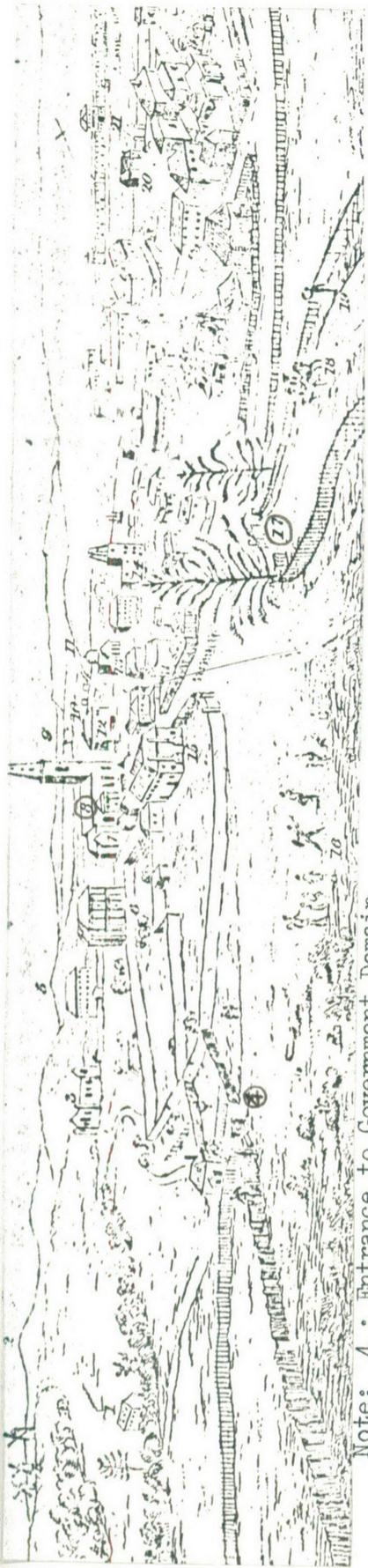


BOTANIC GARDENS: MAP 5 (1829)

Panoramic View from Robert Burford:
Description of a View of the Town of
Sydney ... Lond., 1829.

- NOTE:
1. The position of Charles Fraser's residence (59).
 2. Walls and palisades enclosing the Government Domain and areas within the Domain.
 3. The position of the Government Stables (48).
 4. The cultivations within the area now known as the Middle Garden, to the left of Fraser's residence.
 5. The largely undeveloped area around the shore of Farm Cove, later converted into the Lower Garden.

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.

It was Macquarie's savage defence of his Domain that provided his enemies with ample justification of their criticisms a few weeks before Mrs. Macquarie's Drive was completed.⁶⁰

One would have been hard put to criticise the Governor's choice of a Colonial Botanist, however. As already shown,⁶¹ Charles Fraser accompanied Oxley in 1817 to the Lachlan River, in 1818 to the Macquarie River, then east to Port Macquarie, and in 1819 to survey the Hastings River. Although it was later claimed

there have been few men less beholden to schooling, who have displayed so cultivated an understanding,⁶²

Fraser was not baulked by such scientific works as Brown's Prodromus and Persoon's Synopsis Plantarum,⁶³ and Alexander McLeay favoured Fraser with a copy of Brown's work on the Proteaceae.⁶⁴

Fraser was considered sufficiently expert to accompany Commissioner Bigge on excursions into the interior of N.S.W. and to Van Diemen's Land in 1820. Bigge thought well of the botanist, and it is probably significant that on 1 January 1821, just a few weeks before the Commissioner sailed for England, Fraser was formally appointed Superintendent of the Botanic Gardens as well as Colonial Botanist,⁶⁵ at £91-5-0 per annum.⁶⁶

60 In April 1816, Wm. Henshall, Daniel Read and Wm. Blake gave various reasons for penetrating the Domain's defences, for which they were summarily administered 25 lashes without any magisterial hearing. On 12 June 1816, the day before the Drive was completed, Judge Jeffrey Hart Bent sent the offenders' depositions to Earl Bathurst as clear evidence of the Governor's arbitrary administration of justice. HRA, IX, pp.383 et seq. See also Bigge: Report, Evidence, ML. BT. Box 2, pp.599-665 passim.

61 see Chapter II, p.32.

62 The Australian; 30 Dec. 1831.

63 see Chapter II, p.59 for the books requested by Fraser.

64 Brown: Supplementum. McLeay pointed out: "You will see your own name often quoted," and he enlisted Fraser's help "to have several parcels of seeds to forward to England by the Lady Harewood." McLeay to Fraser, 10 May 1831, in Pub.Serv.Jour., 10 Sept. 1902, p.10.

65 ML. A820, p.112.

66 i.e. 5/- day. HRA, X, p.581 (worth perhaps \$4 or \$5 today).

SYDNEY BOTANIC GARDENS: COMPARATIVE VIEWS, 1870 and 1969.



LOOKING WEST ALONG THE WALK JUST INSIDE THE MACQUARIE WALL WHICH FORMS THE NORTHERN BOUNDARY OF THE LOWER GARDEN. The wall is covered with Asian Creeping Fig, Ficus pumila, and a line of Swamp Mahogany, E.robusta has been planted between the wall and the walk.

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



THE SAME VIEW IN APRIL 1870. Here the camera has been directed more towards the walk than towards the wall. The well-established trees shown here indicate something of the efforts of the early Colonial Botanists and Superintendents of the Gardens. The walk itself was originally part of Mrs. Macquarie's Drive. Photo.: NSW Govt. Printer, No.598.

BOTANIC GARDENS: MAP 6 (1831)

Map by Sir Thomas Mitchell, June 1831.

- NOTE:
1. The position of the Government Stables, now incorporated in the Conservatorium of Music.
 2. The vast extent of the Government Domain, from Woolloomooloo Bay to Sydney Cove, according to Phillip's original intention.
 3. The course of Mrs. Macquarie's Drive parallel to the old shoreline of Farm Cove and forming a loop on the peninsula behind Anson Point (Mrs. Macquarie's Chair).



Bigge reported on Fraser's efforts, and directed Bathurst's attention to:

the importance of the establishment of the botanic garden at Sydney, that has hitherto been attached to the governor's garden at that place, and has derived assistance from the labour of the convicts assigned for its cultivation. It has been lately placed under the management of Mr. C. Fraser...and by his care and attention to collection has been enriched with all the most curious plants... discovered in the course of...expeditions, as well as by contributions from New Zealand, the islands of the South Seas, Bengal, and China.⁶⁷

The Commissioner clearly appreciated the scientific and economic value a botanic garden could have if properly administered:

The value of such an establishment, both in affording means of collection and of experiment, and more particularly of diffusing throughout the colony the most valuable specimens of foreign grasses, plants, and trees, is unquestionable; and I have great satisfaction in stating that, as far as his means have allowed, these benefits have been realized under the zealous exertions of the present colonial botanist.⁶⁸

As part of his enquiry, Bigge had called upon Fraser to supply a catalogue of the plants then growing in the Botanic Garden. The list provided ample evidence of Fraser's own collecting expeditions and of

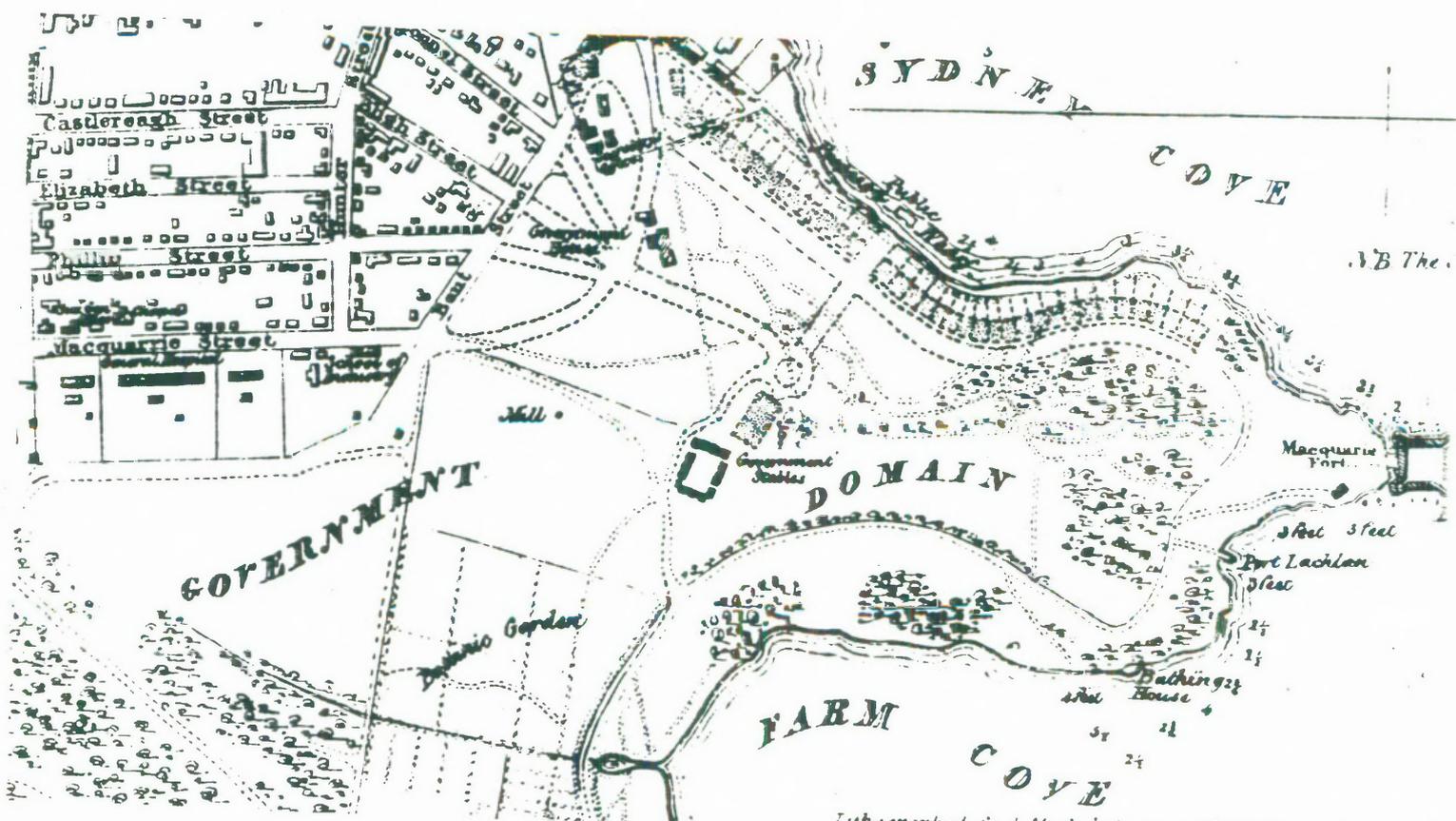
67 Bigge: Agriculture and Trade, pp.93-4. The distinction drawn between a "botanic garden" and "the governor's garden" is indicative of the realisation of a botanic garden's more specific function.

