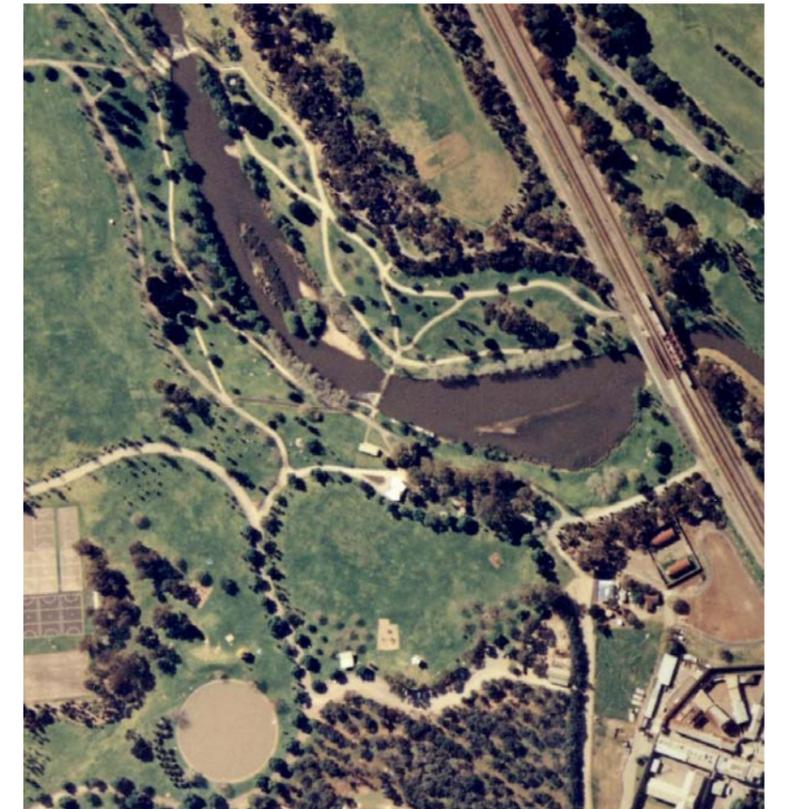
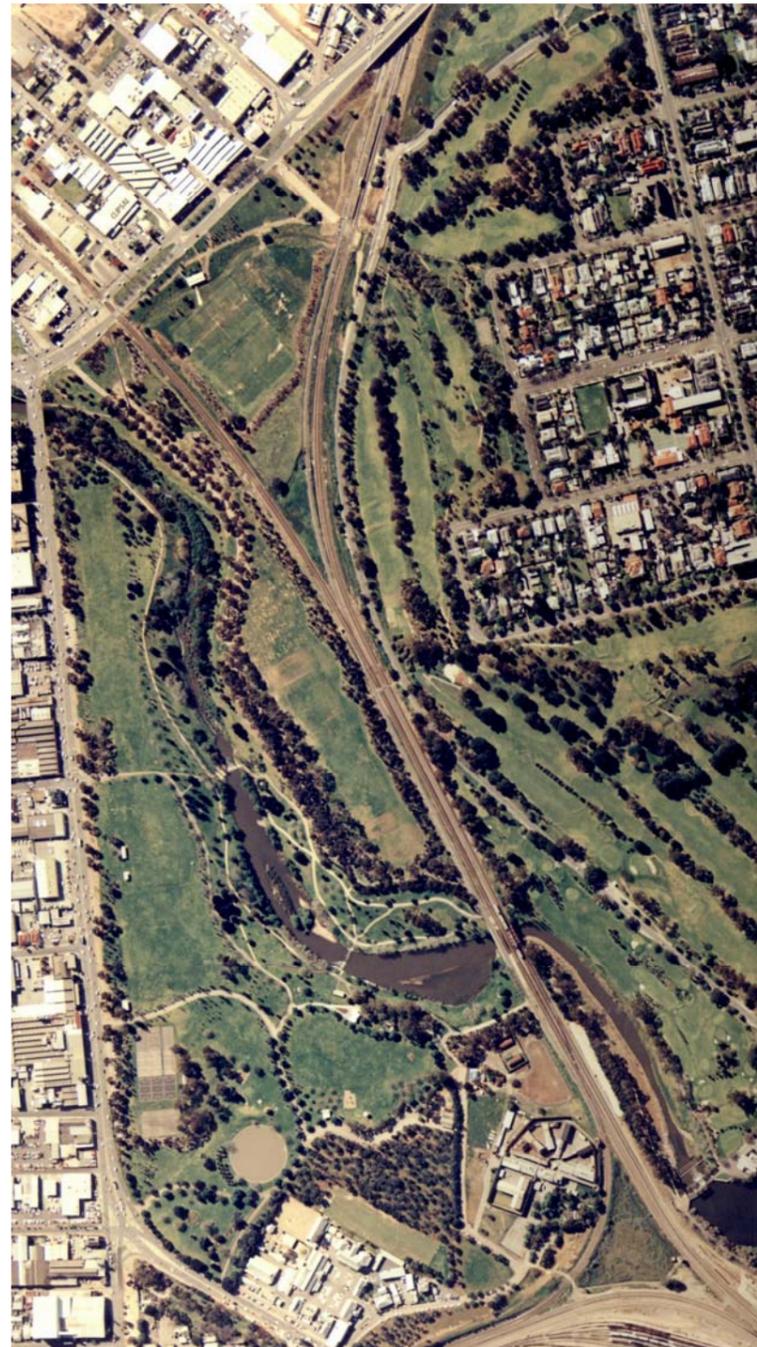


3.0 ADELAIDE PARK LANDS & SQUARES

3.1.26 Tulya Wodli/Park 27 Report



Tulya Wodli/Park 27

Historical Overview: Site Context

Arising from Light's plan, Tulya Wodli/Park 27 today consists of land bounded by the North Adelaide Railway Line, the River Torrens/Karrawirra Parri, and Port Road and excludes land presently occupied by SA Transport (railways land), Adelaide Gaol, and Thebarton Police Barracks.

Originally Tulya Wodli/Park 27 consisted of only a small portion of the present Tulya Wodli/Park 27 and has experienced several administrative boundary changes over the years.

Prior to 1899, and Pelzer's appointment as City Gardener, Tulya Wodli/Park 27 consisted of land that is now the lower Golf Course portion of Park 1, together with the triangular portion of present Park 27 along Park Terrace that was known as Park 27A and comprised 14.235 acres (5.7ha). At the time of Pelzer's appointment the majority of the land from and encircling the Police Barracks across to Morphett Street was used as a 'Plantation of Olives', as the Corporation's Sheep & Cattle Market, a small portion as Railway Reserve, and a rectangular tract next to the Sheep Market as Park 25A. There was no Park designation or reference number that described the present area north of the Police Barracks, nor the land between the River Torrens/Karrawirra Parri and the Port Adelaide railway line. Instead, this land was directly associated with the Corporation's Slaughter House and Cattle Yards functions, and was principally used as agistment paddocks associated with these functions. The nomenclature of Park 27 came into being in the 1960s following the establishment of the North Adelaide Golf Course and the cessation of the slaughterhouse functions and demolition of the Slaughterhouse itself. The Corporation also used the epithets 'Slaughter House' and 'Slaughterhouse' in its reports to describe the place and consistency to the original cited has been applied in this **Report**. Also, Port Road along the Thebarton north-south section was for many years known as Shierlaw Terrace.

Because of these progressive designation and boundary change, maps have been used in this **Report** to depict these spatial areas and any associated description of the boundary changes. Accordingly, while we refer to *Tulya Wodli* as Tulya Wodli/Park 27, or Bonython Park today, these names are contemporary descriptors, and the labels 'Slaughter House Paddocks', 'Butcher's Yards', 'Cattle Yards', 'Gaol Olive Plantations', 'Olive Yards', 'West Park Nursery', 'Hemsley Paddock' were commonly used between the 1830s to the 1950s. 'Hemsley Paddock' was colloquially named after William John Hemsley who served as the Clerk of Sheep & Cattle Market (1865-99), and as Superintendent of Slaughterhouse (1883-1904).

A stretch of land north of North Terrace is also contained within Tulya Wodli/Park 27. Historically this verge was the gardens and paddocks that masked the Corporation's Sheep Market area in Tulya Wodli/Park 27 that are presently occupied by part of the rail yards. In the 1880s-1920s it was occasionally referred to as "Park 25A" in the Corporation's reports.



Figure
Extract of the watercolour tinted 'Plan of Adelaide' dated 1836 as prepared by Colonel William Light, depicting Tulya Wodli/Park 27. Note the River Torrens/Karrawirra Parri with the "Botanic Gardens" on a reputed island in the watercourse, with Port Road to the bottom and left of the image, with a series of brown-coloured carriage drives through the green-coloured 'park lands'. Source: ACC archives.



Figure
Extract of a black and white survey 'Plan of Adelaide' as prepared by Colonel William Light dated 1837 that again depicts the reputed island on the River Torrens/Karrawirra Parri, Port Road, and tree-be speckled river edge and island. Source: ACC archives.

Historical Overview: Aboriginal Associations

There are considerable references to Kaurna sites or activities, pre-contact or post-contact, for Tulya Wodli/Park 27 and these are discussed in the following historical overview of the Tulya Wodli/Park 27 (Hemming 1998; Harris 1999, 2000, 2005).

To the north side of the River Torrens/Karrawirra Parri, between the River and War Memorial Drive at a location called *Piltawodli*, the first 'Native Location' or 'Aboriginal Location' was formally established in the colony of South Australia. Deputy Surveyor George Kingston identified the boundaries of this 'Location' in his 1842 Map of Adelaide. Land in Tulya Wodli/Park 27 includes the *Piltawodli* or 'Aboriginal Location' settlement where the present Par 3 and Torrens Weir exist today.

With the appointment of Walter Bromley in April 1837 as the second interim Protector of Aborigines, Bromley was temporarily allocated land "reserved for the Botanic Gardens" to service his duties. Colonel William Light, in May 1837, was instructed "to send one of [his] officers to point out to Capt. Bromley ... the piece of land reserved for the Botanical Gardens which ... may temporarily be used by him for the employment of the natives ..." (GRG 24/4, 8 May 1837). The first site of the Garden was along the River Torrens/Karrawirra Parri, on both sides, where the Slaughterhouse was later sited, and where the present 1960s gardens, weir and Holm Oak (*Quercus ilex*) plantings exist today in Tulya Wodli/Park 27. A small linear island reputedly existed in the River valley at this time which was progressively reconfigured as the Corporation appropriated the place as a rubbish dump associated with 'The Billabong' itself as well as the Slaughterhouse waste (Harris 2005, p. 1).

The second Botanic Garden site was reputedly land approximately where the Adelaide Gaol was later developed in 1840 onwards. On both sites, no botanic garden development occurred, the former also being subject to flooding. Bromley established a tent encampment on either of these two sites before being directed in November 1837 to shift to the *Piltawodli* site: "it being desirable that I should remove my tent [to] about a mile from the town to a place chosen by the natives close to the river." This "place" being *Piltawodli*. O'Brien also believes that *Mullawirraburka* or King John obtained a tract of land in the Tulya Wodli/Park 27 locality (Foster 1990, p. 12; Harris 1999, pp. 65-67; Hemming 1998, p. 35; State Records GRG 24/1, 8 May 1837; 24/4/1837/68; Best 1986, p. 28; State Records CO 13/9, 29 November 1837).

