

expressed that so few of the native timbers were thoroughly known.

Within a century, then, the attitude towards the timbers of N.S.W. completely changed. This change came only with experience, experiment and exploration promoted by the various stimuli described. Forests hitherto condemned for their paucity of species and monotonous aspect came to be objects of wonder because of their astonishing variety; timbers once condemned for being hard and ponderous came to be lauded for their beauty and durability, and even the useless ugly gums were by 1881 described as "the noble eucalyptus trees"<sup>352</sup>. The early condemnations were found to have been based upon too little experience with too few species within too limited an ecological area. With the penetration of new ecological areas, judgements were based upon wider evidence. The fact that "necessity has no law" remained true enough throughout the "frontier" period wherever settlers established themselves in new ecological environments. It was simply unfortunate that the first settlers were confronted by the meagre timber offerings of the dry sclerophyll forests of the Hawkesbury sandstone around Sydney Cove. Those who moved into the wet sclerophyll forests north of Port Jackson or into the rainforests of Illawarra or the Hunter found a different world indeed, as one might have expected in such a land of contrarities.

Towards the end of the century at last came the realisation that the country did not consist of "one continued wood" with inexhaustible supplies of timbers, many of which had, after all, proved very valuable. On 4 March 1870 Commander A.A.W. Onslow,<sup>353</sup> Member for Camden, asked two pertinent and disturbing questions in the House :

- (1) Has the attention of the Government been called to the fact that a great deal of valuable timber is being needlessly destroyed, owing to the clause compelling persons holding timber licenses to fell trees before they strip the bark?
- (2) Do the Government intend proclaiming any timber reserves, seeing that the price of Railway Sleepers is increasing and the difficulty of obtaining them becoming greater?<sup>354</sup>

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<sup>352</sup> Richards : NSW in 1881, p.58.

<sup>353</sup> Arthur Alexander Onslow (1833-1882) former hydrographic surveyor, represented Camden in the Legislative Assembly from 1869 to 1880. He married Elizabeth, daughter of James Macarthur and granddaughter of John. Onslow sat in the Legislative Council from 1880 until his death.

<sup>354</sup> V. & P. Leg. Assembly NSW, 1870, I, p.95. See also Wm. Carron on the barking of trees in Chapter III, p.298.

The Secretary for Lands, William Forster answered,

(1) It is not known that the clause has had the effect stated. It was intended to have the opposite effect of preventing the great and needless destruction of timber by bark stripping; and is believed to have been instrumental in doing so to some extent.

(2) No such measure has as yet been under consideration.<sup>355</sup>

Here was an admission of neglect which might be expected to stir a newly-elected parliament.<sup>356</sup>

Other factors helped to keep the issue alive. In June 1871, for example, the Government Botanist of Victoria summarised one attitude towards the forests of Australia :

Strange as it may appear, an impression seems to be prevailing...that our forests have to serve no other purposes, but to provide wood for our immediate and present wants, be it fuel or timber.

But the time had come to

regard the forest as an heritage...not for spoil or to devastate, but to be wisely used, reverently honoured, and carefully maintained...to pass as a sacred patrimony from generation to generation.<sup>357</sup>

However nicely phrased, such revolutionary sentiments were not widely shared either by settlers in N.S.W. still assiduously clearing the land after ten years of free selection, or by their political leaders who traditionally wanted the land -- any land, all land -- to carry people, stock and crops, not trees. Nevertheless in March and June 1871, areas of River Red Gum along the Murray and the Edwards Rivers were "reserved for the preservation of timber, under the...Regulations of...December 1866." Cutting of any timber within these reserves was prohibited.<sup>358</sup> The first forest ranger, J. A. Manton was not appointed until September 1875.<sup>359</sup>

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355 ibid.

356 this Sixth Parliament had been returned on 24 Jan. 1870.

357 Ferd. von Mueller : Forest Culture in its Relations to Industrial Pursuits : a Lecture, Melb., 1871, pp.1, 52.

358 NSW Govt. Gaz. 1871, I, pp.504, 1285-1286. Cf. the statement by W. F. Piper, Chief Clerk of the Forest Conservancy Branch, Dept. of Mines, 26 Apr. 1884 that "the first timber reserves were proclaimed in 1871, to protect some of the magnificent forests of brush and hardwood in the Clarence Pastoral Districts, and the flooded red-gum forests of the Murray River." V. & P. Leg. Assembly NSW, 1883-1884, IV, p.381.

359 V. & P. Leg. Assembly NSW, loc. cit.

In December 1871, Charles Moore, "in accordance with the instructions of the Honorable the Secretary for Lands",<sup>360</sup> entrusted William Carron with the important task "of selecting certain portions of country suitable as Forest Reserves," in northern N.S.W. Carron was instructed "to make selections in such localities as afforded the greatest number and variety of trees", and he accordingly recommended the reservation of five areas on the Richmond, "eleven in the Clarence and New England Districts"<sup>361</sup> and four on the Tweed.<sup>362</sup>

In presenting Carron's reports, Moore suggested

that similar reserves...should be made...on the Bellinger, the Nambuccra (sic), the Macleay, the Hastings, and the Manning, otherwise the natural forest vegetation will soon entirely disappear.<sup>363</sup>

In 1877, a small Forest Branch within the Department of Lands was established, and forest regulations to control the cutting of timber were issued, but the Branch long remained an unwanted appendage

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<sup>360</sup> now John Bowie Wilson.

<sup>361</sup> "New England" referred to the eastern ranges where the headwaters of these coastal rivers were located.

<sup>362</sup> Report on Timber Reserves, Clarence River District, V. & P. Leg. Assembly NSW, 1872, II, pp.229-231, and Report on Timber Reserves, Clarence, Richmond and Tweed River Districts, V. & P. Leg. Assembly NSW, 1872-1873, II, pp.361-372. Carron carefully listed the species of trees (with vernacular and botanical names) which attracted his attention to each proposed reserve, observing that some trees had "long been known to produce wood of the best quality...while many others have never yet been properly tried." In suggesting hardwood reserves, Carron sought areas rich in such species as Forest Mahogany, E.resinifera; Spotted Gum, E.maculata; Flooded Gum, E.grandis; Blue Gum, E.saligna; Blackbutt, E.pilularis; Ironbark, E.cnebra, E.fibrosa, etc.; Turpentine, Syncarpia glomulifera. His brushwood reserves contained such species as Red Cedar, Toona australis; White Beech, Gmelina leichhardtii; Tulip-wood, Harpullia pendula; Hoop Pine, Araucaria cunninghamii; Silky Oak, Grevillea robusta; Scrub Beef-wood, Stenocarpus salignus; Brown Pine, Podocarpus elatus; Rosewood, Dysoxylum fraserianum; Coach-wood, Ceratopetalum apetalum; Sassafras, Doryphora sassafras; Teak, Blindensia australis et al.spp.; White Sycamore or Brown Beech, Cryptocarya glaucescens; Maiden's Blush, Sloanea australis, etc., etc. Carron's reports reflect his wide knowledge of rain-forest trees. He went to Grafton as Inspector of Forests and Forest Ranger for the Clarence District early in Feb. 1876, but died three weeks after his arrival. See Clarence and Richmond Examiner, 12 Feb. and 26 Feb. 1876, and L.A. Gilbert in JRAHS, 1961, p.308.

<sup>363</sup> V. & P. Leg. Assembly NSW, 1871-1872, II, p.861.

PIONEER FOREST INSPECTORS.

HENRY KENDALL (1839-1882) was born at Ulladulla where his grandfather, Rev. Thomas Kendall, had engaged in the cedar trade some twelve years before. Henry Kendall's "best poems" were said to be "full of pensive sadness which would seem to be inspired by a contemplation of the Australian bush. Its vastness, its thick undergrowth, its monstrous trees, its desolation, its silence..." (S.S. Topp in The Melb. Review, Apr. 1876). Of himself, Kendall said, "I am simply a man of the woods. I was born in the forests and the mountains were my sponsors. Hence, I am saturated with the peculiar spirit of Australian scenery..." Kendall worked in the timber business of William and Joseph Fagan at Camden Haven, 1875-1881. In April 1881 he was appointed Inspector of Forests, but he died the following year.

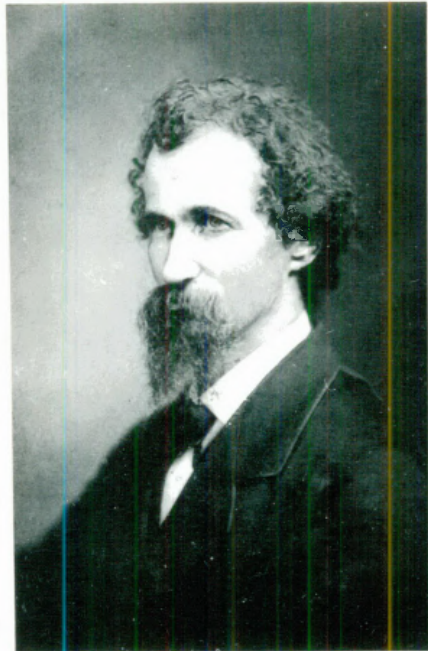


Photo : c.1880, from T.T.Reed :  
Henry Kendall: a Critical  
Appreciation, Adel., 1960.