68 Bigge: *op.cit.*, p.94. Some saw the establishment as having other values. e.g. Archibald Bell of "Belmont", Richmond, suggested to Bigge "that a Public botanical garden should be established which should not only employ...Convict labourers but would be a school of instruction & industry for Convict youths & others to qualify them for like situations in private families, as this class of people, amongst the Convicts...is the most scarce, perhaps of any labourers." Such work would be "most favourable to the principles & practice of moral rectitude," and there would be benefits from "making experiments generally, propagating those productions which may be of public advantage..."
Bigge: Appendix. ML. BT. Box 21, pp.3644-3645.

BOTANIC GARDENS: MAP 7 (1833)

From James Mudie: The Felony of New South Wales,
Lond., 1837.

- NOTE:
1. The position of the Government Stables, now incorporated into the Conservatorium of Music.
 2. The position of Old Government House in the vicinity of the present intersection of Phillip and Bridge Streets.
 3. The walks which then existed in the Government Domain between Sydney Cove and the later extension of Macquarie Street North.
 4. The ornamental pond constructed on the creek in the Lower Garden by Charles Fraser.
 5. The position of the Botanic Gardens in relation to the Government Domain as a whole.



Engraved for J. Mudie's Works in N.S. Wales, by J. ...

correspondence with other institutions.⁶⁹ By 1820, Fraser clearly had the Botanic Garden, as such, well established as an institution in its own right, quite separate from the Governor's kitchen garden. Some ten years later, he laid out "new botanic gardens" on the northern side of Macquarie's stone wall (part of which still stands) between the "old" or Middle Garden and the shores of Farm Cove.⁷⁰ It was the fact that additional areas were filled and cultivated as "new gardens," that caused the Sydney Botanic Gardens to take a plural designation.⁷¹

Despite efforts to render fertile a rather sterile area, it seems that Fraser wanted to establish a botanic garden on better soil, and quite separate from any vegetable patch. Accordingly he prevailed upon Macquarie to mark out a new garden altogether. Probably seeing this as an additional way of safeguarding his privacy, the Governor agreed, and on 4 September 1821 he joined the botanist in demarcating some 15 acres at Double Bay.⁷² Captain John Piper was very promptly

69 Bigge: Appendix. ML. 3T. Box 21, pp.3662-3681. "List of Plants, Cultivated in Government Garden, Sydney, by Chas. Fraser, Colonial Botanist.", c.1820. The lists include "Plants cultivated from Seeds Received from Europe" (5 pp.), and "from India" (5 pp.), a list of bulbs, a list of Van Diemen's Land Plants, and a long list of "Australian Plants" (7 pp.) from such places as Port Macquarie, Mt. Seaview, Peel Range, Blue Mts., Liverpool Plains, Hastings R., Lake George, Cox's R., Bathurst, Macquarie R., Sutton Forest, Castlereagh R., Arbuthnot's Range (Warrumbungle Mts.), Fish R., Lachlan R., and undefined localities in the "Interior" and "N.W. Interior." The genera include Eucalyptus (17 spp.), Angophora (1 sp.), Leptospermum (6 spp.), Cassia (6 spp.), Hakea (4 spp.), Grevillea (1 sp.), Banksia (1 sp.), Solanum (2 spp.), Hibiscus (3 spp.), Melaleuca (3 spp.), Casuarina (7 spp.), "Cupressus" (i.e. Callitris) (3 spp.), Acacia (8 spp., including Myall, A.pendula). Rosewood and Cedar trees are also listed in this catalogue of some 126 species. Classifications of many species are incomplete.

70 Maiden in Kew Bulletin, 1906, p.211.

71 see the maps here reproduced. The earliest cultivations, first on the eastern side of Botanic Gardens Creek, then on both sides, correspond roughly to what was later known as the Middle Garden; the Upper Garden took in the old Governor's Kitchen Garden, and the Lower Garden was established beyond Macquarie's wall between the Middle Garden and Farm Cove. This was expanded as reclamation of the Cove proceeded. To-day, the Upper Garden comprises about 7 1/3 acres; the Middle Garden 8 1/3 acres (including the 5 acres on the western side of the creek added by Brisbane in 1825); and the Lower Garden about 36 acres.

72 HRA, X, pp.688, 845.

advised that his 500 acre grant must not encroach upon this proposed reserve,⁷³ and clearing and fencing began.

Macquarie's term was now ended, and somewhat reluctantly he left the Colony in February 1822 in the hands of Sir Thomas Brisbane. The day of Banks's "more Scientific Governor" had come, but the Double Bay garden was never developed. Instead, as Brisbane informed Earl Bathurst in 1825,⁷⁴ he increased the earlier Botanic Garden by five acres, thereby nearly doubling its area. The number of convict labourers was correspondingly increased.⁷⁵ Such was the "zeal, talent and enthusiasm" of Charles Fraser that "3,000 varieties of exotic plants, Grasses, bulbs, fruits and vegetables" had been introduced during the year ending May 1825,⁷⁶ and in the following year he was commended "for the Culture of Colonial Cotton."⁷⁷ Brisbane preferred to live in Parramatta close to his observatory rather than in the decrepit Government House in Sydney. Thus although five acres of the surrounding Government Domain were ceded to the Botanic Gardens proper, it seems that the outer Domain, so zealously guarded by Macquarie, tended to become neglected. Certainly by the 1830s, the Domain (as distinct from the inner reserve of the Botanic Gardens) was considered to be unsafe for young ladies owing to "lurking scoundrels."⁷⁸

In London it seemed scientifically, and financially, desirable to know just what was being accomplished in Sydney's Botanic Garden. Five days before Governor Darling took office in Sydney on 19 December 1825, Earl Bathurst wrote requesting regular half-yearly reports on the

73 Macquarie to Piper, 7 Sept. 1821. NSW CSIL, 1821, ML. CS29, pp. 14-16.

74 In response to a request to know how Bigge's recommendations had been put into effect.

75 Brisbane to Bathurst, 18 Mar. 1825 and 14 May 1825. HRA, XI, pp.548, 549, 587. It was Macquarie's garden of about 5 acres on the east side of the creek which Brisbane augmented. There were 11 convict labourers in 1821 and 14 in 1825.

76 HRA, XI, p.587.

77 Syd.Gaz., 13 Sept. 1826. The Agricultural and Horticultural Society recommended on 30 Aug. 1826, that "the lesser Gold Medal, he awarded to Mr. Charles Fraser, the Colonial Botanist..."

78 SMH, 28 Nov. 1831. In 1832 there was concern over escaped convicts finding refuge in the Domain. ML.A1269, pp.945, 957, and ML.A1267, Pt.5, p.532.