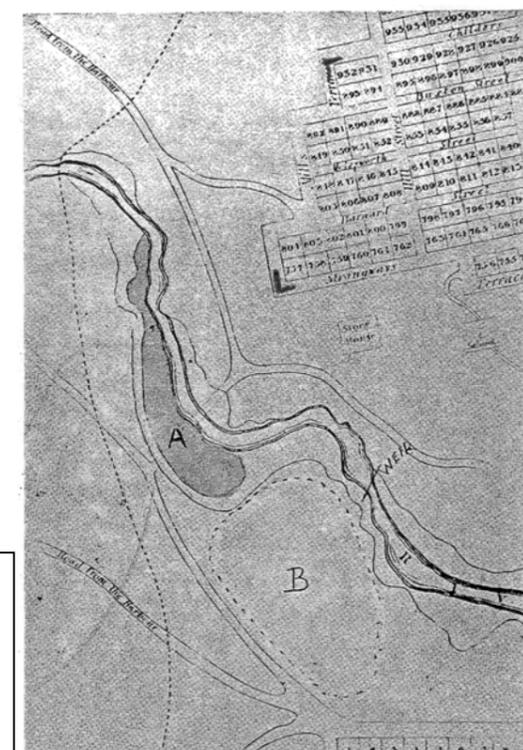


Figure
The first (A) and second (B) sites for the botanic garden on the banks of the River Torrens in Tulya Wodli/Park 27 today. Source: Survey Plan of the City of Adelaide, 1837, as prepared by Colonel William Light. ACC Archives

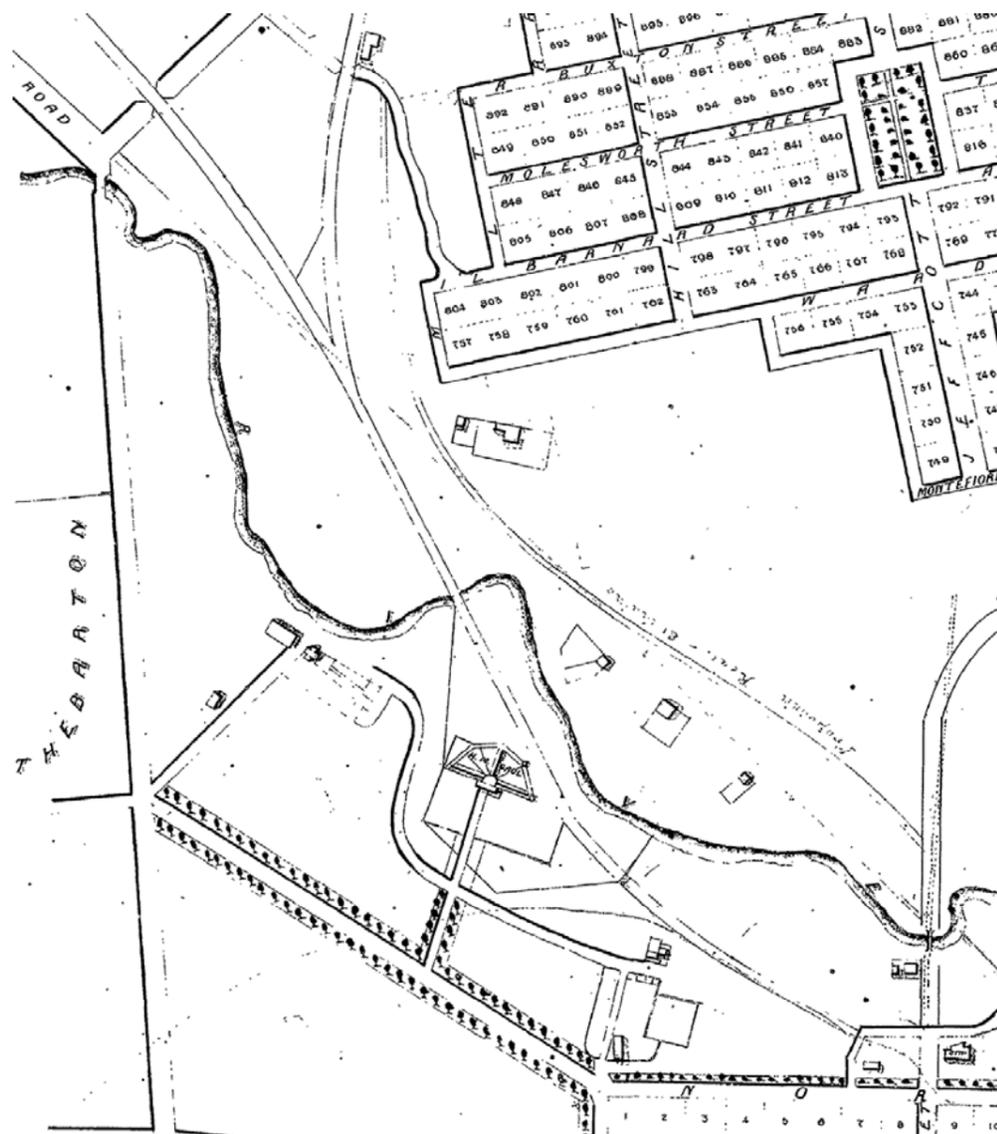


Figure
 Extract of a 'Plan of the City of Adelaide' prepared by the City Surveyors Office, 11 February 1865, depicting structures and functional arrangements in Piltawodli/Park 1 and Tulya Wodli/Park 27 in 1865. This 'Plan' is discussed later in this Report, but in terms of Aboriginal associations, note the three structures associated with the Sappers encampment on the north side of the River Torrens/Karrawirra Parri. Source: ACC Archive.

Despite Bromley's first attempts to develop the sites, on both sides of the River Torrens/Karrawirra Parri, he was dismissed in November 1837. In the same month Bromley wrote about his work and the encampment:

... The Blacks on being introduced to the number of about 60 appeared to be kind and docile and I in return did everything in my power to convince them that I was indeed their Sincere friend ... It being desirable that I remove my tent about a mile from the town, to a place chosen by the Natives close to the river, I there supplied them with a scanty allowance of provisions, which was all I could obtain ... On my removal to the ... site referred to, I erected with my own hands a Wigwam or shed, something after their own fashion, in order that they might not crowd my tent which they sometimes did even to suffocation ... (CO 13/9, 20 November 1837).

At this new site Bromley erected a hut and supervised the Kaurna "construction of half a dozen 'commodious wigwams' as he called them." There is some dispute about the whether there were six huts or just one tent and one wigwam given Bromley's limited and poor grammatical descriptions (Hemming 1998, p. 35-36, 38-39; Draper *et al* 2005, pp. 26, 49-51; Harris 2005, p. 11).

The 'wigwam' was burnt down soon after it was erected, and Bromley was dismissed for alleged incompetence, and replaced by William Wyatt in July 1837. Between May to July 1837 Bromley erected a 'cottage' to replace this 'wigwam' but it is unclear whether it was situated at the original site of his encampment or the new site he moved to with the Aboriginals (GRG 24/1, 1837/213, 30 June 1837; PRG 128/13/10; Harris 2000, p. 5; 2005, pp. 2-3).

Lendon (nd) has stated that Bromley had "hopes he would not be shifted from his present location where Colonel Light put him, where he is building a cottage" but he obviously shifted camp to the Piltawodli site upon the insistence of the Aboriginals he was caring (Harris 2005, p. 3; 2000, p. 9; PRG 128/13/10).

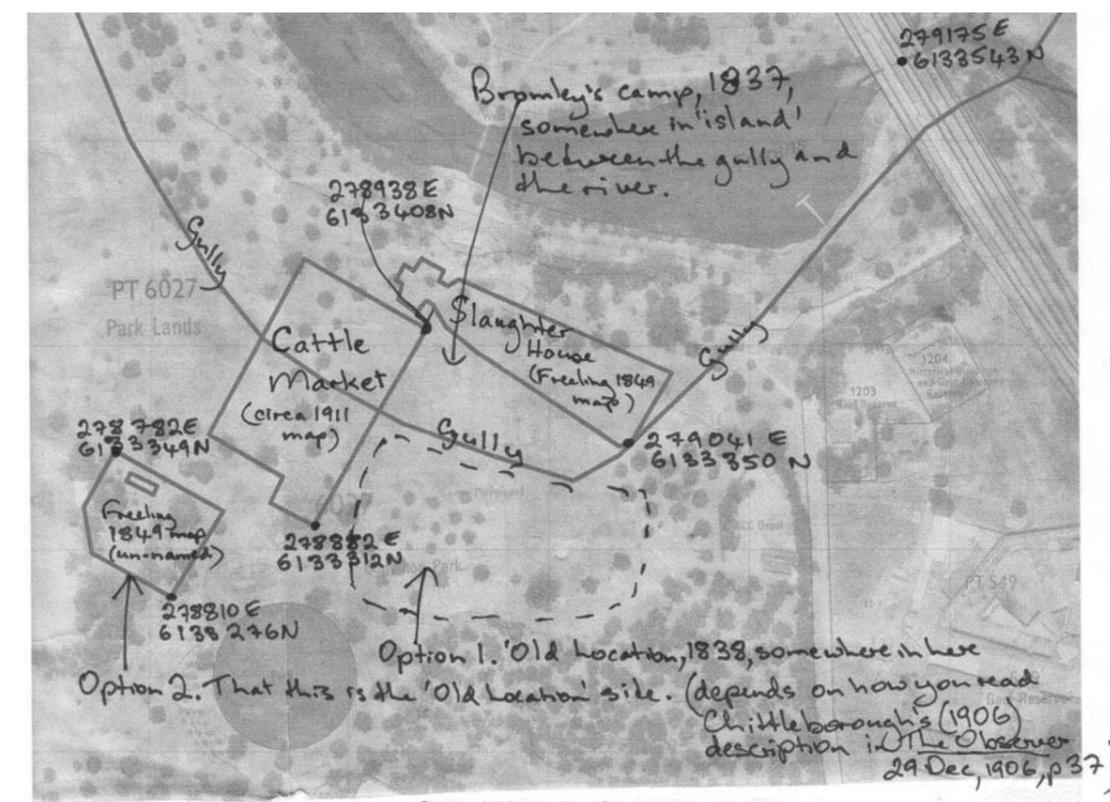


Figure
 Extract of a map prepared by Rhondda Harris in 2005 delineating her understanding of the sites of the former Slaughterhouse, Cattle Yards, Slaughterhouse Manager's Residence that later became the Park Lands Ranger's Residence, and sites for the first 'Old Location' in 1838 and Bromley's camp in 1837, having regard to extant historical records and archaeological evidence. Source: Harris 2005, np.