WILLIAM CARRON (1821-1876) was botanist and one of the three survivors of Edmund Kennedy's disastrous expedition to Cape York in 1848. He later served in the Customs Department before joining the Botanic Gardens as a collector in 1866 and later in 1871 he reported on proposed timber reserves on the Tweed, Richmond and Clarence Rivers. Carron died at Grafton in 1876, shortly after his arrival to take up an appointment as Inspector of Forest Reserves and Forest Ranger for the Clarence District.

Photo : Mitchell Library.

to the established Government Departments, and administration of the forests suffered accordingly.<sup>364</sup> Nevertheless the Branch made some significant contributions. On 12 April 1881, the poet Henry Kendall was appointed Inspector of Forests<sup>365</sup> and thereafter his extensive travels left little opportunity for writing. According to Kendall's friend, Joseph Fagan of Gosford, "there was not a tree or bush in forest or gully (sic) he could not tell the name of..."<sup>366</sup> and apparently the poet enjoyed his new work.<sup>367</sup>

During a survey of "the Lachlan pastoral district, inspecting and reporting upon applications for permission to ringbark timber"<sup>368</sup>, Kendall collapsed at Wagga Wagga on 4 June 1882, and died two months

<sup>364</sup> the Forest Branch was attached to the Lands Dept. in 1877; to the Mines Dept. in 1878; in March 1882 the Branch was granted a degree of autonomy under the Chief Clerk, W.F. Piper; in 1888 the Branch was attached once more to the Lands Dept.; in 1889 it became a Department in its own right under the Colonial Secretary, but in 1892 it was again transferred to the Mines Dept. and in 1897 once more to the Lands Dept. V. & P. Leg. Assembly NSW, 1883-1884, IV, p.882 and Leg. Assembly NSW : Royal Commission of Enquiry on Forestry -- Final Report, Syd., 1909, p.ix, where it is alleged that "probably no section of business under Government control has experienced greater vicissitudes in its management or less consideration than that connected with our forests." A further calamity was the "destruction of the records, plans, &c. of the Forest Branch, in the Garden Palace" in Sept. 1882. V. & P. Leg. Assembly NSW, 1883-1884, IV, p.379. See also Chapter 7. After the first Forestry Act (9 Edw. VII No.6) was passed in 1909, the Forestry Department was revived. This Act was repealed and replaced by the Forestry Act of 1916, which provided for the establishment of a Forestry Commission.

<sup>365</sup> NSW Govt. Gaz., 1881, II, p.2769. According to Bishop T.T. Reed, Kendall approached his old friend Sir Henry Parkes the previous year "for a position in the Forestry Department". Parkes wanted Kendall to have a position above that of a forest ranger, and so "considered the creation of the office of Inspector of Forests." Anticipating this appointment, Kendall left the Fagans' timber business at Camden Haven in Jan. 1881, and moved to Cundletown. Reed : Henry Kendall, pp.53-54.

<sup>366</sup> Joseph Fagan to Frederick C. Kendall, c.1923 in F.C. Kendall : Henry Kendall : his Later Years, Syd., 1938, p.32.

<sup>367</sup> Shortly after receiving the appointment, Kendall wrote "From the Forests", in which he proclaimed:

"This fair fresh life with joy I hail,  
And this belief express,  
Its days will be a brilliant tale  
Of effort and success."

T.T. Reed (Ed.) : The Poetical Works of Henry Kendall, Adel., 1966, p.456.

<sup>368</sup> V. & P. Leg. Assembly NSW, 1883-1884, IV, p.882. W.F. Piper, Chief Clerk of the Forest Branch considered that Kendall "was unable to withstand the hardship attending constant travelling in a dry season." ibid.

later.<sup>369</sup> On 1 December 1882, John Duff was appointed the poet's successor.<sup>370</sup> A former overseer at the Sydney Botanic Gardens, Duff had recently investigated "the alarming spread of pine scrub in portions of the Murrumbidgee and Lachlan districts."<sup>371</sup>

In the early years of its existence, the Forest Branch made efforts to enforce regulations concerning ringbarking, cutting, the payment of royalties, and other measures aimed at "preventing waste and conserving the supply of indigenous timber."<sup>372</sup> In September 1882, a wattle-planting project was begun along the Great Southern Railway "at intervals extending from Minto to near Downing,"<sup>373</sup> and in the following year measures were adopted to protect the Kurrajong, Brachychiton populneum so that valuable fodder could be conserved.<sup>374</sup> Other progressive activities either contemplated or undertaken by the Branch before April 1884 were the formation of a herbarium, the "preparation for publication of a work on the Forest Flora of this Colony"<sup>375</sup>, the despatch of "136 species of dried flowering specimens from the Lachlan and Murrumbidgee districts, to Baron von Mueller" and "sixty-seven species of seeds and seed-vessels, dried flowering specimens, and fifty-four species of timber specimens, to the Director of the Botanic Gardens, Melbourne." In

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369 see Reed : Henry Kendall, p.54 : "Kendall soon discovered that travelling on horseback in all weathers to inspect the reserves was beyond his strength but would not resign the position partly because Parkes, to whom he felt an obligation to resign personally, was absent from Australia, but primarily because he desired to provide adequately for his wife and six children." Kendall died of phthisis on 1 Aug. 1882 at the home of Peter, William and George Fagan, timber merchants, 137 Bourke St., Redfern (Surry Hills). See Reed : loc.cit., and SMH, 2 Aug. 1882, where it was claimed that Kendall was "one who had communed with the spirits of our forests and hills and plains."

370 NSW Govt. Gaz., 1882, IV, p.6759.

371 V. & P. Leg. Assembly NSW, 1883-1884, IV, p.882. (See also Chapter III, pp.322,323,326 for the pine regeneration of the 1880s.)

372 op.cit., p.381.

373 op.cit., p.383. The Ministers for Mines and for Works apparently saw in such wattle plantations the means of maintaining the sources of tanning bark. The activities of the "bark strippers" caused some alarm from time to time, especially to the tanners who feared that indiscriminate barking practices would endanger their industry. See J.H. Maiden : Wattles and Wattle-barks, Syd., 1890, 1891, 1906, also Wattle Bark : Report of the Board of Inquiry, Melb., 1892.

374 V. & P. Leg. Assembly NSW, 1883-1884, IV, p.883.

375 op.cit., p.380. This was not done, but Arvid Nilson's work was commended.

addition, rangers at Moama, Wagga Wagga, Grafton, Port Macquarie and Ulladulla between them collected in 1883 one hundred and sixteen timber specimens which John Taylor, a Sydney timber merchant prepared for despatch to the Calcutta International Exhibition.<sup>376</sup>

In 1880 it was at last lamented that

with the spread of settlement, the work of destruction by axe and fire has proceeded with indiscriminating energy; and furniture and building woods of great value have been swept away with as much unconcern as if they were only so much worthless scrub.<sup>377</sup>

By the end of 1881, however, there were 461 timber reserves in N.S.W., with an approximate area of 3,401, 447 acres, 250 of these reserves with an area of about 1,709, 289 acres being proclaimed as exempted from operation of the ordinary timber licences.<sup>378</sup>

Conservationists saw this as too little, too late, and their cry was taken up not only by professional botanists and the newly

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376 op.cit., pp.883, 903. The full list of these timber specimens with their vernacular names and, in most cases, botanical names as well, together with notes on distribution, habitat and use, is given in op.cit., pp.906-909.

377 H. M. Franklyn : A Glance at Australia in 1880...Melb., 1881, p.27.

378 V. & P. Leg. Assembly NSW, 1883-1884, IV, p.381. By 1886, the number of reserves had risen to 862, with a total area of 5,460, 125 acres. Coghlan : Wealth and Progress, 1886-1887, p.116. One of the best assessments of the forest industry in the 1880s was made by G. W. Griffin, U.S. Consul at Sydney in his New South Wales : her Commerce and Resources, Syd., 1888, pp.26 et.seq. Griffin summarised the state of knowledge concerning the most useful commercial timbers, timber tests and forest policy, and provided ample statistical evidence concerning the need of NSW "to import nearly one-half of the quantity of timber consumed." (The shortage of ample supplies of local softwood had been long appreciated). He also pointed out that "there are no schools of forestry in New South Wales, nor is there provision for the systematic study of the science of forestry." Model farms where the principles of forestry could be studied were "much required."

appointed forest rangers, but also by the press,<sup>379</sup> by speakers addressing learned societies,<sup>380</sup> and finally in 1907-1908, by a Royal