APPENDIX

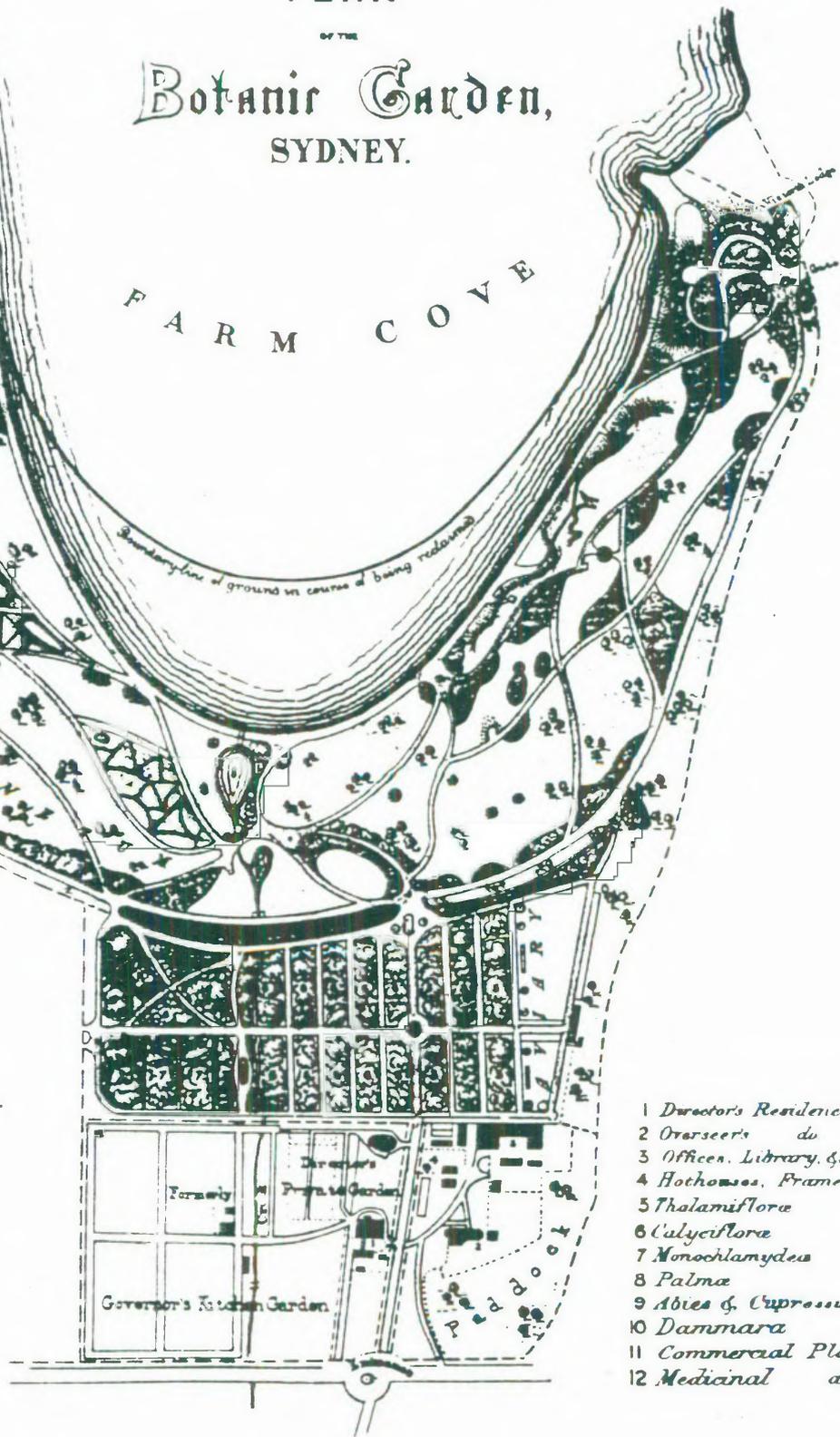
PLAN

OF THE

Botanic Garden,
SYDNEY.

FARM COVE

INNER
DOMAIN.



- 1 Director's Residence
- 2 Overseer's do
- 3 Offices, Library, &c
- 4 Hothouses, Frame Yard, &c
- 5 Thalamiflorae
- 6 Calyciflorae
- 7 Monochlamydeae
- 8 Palmae
- 9 Abies & Cupressus
- 10 Dammarae
- 11 Commercial Plants
- 12 Medicinal do.

OUTER DOMAIN

(Sig. 640)

Gardens, "for the information of His Majesty's Govern't."⁷⁹ The first report was to include

an accurate description of the Plants and Vegetables, which are peculiar to the Climate of New South Wales, as well as those, peculiar to other Countries, which are susceptible of cultivation to any useful purpose, if introduced into the Colony.⁸⁰

Fraser apparently compiled such a report on 11 January 1828,⁸¹ and he certainly furnished another on 28 July 1830.⁸² About five months later, in Fraser's absence, John McLean, Assistant Superintendent of the Garden, supplied a further short report.⁸³

79 Bathurst to Darling, 14 Dec. 1825, HRA, XII, p.88.

80 The earliest Reports are extremely difficult to trace. For a list of fruits cultivated in "the Government Botanic Garden at Sydney" in 1828, see Fraser's Catalogue in Loudon: The Gardener's Magazine, Vol.V, Lond., 1829, p.280. The fruits included not only lemons, apples, pears, peaches, etc. but also custard apples, pineapples and prickly pear. For lists of other plants, chiefly vegetables, introduced by 1828, see Ag.Gaz.NSW, 1902, p.196.

81 Darling to Under Sec. of State, 1828. HRA, XIV, p.3. Maiden, who searched for early Reports does not mention this one; I have found no other reference to it. Viscount Goderich maintained in Feb. 1832 that this was the last report received. He hoped "to be relieved from the necessity of repeating the Instruction...upon this subject. Goderich to Bourke, 22 Feb. 1832, HRA, XVI, p.526.

82 This Report, prepared at Darling's request, accounted for plants (certainly indigenous species) despatched between Jan. 1829 and July 1830. Altogether 26 "cases" or "collections" of seeds had been sent to Gardens at Glasgow, Edinburgh, Liverpool, Manchester, Marseilles, Batavia, Mauritius, Ceylon, Calcutta and Hamburg, to the Horticultural Society of London, the Duchess of Athol, Drummond & Co., "besides many others." Dried specimens had been sent to Glasgow (1800 specimens); Edinburgh (1200); "Mr. Cunningham, 300 specimens, Mr. Telfair, Mauritius, 300 specimens, Botanic Gardens, Liverpool, 300 specimens, besides many others..." Cases of living plants had been sent to Gardens at Glasgow, Edinburgh, Liverpool, and Batavia, to Charles Telfair at Mauritius, plus "1 case now ready for shipment for His Grace the Duke of Wellington." (report quoted in Pub.Serv.Journ., 9 Jan. 1904, p.10).

83 Fraser's letters of 1829-1830 published by Maiden in Pub.Serv.Jour., 10 Oct. 1902, indicate that towards the end of his life Fraser suffered considerable illness — probably he was either ill or on a collecting trip when McLean prepared the report on his behalf. McLean reported that during 1830 plants had been received "more particularly from China, Ceylon, Calcutta, Madagascar, Mauritius, Cape of Good Hope, Marseilles,...Paris,...Edinbro' and Glasgow,...Liverpool, and many other Botanical and Horticultural Institutions, for all of which reciprocal returns have been made from this Establishment." NSW Gov. Desp. ML.1209, Vol.20, pp.699-700.

During Governor Darling's administration, Fraser continued his work by laying out the Lower Garden, despatching and receiving plants, maintaining correspondence with the out-settlements⁸⁴ and with overseas botanists and botanical institutions⁸⁵, meeting special requests for botanical material, and by collecting specimens and writing reports. Such activities necessarily entailed further travel⁸⁶. Darling managed to have Fraser's salary increased to £150 in 1828⁸⁷ and for a time permitted thirty-seven convicts to be employed in the Gardens and Domain⁸⁸. In 1829, the Governor endeavoured to have the botanist's salary increased to £200, but this was disallowed⁸⁹. Other indications that botanical activity was not enjoying complete support included moves to lease or sell waterside blocks within the area of Fraser's jurisdiction for wharves, warehouses and dockyards⁹⁰. Charles Fraser did not have long to

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- 84 e.g. Norfolk Is., Swan R., Hunter R., Port Stephens, Moreton Bay.
- 85 "...Glasgow, Edinburgh, Horticultural Society of London, Jardin des Plantes, Paris, King's Garden, Mauritius, Botanic Gardens of Calcutta, and Marseilles." HRA, XV, p.201.
- 86 to New Zealand, Norfolk Is. and Van Diemen's Land, 1826; back to Van Diemen's Land, 1827 and to Swan River the same year; Moreton Bay and McPherson Ranges 1828. ML.A1205, p.615.
- 87 this included "an allowance of sending home seeds, etc., with apartments." HRA, XIV, p.631. (Say, about \$2400 to-day).
- 88 HRA, XIV, p.636. However, in Dec. 1828 Fraser was informed of a limit of 19, viz., "Overseer, 1; gardeners and labourers, 10; carters, 2; watchmen, 3; gatekeepers, 3" with "nine invalids" for light duties such as "sweeping the walks." Alex McLeay to Fraser, 11 Dec. 1828, quoted in Pub.Serv.Jour., 10 Dec. 1903, p.10. See also HRA, XIV, pp.646-647. In 1829 the employment of "orphan boys" in the Garden was commenced. Fraser had to issue clothing to them "the same as authorised for the boys at Carter's Barracks." McLeay to Fraser 25 Nov. 1829, quoted in Pub.Serv.Jour., 9 Jan. 1904, p.9. Such employment discontinued in Oct. 1833. In Oct. 1831, Fraser was allowed "One constable, one overseer, fifteen gardeners and labourers, twelve invalids...two carters, three watchmen, three gatekeepers; total 37." A. McLeay to Fraser, 4 Oct. 1831, quoted in Pub.Serv.Jour., 9 Jan. 1904, p.11. There was by now some road maintenance also, for on 13 Sept. 1831, the Domain was "opened for carriages." loc.cit.
- 89 Geo.Murray to Darling, 10 Apr. 1830, HRA, XV, pp.409-410.
- 90 Despatches, ML.A1267, Pt.4, p.81 (1825); ML.A1208, pp.948, 951-3 (1829) including T. L. Mitchell's Report.