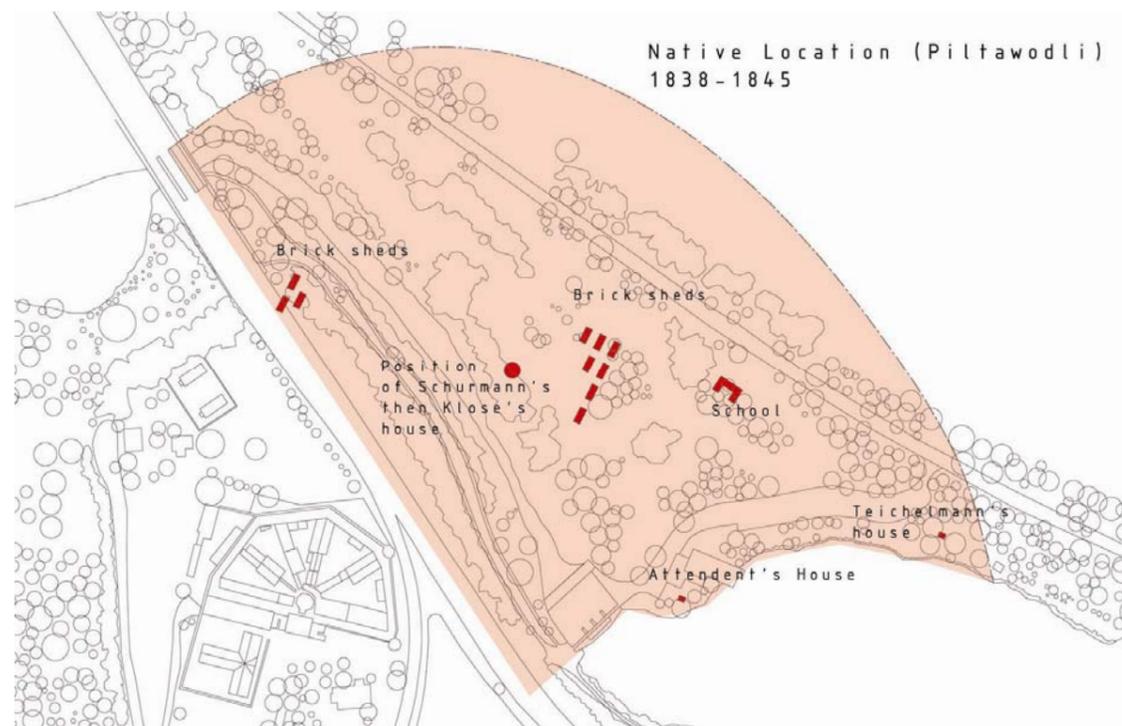


Figure
The Piltawodli 'Native Location' buildings, derived from Harris (1998) overlaid on top of an autocad survey plan of the precinct prepared for the City of Adelaide. Note the locations of the Brick Sheds, School, Schürmann's House, the Sappers Quarters, the Attendant's House, and Teichelmann's House.

A child passenger on the *HMS Buffalo* in December 1836, Chittleborough has reminisced about this first encampment:

... the whole of our family ... tramped the seven miles from the bay to the river, near where the Adelaide Gaol now stands. There we camped ... until father built a primitive reed hut ... alongside other similar places built by our fellow emigrants, which was given the name Buffalo Row.

... Buffalo Row was an open piece of land, where the olive plantation now is, and nearly opposite the slaughter house. It stood about 5 yards from the south bank of the little gully that runs from the back of the Gaol past the slaughter house. The row extended in an easterly direction towards the survey camp, and all the huts faced north.

... Capt. Bromley had been appointed native inspector or superintendent by the Protector of Aborigines. He soon established a sort of location for the natives, by having shelter sheds built for them near where he resided, a little west of Buffalo Row, on the south bank of the gully already referred to and close to the present cattle sale yards. The blacks did not take kindly to the sheds, and preferred their own wurleys to the captain's idea of comfort (Chittleborough 1906, p. 37).

Harris has concluded that the gully referred to was the "little gully that runs from the back of the Gaol past the slaughterhouse," quoting Chittleborough (1906, p. 37; Harris 1999, p. 66; 2005, p. 2). Accordingly, this represents a location roughly west of the Adelaide Gaol main structure where the Powder Magazine and Totem are now located. Buffalo Row was a line of temporary structures approximately along Port Road near the present Children's Road Safety School and the Port Road Urban Forest are located.

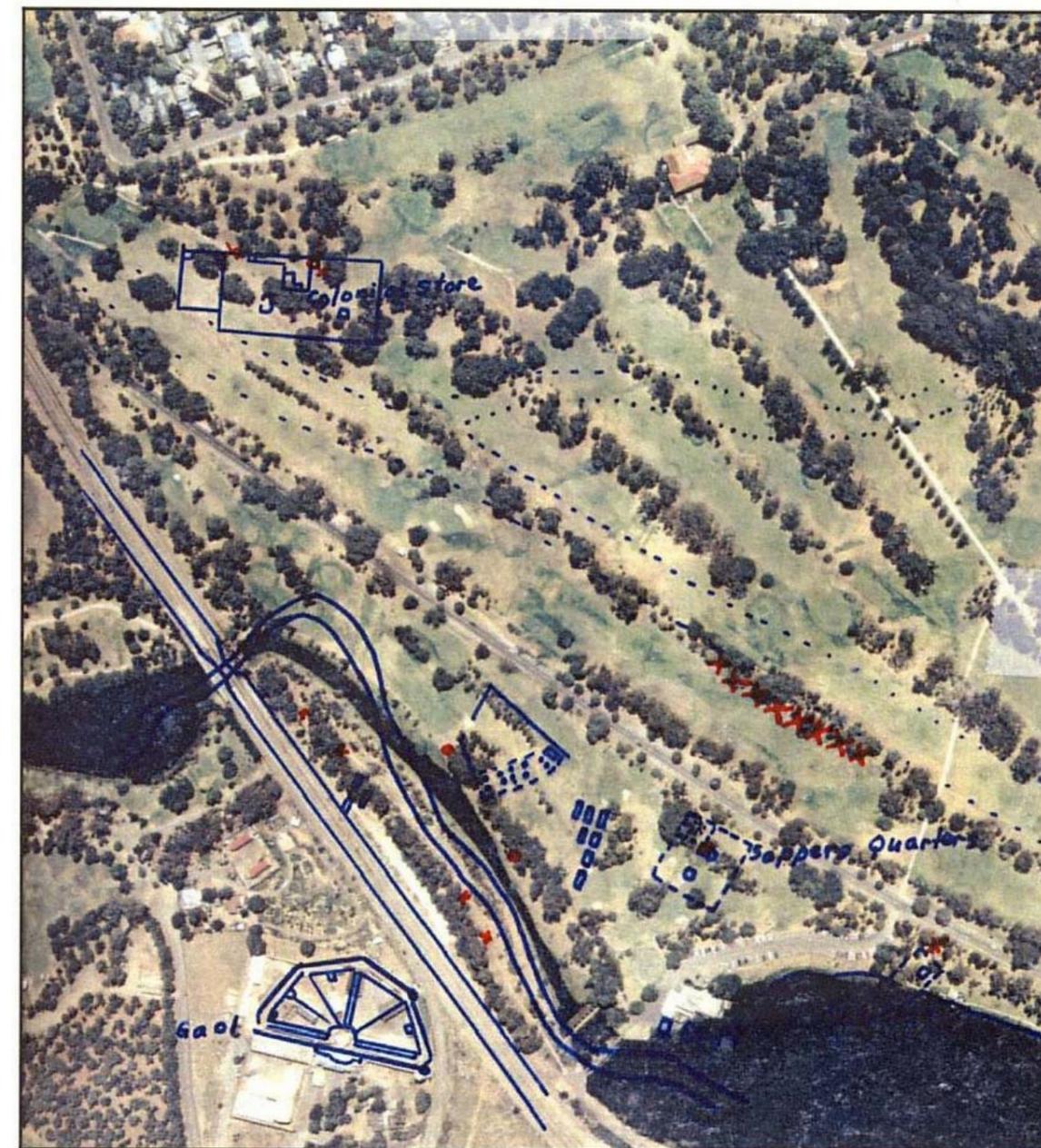


Figure
Composite map produced by Harris (1998) using Freeling's (1842) and Kingston's (1842) maps of Adelaide superimposed upon a contemporary colour aerial photograph of Piltawodli with annotations highlighting the likely locations of the Sappers Quarters, Native School, Aboriginal 'sheds' and Colonial Store. Source: Draper *et al* 2005, p. 50.

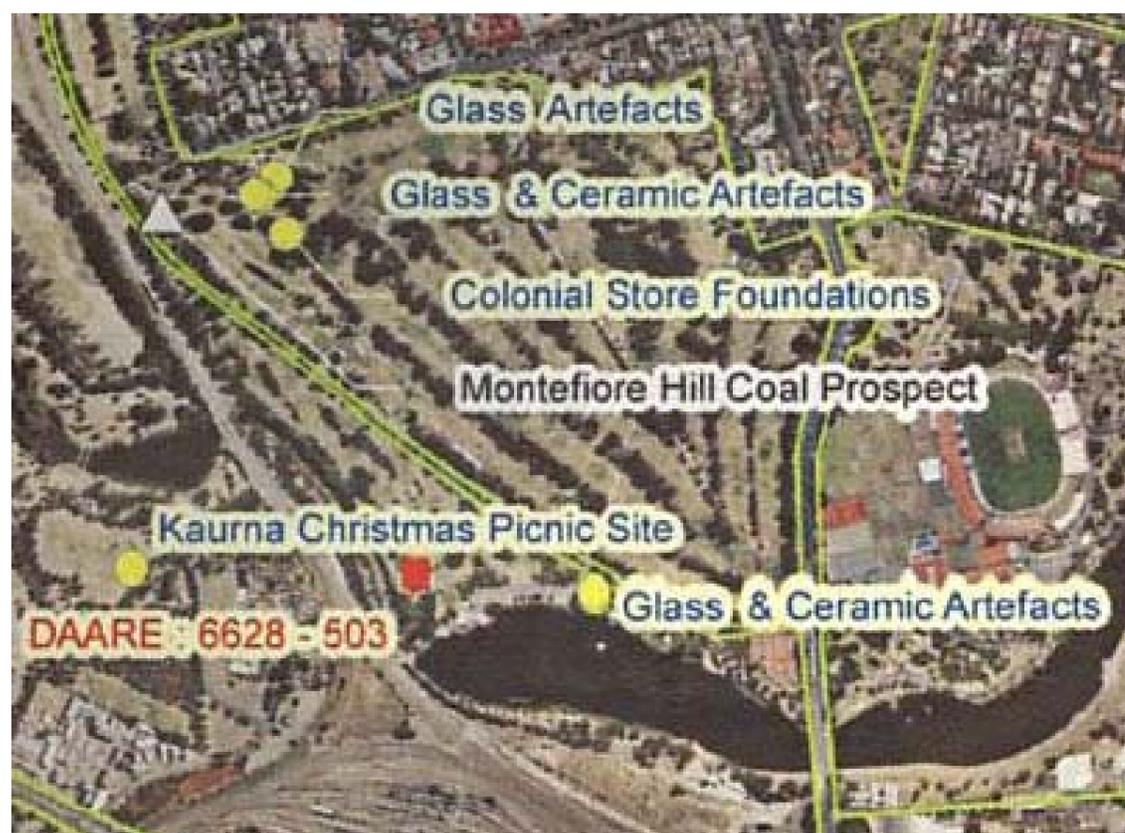
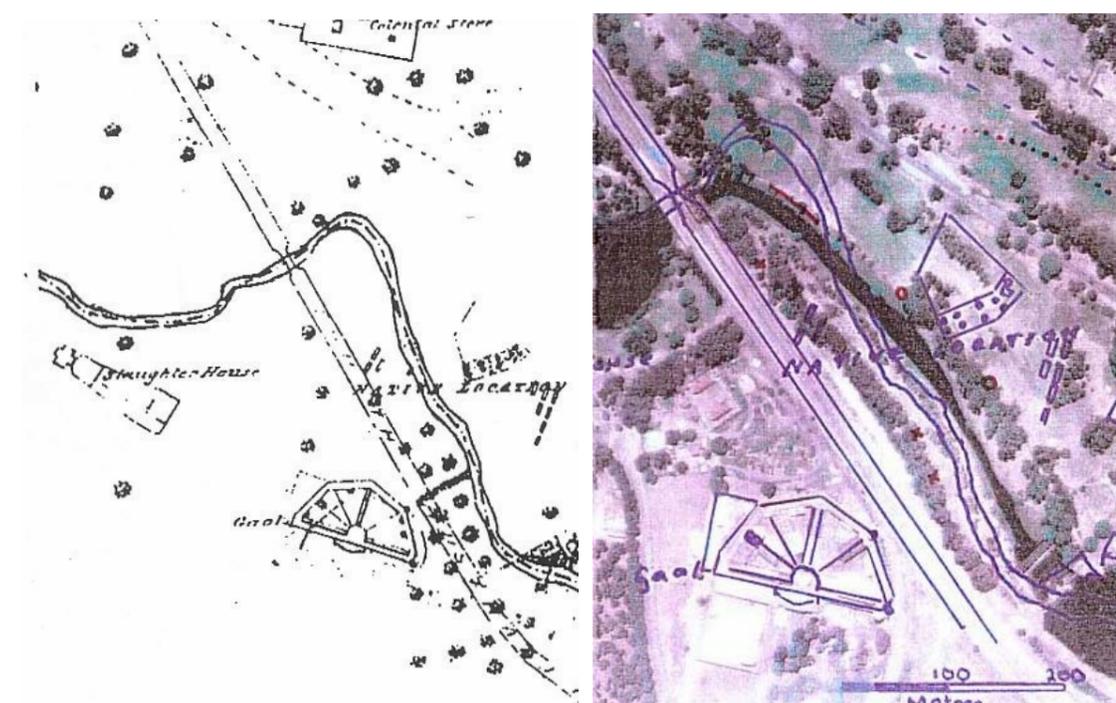


Figure
Extract from Draper *et al* 2005, indicating sites identified as possessing Aboriginal and or Kaurna historical association post-contact, including the Colonial Store, Aboriginal Location, and the Montefiore Hill Coal deposit site in Tulya Wodli/Park 27 and Piltawoldi/Park 1. Source: Draper *et al* 2005, p. 55.