- <sup>379</sup> e.g. the Sydney Morning Herald took up the theme of Arbour Day and conservation, and published letters of support. (SMH, 16 July 1890, 30 July 1890, etc.); The Sunday Times ("The People's Watch-dog") hailed the work of John Ednie Brown, Director-General of Forests, as indicative of the right man being in the right place (14 Sept. 1890) and the man likely "to check the murder of our most stately forest trees" (16 Nov. 1890); The Australian Star agreed (16 Oct. 1890); the Albury Banner in Aug. 1890 and The Pastoral Times, Deniliquin, 28 Feb. 1891, both drew attention to the River Red Gum forests of the Murray; The Evening News, 3 Apr. 1891, observed, "since the re-organisation of the Forestry Department it is a noticeable fact that the value of N.S.W. timbers is becoming more and more known and appreciated." But Brown was summarily dismissed and his office abolished on 20 Feb. 1893 (see for example, Aust. Builder and Contractors' News, 4 Mar. 1893). This initiated another storm in which Brown's friend and adviser, Alexander Kethel, Sydney timber merchant and former Member for West Sydney, took a leading part. "I knew that our indigenous forests were being ruthlessly destroyed", said Kethel, "and that a few intermittent efforts on a small scale was all that was being done to arrest the process of destruction." Kethel therefore "advised Sir Henry Parkes to secure the services" of John Ednie Brown, whose dismissal now may be acceptable to some who are indifferent to the conservation of our forest wealth, or those who desire to exploit our forests, but to me it appears as a suicidal act perpetrated by men who are unable to distinguish between a forester and a tax-collector." ibid. The Echo, 9 Mar. 1893, understood that Brown would "be 'provided for', in the curatorship of the Government Botanic Garden, vice Mr. Charles Moore", but J.H. Maiden was appointed. As early as 1891, Brown had prepared a Forestry Bill, but it "was never presented to Parliament." A. Duckworth : The Timber Industry and Forests of N.S.W., Syd., 1902, p.6. John Ednie Brown was a Scottish forester who had been Conservator of Forests in South Australia, 1878-1889. When Sir Henry Parkes invited Brown to be the first Director-General of Forests in N.S.W. in 1889, there were 945 forest reserves comprising 5,500,000 acres. On leaving N.S.W. he became the first Conservator of Forests in Western Australia. See M.R. Jacobs in Aust. Jour. Sci., Vol. 19, 1956-1957, pp.1134-1135.
- <sup>380</sup> e.g. A.G. Hamilton : "On the Effect which Settlement in Australia has produced upon Indigenous Vegetation", Proc.Roy.Soc.NSW, 1892, pp.178 et seq.; A. Duckworth of the A.M.P. Society to the Roy.Soc. NSW, 27 Aug. 1902 on "The Timber Industry and Forests of N.S.W."; Wm. Woolls : "Species of Eucalyptus in the County of Cumberland : their Habitat and Use", Proc.Linn.Soc.NSW, 1880 (passim); Charles Moore, Anniversary Address to Roy.Soc.NSW, 1880.

FOREST MAP OF N.S.W.

QUEENSLAND



OUTLINE MAP  
OF  
NEW SOUTH WALES.

Showing location of principal  
Timbers.

VICTORIA

This map, showing some broad ecological divisions in terms of the dominant timber trees found in each area, was apparently the first such vegetation map to be published. Prepared principally by R. T. Dalrymple Hay and his Forest Department, the map was regarded by J. H. Maiden as "a preliminary attempt to construct a forest map of New South Wales on the same principle as the geological maps." (Ag. Gaz. NSW, 1901, p.814). With the development of the study of ecology and forest structure, this broad pattern of seventy years ago has been so refined that no less than 170 forest types and sub-types in N.S.W. are now recognised by the Forestry Commission. (Baur : Forest Types N.S.W., p.10).

Commission.<sup>381</sup>

Before the end of the century there were calls for a college to "teach botany and arbor-culture"<sup>382</sup> and for a complete botanical survey of the Colony, to be undertaken largely on a voluntary, but systematic basis, by

hundreds -- nay, even thousands -- of private citizens, and...engineers, surveyors, mining, land and forest officers, school-teachers, postmasters, and many others, who would give voluntary aid to the furtherance of a botanical survey.<sup>383</sup>

By the turn of the century, "a preliminary attempt to construct a forest map of New South Wales" had been made, principally by Richard Tycho Dalrymple Hay of the Forest Department.<sup>384</sup> This prototype vegetation map made no provision for the vast cleared areas, and it virtually showed in broadly-defined zones, the 60% or so of N.S.W. which had supported some form of forest cover when the first settlers landed in 1788.<sup>385</sup> By 1906, the "three or four kinds of trees" known to those settlers, had, through the individual enquiries and the broader influences

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381 Leg. Assembly NSW : Royal Commission of Enquiry on Forestry -- Final Report of the Commissioners, Syd., 1909. The Commission pointed to the shortage of N.S.W. softwoods, which necessitated the importation of "over 120,000,000 superficial feet of softwoods" per year. Accordingly, the planting was advocated of Native Cypresses (e.g. Callitris hugelii) and of Hoop Pine, Araucaria cunninghamii. It was then gloomily forecast that existing supplies of standing hardwoods would last, at the current rate of consumption, for "not...more than about thirty-six years". Native softwoods (including brushwoods) would last "a little more than twenty years". This report had a sobering effect.

382 SMH, 28 Apr. 1891, letter from "E.J.S." and editorial. It was also advocated that "some knowledge of botany" should be "required in the curriculum of qualification" for architects. J.H. Maiden in Ag. Gaz. NSW, 1893, p.752.

383 J.H. Maiden : Presidential Address, Proc.Roy.Soc.NSW, 1897, pp.63-69. This survey would ideally "include observations applicable to (a) Pure Botany, (b) Agriculture, (c) Forestry, (d) Horticulture. It might be added that both Maiden and Mueller had for many years been availing themselves of a vast amount of "local knowledge" through the enormous correspondence they carried on with people throughout the country. Cf. F.A. Campbell's proposal mentioned above, p.413.

384 Ag.Gaz.NSW, 1901, opp. p.614. The map is here reproduced.

385 i.e. 119,000,000 acres of a total of 198,000,000 acres. See NSW Forestry Commission leaflet : 50 Years of Forestry, New South Wales, Syd., 1966. This far exceeds the estimate of 25,000,000 acres of original forest suggested by Robert Kaleski : A Record of Forestry in New South Wales, Syd., 1926, p.3. The larger estimate is certainly much more likely.

TALLOW-WOOD.



TALLOW-WOOD, Eucalyptus microcorys, found in coastal forests northwards from a point south of the Hunter River, was first brought to scientific notice by Dr. Herman Beckler (see Chapter II, pp.134, 139, 140) whose specimens from the Hastings and Macleay Rivers were used by Mueller in describing and naming the species in 1860 (Mueller : Fragmenta, II, pp.50-51). Certainly by the late seventies the tree was well-known as Tallow-wood (although also known as Mahogany) and it was considered then, as now, to be "one of the best timbers for flooring and other building purposes." (Syd.Exhib.1879, p.728). The smaller tree to the left of the Tallow-wood, is Bloodwood, E.gummifera, favoured for poles and fence posts.

Photo : L.G., close sclerophyll forest south of Casino, 6 June 1970.

outlined above, been increased to over 520 described species.<sup>386</sup> As the number of known species increased, so did the realisation that discovery of new species of trees was far ahead of discovery of their properties, and yet as has been shown, great progress in this field was made, especially during the latter half of the nineteenth century.

Physically and botanically the conquest of the forests seemed assured, although some saw the progressive physical victory as a hollow one, attributable to the most wanton waste and destruction carried out before any careful investigation had been made. Others saw the botanical victory as an elusive thing, now assured, now uncertain, as "new" species were discovered, "old" species were reassessed, new seasoning, testing and other techniques were devised, and new uses for timbers previously wasted were attempted. It was a strange yet appropriate paradox that while settlers throughout the Colony were busily reducing 119,000,000 acres of native forest to something less than 24,000,000 acres<sup>387</sup>, the residents of Sydney Town, and their country and overseas visitors, had come to take great pride in the trees of Sydney's Botanic Gardens, which after a devious, if interesting, development were fondly regarded as the Colony's oldest scientific institution. That development will now be traced.

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386 Ag.Gaz.NSW, 1906. List of 521 trees indigenous to N.S.W. Cf. Anderson : Trees NSW (1968), pp.x,xii where some 180 species of Eucalyptus and 380 species of trees, apart from Eucalyptus and Acacia, are estimated to be indigenous to N.S.W.

387 50 Years of Forestry. "Today there are only 23,980,000 acres of forested lands, including 8,039,161 acres of State Forests and Timber Reserves. The latter figure represents only 4.1 per cent of the New South Wales area." Anderson maintained that "the true forest area" of N.S.W. is only 2.02% of the total area of the State. Anderson : Trees NSW, (1968), p.ix. In either case the area compares unfavourably with forest areas in other countries.

CHAPTER V

THE ROYAL BOTANIC GARDENS, SYDNEY.<sup>1</sup>

"In all the British Colonies, I believe Botanic Gardens have been considered as necessary appendages; although the purposes to which these should be applied have either been uninvestigated, or altogether lost sight of. At present, they form elegant and delightful promenades for the ladies and the burgesses; they provide delicious fruits for the desert (sic) of the Governor, or for those who are honored by an entrée to the Lady Governess' boudoir (sic). As secondary objects, they may have in view the transmission of the fairer flowers of the mountain, to deck the greenhouses of the noble or illustrious, or the collection of the meaner productions of the wilderness to lumber the works of science, or to record the existence of those whose names would otherwise have been soon consigned to oblivion."

John Henderson, 1832.<sup>2</sup>

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1 The Royal epithet was granted in 1959.

2 Henderson: Observations, pp.84-5.

"BOTANIC GARDENS CREEK"



"BOTANIC GARDENS CREEK": Unlike the more famous Tank Stream to the west, the creek beside which the first government farm was established, has not been reduced to an underground storm-water channel. "Botanic Gardens Creek" as J. H. Maiden called it, while preserving its original course in its upper section, has long been contained by sandstone walls. The monument in the right background was erected in 1952 to mark the site of Phillip's Farm.