regret the disallowance of a higher salary, for when returning from Bathurst with yet another shipment of living plants in December 1831, he became ill at Emu Plains. Further reduced by the summer heat, he managed to reach Parramatta⁹¹ where he died on 22 December.⁹² The botanical soldier did not die unsung:

There are, we think, few to whom 'Charley Fraser' was not personally known. Full of anecdote and observation, his office of botanist and his talents threw him continually into every variety of company, of which he was usually the convivial and agreeable companion ...Naturally of a plethoric habit, his convivial disposition probably contributed not a little to induce the apoplectic attack of which he expired...⁹³

Agreeable Charles Fraser, former benefactor of Scots Church,⁹⁴ the Benevolent Society⁹⁵ and the Poor Debtors of Sydney Town,⁹⁶ died intestate and in debt.⁹⁷ His assistant, John McLean, who

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- 91 Richard Cunningham in W. J. Hooker: Companion to the Botanical Magazine, Lond., 1836, Vol. II, p.213.
- 92 Fraser was 43. His funeral service in St. John's Cemetery, Parramatta, was conducted by Rev. Samuel Marsden on Christmas Day. (St. John's Register of Burials, No.519/1831). Fraser's broken gravestone with an indecisive version of his surname may still be seen. Fraser himself seems to have used the spelling employed here, not that in Aust.Dict.Biog. See photograph on p.55
- 93 The Australian, 30 Dec. 1831.
- 94 Syd.Gaz., 5 Feb. 1824.
- 95 Syd.Gaz., 24 Feb. 1821.
- 96 Syd.Gaz., 28 June 1826.
- 97 see NSW Gov. Desp. ML.A1211, p.1117; A1231, pp.496, 499. Richard Cunningham's letter of 9 Feb. 1833 refers to creditors and to the fact that friends paid for the funeral. Comp.to Bot.Mag. II, p.21 In the letter of introduction, 4 July 1832, Wm. J. Hooker gave Richard Cunningham to present to Alexander McLeay, there is mention of the accidental discovery of "a Sister of poor Fraser, a poor but most highly respectable Widow woman, of the name of McLaren." Cunningham had called on her, and "with much kindness offered to enquire about any goods or Books, F may have left capable of being turned into money." Papers of the Linnean Soc. of London, ML. FM4/2699.

became Acting Superintendent as from 1 January 1832, bought Fraser's books for £15,⁹⁸ and supplied the Report for the latter half of 1832.⁹⁹ Governor Bourke, who had taken office only a few days before Fraser died, was at a loss "to find any Person in the Colony of Sufficient Science to Succeed him," and the advice of Robert Brown was sought. Bourke appreciated that "the utility and success of the Establishment must entirely depend upon the Competency of the person appointed" and such a person would hardly be attracted to take up duty at the Gardens by anything less than £200.¹⁰⁰

In June 1832, Alexander McLeay, Colonial Secretary of N.S.W. made a plea to the Colonial Office on behalf of the scientific cause he had long espoused:

I hope you will soon send us a Botanist as well as the Zoologist whom we have been so long expecting...If no Superintendent of our Garden should be appointed before you receive this I beg leave to submit to you whether Mr. Cunningham who passed several years here as Botanical Collector might not be invited to accept of the Situation.¹⁰¹

Richard Cunningham.

As already mentioned,¹⁰² Allan Cunningham arrived back in England in July 1831, and in January 1832 was elected a Fellow of the Linnean Society. By the time McLeay made his suggestion, it seems that Allan had already been approached, but had declined the Sydney

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- 98 Richard Cunningham in Comp. to Bot.Mag., II, p.213.
99 NSW. Gov. Desp. ML.A1211, pp.1105-7. The report showed the "supply of Fruit Trees and Ornamental Shrubs to various parts of the Colony." These included apple, pear, peach, nectarine, plum, fig, cherry, lemon, orange and other trees. It is interesting to note that "the Plantation of Bananas in the Lower Garden...produced some excellent fruit." It was thought Thomas Graham, who had resigned 31 Mar. 1829, to manage his nursery and garden at Chowder Bay would be appointed (SMH, 9 Jan. 1832) but he apparently remained at his own establishment.
100 Bourke to Goderich, 4 Jan. 1832. HRA, XVI, pp.501-2.
101 McLeay to Under Sec. R. W. Hay, 5 June 1832. Col. Office, Misc. Letters, NSW, 1832. ML. A2146, p.252.
102 Chapter II, pp.33-34.

position in favour of his brother Richard. On 7 May 1832, Allan wrote a warm commendation of his brother and asked that he be recommended to Viscount Goderich. Robert Brown and William T. Aiton would be referees for Richard, who had "been in the service of His Majesty...for upwards of twenty years" in both "office and Library in the Royal Botanic Garden at Kew."¹⁰³ Three days later, Robert Brown strongly supported the application:

I am able to recommend him as perfectly competent...both from his knowledge of practical Botany generally, and from his extensive acquaintance with the Plants of New South Wales in particular...I think his appointment will prove highly advantageous to the establishment.¹⁰⁴

Goderich promptly appointed Richard Cunningham as Colonial Botanist and Superintendent of the Botanic Gardens at £200 a year.¹⁰⁵ As a dutiful elder brother, Allan retained oversight of the whole business. He maintained a vigorous correspondence with the Colonial Office on Richard's behalf pointing out that the new Superintendent wished to take plants with him for the Sydney Garden in boxes which were to be stowed "as far aft on the quarter-deck or Poop as may be deemed convenient."¹⁰⁶ On request, Allan supplied

a Memorandum relative to the Colonial garden at Sydney...from which perhaps such instructions, as it may be considered necessary my brother should be furnished with, for his guidance, might be framed.¹⁰⁷

103 A. Cunningham to R. W. Hay, 7 May 1832. Col. Office Misc. Letters: 1832. ML.A2146, pp.78-79. The very next day this letter was favourably endorsed, with the proviso that Brown should approve. Wm. J. Hooker confided to Alex. McLeay that he did "rejoice most heartily" at this appointment. Letter of 4 July 1832, Papers of Linnean Soc. of London, ML.FM4/2699.

104 R. Brown to R. W. Hay, 10 May 1832. ML. A2146, p.22.

105 R. W. Hay to A. Cunningham, 12 May 1832. op.cit., p.93.

106 A. Cunningham to R. W. Hay, 17 May 1832 and 10 July 1832, op.cit. pp.80, 82. Allan even stipulated the dimensions of the four "open cases of plants"-- 3 ft. by 2 ft. by 3 ft. deep. Such was the response from various nurserymen and institutions that eight such cases were necessary. A. Cunningham to R. W. Hay, 23 July 1832, op.cit., p.90.

107 A. Cunningham to R. W. Hay, 10 July 1832. op.cit., p.83.

Allan Cunningham's unhappy memories of his relationship with Macquarie prompted him to make the most of this opportunity to present his concept of a properly constituted scientific botanic garden. It should be so managed that the Superintendent had ample scope to make a scientific contribution to botany, rather than a gastronomic contribution to Government House. He credited Charles Fraser with having moved in the right and scientific direction by

having raised the seeds of the many new and interesting plants, which he had met with in the distant Interior...Thus was the first step taken to convert a kitchen garden into a public botanic-ground.¹⁰⁸

Allan appreciated that the Garden had to be "valuable to the Colony" but this would only eventuate if the Superintendent's duties included a wide correspondence with overseas institutions and a study of plant propagation and acclimatization. The various functions of the Garden might be maintained if there were

a proper subdivision of the grounds...into what may be properly denominated, botanic-grounds, and experimental or nursery-quarters—a portion may also still be retained for...esculent or culinary vegetables,¹⁰⁹

and grape vines needed special attention. The Superintendent should also begin botanical classification of the plants in the Garden, either

by grouping the species agreeably to what Botanists term the 'Natural arrangement'... or they may be disposed in...the Botanic division of the Garden, according to the Linnean method.¹¹⁰

108 A. Cunningham to R. W. Hay, 10 July 1832. *op.cit.*, p.84. Cunningham spoke warmly of such introductions as the Camphor Laurel, olive, lemon, lime, Indian Teak, banana, date-palm, cotton, passionfruit, plum and custard apple. Such introductions were, however only part of a botanic garden's true function.

109 *op.cit.*, p.86.

