of 500,000 against a backdrop of continuous growth by 1968. Stephenson was invited ‘to accept the challenging role of constructive critic’, as he described it in seeking formal approval to become involved in a letter to University of Western Australia Vice Chancellor Stanley Prescott in June 1965. The proposed schedule of five working weeks in Canberra spaced over 18 months ‘would refresh rather than tire me’, he wrote.^x

Stephenson’s peer review brief ranged widely. He provided critiques of numerous documents to assist the NCDC in refining and clarifying its objectives and methods. He was less concerned ‘with the arithmetic beyond satisfying himself that we are working to a reasonable discipline’. McKenna acknowledged that ‘valuable advice’ also emerged from ‘loose rein’ speculations in meetings with the ‘The Prof’ often raising subjects ‘of his own interest’.^{xi} Inevitably Stephenson was drawn into the land-use transportation modelling which was to underpin the Y Plan. Overall was so concerned about Stephenson’s disappearance from the scene on impending sabbatical leave in the US in 1967 that he sought to ensure ongoing contact through correspondence. Stephenson agreed to read and comment on reports and visit Voorhees in Washington DC with Clive Price, the NCDC’s Chief Engineer in May 1967. Some internal discussion in NCDC ensued about the exact purpose of this visit, its duration, reporting outcome and, the fees payable.^{xii}

The major intellectual construct guiding Stephenson in his contributions to Canberra’s metropolitan strategy was Clarence Stein’s notion of ‘the regional city’, a model based on a constellation of moderate-sized communities interconnected by ‘townless highways’ but divided by open areas. The Canberra planners also drew from Humphrey Carver’s *Cities in the Suburbs* (1962), itself influenced by Stein and evolving from a planning culture in Canada in which Stephenson has been a key participant (Carver, 1975). Along with Howard, Abercrombie and Unwin, Clarence

Stein was one of Stephenson's heroes. Stein was the co-founder of the Regional Planning Association of America and designer of the iconic Radburn layout (Parsons, 1994) for which Stephenson became a life-long disciple. Stephenson brokered publication of Stein's *Toward New Towns for America* (1957) by the University of Liverpool Press and they corresponded regularly for decades. As early as June 1961 Stephenson wrote Stein of his new advisory role in Canberra: 'I have been trying to get your notion of the Regional City into the Canberra planners' heads. I was there only a week or two ago, when they involved me in a series of discussions'.^{xiii} Peter Harrison acknowledged the connection in a paper 'Policies for new towns' delivered to the Joint Conference of the American Society of Planning Officials and the Community Planning Association of Canada in Toronto in April 1965. He noted a similarity between his prospectus for Canberra and Stein's restatement of Howard's 'Social cities' as the modern regional city idea, acknowledging Stephenson as a possible conduit, being both 'an avowed disciple' of Stein and 'a regular and welcome visitor to Canberra over recent years' (Freestone, 1991, 5). Stein's Radburn planning would also make an impact on Canberra's residential landscape and partly via Stephenson's influence.



Figure 3: The 'Y Plan' from *Tomorrow's Canberra* (NCDC, 1970)

The official metropolitan strategy announced in 1970 embodied the functional logic of continuous corridor growth which had been tried and tested in the Voorhees study but omitted the longer term districts which would have necessitated crossing a state boundary into a completely different political jurisdiction. The metropolitan footprint of Canberra today is comparable to this vision, with significant recent population expansion coming via intensification of development in existing districts.

While the development of thinking from cluster to corridor cities may read as an inexorable progression there was resistance to such long range planning. Harrison

recalled an early reluctance on the part of the NCDC to contemplate a population of even 150,000.^{xiv} Stephenson remembers a prevalent view in the early 1960s that Canberra 'should be a garden city forever'.^{xv} Gren Rudduck was the greatest sceptic, much preferring a continuation of small town Canberra. But Rudduck died in 1964 and official attitudes toward continuous urban growth shifted within the NCDC, no doubt partly due to the vision of Stephenson. A major professional cultural change was underway, as Fischer (1984, 155) notes: 'The initial inhibitions of a planning team with little experience, which fears that urban growth might get out of control, soon gives way to a self-confident welcoming of rapid growth as a sign of success and as something that will enrich the city and everyone who has to do with it'.

The Y Plan was eventually publicly released in 1970, accorded a high profile announcement in a high quality book-style plan which set a new standard for metropolitan planning documents in Australia. The strategy illustrated in *Tomorrow's Canberra* endorsed a number of key principles which Stephenson had helped develop and refine through the 1960s (Crockett et al, 2006):

- The new transport system would channel private vehicles to parkways on the periphery of urban districts and concentrate public transport travel between the districts onto a central spine linking the town centres.
- The hills and ridges would be retained in their natural state to act as a backdrop and setting for the city and also as a means of separating and defining the districts (this was later to become known as the National Capital Open Space System).
- New urban districts would be developed as relatively self-contained new towns around mixed used town activity centres to be supported by decentralisation of public sector offices.
- Major national uses would be located in the Central National Area.
- The National Capital would be one with high environmental standards.