Photo.: L. G., 19 Aug., 1969.

THE ROYAL BOTANIC GARDENS, SYDNEY

"...it is presumed, the primary object to be kept in view, in conducting such an establishment at Port Jackson, is to render it valuable to the Colony..."

Allan Cunningham, 1832.<sup>3</sup>

Origins.

Although Sir Joseph Banks greatly influenced the decision to settle Botany Bay, he was apparently unable to send an official botanist or horticulturist with the First Fleet.<sup>4</sup> It was Phillip himself who was charged with such botanical responsibilities as searching for useful or otherwise interesting indigenous plants, and introducing exotics. This work entailed (i) a survey of the bush; (ii) the preparation for shipment to England of seeds and living specimens of indigenous plants;<sup>5</sup> (iii) the establishment in improvised nurseries of plants brought into the Colony as likely sources of food and other comfort for the settlers.<sup>6</sup> At the "official" level, these activities largely took place within the area long known as the Sydney Botanic Gardens.<sup>7</sup>

Australian horticulture and fruit-growing thus began with the transfer of seeds and living plants from the First Fleet to "some ground ... prepared near his excellency's house on the East side" of the Tank Stream, where the settlers

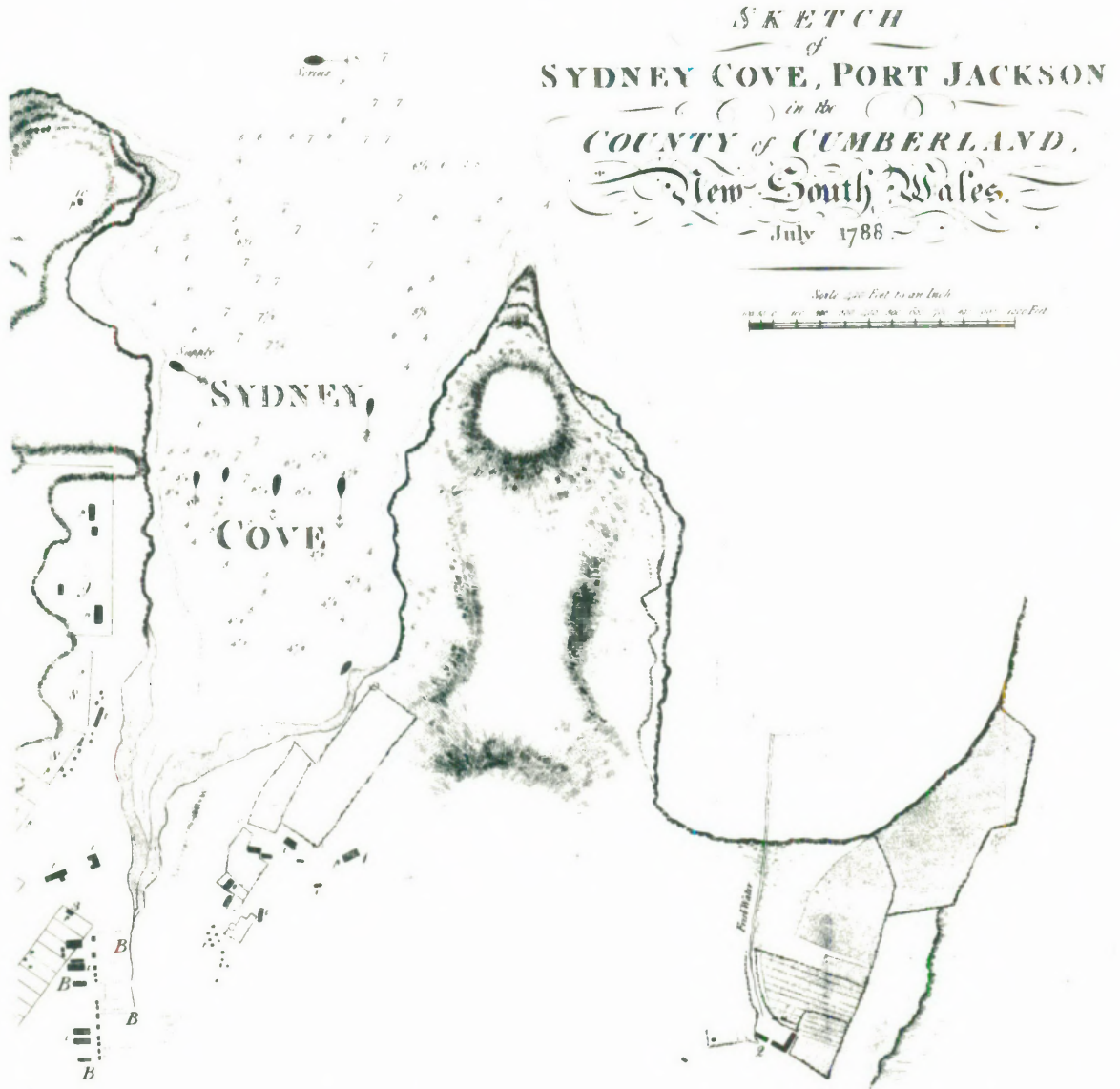
soon had the satisfaction of seeing the grape, the fig, the orange, the pear, and the apple, the delicious fruits of the Old, taking root and

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- 3 A. Cunningham to R. W. Hay, 10 July 1832, ML. A2146, p.85.
  - 4 This was one of Phillip's complaints. See his letter to Lord Sydney, 15 May 1788, HRA, I, p.24. David Burton, the first resident Banksian collector, arrived as a superintendent of convicts in Sept. 1791. He died following a gun accident some seven months later.
  - 5 The early traffic in native plants is discussed in Thesis I.
  - 6 As stated at the outset, detailed consideration of exotics is beyond the scope of this study, but when dealing with the Botanic Gardens, some mention of introduced plants is unavoidable.
  - 7 The plural form, 'Gardens', is considered later.

BOTANIC GARDENS: MAP 1 (1788)

from The Voyage of Governor Phillip to  
Botany Bay...Lond., 1789.

- NOTE: 1. The "9 Acres in Corn" on the first Government Farm,  
on the eastern bank of the freshwater stream which  
J. H. Maiden later called "Botanic Gardens Creek."  
2. The wide inter-tidal margin around Farm Cove which  
was later incorporated into the Lower Garden.



**REFERENCES**

1. A small House building for the Governor.
2. A Farm: 9 Acres in Corn.

establishing themselves in our New World.<sup>8</sup>

Australian agriculture had its origin a little less than half a mile to the east of "his excellency's house." Here, Phillip's servant, Henry Edward Dodd,<sup>9</sup> was

employed at the spot of ground which was cleared soon after our arrival at the adjoining cove, since distinguished by the name of Farm Cove...<sup>10</sup>

By July 1788, there were "9 Acres in Corn"<sup>11</sup> at this "spot of ground" on Farm Cove, adjacent to the present Cunningham obelisk and the shady palm walks of the area now known as the Middle Garden in the heart of the Botanic Gardens. The convict labourers who first cleared and sowed the pitifully limited area of alluvial soil on the eastern bank of what was later called Botanic Gardens Creek,<sup>12</sup> unwittingly prepared for the development of one of the first botanic gardens outside Europe.<sup>13</sup>

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- 8 Collins: An Account, p.7. Other species procured at Rio de Janeiro and the Cape included: coffee, cocoa, cotton, bamboo, jalap, banana, lemon, guava, quince, strawberry, prickly pear (or 'cochineal fig'), oak, myrtle, 'Spanish Reed' (i.e. European or Giant Reed, Arundo donax) and seed of various cereals to augment grain supplies brought from England. Some of these proposed introductions did not survive the voyage. Collins: op.cit., p.xxviii; Voyage of Governor Phillip, p.33; Phillip to Sydney, 28 Sept. 1788, HRNSW, I (2), p.190
- 9 Dodd was soon (March 1789) appointed superintendent of agriculture at Rose Hill (Parramatta) where he died 28 Jan. 1791. His tersely worded gravestone is the oldest in St. John's Cemetery, Parramatta.
- 10 Collins: An Account, p.64.
- 11 Sketch of Sydney Cove in Voyage of Governor Phillip, opp.p.122. Also p.127: "When the plan was drawn it contained about nine acres laid down in corn of different kinds. Later accounts speak of six acres of wheat, eight of barley, and six of other grain..." Part of this map is here reproduced as Botanic Gardens: Map 1.
- 12 This may not be the official name, but J. H. Maiden aptly applied it to the watercourse which drains the Domain from the rear of Sydney Hospital north to Farm Cove.
- 13 Maiden pointed this out in the Kew Bulletin, 1906, p.206. See also R. H. Anderson: An ABC of the Royal Botanic Gardens Sydney, Syd., 1965, p.10, where the Sydney Gardens are said to be older than 80% of the world's official botanic gardens, and second in age only to Rio de Janeiro in the Southern Hemisphere.