110 *op.cit.*, p.87. The Linnean or 'sexual' system of classification had, as an 'artificial' system, lost much ground since the publication of A. L. de Jussieu: Genera Plantarum secundum Ordines naturalis disposita, Paris, 1789 which advocated a natural system adopted by A. P. de Candolle in Flore française, Paris, 1805, and by Robert Brown in his Prodromus, 1810.

Furthermore, the Superintendent's official duties should include "periodical excursions to the inland districts, as well as to the out settlements" in order

to advance our knowledge of the Botany of New South Wales, and in order that the Garden may be occasionally enriched with new species of the indigenous vegetation.¹¹¹

Such excursions were likely to lead to such valuable discoveries as timber.

Once all this was done, a "Catalogue of the Collection" should be compiled so that the colonists might be notified of what useful plants were available for distribution, and overseas institutions given an indication of the kind of material available for exchange. Further, a "Herbarium of the plants, cultivated in the Garden" should be formed so that "reference might at all times be made" to it.

Such suggestions, if put into effect, Allan Cunningham claimed, would enable the Sydney Garden to "rank with those of Calcutta and Mauritius."¹¹² On the personal side, as a final plea for his brother, Allan suggested that the former Superintendent's house,

which was originally, most probably simply intended as a vegetable or seed room, and not to be a dwelling-house

was small and very inconvenient, and in need of extensive renovation and enlargement.¹¹³

This Memorandum by Allan Cunningham, the most significant document in the history of the Gardens as a scientific institution, was adopted.¹¹⁴ Once Viscount Goderich relayed it¹¹⁵ to Governor Bourke on 12 August 1832, it had the force of an official instruction.¹¹⁶

111 op.cit., pp.87-88.

112 A. Cunningham to R. W. Hay, 10 July 1832, op.cit., p.89.

113 op.cit., pp.89-90. See Fraser's house in Botanic Gardens: Map 5 and the photograph on p.496.

114 except that where Cunningham had suggested "the Superintendent might furnish ... an occasional Report," this was altered to "annual"!

115 except for the historical introduction.

116 op.cit., p.85, note before Section 5. This Memorandum must be the one said to be "not available" in HRA, XVI, p.701. See also NSW Gov.Desp. ML.A1269, p.567. Bourke used the Memorandum in preparing instructions for Richard Cunningham. Thus Allan, once dismissed 'with a suitable reproof' from Macquarie's presence, was now determining official policy, albeit anonymously. See Goderich to Bourke, 12 Aug. 1832, HRA, XVI, p.701.

As Allan Cunningham saw his brother leave, he must have felt some satisfaction in knowing that he had supplied directions which would establish a new order for the Government Botanic Garden at Sydney Town. As a parting gesture, Allan furnished Richard with a letter of introduction to his old Parramatta friend, the Reverend Samuel Marsden, pointing out that Richard left "with the best wishes of scientific men in and around London."¹¹⁷ Sir William Jackson Hooker supplied another letter of introduction to Alexander McLeay.¹¹⁸

The new Colonial Botanist arrived in Sydney in the convict ship Mary in January 1833 with an ill-accommodated botanical cargo¹¹⁹ which included James Busby's celebrated vine cuttings,¹²⁰ and with commissions to collect for Robert Brown and Sir William Jackson Hooker.¹²¹ In the Colony itself, the growing scientific fraternity hoped from his known talent and assiduity that the colony will soon have a 'Botanic Garden' in lieu of a repository for turnips and carrots.¹²²

Richard Cunningham took rooms in Sydney while the "Garden House" was being renovated¹²³ and appraised the situation in the Gardens themselves. He considered that the "Lower or Botanic Garden" (i.e. the area recently laid out by Fraser) had "sufficient space for the reception of as many indigenous plants as can be brought into cultivation this season," but that Mrs. Macquarie's Drive "dividing the

117 A. Cunningham to S. Marsden, 13 Aug. 1832. Marsden Papers, Vol. I ML. A1992, p.525.

118 Hooker to McLeay, 4 July 1832. Papers of Linnean Soc. of Lond., ML. FM4/2699.

119 Richard Cunningham complained of "the want of proper accommodation for plant Cabins" on the voyage. Nevertheless he managed to introduce species of Paeonia, Gardenia, Pistacia, Fuchsia, etc. to the Garden. R. Cunningham: Report of the Government Botanic Garden, Sydney, June 1833, NSW. Gov.Desp. ML. A1211, pp.1099 et seq.

120 see Maiden in Pub.Serv.Jour., 10 Jan. 1903, p.12, also Busby's own work: Journal of a Recent Visit to the Principal Vineyards of Spain and Greece, Lond., 1834, and R. Cunningham: Report, 1833, ML. A1211, pp.1101-2.

121 R. Cunningham to W. J. Hooker, 25 Aug. 1832 in Pub.Serv.Jour., 10 Jan. 1903, p.12.

122 Bennett: Wanderings, I, p.338.

123 He was able to move into this house in August 1833. R. Cunningham to A. McLeay, 13 Aug., 1833, quoted in Pub.Serv.Jour., 10 Jan. 1903, p.12.

Government Gardens" should be diverted "along the beach of Farm Cove"; a sun-dial might be installed; the "Old Garden, or Fruit Garden" (i.e. the old Governor's Kitchen Garden area) should be developed for "one or more specimens of each variety of fruit suited to the climate," not forgetting Mr. Busby's vines; the "Experimental Garden, west of the brook" should

be continued as an experimental Botanic Garden for the establishment of indigenous plants of the distant parts of the colony, previous to their being removed to...the Lower Garden";

the Colonial Architect might examine "the state of the foot-bridge across the brook" in the "Kitchen Garden" as well as the other bridges, "with a view to substituting others more safe and ornamental;" consideration might be given to the construction "of a small range of offices."¹²⁴ Richard Cunningham clearly knew what he wanted.

Within six months Cunningham had demonstrated his industry by distributing plants "thro' various parts of the Colony agreeably to requisitions approved by The Hon^{ble} the Colonial Secretary,"¹²⁵ and by despatching "seeds and roots of various indigenous plants of New South Wales" to commercial and academic institutions in England.¹²⁶ Nor was another essential function of the Garden overlooked, for by June 1833, Cunningham had "cleared in a great measure...the deep-rooting Grass" which covered "the enclosure of the Lower Garden" close to Farm Cove, and "various plants indigenous to the Illawarra District and the land between Port Jackson & Botany Bay" were established there.¹²⁷ By the

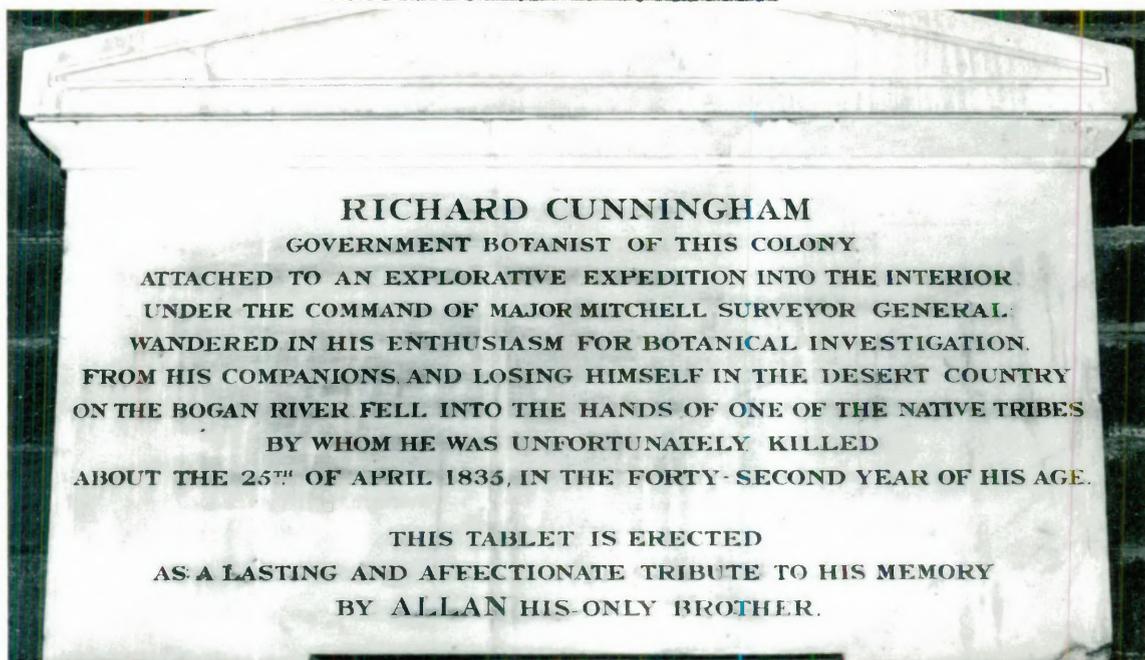
124 R. Cunningham to A. McLeay, 13 July 1833 quoted in Ag.Gaz.NSW, 1902, pp.199-200.

125 Requisitions met included 300 olive seedlings, 750 fruit trees, 1800 ornamental shrubs. Cunningham: Report, 1833, ML.A1211, p.1101.