CONCLUSION

Gordon Stephenson's encounters with Australia's national capital comprise a peripatetic experience spaced over more than a decade. He may not have had the ear of the Prime Minister like William Holford. But he was a confidante of John Overall, almost as powerful a figure through the 1960s. His time in Canberra was important to both the development and testing of his ideas and their impress can be read at various scales from regional spatial structure to the design of streetscapes, although he never assumed a detailed design and implementation role. He devotes a chapter of *On a Human Scale* to Canberra where he writes: 'I enjoyed working in Canberra when the NCDC was in full flight' (Stephenson 1992, 192).

The planners with whom he worked closely in the early 1960s remember a quietly spoken individual who brought a big picture approach to addressing the challenges of the day, notably the conservation of civic and human values in the motor age. The NCDC as a new organization in the 1960s with an enormous brief for comprehensively developing a new city benefited from both the critiques and the instilling of confidence he brought to its decision-making. His wisdom came from long experience in England and Canada and was typically conveyed through the repetition of 'simple truths'. Ian Morison remembers a 'fatherly teaching figure' and Keith Storey stresses his pragmatism, getting to and summarizing the key issues in a way which was so valuable to the NCDC.^{xvi} Richard Clough remembers him as somewhat didactic with 'sharp' but never unkind comments calculated to stimulate discussion and substantiate opinions.^{xvii}

His most far-reaching contribution was arguably to the city's long term planning and his refinement of metropolitan policy towards a spatial structure of dispersed centralisation reminiscent of the 'regional city', Clarence Stein's adaptation of Howard's garden city cluster of new towns. He was in no doubt about the rightness of this direction, telling the 1969 ANZAAS Conference that:

Canberra promises to be the finest city region in the world, a constellation of towns, as conceived by Ebenezer Howard, with a movement system which allows for unending extension and change. The rapid transit routes will run through the centres of the series of towns, and the motorways in the open spaces between them. It is the only city region I know which is properly conceived in terms of continuous growth (Stephenson, 1970, 284)

Stephenson had in mind a proposed book on the regional city and was even thinking about retirement to write it. Naturally, he wanted to include a chapter on Canberra 'as one of the planned examples in history'.^{xviii} While the corridor-cellular form toward which Canberra evolved under Stephenson's watch was a design which accommodated 'the bungalow-automobile syndrome' (Fischer 1984, 156), and recent developments retreat from the linearity inherent in his response to his premise of 'continuous growth', it has proven an adaptable and resilient metropolitan form for long term growth.

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NOTES

ⁱ National Archives of Australia (NAA), Prof. Stephenson's visit to Canberra, A1340/1 1960/1276, 21 August 1961.

ⁱⁱ Ian Morison, interview, Canberra, September 2009.

ⁱⁱⁱ NAA, National Capital Development Commission (NCDC), Minutes, 7 May 1963.

^{iv} NAA, NCDC Minutes, 9-11 May 1963.

^v ACT Archives (ACTA), Long Term Planning Committee File, AR/126, LT 2 Doc 30.

^{vi} Oral History interview with Gordon Stephenson, p. 231. REF No. OH2532, JS Battye Library of West Australian History.

^{vii} James Weirick interview with Peter Harrison, typescript, National Library (1990).

^{viii} 1963 conference flier, courtesy Ian Morison.

^{ix} Morison, interview, 2009.

^x University of Western Australia, Human Resources section, Gordon Stephenson file, Gordon Stephenson to Stanley Prescott, 2 June 1965.

^{xi} ACTA, Long Term Planning Committee File, AR/126. LT 2 Doc 41 (T McKenna), 24 August 1965 - 'Spring Visit by Prof Stephenson'; LT 2 Doc 72 (T McKenna), 4 Feb 1966 - "Summer visit by Prof Stephenson".

^{xii} NAA, A1340/1 1960/1276.

^{xiii} University of Liverpool, Civic Design Archives, D616, Correspondence between Prof Gordon Stephenson and Clarence Stein (1949-1969), Stephenson to Stein, 14 June 1961.

^{xiv} James Weirick interview with Peter Harrison, typescript, National Library (1990).

^{xv} Oral History, 231

^{xvi} Morison, interview, 2009; Keith Storey, interview, Canberra, November 2009.

^{xvii} Richard Clough, interview, Sydney, 26 March 2010.

^{xviii} NAA, A1340/1 1969/841 (NC 69/00841), Minute Paper (confidential) - signed by JW Overall, 23 October 1969.