It is rather more satisfactory, and certainly easier to speak of the "development" of the Sydney Botanic Garden rather than its establishment for the latter implies a definite date of proclamation which is difficult to determine. This is because there was an almost indiscernible transition from the agricultural Government Farm, to the horticultural and ultimately scientific, Botanic Garden.<sup>14</sup>

Although by March 1789, the comparative sterility of the Farm Cove area had been amply demonstrated, the Farm was "still attended to, and the fences kept in repair," but "there was not any intention of clearing more ground in that spot."<sup>15</sup> Indeed, by January 1789, "whatever expectations could be formed of successful cultivation" centred on Rose Hill.<sup>16</sup> The fading of official hopes for a Government Farm at Farm Cove was further indicated by the fact that between 1794 and 1807 private individuals were permitted to lease land around the Cove, including the original Government Farm itself.<sup>17</sup> This was done in

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14 In Europe, botanic gardens often developed in the same gradual way from the cultivation of medicinal, and other useful plants in gardens attached to monasteries and universities. Here again dates of 'establishment' are found to vary. The most ancient gardens of which there is record were in Asia.

15 Collins: An Account, p.64.

16 op.cit., p.51.

17 In 1794 Nicholas Divine, superintendent of convicts, leased the "Governor's Old Farm" which, with other land, he later offered for sale. (Syd.Gaz., 1 Jan.1804, p.4). By 1800, Divine had blocks on either side of Botanic Gardens Creek, while the peninsula between Farm Cove and Woolloomooloo Bay had been leased to Nathaniel Franklin (Gov. Hunter's servant who suicided 1798—HRA, II, p.396); Alex. McDonald; James Callum and Frederick Markett. (See Charles Grimes's Plan of Sydney, May 1800, HRNSW, V, after p.837, here reproduced as Botanic Gardens: Map 2. By 1807 an additional block of the eastern bank of Botanic Gardens Creek had been leased to Thomas Alford who in 1814 was described as "an Old and very faithful Servant to Government...upwards of Twenty five years in this Colony, the greater part of which...as Head Government Gardener to the entire Satisfaction of every Successive Governor." (Macquarie to Goulburn, 17 May 1814, HRA, VIII, p.252.) See also James Meehan's Plan of Sydney, 31 Oct. 1807, HRNSW, VI, opp.p.366, here reproduced as Botanic Gardens: Map 3. One of the "Scottish Martyrs", Joseph Gerrald, occupied a block here, and after his death on 16 Mar. 1796, "was buried in the garden of a little spot of ground which he had purchased at Farm Cove." (Collins: An Account, p.469). The traditional site of the grave was between a large Norfolk Island Pine (i.e. the old 'Wishing Tree' planted in 1815 and removed in 1945) and Botanic Gardens Creek. (Maiden in Kew Bulletin, 1906, p.207).

BOTANIC GARDENS:  
MAP 5.



Note: 4 : Entrance to Government Domain

- 15 : Female School of Industry in Macquarie St., on site of present Mitchell Wing of the Library of N.S.W.
- 17 : Entrance to the Government Gardens, flanked by two Norfolk Island Pines.
- 8 : St. James's Church, King Street.



- Note: 48 : Government Stables, now incorporated in the Conservatorium of Music.
- 59 : Charles Fraser's house in the Botanic Gardens.
  - X : the undeveloped Lower Garden area near Farm Cove.
  - Y : Anson's Point or Mrs. Macquarie's Chair.
  - Z : Farm Cove.

defiance of Phillip's action in 1792 of reserving for the Crown an area which Governor Gipps later termed "a considerable extent of land in the immediate neighbourhood of...Sydney...as a Government Domain."<sup>18</sup> By 1807, however, land on the western and southern sides of Farm Cove was considered "absolutely necessary for the use of Government House." Despite "leases improperly granted on it," this land, comprising much of the present Botanic Gardens, was said to be "now improving."<sup>19</sup> This 'improvement' appears to have been rather in the state of the tenure than in the condition of the land, as the Crown took steps to regain the area Phillip had demarcated by a line for a ditch, which was duly "made by Governor Bligh."<sup>20</sup> This policy of resumption earned Bligh much notoriety.<sup>21</sup>

Near the first settlement therefore, there were two Government cultivations — the old Government House<sup>22</sup> garden which extended northward to Sydney Cove, and the Government Farm at Farm Cove which was shortly leased. Certainly the former was used as an official nursery where vines, fruit trees, ornamental plants and other useful exotics were established and acclimatised before perhaps being distributed to more promising gardens elsewhere, depending on the supply of plants and the Governor's needs. No doubt this garden was also used as a nursery where indigenous plants destined for Sir Joseph Banks, the Kew Gardens, and the gardens of English noblemen and nurserymen could be tended

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18 Gipps to Marquess of Normanby, 23 Dec. 1839, HRA, XX, p.441. See also Phillip's Order, 2 Dec. 1792 in JRAHS, 1931, p.113.

19 See the section of Meehan's map here reproduced as Botanic Gardens: Map 3.

20 See Meehan's map of 1807, Botanic Gardens: Map 3.

21 See Bligh's Order of 23 July 1807 giving certain lessees notice to quit "land particularly marked out as making part of the Domain of the Governor's residence." HRNSW, VI, p.276. Also Bligh to Windham, 31 Oct. 1807, HRNSW, VI, pp.359-360. For discontent concerning Nicholas Divine, the destruction of houses, and the fact that "carriage roads are now all round Bennelong's Point, and down about Farm Cove, all ditch'd in and no thoroughfare allowed," see Surgeon John Harris to Mrs. Anna Josepha King, 25 Oct. 1807, HRNSW, VI, pp.345, 347.

22 This stood 1789-1845 on a site near the present intersection of Bridge and Phillip Streets.

pending the arrival of a ship boasting one of Banks's "plant cabbins," fitted with tubs and with tallow candles for heating. Such a reciprocal arrangement for the exchange of plants was suggested as a practical proposition by Governor King.<sup>23</sup>

In 1802, the area adjoining Government House was described as a fine garden, that descends to the sea-shore: already...may be seen, the Norfolk Island pine, the superb Columbia, growing by the side of the bamboo of Asia; farther on is the Portugal orange, and Canary fig, ripening beneath the shade of the French apple-tree: the cherry, peach, pear, and apricot, are interspersed amongst the Banksia, Metrosideros, Correa, Melaluca (sic), Casuarina, Eucalyptus, and a great number of other indigenous trees...<sup>24</sup>

Although botanical work with scientific implications was indeed carried out in the Government House garden, it is clear that the idea of an extensive Government Domain arose largely from the desire of the early Governors to maintain privacy in the midst of a penal colony. Governor Bligh was apparently particularly energetic in implementing his plans for improving the grounds around old Government House. Of him it was reported

he has so changed everything about Government House that you would be entirely lost in it... The shrubbery has also undergone a thorough change — no grass now growing in it, all laid out in walks with clumps of trees. Even the poor tomb of young Kent is annihilated (sic). All the rocks in the garden is (sic) blown up and carried away. Not less than 80 or 90 men have been constantly employed since you went away for these purposes.<sup>25</sup>

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23 King to Hobart, 9 May 1803, HRA, IV, pp.223-4.

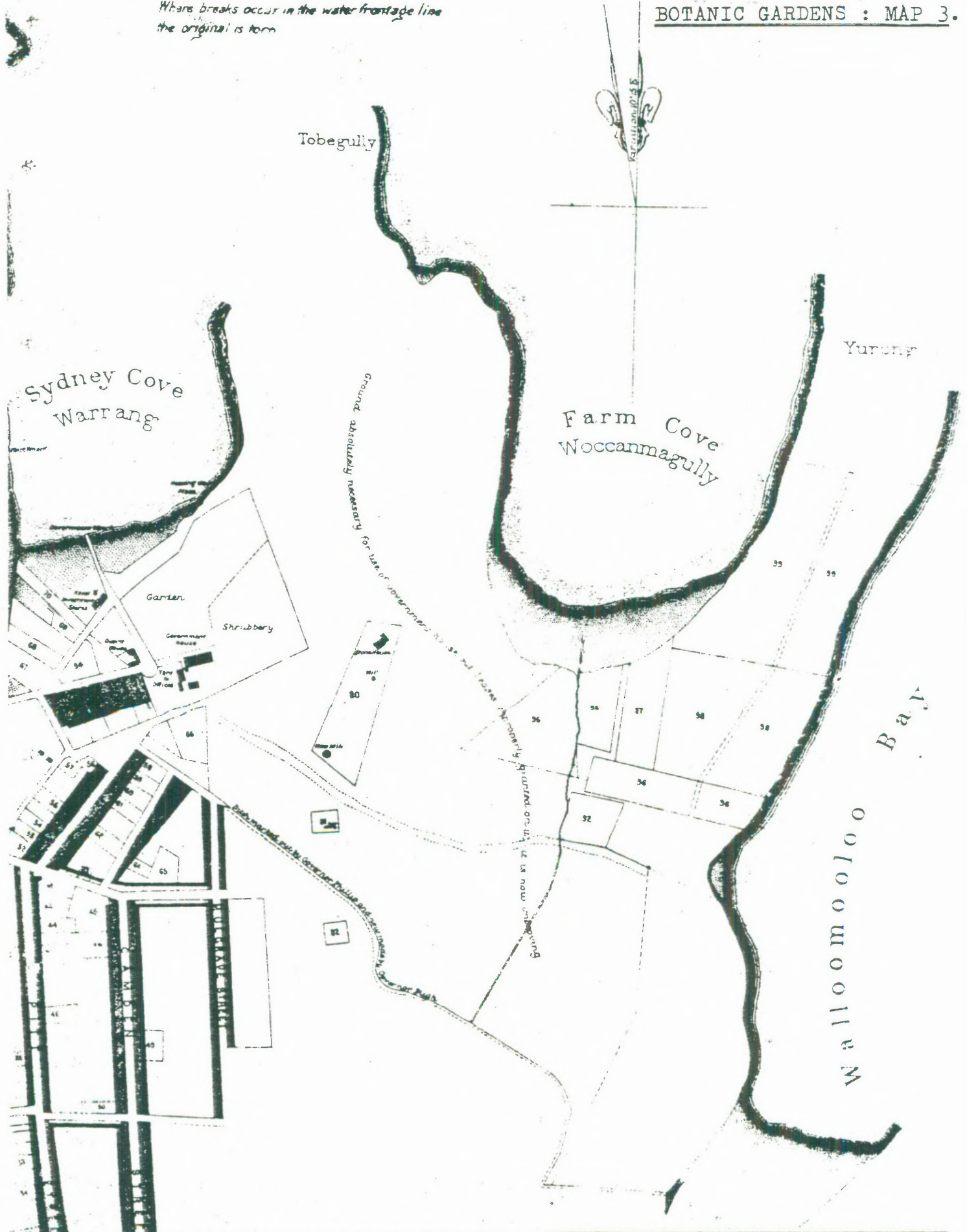
24 F. Peron: A Voyage of Discovery to the Southern Hemisphere... Lond., 1809, p.275. This Norfolk Island Pine, Araucaria heterophylla is shown in paintings of early Sydney as a landmark in the Government House garden. It is interesting that this garden was not entirely cleared of native trees. Metrosideros was then applied to such Myrtaceous genera as Angophora, Callistemon, Eugenia and even to some species of Eucalyptus.