126 These donations were made to institutions and nurseries which had supplied Cunningham with "Collections of Culinary and flower Seeds" for Sydney. They included the Gardens of Kew and Kensington, Edinburgh, Glasgow and Belfast; Loddiges & Sons' Nursery (Hackney), the Horticultural Societies of London and Edinburgh; Joseph Knight's Nursery (Chelsea), the Garden of the Company of Physicians (Chelsea), and some private individuals such as the Duke of Northumberland.

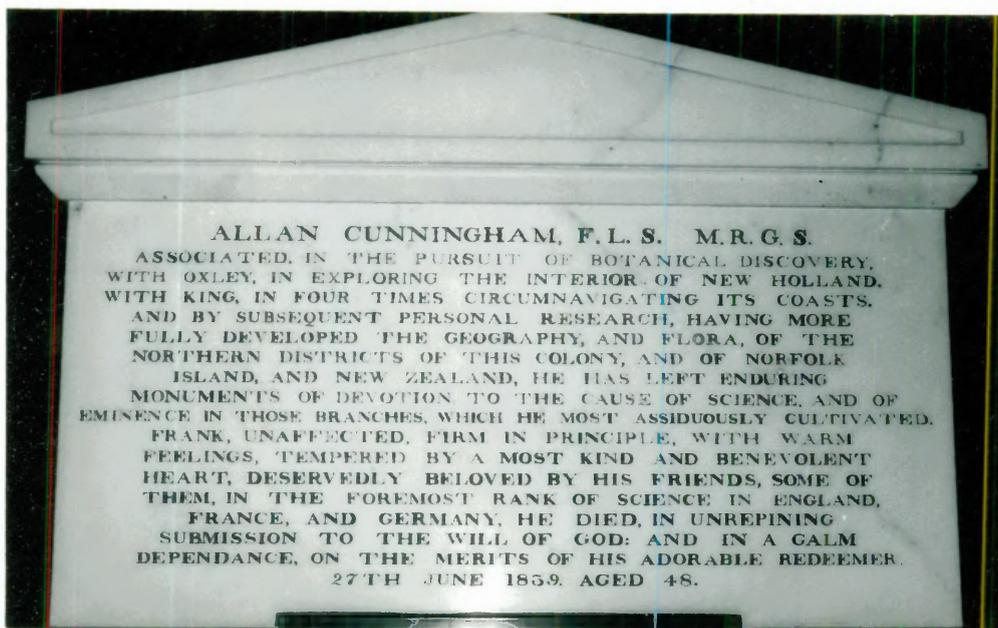
127 Cunningham: Report, 1833. ML. A1211, p.1102.

CUNNINGHAM MEMORIAL PLAQUES



WALL PLAQUE erected in St. Andrew's Scots Church, Sydney, by Allan Cunningham to the memory of his brother. It is now in St. Andrew's Church, Rose Bay.

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



WALL PLAQUE to the memory of Allan Cunningham, originally in St. Andrew's Scots Church, Sydney, now in St. Andrew's Church, Rose Bay.

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

end of his first year, Cunningham had official permission "to make an excursion to Emu Plains" and to join H.M.S. Buffalo for New Zealand.¹²⁸ Returning to Sydney from New Zealand via Norfolk Island in May 1834, Cunningham next contemplated a trip to Hobart.

Cunningham continued his work of receiving and distributing, cultivating and collecting plants,¹²⁹ although not quite to the satisfaction of the Royal Horticultural Society, which persuaded Lord Glenelg to seek on its behalf

one or two pounds of Seeds of twenty or thirty species of the more ornamental Plants of the Colony, each Packet to be accompanied by directions for the proper cultivation of the Plant.¹³⁰

This was a formidable request for the most dedicated botanist when we consider the minute weight of the seed of many of the "more ornamental Plants." By January 1835 Cunningham had visited Mt. Tomah,¹³¹ a favourite collecting ground of his brother many years before. In March, he joined Mitchell's expedition down the Bogan River, where a

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- 128 F. C. Harrington to R. Cunningham, 12 Oct. 1833 and A. McLeay to R. Cunningham, 9 Sept. 1833, quoted in list of letters published by Maiden in Pub.Serv.Jour., 10 Jan. 1903, p.12. The voyage was actually suggested by the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies. See R. W. Hay to Bourke, 21 Apr. 1833, HRA, XVII, pp.78-9.
- 129 Between January and June 1834 "upwards of 250 fruit Trees, 320 Ornamental Shrubs and about 1550 Vine Cuttings were distributed thro' the Colony;" 50 plants from New Zealand were introduced; seeds and plants were "received from the Commandants of Moreton Bay and Norfolk Island," and native plants were sent to England. R. Cunningham: Report of the Government Garden, June 1834. NSW Govt.Desp. ML.A1212, pp.1337-8 (prepared 24 Dec. 1834). In the latter half of 1834 a further "1525 Vine Cuttings, about 400 Ornamental Shrubs, and 100 Fruit Trees...were distributed to various parts of the Colony." Seeds were received from Mauritius, Kew, and Glasgow, and seeds of Blue Mts. plants were sent in return. R. Cunningham: Report of the Botanic Garden, Dec. 1834. NSW Gov.Desp. ML.A1213, pp.27-8 (prepared 26 Jan. 1835).
- 130 Glenelg to Bourke, 4 July 1835, HRA, XVIII, p.5. Bourke complied with the request 17 Mar. 1836. HRA, XVIII, p.255. Another shipment of material prepared by Allan Cunningham was sent on 20 June 1837. HRA, XVIII, p.789.
- 131 R. Cunningham to W. J. Hooker, 25 Jan. 1835, quoted in Pub.Serv. Jour., 10 Feb., 1903, p.12.

month later he was speared to death.¹³²

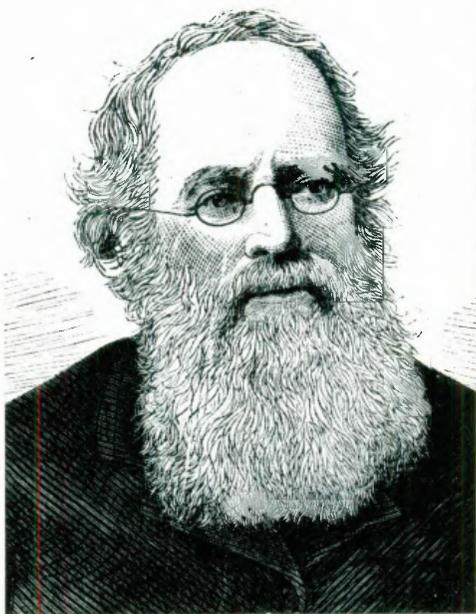
John McLean once more became Acting Superintendent of the Garden¹³³ and grief-stricken Allan composed an epitaph for a memorial plaque.¹³⁴ When again offered the position in Sydney, Allan accepted. McLean, who had been gazetted as Assistant Superintendent on 1 April, 1829 during Fraser's time, was apparently¹³⁵ replaced by James Anderson as Acting Superintendent from September 1835 until the return of Allan Cunningham to Sydney in February 1837.

Allan Cunningham and the Committee of Superintendence.

As the new "Colonial Botanist and Superintendent of the Botanic Garden,"¹³⁶ Allan was ready to fight for that professional

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- 132 The event is described in Chapter II, p.96. Over two years later, Mitchell recorded his wrath at the botanist's "murderer having been sent up to my house - fat - clothed - and saucy - ogling my women &c. - to be sent under Piper's care back to his tribe in safety, although I had submitted to the Governor a plan...for securing his two accomplices - and bringing them to justice by this man's evidence..." Mitchell to P. P. King, 17 July 1837. King Papers, ML. A3599, p.103. As two of the three aboriginal suspects had escaped, no evidence from witnesses was available, and the remaining suspect was freed. See also Syd.Gaz., 3 May 1836 for a demand to know what was being done with the "untutored savage" who had been taken into custody.
- 133 Hooker: Introductory Essay, p.cxxiii.
- 134 The plaque, prepared by the Chantrey Studios, London, was first erected in St. Andrew's Scots Church, Sydney. When this church was demolished, the old furnishings, etc. including the wall plaques, were installed in St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Rose Bay. See the photograph on p.463 for the inscription.
- 135 The position is not quite clear. Hooker states that McLean became Acting Superintendent again after Richard Cunningham's death in April 1835, but in a Memorial of Jan. 1838, Anderson claims to have had "whole charge" from Sept. 1835 to Feb. 1837. Little is known of McLean who in 1833 unsuccessfully sought an increase in salary (then £80) in view of his four years' service as "an assistant in the Botanical Department of the Colony," and of his period as Acting Superintendent after Fraser's death. HRA, XIX, pp.122-123. On leaving her old home at Capertee, N.E. of Bathurst, in 1841 Annabella Boswell (nec Innes) recorded that the grounds "with lawn and shrubbery" had been "all planned by Mr. John Maclean (sic), at one time head gardener in the Botanical Gardens...afterwards holding a government appointment at Norfolk Island, where unfortunately he was drowned." Herman: Annabella Boswell's Journal, p.12.
- 136 NSW Govt.Gaz., 1 Mar. 1837, p.213.