Unfortunately Wyatt was immediately sent to the Encounter Bay region to quell tensions in this region between settlers and Aboriginals, and it was not until December 1837 that he returned to Adelaide. In December 1837 a public Committee was established to assist Wyatt in setting up a 'Location' fearful that tensions might occur in the Adelaide region should "... habitation and regular meals for all who will come for them ..." not be provided. The site chosen was to be known in colonial correspondence and maps as the 'Location' and was positioned approximately on the site of the present Par 3 golf course adjacent to the present restaurant and weir. In January 1838 plans were announced to erect a 'Location' where Bromley had vacated his 'house' and Wyatt proposed the acquisition of this cottage to serve as a school and storehouse with accompanying garden. The reference to Bromley's house is obscure as it implies that it was already on the site of the 'Location' whereas it was really on the site of the former 'Location' in Tulya Wodli/Park 27 (*South Australian Record* Vol 1, p. 74, letter from Mr JB Hack, 20 December 1837; Harris 2005, p. 11).

In association with *Piltawoldi*, three brick 'sheds' were erected on land by 1838 immediately opposite *Piltawoldi* in Tulya Wodli/Park 27 near the present pedestrian Railway Line underpass. These 'sheds' were intended to accommodate members of the 'Adelaide Tribe', were intermittently occupied, and were spatially separated from huts erected in the main *Piltawoldi* settlement that were intended to accommodate members of the 'Murray Tribe'.



Figures
Above Left: Extract of Freeling's (1849) *Map of Adelaide* depicting the 'Native Location', Adelaide Gaol, Slaughter House and Yards, and the proposed alignment of the northern railway line. The map depicts the 'Adelaide Sheds' between the River Torrens/Karrawirra Parri and the Gaol, and the organisational plan of the Slaughterhouse yards. Source: ACC archives.
Above Right: Extract of an overlay colour plan prepared by Harris depicting part of the 'Native Location' area. Note the position of the Adelaide Gaol, and the 'Adelaide Sheds' immediately to the north between the northern railway line and the River Torrens/Karrawirra Parri. Source: Harris 1999,

Work constructing and developing the 'Location' occurred in early 1838. Tenders were called for in February, by March there was "a small patch of land and huts", and by April an acre [1.2ha] of land had been fenced enclosing a small store, schoolhouse and residence of the interpreter, and some 12 huts were being erected, each 9 feet square (0.8²m). Bromley was appointed teacher, to "occupy the house he now resides in," but he drowned in the River Torrens/Karrawirra Parri in May 1838. By June 1838 Wyatt reported that all works had been completed and that some 87 "Natives [were] residing in the huts at the Location" with an additional 200 camped in the immediate vicinity (Harris 2000, pp. 10-12; 2000, pp. 3-4). Despite Wyatt's best intentions, the quality of these huts was less than desirable. Moravian Lutheran missionary Schürmann recorded that "... the natives use their huts only in times of utmost need, when it is raining very heavily, because they cannot move for fleas inside them." The Schoolhouse that he and Teichelmann occupied was an "airy habitation" but "Teichelmann fell dangerously sick of ... dysentery" while residing there. Settler William Mann, in 1838, described the 'Location' as "a sort of stockade ... pound like fence, round which are sheds something like pens for sheep; but they preferred sweet liberty and ease, rolling under the gum trees, wrapped up in a rug or blanket." The quality of these sheds were obviously of a poor quality and Protector Moorhouse subsequently erected new sheds "of superior construction to the 12 at the old location" (Harris 2005, pp. 3-4; Schürmann 1838, p. S58; Mann 1839 p. 285 cited in Gara 1998, p. 100; Protectors Quarterly Report for the quarter ending December 1839, Report of the Colonisation Commissioners, p. 322).

Schürmann described this new 'Location' as:

... on the site of the parklands between North and South Adelaide where the natives most commonly have their camp. The spot is on the north side of the Torrens on a triangular reach into the stream enclosing about two to three English acres. My and Brother Teichelmann's house, each stands in a base corner, his in the eastern and mine in the western angle and that of teacher Oldbams stands in the apex. For this last-mentioned house a row of houses for the natives is to be built in a straight line to mine and in a curved line to Teichelmann's as the line of the streambank determines. In this latter row here houses are already standing, which the natives have helped build, and two others are under construction near me. The gardens lying in the river bed are each to [be] individually fenced in and, in addition, a fence is to be erected around the whole area. The natives' name for this section of land I have described is Piltawodly (Schürmann, letter to Angas, 12 June 1839; Harris 2005, pp. 5-6).

Thus, by early 1838, the 'Location' was a fenced enclosure with a store, schoolhouse and a residence for an interpreter together with some twelve huts erected for the Aboriginals. By 1840 there were some thirteen buildings in this 'Location' which included cottages for two Moravian Lutheran missionaries, CG Teichelmann and CW Schürmann together with a 'Native School', several huts for Indigenous people and houses for staff associated with the colonial Aboriginals Department.

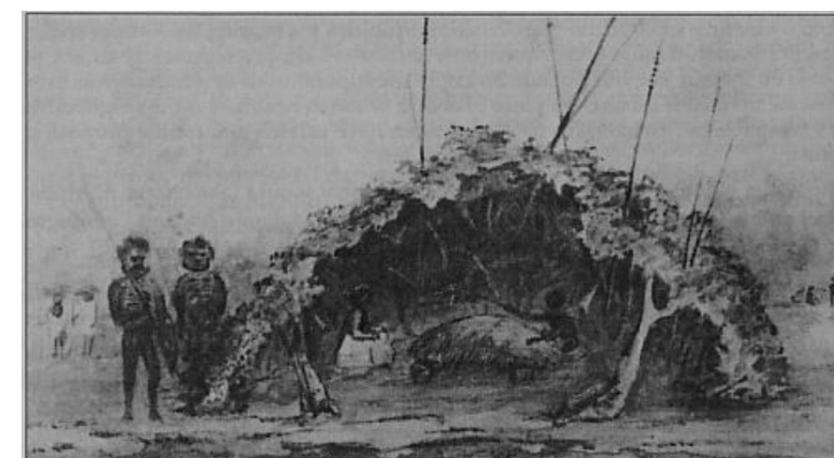
Unfortunately the actual spatial location of these buildings and sheds are limited given extant period maps of the time, but there is some information as to their construction. Schürmann's and Teichelmann's houses consisted of two rooms in 10 x 12 foot (3.0 x 3.65m) structures with walls of *pisé* (mud and straw) upon stone foundations, whitewashed walls with lime floors, brick chimneys, wood plate roofs, with wooden doors and window frames. The sheds were possibly of the same construction as Schürmann wrote that "Wattewattipinna today started his house near mine ... Under Cronz's guidance the natives are themselves making the mud walls" (Schürmann diary entries 30 May, 4 July, 6 December 1839; Teichelmann diary entry 24 November 1839; Harris 1999, p. 76; 2005, p. 6; GRG 1/1839/312/16).

As part of this encampment, the colonial Governor designated that the "... northern boundary should be the ditch or dry river bed, which is not far from the Harbour Road" resulting in some 13 acres (5.26ha) being designated as the 'Location'. The "ditch" can be discerned in Freeling's 1849 'Map of Adelaide' slightly north of the present War Memorial Drive alignment. Kingston's 'Map of Adelaide', dated 1842, also designates the "Location" as consisting of a polygon shape with "roughly 13 acres" (5.26ha) (Kingston, Map of Adelaide, 1842; Hemming 1998, p. 37; Freeling, Map of Adelaide, 1849; Harris 2005, p. 6; Schürmann diary 12 July 1839. The Protector of Aboriginals noted the occupancy and function of this 'Location' in a letter in 1846:

The adults have for six years been allowed to locate on a plot of Park Lands between the South Side of Port Road and the Torrens, and extending to the Eastward and Westward of the old Location fence 400 yards [365m] (State Records, GRG 52/7/1, Protector of Aboriginals, Letterbook, 18 February 1846, cited by Hemming 1998, p. 36).

In 1845 the 'Location' was disbanded in favour of a new location immediately east of the Government House Domain. This resulted in most of the huts and buildings being demolished and the military Sappers taking charge of the remaining structures. All Aboriginal residents were ordered from the site. Only Klose, who continued to live in his house, and "3 old people and 2 children who were not in a condition to go with the rest" were allowed to remain. The children, together with children from the Walkerville School, were taken to the 'Native School Establishment' in Kintore Avenue and placed in dormitories previously occupied by the Sappers and Miners (engineers). The Sappers and Miners thereupon took over the 'Location' site including school, gardens and most of the remaining buildings. Their occupancy is noted in

Freeling's 1849 'Map of Adelaide' where all structures are recorded as "Sappers Quarters". Notwithstanding this change of venue, the Aboriginals Department continued to use the 'Location' to control and monitor the movements of Indigenous peoples within Adelaide. For this purpose ten brick sheds were erected in 1846, seven on the north side of the River Torrens/Karrawirra Parri to accommodate members of the 'Murray Tribe' and three on the south to accommodate the 'Adelaide Tribe'. Their occupancy was however spasmodic because the huts leaked and were of poor quality of construction. Until 1851, when the role was taken over by Government House at Botanic Park, this was a site of Queen's Birthday distribution of rations and blankets to Indigenous peoples. It would appear that the foundations or evidence of these 'huts' may be *in situ* underneath bitumen and landscaping associated with the golf course, and that an archaeological investigation may quality their locations and additional cultural information (Foster, 1990, pp. 11-13; Hemmings 1998, p. 35-36, 38-39; Klose 1841-45, 3 July, 4 July 1845; GRG 52/7/1, letter from Moorhouse, 28 January 1848; GRG 35/2, 27 July 1846; GRG 24/1/1846/75, 28 September 1846; Harris 1999, p. 62; 2005, pp. 7-9; Draper *et al* 2005, pp. 26, 49-51).



Figures
Two watercolour images by William Cawthorne, reproduced in black and white, depicting scenes at the 'Native Location'. The upper depicts a funeral 'wurley' for Mullawirraburka sketched by Cawthorne in January 1845 at the 'Native location' site with two of his wives to the left. Source: watercolour by Cawthorne, possession of Mrs Marshall, copy to Mitchell Library of New South Wales, in Draper *et al* 2005, p. 52.