25 Surgeon John Harris to Mrs. Anna Josepha King, 25 Oct. 1807, HRNSW, VI, p.347. "Young Kent's" tombstone was discovered during excavations near old Government House in 1847. It bore the name of John Hunter Kent, son of Lieut. Wm. Kent and Eliza, b.8 Nov. 1795; d. 18 May 1796. SMH, 16 June 1847.

NOTE:

Where breaks occur in the water frontage line  
the original is torn

BOTANIC GARDENS : MAP 3.



This "shrubbery" adjoined the Government House garden on the eastern side,<sup>26</sup> and was probably composed of both indigenous and exotic plants, a place of gubernatorial recreation, quite separate from the garden proper and its nursery.

It is probable that between 1789<sup>27</sup> and 1794,<sup>28</sup> the cultivations at Farm Cove were also used as a clearing house for the import of exotics and the export of indigenous plants. Once the private use of land in this area was curtailed, the old cultivations of the Government Farm were certainly used for these purposes, and it is to the furrow lines of the early cereal sowings that the long rectangular shape of the numerous beds of the present Middle Garden is attributed.<sup>29</sup> Once the old Government Farm became well established as an entrepot nursery, it is likely that the Government House garden ceased to have this function, and some transfer of plants was probably made.

Although the two gardens near Sydney Cove were convenient to overseas shipping, the soil at Rose Hill was clearly more productive. The Governor's country residence established at the Crescent at Parramatta<sup>30</sup> in Phillip's time soon had its "Governor's Garden" which by October 1792 comprised 6½ acres.<sup>31</sup> In addition, by May 1800, Governor-elect Philip Gidley King<sup>32</sup> had

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- 26 Macquarie Street now runs through the site of this "shrubbery" which had no connection with the present Botanic Gardens site, contrary to what is stated in Aust. Encyc., 2, p.56. See Botanic Gardens: Map 3.
- 27 when agricultural attention turned to Rose Hill.
- 28 when Nicholas Divine took up a 14 year lease of the Govt. Farm area.
- 29 J. H. Maiden in Kew Bulletin, 1906, p.207. Anderson: ABC, p.21. See also Botanic Gardens: Maps 3, 7, 8, 12, for some support of this view.
- 30 This was the rise above the "Amphitheatre" in Parramatta Park. Traces of Phillip's country residence were found during recent renovation of the Old Government House built mainly by Hunter and Macquarie, and long used by the King's School.
- 31 including a 3-acre vineyard. HRA, I, p.402.
- 32 Hunter was Governor until 27 Sept. 1800. King must have been back in the Colony barely a fortnight before taking this action. His promptness was probably motivated by a desire to please Banks, and by trouble with Caley on the voyage out in the Speedy.

marked out a botanic garden, to be under Col. Paterson's directions. It is ready for receiving plants, and Cayley (sic) has the use of Gov't. House at Parramatta to dry his specimens, &c.<sup>33</sup>

Caley himself however was, characteristically, not impressed. In December 1800, he reported

Governor King and Col. Paterson were some time back anxious to establish a Botanic Garden, but I hear nothing said of it now...the ground is lying waste.<sup>34</sup>

No doubt Sir Joseph Banks determined the truth of the matter somewhere between the two reports, but by the time the French naturalist Francois Peron visited Parramatta in 1802, there had apparently been a vast change:

The whole eastern front of Rose Hill...is a very gentle declivity, on which appears the fine garden belonging to the government; in which many interesting experiments are made, with a view to naturalize foreign vegetables: here are also collected the most remarkable of the indigenous plants, intended to enrich the famous royal gardens of Kew. It is from this spot that England ...has acquired most of her treasures in the vegetable kingdom; and which have enabled English botanists to publish many important volumes. An enlightened botanical professor, who combines modesty with indefatigable exertion, had just arrived at the time of our visit to superintend the garden at Parramatta, and the learned colonel Paterson, to whom New South Wales is indebted for this establishment, has never ceased to take a lively interest in its success.<sup>35</sup>

Although Peron obviously had some of his facts mixed, it would seem significant that he saw in the Parramatta garden precisely the same kind of activities as were being, or had been, carried out in the

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33 King to Banks, 3 May 1800. HRNSW, IV, p.82. King reported that Caley preferred to work at Parramatta. Paterson, one of the most enlightened of the earlier amateur botanists, had an extensive garden at his Sydney home.

34 Caley to Banks, 22 Dec. 1800. Banks (Brabourne) Papers, ML.

35 Peron: Voyage of Discovery, p.283. The "botanical professor" was Robert Brown who arrived in Sydney with Flinders in May 1802. Peron misunderstood the nature of his visit.

earlier Government cultivations at Sydney. Peron's visit in 1802 was made when land at Farm Cove was still in private hands and it seems likely that for a time Parramatta was the chief entrepot. Governor King referred to this Parramatta garden in 1806,<sup>36</sup> and Cunningham mentioned it twelve years later.<sup>37</sup> In its latter days it was somewhat superfluously referred to as the "Horticultural Garden," apparently because Governor Brisbane had permitted the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of N.S.W. to use the old Government garden as a nursery and experimental plot. Faced with lively competition from private nurseries, as well as from the Sydney Botanic Garden, the Society was happy to offer the land to the Church Corporation in 1833. The King's School was established on the site,<sup>38</sup> and the old Parramatta Garden disappeared forever.

Meanwhile, action even more positive than Governor Bligh's had been taken by his energetic successor to secure his privacy in Sydney by incorporating the Government House garden and the Farm Cove cultivations within one vast Government Domain, extending from Sydney Cove to Woolloomooloo Bay. Phillip had marked a line, Bligh had dug a ditch, and in 1810<sup>39</sup> Macquarie began his stone walls. He was determined to keep the "Governor's Demesne" inviolate, despite such irregularities as Mr. Commissary John Palmer's flour mills and baker's yard within its

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36 King to Castlereagh; 27 July 1806, HRNSW, VI, p.113.