NOTABLE MEMBERS OF THE BOTANIC GARDENS COMMITTEE



SIR WILLIAM MACARTHUR (1800-1882), son of Captain John Macarthur. He was an accomplished viticulturist and horticulturist who helped to make the Camden Park estate famous in botanical circles. Macarthur took a keen interest in native timber trees, their uses and aboriginal names, and his timber specimens were displayed at the 1855 Paris Exhibition and the 1862 London Exhibition. He was a foundation member of the Botanic Gardens Committee in 1836, a member of the Legislative Council of N.S.W., 1849-1855, 1864-1882, and the first vice-president of the Linnean Society of N.S.W. 1874-1878. Macarthur was knighted for his work as one of the Commissioners of the 1855 Exhibition. He died, unmarried, at Camden Park on 29 October 1882.

Photo.: Mitchell Library.

ALEXANDER McLEAY (1767-1848), F.L.S., F.R.S., Colonial Secretary of N.S.W. from his arrival in January 1826 until replaced by Edward Deas Thomson in January 1837. His extensive natural history collections and the magnificent garden at Elizabeth Bay House were indicative of his scientific interests. He was associated with the establishment of the Australian Museum, a foundation member of the Botanic Gardens Committee, a patron of the Agricultural Society, chairman of the first Subscription Library meeting, and Speaker of the N.S.W. Legislative Council, 1843-1846. His collection, augmented by specimens collected by some of his seventeen children and by his nephews, was transferred to the Macleay Museum at the University of Sydney in 1890. McLeay himself died on 18 July 1848 after a carriage accident.



Photo.: from an engraving by Charles Fox of a portrait in the Aust. Museum.

freedom he had sought on behalf of his brother. Had he but known, about four months before he left England the previous October,¹³⁷ Governor Bourke had taken a step which was to cause trouble in botanical matters in Sydney for the next twenty years. Bourke had established "A Committee of Superintendence of the Australian Museum and Botanical Garden."¹³⁸ Cunningham, wary of Governors and sensitive to criticism, had now not only to satisfy the Governor, but also to keep favour with a new Committee, some of whose members were itching to display their own erudition as they pleaded the cause of Colonial science. Cunningham had friends on the Committee, but this did not diminish its obvious power over the two institutions under its "superintendence," or its influence upon the Governor's policy—one glance at the names was enough.¹³⁹ Some kind of clash was inevitable.

137 see Pub.Serv.Jour., 10 June 1903, p.12 for reference to Dr. John Lindley's gift to Cunningham of his An Introduction to the Study of Botany, Lond., 1835, as a farewell gesture in Oct. 1836.

138 NSW Govt.Gaz., 15 June 1836, p.451.

139 The Committee comprised:

*Alexander McLeay, Colonial Secretary and patron of science.

George Macleay, son of above, pastoralist, naturalist, and companion of Charles Sturt in 1829.

Charles Sturt, explorer, then living at Mittagong.

Phillip Parker King, naval explorer whom Cunningham had accompanied on several voyages; prospective member of the Legislative Council.

*Sir John Jamison, "the Knight of Regentville," near Penrith, prospective member of the Legislative Council.

*William Macarthur, son of John, and one of the recent successors to the Camden Park estate; accomplished horticulturist and amateur botanist.

Edward Deas Thomson, son-in-law of Gov. Bourke, very soon to be Colonial Secretary.

*Robert Andrew Hauch, recently arrived from Scotland, soon to be pioneer settler on the Upper Hastings and founder of Wauchope.

*Dr. John Vaughan Thompson, Deputy Inspector-General of Hospitals.

*George Porter, apparently a respected publican and businessman of Brickfield Hill, Sydney.

Dr. George Bennett, eminent surgeon and amateur naturalist, was Secretary of the Committee until 1 July 1841.

There were two sub-committees, one for the Museum and one for the Gardens. Some members belonged to both. The Gardens sub-committee comprised those whose names are marked with an asterisk above. Minute Book I, 1836-1863 (Aust. Mus. Lib.) minute of 7 June 1836.

There is little doubt that the establishment of the Committee was due to the scientific proclivity of the Colonial Secretary, Alexander McLeay,¹⁴⁰ a Fellow of both the Linnean and Royal Societies of London. McLeay, who arrived in January 1826, had already been prominent in the formation of the Colonial (later Australian) Museum. He had established one fine garden "full of ornamental trees and shrubs"¹⁴¹ at Brownlow Hill near Camden, while he developed an even grander one of fifty-six acres as a setting for his new home at Elizabeth Bay. His "knowledge as a horticulturist" helped to justify the granting of his land "a mile and a half from Sydney."¹⁴²

McLeay, however, did not attend the earliest meetings of the Botanic Gardens Sub-Committee. Indeed, until he began to do so, interest seemed to be fading altogether, despite efforts to call a meeting every week.¹⁴³ These earliest meetings were concerned with "what powers are vested in the Committee" and with questions of finance, labour, and the distribution of "Vine-cuttings" to suitable applicants.¹⁴⁴ McLeay attended his first meeting on 30 June 1836 when it was decided "that a Plan of the Garden should be made and laid before the Committee."¹⁴⁵ The matter of "Vine-cuttings" apparently occupied the next few meetings, but as from 9 July 1836 the sub-committee was left in no doubt as to its role. According to McLeay, who apparently on Bourke's behalf drew up the "Heads of Instructions," it "should have Superintendence" of "the principal Garden, the New Garden in Farm Cove, and that

140 McLeay so spelled his name. Other members of the family seem to have preferred "Macleay."

141 Aust. Council Nat. Trusts: Historic Homesteads of Australia, Melb., 1969, p.72, quoting W. E. Riley in 1830.

142 Darling to Wm. Huskisson, 28 Mar. 1828, Proc.Linn.Soc.NSW., 1920, p.585. Elizabeth Bay House, a fine Regency building designed by John Verge, built 1835-1837, still stands. Fragments of the famous garden may still (1969) be located among the buildings erected after the various subdivisions of the original grant.

143 The first meeting, 9 June 1836, was attended by William Macarthur, George Porter and Robert A. Wauch; the second, 16 June 1836, by Sir John Jamison and J. V. Thompson; no one came to the third meeting fixed for 23 June 1836. Syd. Bot. Gardens: Misc. Papers, NSW Archives, 4/7577. See also Minute Book I, 1836-1863 (Aust. Mus.Lib.)

144 NSW Archives, loc.cit.

145 Syd.Bot.Gardens: Misc.Papers, NSW Archives, 4/7577.

nearest the Government Stables;" the "Kitchen Garden and inner Domain" were "to be kept distinct" and "under the Superintendence of the Colonial Botanist." McLcay went further:

The Colonial Botanist and Superintendent are to follow all such directions as they may from time to time receive from the Committee in all matters connected with the Botanical Gardens.

But care was taken to add:

No Vegetables or Fruit Trees are to be raised in the Botanical Gardens, excepting such as are of so Valuable or Rare a kind, as it may be proper to place there for better preservation. Such of the fruit trees now there are to be removed as the Committee may think proper.¹⁴⁶

McLeay also appreciated that "the establishment of private Nurseries" now rendered "it unnecessary to continue the distribution of Shrubs, Trees, &c." and so it was proposed that the plants in the Gardens should be confined "to plants of a Rare Kind that cannot be obtained elsewhere in the Colony."¹⁴⁷

In McLeay's view, the Committee should "furnish an Annual Report every May, indicating progress "made towards a Scientific arrangement of the Plants," together with a census of plants actually cultivated and an account of exchanges. The first report should include "a Succinct historical Sketch of the Establishment" and "some account of what it contained when taken over by the Committee."¹⁴⁸

Allan Cunningham thus arrived to assume control of an institution which had already been "taken over."

Although certain improvements "in the Government garden" seemed "to meet with His Excellency's approval,"¹⁴⁹ Bourke had no high opinion of the Garden and Domain which Allan Cunningham had returned to administer. He considered that

146 *ibid.*

147 *ibid.*

148 *ibid.*

149 SMH, 16 July 1832, reporting a visit to the Garden by the Governor "The approaches to the domain have been greatly beautified and an extensive garden has been broken up, laid out in walks, and is already covered with verdure. Mr. M'Lean, who has been unceasing in his superintendence, deserves the highest praise..."

exclusive of a small Kitchen Garden, the Land about 47 acres to be enclosed as the Government Grounds, contains nothing that can be turned to any profitable use, being almost wholly rock and scrubby underwood. It scarcely affords the maintenance of three Cows.¹⁵⁰

One's concept of the true role of such an establishment obviously depended on how "profitable" was interpreted. One "profitable" way in which the Garden had long served the Colony was in the distribution of vine cuttings, fruit trees and ornamental shrubs. Cunningham, "finding upon a reference to the Garden books" that recent distributions had been sanctioned by the new Committee of Management, dutifully, if somewhat provocatively asked the Colonial Secretary whether he had to obtain the authority of the Committee before providing applicants with plants. He also asked whether he had

to communicate with the committee of management for such general instructions as may be considered necessary for...guidance, as Superintendent of this Garden.¹⁵¹

It was almost as if the new Superintendent were trying to lure the Committee into open battle; for the new Colonial Secretary, Edward Deas Thomson was himself a member of the Committee. Cunningham was informed somewhat coolly that it was "understood the committee will give their usual attendance for the purpose mentioned," but no hint was given of the instructions to be expected.¹⁵²

By early December 1837, it was all over. Cunningham had submitted his resignation to Governor Bourke who accepted it shortly before embarking for England. To friends in England, Cunningham announced:

Tell all that I have discharged the Government cabbage-garden in disgust, and am now to enter with all my might, mental and corporeal, on a more legitimate occupation for a few months.¹⁵³

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- 150 Bourke to Goderich, 2 Nov. 1832. Missing Desp.Gov.NSW. ML.A1267-4, p.506.
151 Cunningham to E.Deas Thomson, 27 June 1837, quoted in Pub.Serv. Jour., 10 June 1903, p.13.
152 Thomson to Cunningham, 10 July 1837, quoted in loc.cit.
153 Letter of 15 Jan. 1838, quoted in Kew Bulletin, 1906, p.215.