Bottom image is entitled 'A fight among the natives on 29 March 1844 at the location between 8 & 9 pm', as painted by Cawthorne. Note the openness of the landscape, but with the presence of several mature *Eucalyptus* ssp. Source: watercolour by Cawthorne, possession of Mrs Marshall, copy to Mitchell Library of New South Wales, in Draper *et al* 2005, p. 52.

By 1850 these sheds were clearly still extant but in considerable disrepair:

... the aborigines, who despise the "pighouses" erected for their shelter, and will not occupy them, are now drawing near to that beautiful "paddock" which is unfortunately, the only sylvan remnant of the "parklands" belonging to this city (The Observer 10 February 1850, p. 3).

The “sylvan” location was on a prominent tract of land above Pinky Flat, in Tarndanya Womma/Park 26, near to the present Adelaide Oval and overlooking the original River Torrens/Karrawirra Parri ford.

William Cawthorne expressed the ‘Location’ when drawing an intertribal battle at the site in 1844 in a watercolour illustration. He also sketched the funeral rites for Mullawirrabirka in January 1845 at the Location in another watercolour. Townsend Duryea’s panorama of Adelaide depicts much of the Location devoid of buildings and trees in 1865, except a Missionary Cottage and the Colonial Store. This depicting was similar to Eugene von Guérard’s 30 July 1855 panorama sketch of Adelaide looking east (Gara 1998; Cawthorne, ‘*A fight among the natives on 29 March 1844 at the location between 8 & 9pm*’ in Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales; Cawthorne, ‘*Mullawirraburka’s two wives lamenting over his body in a wurley at the Native Location, January 1845*’ in Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales; Draper *et al* 2005, pp. 49-53).

As part of this colonial endeavour a ‘Native School’ was erected in July 1840 and officially opened in December 1840 under Schürmann and Teichelmann. A large structure, it consisted of “a neat and handsome school capable of holding a 100 children” and included 2 hospital wings.

Cawthorne has provided perhaps the only sketch, ‘*School Room of the Aborigines at the Native Location, 1843*’, dated 15 September 1843, of this structure. Klose succeeded Schürmann as the main teacher and displayed an enlightened approach to Indigenous education by teaching students in their native language but made a fatal social error in seeking to separate the Aboriginal children from their parents to reduce the latter’s influence in terms of location and residence thereby establishing the first ‘stolen generation’ children (Cawthorne, *Literarium Diarium* 22 October 1842-31 December 1843, reproduced in Hemming 1998, p. 38, fig 38; Gara 1998, p. 117; Harris 2005, p. 7; Draper *et al* 2005, p. 26).

Occupancy of this site is also confirmed in an 1846 letter by Matthew Moorhouse, the Protector of Aborigines:

The adults have for six years been allowed to locate on a plot of Park Land between the South side of the Port Road and the Torrens, and extending to the Eastward and Westward of the old Location fence 400 yards (State Records GRG 52/7/1, Protector of Aborigines Letterbook, 18 February 1846).

This letter pertains to land in Tulya Wodli/Park 27 along the River Torrens/Karrawirra Parri surrounding the Gaol and the ‘Adelaide Tribe’ sheds, and may also be associated with the notion that it was the land that *Mullawirraburka* gained to reside upon (Hemming 1998, pp. 35, 36).

It is at this ‘Location’ that the practice of removing Indigenous children from their parents was employed was first carried out in the colony of South Australia; thus establishing the ‘stolen generation’. *Piltawodli* is now considered an important Kaurna and Indigenous contemporary significant place, and is a regular venue for classes from the Kaurna Plains School to review Kaurna history and culture. It is conceivable that archaeological evidence of this ‘Location’ could reveal the exact location of the original buildings on this site given the little disturbance (Hemming 1998, pp. 20, 32, 37).

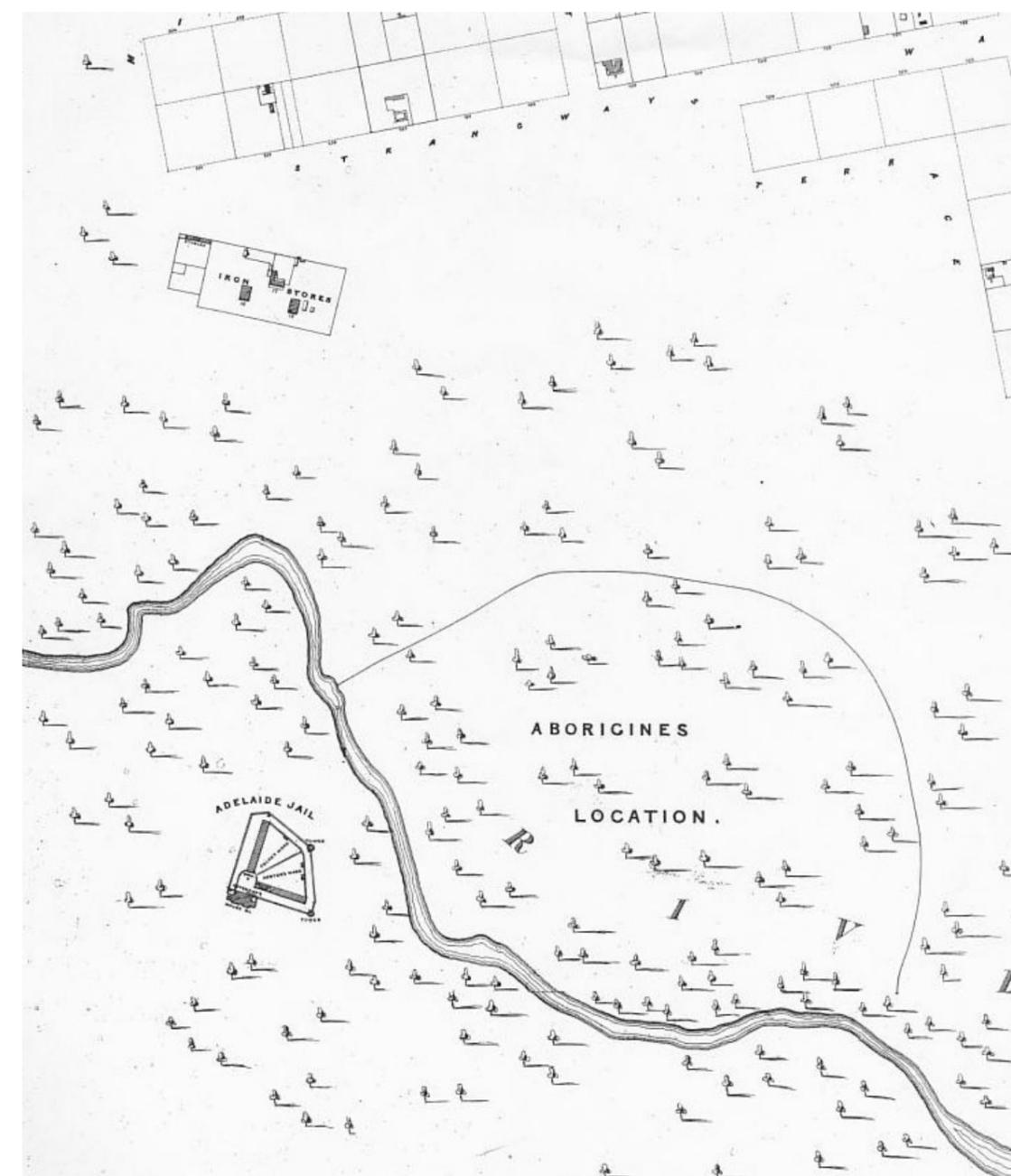


Figure
Extract of George Kingston’s ‘Map of Adelaide’, 1842, depicting the ‘Aborigines Location’, the Adelaide Gaol [Jail], and the Colonial Store (or Iron Stores) and its associated fencing structures. Source: ACC Archives.

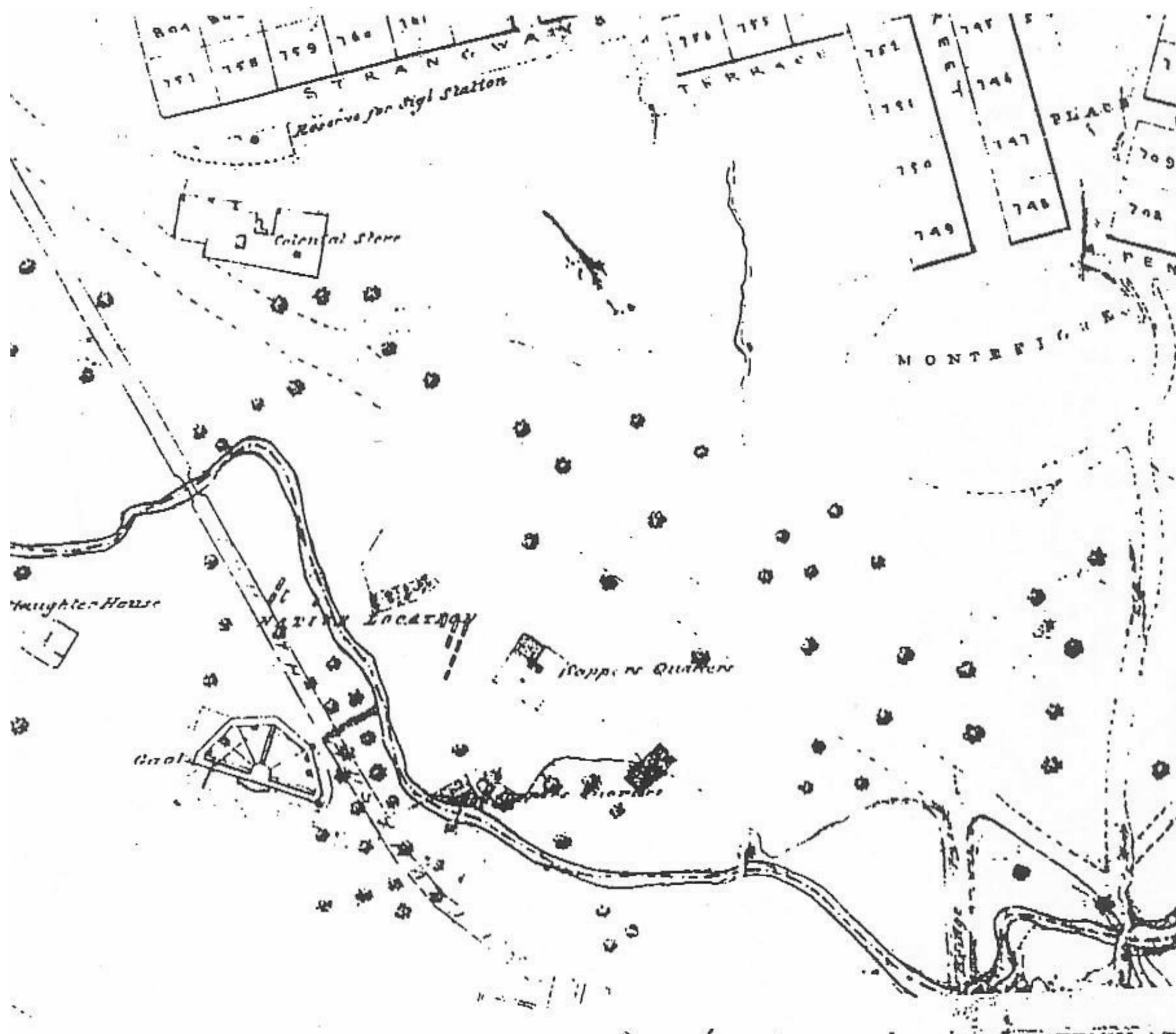
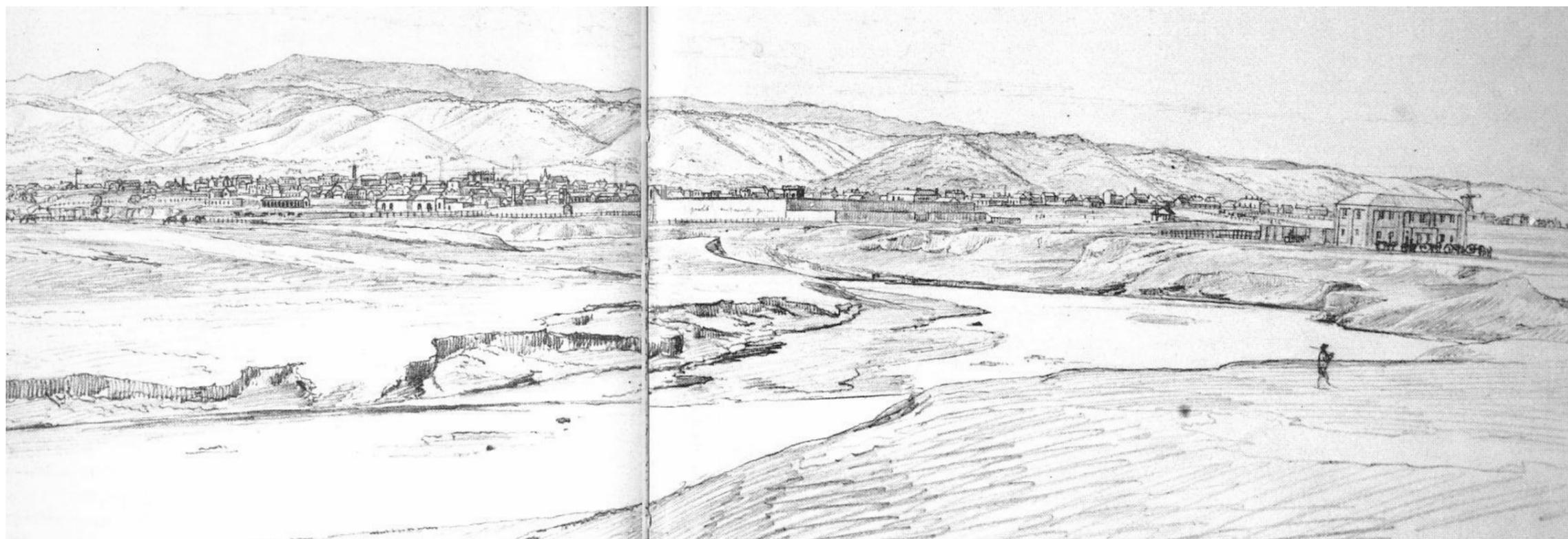