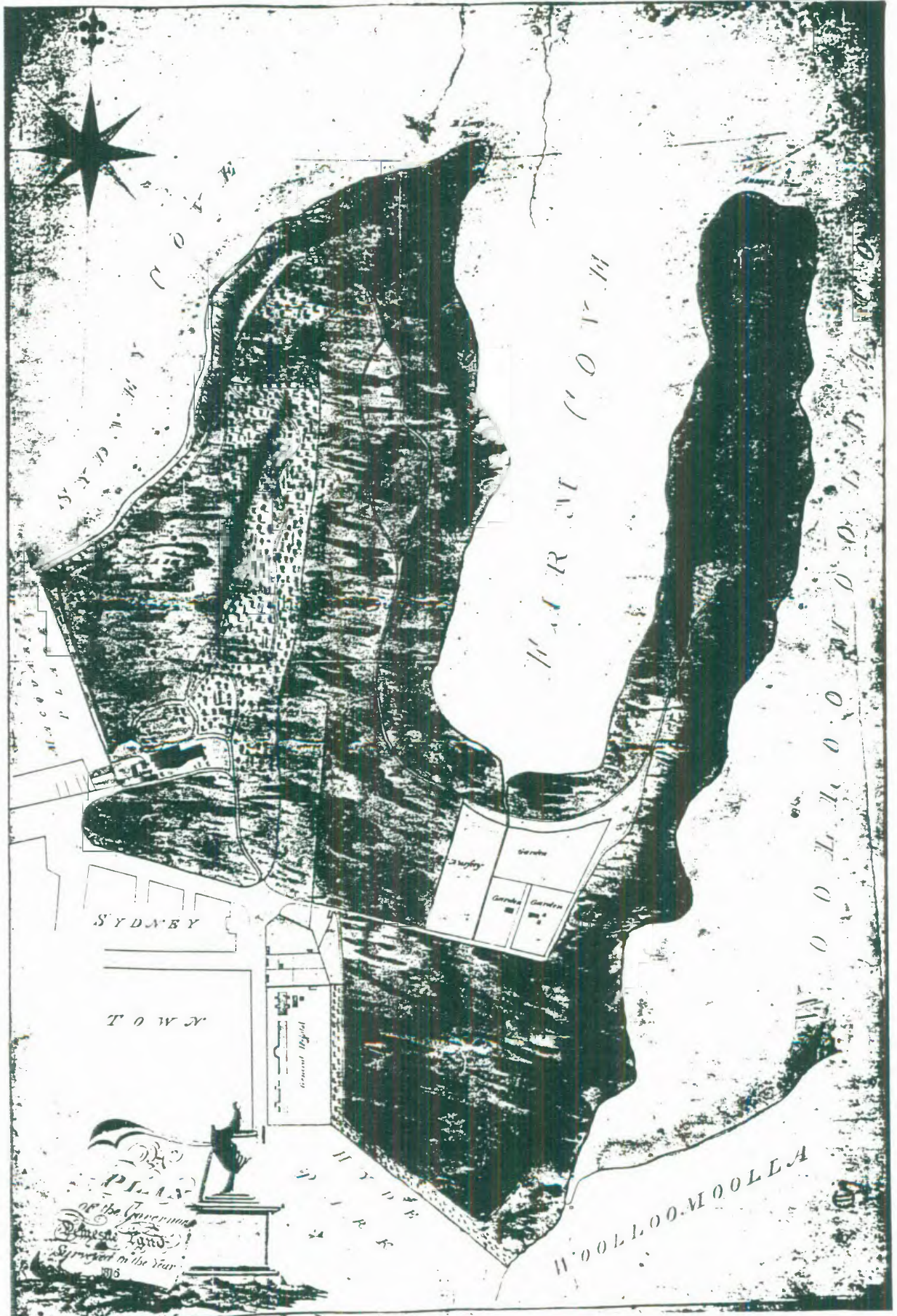
37 Cunningham to Banks, 19 Dec. 1818: "Governor Macquarie is forming a Botanic Garden at Parramatta under the direction of Charles Fraser, late Private, 46th Regt., who is styled Colonial Botanist." Dawson: Banks Letters, p.247.

38 The Society actually surrendered the land to Gov. Bourke who arranged for reimbursement of £300 to enable the Society to meet its liabilities. S. M. Johnstone: The History of the King's School Parramatta, Syd., 1931, pp.54-5. See also letter of Colonial Secretary, 23 Apr. 1849, in JRAHS, 1928, p.13.

39 Agreements with Thomas Boulton, 21 Aug. 1810 for two stone walls. NSW CSIL, 1810, ML. CS6, pp.90-105. Sections of some of Macquarie's stone walls still stand—see photographs on pp. 445, 450, 475.

confines.<sup>40</sup> If the people felt the need for a recreational walk they could go to "the open ground yet unoccupied in the vicinity of the town," known as the Common,<sup>41</sup> which the Governor renamed Hyde Park.<sup>42</sup> Macquarie's policy of enclosure not only provided for his "Stone Wall"<sup>43</sup> to divide the "Government Domain...from the Town across the Neck of Land between 'Sydney Cove' and Woolloomooloo Bay,"<sup>44</sup> but also for considerable lengths of post-and-rail fencing, and even for fencing to be erected on top of walls!<sup>45</sup> A vast clearing programme was also carried out,<sup>46</sup> and Garden Island was to be "considered in future as forming a part of the Government Domain."<sup>47</sup> In addition, Macquarie

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- 40 See Botanic Gardens: Map 3. Macquarie resumed this land (leased to Palmer in 1802) with compensation in 1814. Gipps to Normanby, 23 Dec. 1839, HRA, XX, p.443. Phillip's rather erratic southern boundary to his proposed Domain was apparently determined by topography and vegetation (the area is thought to have been covered with thick heathy scrub dominated by Tick Bush, Kunzea ambigua—see Maiden in JRAHS, 1931, p.128). It extended from near old Government House south-easterly past the site of Gov. Bourke's present monument to the embouchure of a creek in the south-western corner of Woolloomooloo Bay near the present Lincoln Crescent. The various maps of the Botanic Gardens area here reproduced show that much of Phillip's original intention has been preserved, despite the loss of the area west of Macquarie Street, and the devastating excavations for car-parking space and expressways in recent years.
- 41 also known as the "Cricket Ground," "Exercising Ground" or "Racecourse."
- 42 Govt. and Gen. Order, 6 Oct. 1810, HRNSW, VII, p.429.
- 43 see M. H. Ellis's delightful treatment of walls as an "institution" at Botany Bay in his Lachlan Macquarie, Syd., 1952, p.340. Certainly Macquarie's Report of 27 July 1822 teems with references to 'stone walls, brick walls, five-rail fences, paling fences, stockades, and undefined "strong fences."
- 44 Macquarie to Bathurst, 27 July 1822, HRA, X, p.637.
- 45 Macquarie approved a contract for "eight hundred and eighty-seven feet of pallsading on the dwarf wall...from the stone wall at Government House, to the end of Bent Street." Contract with John Mould, 28 Oct. 1811, HRNSW, VII, p.634. Turner, Richardson and party erected 393 rods of four-rail fence in 1817 (Wentworth Papers, ML.A763, p.211); two-rail fencing was also erected (*ibid.*), and more fencing was erected by Finigan and Smithers (Wentworth Papers, ML. D1, p.168).
- 46 e.g. 3 acres converted to garden once cleared of rocks and stumps, 1813. (BT. Box 12, Appendix p.338); 24 acres of stumps cleared by J. Smithers, 1816 (Wentworth Papers, ML.D1, pp.142, 146); stumps removed by J. Kennedy, 1817 (Wentworth Papers, ML.D1, p.172).
- 47 Govt. Order, 7 Sept. 1811, quoted in J. H. Heaton: Aust. Dictionary of Dates..., Syd., 1879, p.116.



SYDNEY COY. M

HARBOR COY. M

SYDNEY

TOWN

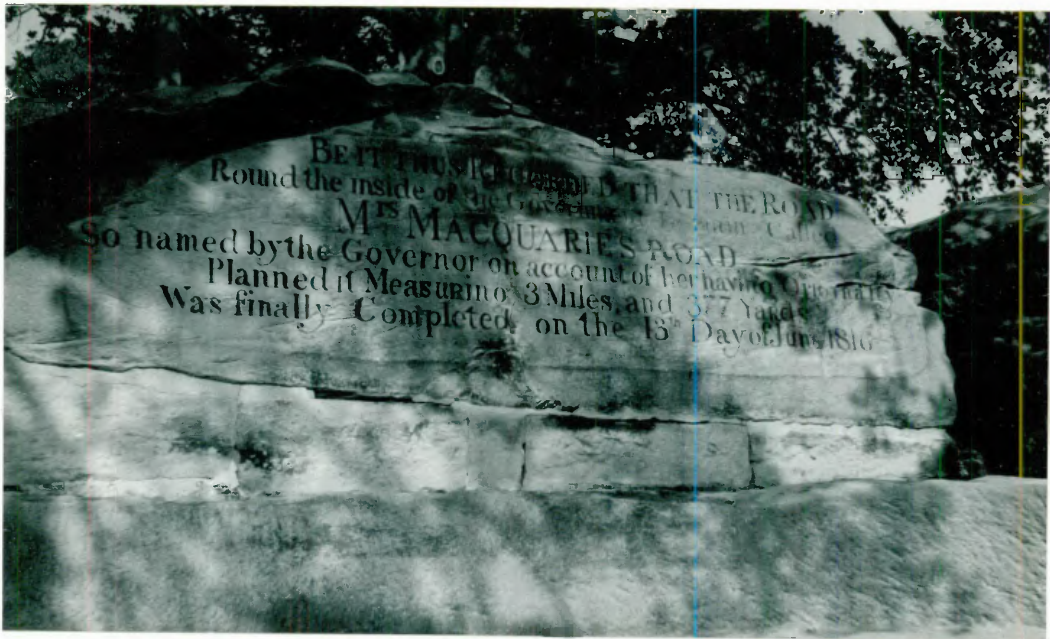
PLAN  
of the Town and  
District of  
SYDNEY  
in the Year  
1788