The Sydney Herald told all in the Colony:

We have had frequently to call the attention of the Colonists to the fact, that a Kitchen Garden, under the pretence of being a Botanic Garden, is supported in Sydney at an expense of from £800 to £1000 a year! ...We scarcely even walk through this garden without seeing some servant with a basket carrying off vegetables, or fruit, for Mrs. This or Mrs. That—the wife of some official...People frequently ask, 'What becomes of the fruit and of the vegetables grown in this Botanic Garden? The question is easily answered. They fall into the insatiate maws of all-devouring officials...

It is in fact, so barefaced that Mr. Cunningham would no longer consent to remain a mere cultivator of official cabbages and turnips; and, accordingly, he has resigned the management of the Botanic Gardens in disgust.¹⁵⁴

By the time the Herald had so laboured its point, Bourke had sailed, and the arrival of Sir George Gipps was imminent. The Administrator, Colonel Kenneth Snodgrass besought Cunningham to write for the new Governor's information, a Report on the Gardens. Cunningham agreed to be temporarily reinstated for this purpose,¹⁵⁵ and he produced a voluminous account of the Garden for his brief term, February to December, 1837,¹⁵⁶ subscribing himself "late Superintendent and making his position perfectly clear.

Arriving in Sydney in February 1838, Gipps found the public and the press declaring support for the injured Cunningham, who had valiantly defied the attempts of privileged citizens and of officialdom to rob him of his professional dignity. Gipps respected Cunningham, and hoped for a rapprochement which would prevent his services being lost. The Governor

154 SMH, 29 Jan. 1838, under the heading: "The Botanical alias the Kitchen Garden."

155 Assist. Col.Sec. T. C. Harington to Cunningham, 2 Feb. 1838. "...the Acting-Governor approves of your charging the sum of £16 13s 4d. being the amount of your pay for one month." Letter quoted in Pub.Serv.Jour., 10 June 1903, p.13.

156 NSW Gov.Desp. 1838, ML.A1218, pp.597-616.

accordingly entered into a negotiation with him, through the medium of the gentlemen under whose management the garden is placed.¹⁵⁷

The Committee which Cunningham saw as an obstacle to his work, was thereby called upon to be an intercessor.

Only three members¹⁵⁸ attended the meeting at which the Governor's wishes were announced. They "lost no time in communicating with M^r Cunningham"¹⁵⁹ who on 12 May 1838 stipulated the terms under which he would be prepared to resume duty:

1. A salary of £450 per annum.
2. Free passages to out-settlements, e.g. New Zealand and Van Diemen's Land.
3. Convicts, victualled and clothed by the Government, to assist on each excursion.
4. Two tents to be provided.
5. "Draught horses for each Journey."
6. "A Strong Cart for the transport of living plants."
7. Brown paper and other necessary stationery to be provided.
8. "A carte blanche as to the disposal of his time and going on journeys."¹⁶⁰

To Cunningham it must have seemed as if the days of Macquarie had returned.

Sir John Jamison thought £350 would be a fair salary, but his two colleagues recommended the sum requested; the Committee could not agree however to the 'carte blanche' request, not because of any lack of confidence in Cunningham, but because of the precedent it would set. Rather, it would seem better if Cunningham were to spend "say one half of each year (the seasons to be chosen by himself) in excursions for the purpose of Science."¹⁶¹ It was further recommended that Cunningham's

connexion with the Botanic Garden shall be discontinued except in the manner proposed by himself, unless indeed he be made a Member of the Committee established for its General

157 Gipps to Gleneig, 14 May 1838. NSW Gov.Desp., 1838, ML.A1218, p.590.

158 Alex. McLeay, Sir John Jamison and William Macarthur.

159 McLeay, Jamison and Macarthur to Gipps, 22 Mar. 1838, NSW Gov. Desp., 1838, ML.A1218, p.617.

160 op.cit., p.619; and Cunningham's letter of 12 Mar. 1838, op.cit., pp.625-633.

161 op.cit., p.624.

Management.¹⁶²

Gipps did not reject these terms outright, but sought more information on the equipment which Cunningham claimed would be required for botanical exploration. In reply, Cunningham asked for "the usual travelling or Bush ration" for his men "as supplied to surveying parties"¹⁶³ and he described the clothing issue, tents,¹⁶⁴ bedding, horses, etc. in similar detail.¹⁶⁵ This quickly brought negotiations to a conclusion. Gipps considered that the demands meant an immediate outlay "of something more than £200...and that the fixed annual expense would certainly amount to not less than £850."¹⁶⁶ Cunningham protested that these amounts had been inflated, but despite his own moderate estimate, the matter was closed.¹⁶⁷

Where did the fault lie? Was the fast-ailing¹⁶⁸ Cunningham unreasonable? To-day, with our buoyant economy and an almost over-patronising attitude to science, we might say he was not. Gipps, however, was responsible to an economically-minded Home Government and to a Colony gripped by drought.¹⁶⁹ There were other factors, too. The paternalistic interest of Banks and Bathurst was wanting, and the influence of the Hookers had not yet become significant. Gipps

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- 162 NSW Gov.Desp. 1838, ML.A1218, p.621. Cunningham had expressly requested that he would "never...again" be connected with the Botanic Garden, except "in introducing desirable exotic plants, and the rarer indigenous vegetables." Cunningham to Committee, 12 Mar. 1838, op.cit., p.628.
- 163 i.e. 10½lb. wheaten flour; 4 lb. salt pork or 7 lb. fresh beef; ¼ lb. tea; 1 lb. sugar; 2 oz. tobacco; 2 oz. soap per man per week.
- 164 One "of either Russia Duck or the lightest Canvas" and one of "the 'Parramatta Factory Woollen Cloth'" for the men.
- 165 Cunningham to Henry Wm. Parker, 30 Mar. 1838, ML.A1218, pp.635-638. (Parker was private secretary to the Governor and brother-in-law of William Macarthur).
- 166 Parker to Cunningham, 31 Mar. 1838, op.cit., p.640.
- 167 Note by H. W. Parker, op.cit., p.641.
- 168 The tuberculosis which shortly ended his life was now well advanced. Cunningham made indirect references to ill-health in his correspondence with the Committee.
- 169 For the drought of 1837-1839, see for example, Clark: Select Documents, I, p.291.

felt bound to trust the Committee which Bourke had established and to rely on its recommendations; Gipps and Cunningham were the same age, but the botanist was an experienced campaigner and the Governor was a cautious beginner. The chief cause of the breakdown in negotiations probably lay in a clash of ideas and personalities. On the one hand was the professional botanist, proud of his scientific training and knowledge, and conscious of his earlier contributions to N.S.W. exploration. He was appointed, he believed, to do a professional job for which he should be responsible directly and only to the employing authority, and not to a body of amateurs whose interest, or inquisitiveness, apparently far surpassed their knowledge. On the other hand, they were the representatives of a growing body of men concerned with the academic growth of Colonial science, men who perhaps drew some suspicion because they had the leisure wherewith to pursue some scientific interest, men who saw themselves as the pioneer promoters of Colonial science, and guardians of the Colonial purse. To answer them, Cunningham put the pistol at the Governor's head, but the Governor felt duty bound to call his bluff. The impasse was complete.

As planned, Cunningham sailed for New Zealand¹⁷⁰ while the Governor prepared

the most positive order, that no culinary vegetables of any sort shall be raised in the garden, --that the fruit-bearing trees shall gradually be removed,...and that the kitchen garden properly belonging to Government House,...though adjoining the Botanic Garden ...shall be taken entirely out of the management of the Superintendent.¹⁷¹

Allan Cunningham and the Sydney Herald¹⁷² had scored one victory at least.

Returning from New Zealand in October 1838, Cunningham though now very ill, arranged to join Captain John Wickham in the Beagle

170 He sailed in the French corvette, L'Héroïne on 15 April 1838.

171 Gipps to Glenelg, 12 May 1838. NSW. Gov. Desp., 1838. ML.A1218, pp.592-593.

172 SMH, 29 Jan. 1839, had expressed the hope "that the new Governor will 'stop the supplies'" to "those persons who are, or ought to be, best able to pay...!"