Figure
 Extract of Freeling's 'Map of Adelaide', 1849, depicting the locations of the 'Colonial Store' with associated structures and fencing, a 'Reserve for Signal Station' positioned above the 'Colonial Store' on the western escarpment crest of Strangways Terrace in Piltawodli/Park 1, and the 'Sappers Quarters' near the present Torrens Weir, huts for the Aboriginals on the 'Native Location' on the present Par 3 golf course, the 'Adelaide Gaol', the northern railway line alignment reserve, a semi-tree lined track in Tulya Wodli/Park 27 that conceptually matches the extant plantings of Moreton Bay Figs (*Ficus macrophylla*) specimens in War Memorial Drive today, and a sweeping oblong-shaped carriage drive circle on 'Montefiore' Hill that was never constructed, and the River Torrens/Karrawirra Parri crossings in the lower right corner that include a bridge on the present Morphett Street Bridge and the original River Torrens/Karrawirra Parri ford to the far bottom right
 Source: ACC Archives.



Figures

Above: A sketch by Eugene von Guérard depicting the tree-less plains along the deeply incised and eroded banks of the River Torrens/Karrawirra Parri in Tulya Wodli/Park 27 with the settlement of Adelaide in the centre rear and the Adelaide Gaol in the right rear, taken from Tuyla Wodli/Park 27, dated 30 July 1855. The scene is prepared looking east with the Corporation's two-storey masonry Slaughter House, with associated fencing and holding yards, to the right foreground, the walled Adelaide Goal to the right middle-ground, and the Adelaide townscape beyond. An open tree-less landscape is very evident on the left side of the River Torrens/Karrawirra Parri where the Par 3, Torrens Weir and lower parts of the Adelaide Golf Course are located today.

Below: A sketch by Eugene von Guérard prepared at a site on the present alignment of King William Road in Tandanya Womma/Park 26 overlooking the old River Torrens/Karrawirra Parri ford below, now under Lake Torrens, and depicting the steeply incised and eroded embankments of the River Torrens/Karrawirra Parri, the stark absence of all growing trees accentuated by the lonely defoliated single tree specimen on the crest overlooking the ford, with samples of trees and shrubs in the left foreground approximately where the Governor's Garden was located as developed by Thomas Allen. In terms of Piltawodli/Park 1, the image repeats information about the absence of vegetation on both sides of the River Torrens/Karrawirra Parri west of the King William Road alignment.

Source: Carroll & Tregenza 1986, pp. 58, 78-79.



Apart from the *Piltawodli* and various encampments preceding this 'Location', the following are relevant to Tulya Wodli/Park 27.

The vicinity of Hindmarsh (*Karra(k)undungga*) was a tract of land that stretched along the River Torrens/Karrawirra Parri near to and downstream of the Port Road Bridge. The area is known to have been a Kurna burial site. Bishop Short (1860) stated "The Adelaide Tribe ... used to come down to Hindmarsh to bury." Contemporary oral information and a recorded burial site in Hindmarsh confirm this information (Harris 1999, Appendix A.29; O'Brien to Hemming 1998; Black 1920a, pp. 76-93; Black 1920b, p. 81; State Records GRG 24/4/1837/68; Hemming 1998, 34-35).

Wilson has also observed that the banks of the River Torrens/Karrawirra Parri immediately downstream of the Weir were used for burials, that "works ... in this area turn up the bones of Aboriginal graves, indicating that the site has not been completely destroyed by landscaping." His undocumented reference is principally relating to land in Tulya Wodli/Park 27 but it is likely that land back from the banks in Piltawodli/Park 1 may have also been used (Hemming 1998, p. 37; Wilson 1995, p. 29). There are also records of burials occurring around the site of the Morphett Street Bridge pointing the common nature of this practice along the length of the River Torrens/Karrawirra Parri banks through the Park Lands (Cawthorne Diary 24 December 1842; Hemming 1998, p. 43; Tindale 1935-39, AA338, notes from Mr Chalk 7 November 1926).

The presence of burials along the River Torrens/Karrawirra Parri from the Bridge north-westwards towards the Railway Bridge is also evidenced in the findings of an archaeological honours study of part of this location. In reviewing the area, Wilson concluded that landscaping works associated with the development of the golf course near the weir has affected the natural topography of this landscape thereby exposed evidence of bones:

Still, works on the banks in this area turn up the bones of Aboriginal graves, indicating that the site has not been completely destroyed by landscaping (Wilson 1995, p. 29).

The River Torrens/Karrawirra Parri corridor was very important to the Kurna both spiritually and functionally. Draper *et al* (2005) have concluded that the cultural significance pertains to both sides of the River Torrens/Karrawirra Parri as it passes through Tulya Wodli/Park 27. Further, that while the nature of this significance is 'confidential' to the Kurna the physical manifestations of this significance include:

... the physical status of the river, banks, and environs including native vegetation, associated physical evidence such as traditional burials and archaeological sites, and the historic associations of the area as an important place for pre-colonial habitation, ceremony, hunting, etc, as well as its central role in colonial and recent history. These factors make it equally important for the future, as an ongoing part of Kurna cultural life and relationship to their cultural landscape (Draper et al 2005, p. 49).

In 1926 anthropologist Norman Tindale recorded the reminiscences of a Mr Chalk, an early Adelaide 'settler', about the burial activities on the western side of the present Morphett Street bridge:

Native child died and was ... the mother lit fire over grasses to keep child warm, buried near Morphett St Bridge ... Burial ground at north side about Morphett St. Three cottages east of view. Sappers and Miners Aboriginal shelters west of this, behind gaol (Chalk in Tindale, 7 November 1926).

Harris' (1999) research has identified and documented extant evidence associated with the Piltawodli, Colonial Stores and Iron Stores sites. This research has confirmed the relative

positions of these structures and also surface archaeological evidence that demonstrates their existence under the veneer of new soils and re-contoured land formed as a consequence of the development of the golf course (Harris 1999, figure 14; Draper *et al* 2005, p. 49).

Surveyor Freeling's 1849 Map of Adelaide denotes the location of these structures and contemporary research has qualified these sites. While the military Sappers effectively demolished most of these structures north of the River Torrens/Karrawirra Parri, the 'Adelaide Tribe' sheds are still extant in Townsend Duryea's panorama photograph of 1865. Railway construction, river bank works associated with possible changes in the watercourse, and Olive (*Olea europaea*) plantation works appear to have later resulted in their demolition and potential change in ground surfaces (Duryea 1865; Harris 1999, pp. 63-64, Figures 14-15; Freeling 1849; Hemming 1998, pp.38-39; Foster 1990, pp. 12-13; GRG 35/2, 27 July 1846; 52/7/1, Moorhouse, 28 January 1848).



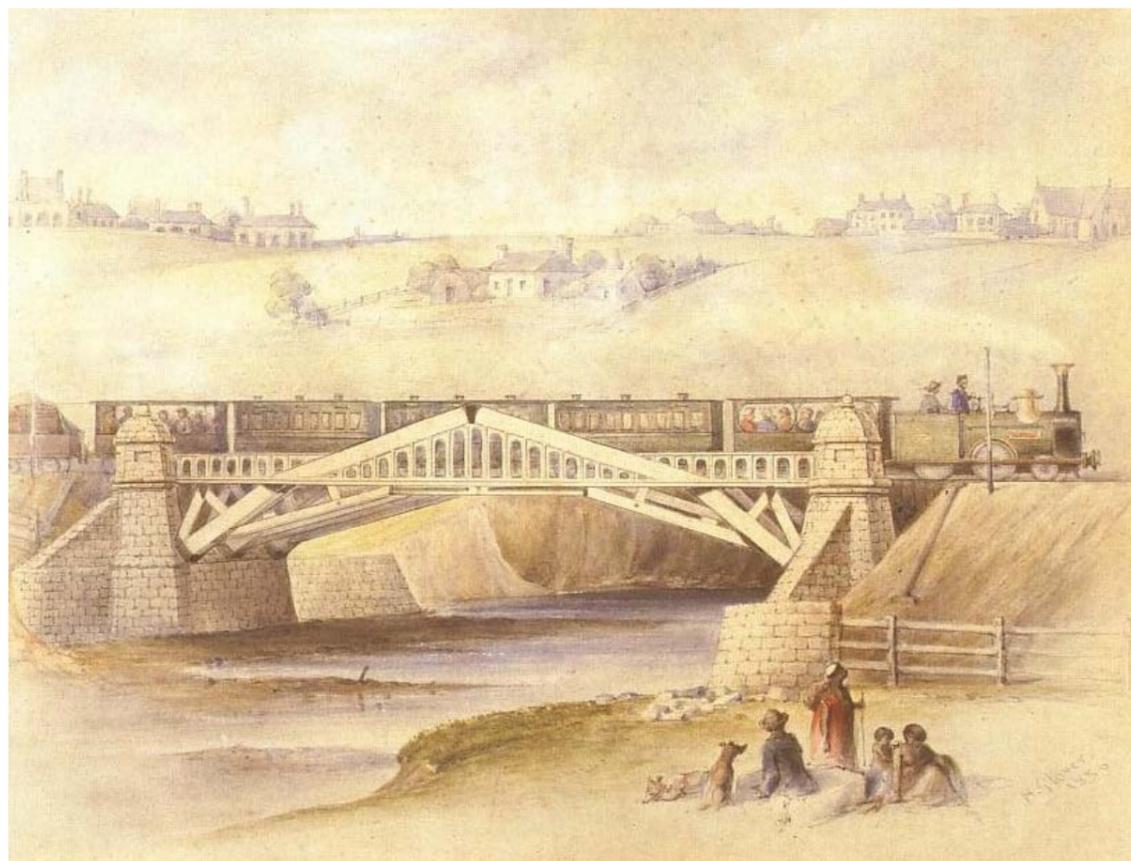
Figure

A watercolour painting prepared by artist Samuel Calvert entitled 'A View of Adelaide from the Torrens' dated 1850. The image depicts the derelict condition of the River Torrens/Karrawirra Parri and its eroding embankments together with the cattle yards (middle right) and groups of Aboriginals to the front left and in the waters of the River Torrens/Karrawirra Parri. Source: Lock-Weir 2005, p. 38.