WOLLMOOLLA

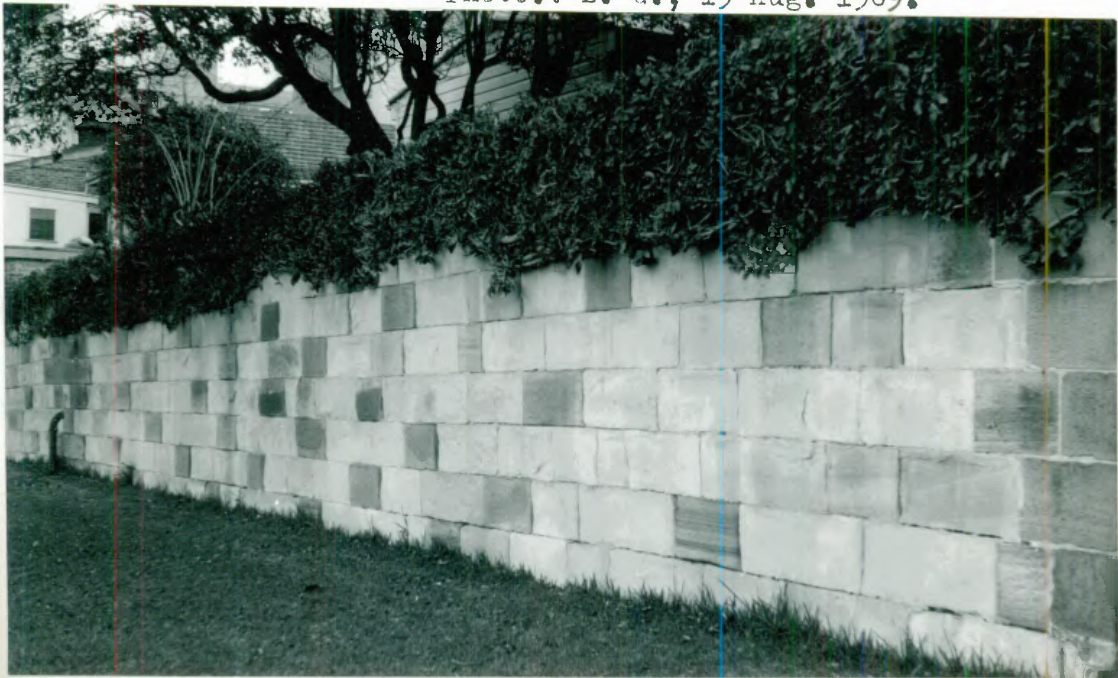
WOLLMOOLLA

MACQUARIE AND "THE GOVERNOR'S DEMESNE"



INSCRIPTION IN A SANDSTONE FACE at Mrs Macquarie's Point commemorating the completion of "the road round the inside of the Government Domain," 13 June 1816.

Photo.: L. G., 19 Aug. 1969.



SECTION OF MACQUARIE'S SANDSTONE WALL around the domain, still standing at the rear of Parliament House, Macquarie Street, Sydney. The climber is Asian Creeping Fig, Ficus pumila.

Photo.: L. G., 20 Aug. 1969.

claimed responsibility for establishing

A Government Garden made on Farm Cove,  
consisting of five acres of Ground, enclosed  
partly by a High Paling, with a Brick House  
for the accommodation of the Chief Gardener.<sup>48</sup>

Here is clear evidence of the revival of the old Government Farm on Botanic Gardens Creek. Doubtless this reorganised garden was to supply His Excellency's table, but most likely part of it was used as a clearing house for the export of native plants arranged by Macquarie at Earl Bathurst's request.

Charles Fraser.

Having warned the populace of the sanctity<sup>49</sup> of the Government Domain, Macquarie set about implementing his wife's scheme for a road, part of which is still known as Mrs. Macquarie's Drive.<sup>50</sup> By June 1816, when completion of this road further delineated the boundaries of the Government Domain, Macquarie had available the services of

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- 48 Macquarie to Bathurst, 27 July 1822. HRA, X, p.687. It was probably for the painting of this 'pallisading' that materials were issued in Nov. 1812. Macquarie: Letters (Addenda), ML.A1932, p.10a. The house was probably that shown in Burford's sketch, see Botanic Gardens: Map 5, and part of the building shown in the photograph on p.496.
- 49 There was to be no trespassing by man or beast, no removal of rock or soil, no destruction of "wood or shrubs," etc. Govt. Public Notice, 17 Oct. 1812.
- 50 The road was commenced in 1813. Note the inscription on Mrs. Macquarie's Chair in the photograph on p.445. See also Cartwright's Map of 1816, here reproduced as Botanic Gardens: Map 4. Completion of the road is noted in Macquarie's Diary, ML.A773, pp.24-25, but although a "particular and auspicious Day," there is no mention of a formal proclamation of the Gardens.

Charles Fraser, the "botanical soldier,"<sup>51</sup> with whom an agreement was made concerning the superintendence of the reconstituted garden and domain. Certainly by 1817 Macquarie considered Fraser the "Colonial Botanist."<sup>52</sup>

Traditionally, the date of the completion of Mrs. Macquarie's Drive on 13 June 1816, has been taken as the foundation date of the Sydney Botanic Gardens as they now exist,<sup>53</sup> and indeed the centenary of the Gardens was duly celebrated on Tuesday, 13 June 1916, in the presence of the Governor, Premier, Minister for Agriculture and a

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- 51 Oxley's term. Fraser arrived in the Guildford 8 April 1816, with a detachment of the 56th Regt. from the East Indies. On 6 Nov. 1816 he was transferred to the 46th Regt., and on 25 Aug. 1817 to the 48th. (War Office Records, W.O. 25/395) I have found no evidence to support the statement that Fraser was in Macquarie's own 73rd Regt. (see Hooker: Introductory Essay, p.cxxiii, and The Australian, 30 Dec. 1831 and Sydney Monitor, 30 Dec. 1831). Fraser, who was described as having "complexion brown, eyes gray, hair brown; face long" (W.O. 25/395, f.79) was born c.1788 in Perthshire, Scotland, "in parish of Blair Atholl." He had been a gardener, spending "his youth...in the nurseries of...the Duke of Norfolk," it was said. (The Australian, 30 Dec. 1831). Arriving in Sydney, "his untutored but aspiring genius pointed him out to Governor Macquarie" (ibid.) who, as already shown (Chapter II) appointed Fraser to Oxley's first expedition in 1817 to enable the Governor to meet the botanical requests of Earl Bathurst. Fraser was granted 500 acres in the parish of Liberty Plains at Chester Hill, 30 June 1823. He did not develop his area of poor soil, covered with tea tree scrub. Subdivision of the area was made in the 1870s. (Lands Dept. Records).
- 52 Not by 1819 as stated in the Aust.Dict.Biog. I, p.416. See Macquarie's list of personnel for Oxley's first expedition, 24 Mar. 1817, in Oxley: Journals, p.362.
- 53 See J. H. Maiden in The Public Service Journal, 10 Dec. 1903, p.10, in Kew Bulletin, 1906, p.208, in SMH, 21 Apr. 1906, and in JRAHS, 1928, p.13. Allan Cunningham's biographer, R. Heward, found that the earliest Colonial Office reference to the Botanic Gardens was dated 1817. (Hooker: Introductory Essay, p.cxxiv). Even Cunningham himself was unsure of the date of establishment. He felt the Garden "may date its origin from...1818, when...Charles Fraser...was placed in charge..." (Col. Office, Misc. Letters, NSW, 1832, ML.A2146, p.33). Cunningham recorded that on 5 Feb. 1820, Commissioner Bigge discussed "the subject of a Botanic Garden being formed in the Colony, assuring me the Governor had now fully determined to set about its formation immediately." (A. Cunningham: MS Journal, ML.A1745, p.104). The matter largely depends upon different interpretations of the nature and purpose of a Botanic Garden.

military band.<sup>54</sup> There is evidence however, of presentations to the Garden before 1816. In 1814, for example, Dr. D'Arcy Wentworth's gift of a Norfolk Island Pine, Araucaria heterophylla, was planted at the intended entrance to the new Government Garden at Farm Cove,<sup>55</sup> and other specimens of the same tree had been planted somewhere in the Domain two years before.<sup>56</sup> Still more pines were planted, according to family tradition, by Major Antill, the Governor's aide, and probably by Macquarie himself, "when the gardens were commenced."<sup>57</sup> One of these was apparently the "Wishing Tree," a little to the east of Botar Gardens Creek; this became a giant tree with a fascination for children until decay led to its removal in 1945.

Warnings against trespassing in the Domain continued to issue from Government House, although "the respectable class of inhabitants" were not precluded from enjoying some "innocent recreation during the day time."<sup>58</sup> Macquarie's passion for enclosing his Domain arose not only from a desire for privacy and respect, but also from a curious mixture of moral and botanical motives:

these regular Public Entrances did not suit the Persons going thither for vicious and disorderly purposes, namely secreting stolen Goods...for which many parts...are well Calculated, being wild, rocky Shrubbery...undisturbed by the Hand of Civilized Man. This Shrubbery was also much frequented by lewd, disorderly Men and Women for most indecent improper purposes. I had long wished to put a stop to these disgraceful meetings and indecent assignations, as well to save the Shrubbery and young Plantations of Forest Trees...planted in the Grounds.<sup>59</sup>

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- 54 Report of the Director of the Botanic Gardens...for 1916, Syd., 1918, p.5.
- 55 Macquarie's Memoranda, 1814, ML. A772, p.81.
- 56 Nicholas Flood, one of the overseers of the Govt. Garden (HRA, VII p.749), planted pines in the Domain in Sept. 1812. Macquarie's Memoranda, ML. A772, p.46.
- 57 J. M. Antill in SMH, 30 Sept. 1897. For other versions, see Maiden in Kew Bulletin, 1906, p.209, where the date is given as 1817.
- 58 Order of 6 July 1816 quoted in Pub.Serv.Jour. 10 Dec. 1903, p.10. Cf. "Public Government Orders had been at various times issued forbidding Trespasses on the Domain, and Hand Bills were even Stuck up on different Parts of the Wall..." Macquarie to Goulburn 15 Dec. 1817, HRA, IX, p.734.
- 59 Macquarie to Goulburn, 15 Dec. 1817, HRA, IX, p.735.