In 1885 the Park Ranger William Campbell filled in an old quarry site on the banks of the River Torrens/Karrawirra Parri, below the Slaughterhouse, with rubbish. The site had been a source of stone for building construction and is the likely source of the stone used in the Slaughterhouse construction. The works would have re-contoured much of the escarpment of the River at the site of the lower weir (Hemming 1998, p. 37; Park Rangers Report 1885-86, p. 108).

This location appears to have been the site depicted in Samuel Calvert's sketch of c.1856 of 'Early settlement in Adelaide' that indicates a wide sweeping river bend with several Aboriginals

fishing and hunting on its banks with several mature *Eucalyptus* spp trees in the fore and middle grounds. The accuracy of the depiction of vegetation is questionable as scientific-artist von Guérard does not include vegetation in a scene sketched at about the same site. A sketch by picturesque artist John Glover also in 1856 depicts the 'First Railway Bridge' from the south-western bank with a group of Aboriginals featured in the foreground and grazing cows to the fore-right. Given art compositional rules of the Picturesque it would have been natural to include Indigenous subjects and grazing cows in paintings even if they were not resident on the location thus heightening the romanticism of the scene. Accordingly, it is not possible to conclude that the area was actually being used as an Indigenous encampment and fishing and hunting venue by the mid 1850s contrary to what can be construed in the art (Hemming 1998, p. 37, Figures 19, 20; Calvert c.1856, CSSLM B1134; Marsden *et al*, 1990).

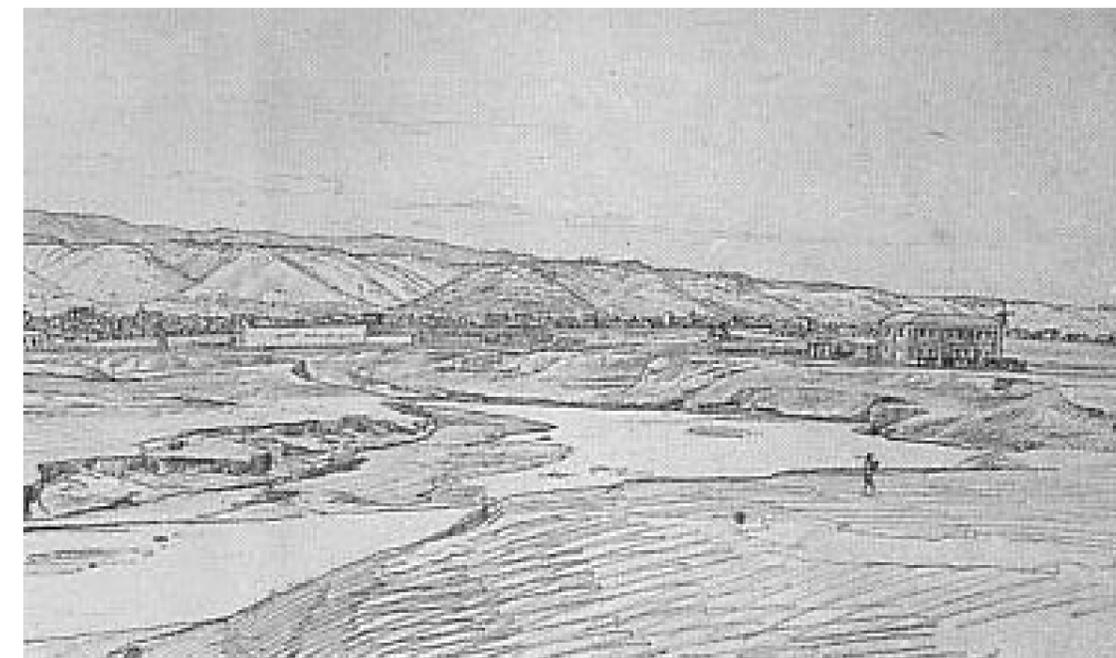


Image

Extract of a watercolour painting by H Glover painted in 1856 depicting a scene in Tulya Wodli/Park 27 looking northward to Montefiore Hill with the newly erected Railway Bridge in the middle-ground, an encampment of Aboriginals in the foreground, but an open tree-less landscape on the Montefiore hill escarpment in the background. Provenance: Mitchell Library, State Library of NSW. Source: Lock-Weir 2005, p. 60.

The other site with Aboriginal associations in Tulya Wodli/Park 27 is the Adelaide Gaol. With the cessation of public hangings at the Colonial Store, located in Piltawodli/Park 1, the Gaol provided this venue. Records are common in the 1840s about Aboriginals in the Gaol awaiting trial or hanging. Cawthorne wrote of "another poor native going to be hung" in 1843 and his dismay at the Adelaide public "running actually to see this sad spectacle, as if to an Exhibition." Missionary Klose recorded that in 1842 within the Gaol were "12 Aboriginal prisoners in gaol – 4 locals, 4 Murray, 2 Encounter Bay, 2 Port Lincoln." He also recorded in 1845 the gaoling of an Aboriginal man "for ten years for stealing some of the South Australian Companies 12 thousand sheep." Within the Gaol boundaries are also a series of unmarked graves with

Aboriginal associations (Harris 1999, Appendix A.66; Hemming 1998, p. 41; Cawthorne Diaries, 20 July and 1 August 1843; Klose Diary 12 September 1842, 28 May 1845; State Records GRG 52/7/1, letter from Moorhouse to Colonial Office, 6 April 1843).



Figure

'Adelaide 30th July 1855'. Pencil on paper sketch by scientific artist Eugene von Guérard. To the right is the two storey Slaughter House, with cattle yards behind, and cattle in the front of the structure. In the middle distance is the Adelaide Gaol. In the middle is the 'Billabong on the River Torrens/Karrawirra Parri that was progressively filled in and used as a refuse dump from the 1830s to the 1880s. Source: Carroll & Tregenza 1986, pp. 78-79.

Linguist Rob Amery has concluded the epithet *Karrawirra Parri* refers to the River Torrens/Karrawirra Parri, an important economic conduit for the Kurna, and is derived from anthropologist Norman Tindale's records that *Tanda:njapari* referring to the River. It has also been clearly documented by period and contemporary anthropologists and researchers that the River provided a significant venue for plant and aquatic foods. With post-contact, the Adelaide Gaol following 1840 provided a venue for the incarceration of Aboriginals and deaths in custody. There was also semi-continuous use of the River Torrens/Karrawirra Parri corridor through Tulya Wodli/Park 27 for ceremonies, meetings, encampments and gatherings, burials, fishing and hunting although the nature of information on these living activities and when they ceased is limited with extant documentation relating to sites upstream of the Weir where vegetation was available. The quick and extensive clearing of vegetation in Piltawodli/Park 1 and Tulya Wodli/Park 27 between 1834 to 1836 effectively shifted most Kurna activities from these areas to locations that afforded vegetation and thereby shelter and fire wood. Notwithstanding this, parts of the West Park Lands (Wirranendi/Park 23, Tambawoldi/Park 24 and Narningga/Park 25) were used as occasional European and Aboriginal encampment sites up to the early 1900s (Amery 1997, p. 4; Tindale 1974, pp. 5-13; Tindale 1935-39, SA Museum AA338; Hemming 1998, pp. 18-19, 20-21; Johnston 1991).

Historical Overview: Post-Contact Associations

From the 1830s to the late 1870s Tulya Wodli/Park 27 was used for grazing, fire wood collection, and agistment. It was generally fenced in timber post and wire in the late 1860s, and by this time most of the indigenous vegetation had been effectively removed from Tulya Wodli/Park 27 except scattered River Red Gum (*Eucalyptus camaldulensis*) along the River Torrens/Karrawirra Parri banks.

During 1840 the Corporation's cattle market yards were shifted "to a spot near the present slaughter-house, and a cattle market opened." The Slaughterhouse had been established by the colonial government in 1835 to service the growing cattle and sheep export business. Its were functions transferred to the Corporation in approximately 1843 under the *Municipal Act, 1840*, wherein it became a source of Corporation rate revenue. Later, Town Clerk Thomas Worsnop reported that R Dodd was appointed the Slaughterhouse's first Clerk and a new "modest" structure was erected to service the Slaughterhouse functions at a cost of £853 to the Corporation to replace an existing structure. Fees of 6s per cattle head, 2s 6d per calf and small cattle, and 1s per pig were charged (Worsnop 1878, p. 26; Morton 1996, pp. 5, 6, 7, 88).

Construction of the Adelaide Gaol was sanctioned by Governor Gawler in 1841, and it contributed the colony's bankruptcy in 1841 together with the new Government House. Both structures were erected to designs by architect and Colonial Engineer George Strickland Kingston. The Gaol structure was to replace an earlier timber structure erected in 1837-38. Kingston devised a half-decagon design, analogous to period panopticon designs used in eighteenth and nineteenth century England for hospital and prison construction. The form was a radial that enabled central observation of many patients or convicts in close proximity. Academic architect Donald Langmead has pointed to an article in the July 1834 issue of John Claudius Loudon's *Architectural Magazine* that profiled the recently completed Tothill Fields Prison, as the potential source of Kingston's design. Today, it is one of only two, the other being Parramatta Gaol, gaols in Australia that possess a radial design (Danvers 1986, pp. 3, 33)

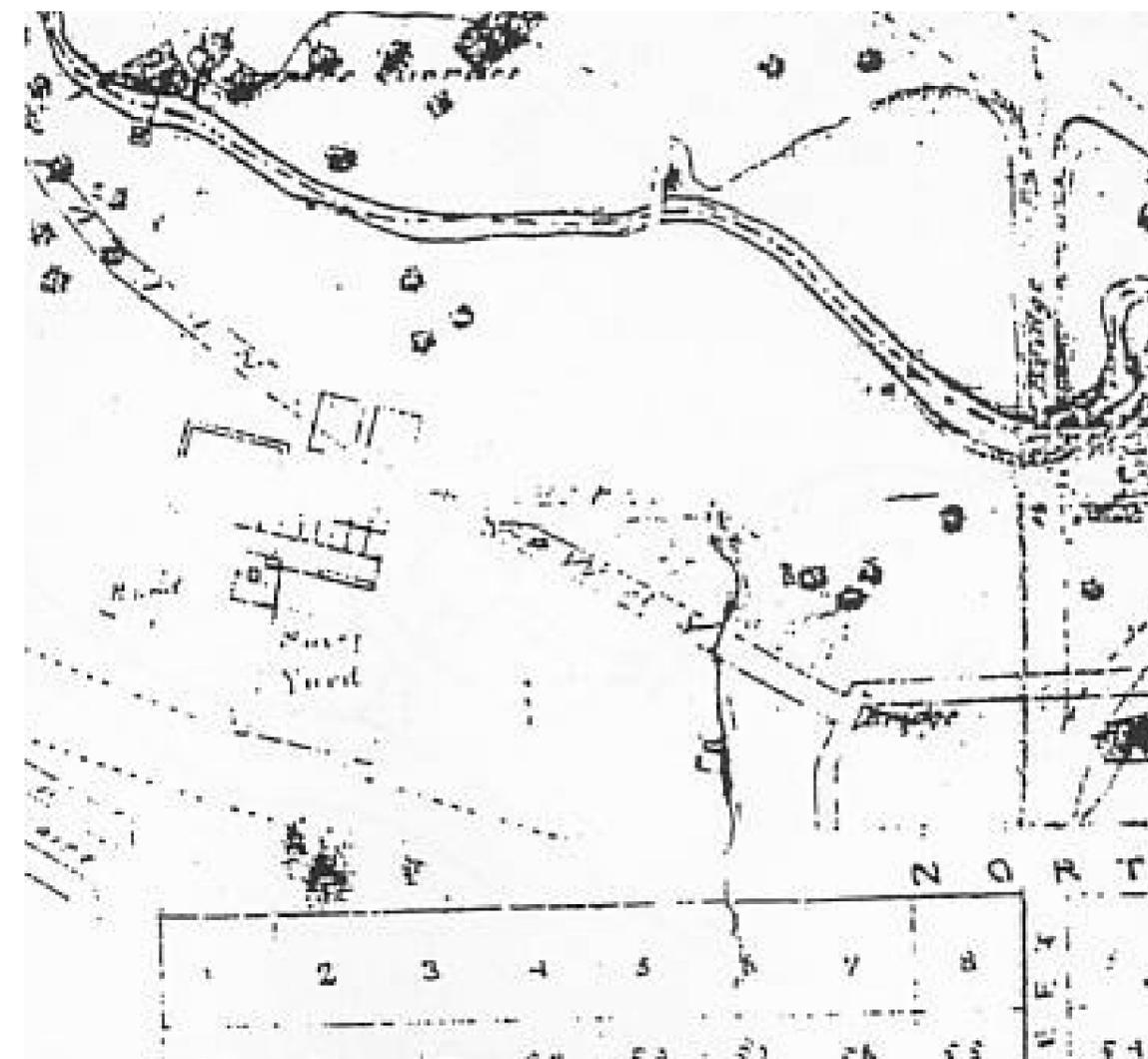
The Adelaide Gaol was constructed by builders Borrow and Goodiar for a tender of £17,000, with works commencing in July 1840. Gawler described the urgency of its construction as:

The Gaol was commenced after a representation of the strongest kind had been made upon the subject by the Grand Jury. The reports of the Sheriff and the complaints of the prisoners themselves, were also of a description to make the sudden commencement and rapid progress at a sufficient porion of the edifice a matter of very strong emergency (Gawler in Danvers 1986, p. 16).

Site selection was determined by Gawler; a selection that Kingston, writing on 4 July 1840, supported the logic of:

His Excellency expressed his opinion that the most desirable site for the new gaol would be on the southern bank of Thebarton (Kingston in Danvers 1986, p. 16).

The site location also "served as a reminder to new arrivals of the authority of the state." The first part of the half-decagon, with "two of its four towers," was occupied by December 1840, but completion works proceeded progressively thwarted by building arbitration discussions and the rising costs of the project. By 31 December 1841 some £16,792.10 had been expended, but the complex was only half built. In May 1845 the Colonial Secretary approved the purchase and erection of 2 cottages near the Adelaide Gaol for government use. The main complex was finished by 1850, and a tender was awarded to Thomas & John Baker for £1,490 for the erection of a three storey 30 cell block for women (Danvers 1986, pp. 33-34; Swager Brooks & Partners 1989, p. 37; *South Australian* December 1840).



Figure

Extract from Freeling's 1849 *Map of Adelaide* depicting the location and spatial fencing arrangement of the "Sheep Yard" in the middle left with the proposed Adelaide-Port Adelaide or Northern Railway Line route running through the site somewhat parallel to the River Torrens/Karrawirra Parri. Image resolution is poor. Source: ACC archives.

By 1849 a series of Cattle Yards had been established on land that is now part of the Railway Yards. Freeling's *Map of Adelaide* (1849) depicts these yards and their pending intrusion by proposed Northern Railway line alignment and construction (Freeling 1849).

While the first Australian ordinance enabling the construction of railway lines was passed in South Australia on 26 March 1847, it was not until October 1851 that the colonial parliament passed an *Act* enabling the construction of a railway line from Adelaide to Port Adelaide supervised by a Board of Undertakers; creating the first steam powered railway line in Australia.

During 1851-7 construction commenced on the Port Adelaide and Gawler rail line by the Adelaide City and Port Railway Company that was formed in London in 1848. Construction and track laying was completed on 1 June 1857 for the Adelaide – Smithfield line, and the Smithfield – Gawler line was completed on 5 October 1857, thus creating the railway along the north-eastern flank of Tulya Wodli/Park 27. The line to Port Adelaide was opened on 19 April 1856. In 1854 tenders were called for the construction of a bridge over the River

Torrens/Karrawirra Parri for which Jacob Pitman was successful with a tender of £8000 for the erection of cast iron frame by Pybus, wrought ironwork by Baker, and a concrete bridge to a design by Benjamin Babbage. The bridge, with a span on 106 feet [32m], 32 feet [9.75m] above the River, included girders at 13 foot [3.96m] intervals and 5 feet [1.5m] thick concrete foundations protected by sheet piling. In 1876 this bridge was upgraded and a bowstring bridge constructed by James Martin & Co positioned on the eastern side abutments. Additional bridgework occurred in the 1901-11. The bowstring bridge was repositioned in 1925 as part of upgrading, and the early 1980s. The North Adelaide Railway Station was also erected during this period, in 1857, and remains today as one of the oldest surviving railway stations in South Australia (*Register* 19 December 1855; Marsden *et al* 1990, pp. 234-235; State Heritage File 6628-13657; Donovan 1982, pp 2.21-24).

Discussions by the Corporation and the Mayors (Lord Mayors) about landscaping the River Torrens/Karrawirra Parri embankments as well as the Park Lands generally were commonplace from the mid 1850s onwards. The thoughts may have really been prompted by critical comments and articles in *The Register*, including reports of public meetings that voiced critique of the quality of the Park Lands, in 1854 onwards (eg., *The Register* 17 June 1854, p. 4; 8 July 1857, p. 2), that were in many ways directed towards the colonial Governor than the Corporation.

For example, the editor of *The Register* wrote in July 1857:

The Park Lands will never be other than a quagmire in winter, and a desert of blinding, suffocating dust in summer, ... unless properly fenced roads are constructed through the ... With such roads as now disgrace the Park Lands there is no alternative for vehicles but to deviate in all directions from the track, thus cutting up acres of pasturage on every side and rendering it utterly useless (*The Register* 8 July 1857, p. 2).

These public debates and discussions appear to have been prompted by concerns from the colonial Governor about the overall aesthetic appearance of the Park Lands. For example, on 17 July 1855 the Colonial Secretary wrote to the Corporation's Town Clerk expressing a desire "that something should be done to improve the present very unsightly appearance of most of the Park Lands near the Town; which he [Governor Gawler] thinks might be effected by the judicious planting of clumps of trees on half acres [0.2ha] or even quarter acres [0.1ha] in suitable positions; care being taken to fence such clumps with strong but neat fencing." Willingly, to assist these landscaping works, the Governor volunteered a budget of £400, "a sum sufficient to accomplish much, but not all that he wishes" which the Corporation eagerly accepted "at once to carry out His Excellency's wishes and propose to do so by means of competent gardeners [on] contracts to be obtained by advertisements in the usual newspapers, the works generally being performed under the supervision of the City Surveyor." With acceptance, the Governor imposed one condition requiring the appointment of an expert referee to monitor the works: "that some person should be nominated by himself to represent the Executive in this matter and to have a voice in the selection of the position of the several plantations and of the species of fencing to be made use of." The Colonial Secretary appointed horticulturist John Bailey, of Hackney Nursery, to this role. Unfortunately this scheme collapsed with the dissolution of the Legislative Council in August 1855 despite unknown authored sketch "on the subject of planting a Public Square" being sent to the Corporation on 9 October 1855, with correspondence from the Governor indicating that "the writer of the memorandum has indicated some most sensible and just views of Landscape Gardening..." The advice included a recommendation that, "in a climate like South Australia's and to avoid the inconvenience of having to wait years for effect, clumps should be formed of the Olive [*Olea europaea*], the Wattle [*Acacia* spp] and Gum-tree [*Eucalyptus* spp] ..." It is possible the plan author was inaugural director of the Adelaide Botanic Garden, George Francis, more so than Bailey as there is no evidence of Bailey's plan drawing skills whereas the sketch the text is similar in style

to Francis's hand (Letter, Colonial Secretary to Town Clerk, ACC, 7 July 1855, GRG 24/6/1381 (1855); letter, Town Clerk, ACC, to Colonial Secretary, 2 August 1855, GRG 24/6/2505 (1855); letter, Town Clerk, ACC, to Colonial Secretary, 13 August 1855, GRG 24/6/2644 (1855); Colonial Secretary to Town Clerk, ACC, 2 August 1855, GRG 24/6/1605 (1855); Colonial Secretary to Town Clerk, ACC, 20 August 1855, GRG 24/6/1740 (1855) Colonial Secretary to Town Clerk, ACC, 2 August 1855, GRG 24/6/2129 (1855) Colonial Secretary to Town Clerk, ACC, 2 August 1855, GRG 24/6/3289 (1855)).

In 1862 the first River Torrens/Karrawirra Parri weir was constructed using prison labour. It was subsequently destroyed by flood waters in 1872.

At the same time the first Torrens Weir was constructed renovations to the external grounds of the Adelaide Gaol were entertained. The ground works included the establishment of the present extant Olive (*Olea europaea*) plantations, by short term prison labour, under Gaol Sheriff & Superintendent William Boothby (1829-1903). These works were not without criticism both in terms of the use of labour as well as the nature of the works despite Boothby's altruism. The *Adelaide Observer* in February 1862 wrote:

... the reserve in front of the Adelaide Gaol recently undergone some improvement. A metalled road now leads from the Port-road to the principal entrances of the prison, and on either side the ground has been trenched, and several hundreds of olive and gum trees planted (*Adelaide Observer*, 22 February 1862; Flightpath 2002, p. 83).

The role of Boothby is instrumental in the advance of olive (*Olea europaea*) cultivation in South Australia, but also the retention of olive (*Olea europaea*) plantations around the Park Lands as he enabled a cheap maintenance regime to be employed with his use of Gaol labour. Boothby visited several olive (*Olea europaea*) growing Mediterranean areas in 1876-1877, importing 'Boothby's Lucca' or 'Frantoiana' cuttings from Italy, and thereupon installed simple olive (*Olea europaea*) crushing and bottling making equipment in the Gaol to enable work for short term prisoners. The plantations around the Gaol increased from about 1,100 trees in 1862 to over 5,000 trees by 1880. *The Register* described Boothby as the "first to take substantial steps with a view to demonstrating the value of olive (*Olea europaea*) oil manufacturing and in the year 1870 to manufacture oil." The Gaol was the first successful commercial olive (*Olea europaea*) press in Australia, despite earlier attempts (www.users.on.net/~craighill/Research/Towards.html; www.users.on.net/~craighill/Miscellany.html; www.users.on.net/~craighill/Miscellany/Heritage.html; Moreton 1996, p. 159; Hardy 1881).

The operation was so successful that Boothby was soon prohibited from purchasing olives from private producers, although the Gaol olives continued to be supplemented by fruit from other Council groves. These olives were harvested by 'lunatics' from the Asylum, destitute women and orphans (www.users.on.net/~craighill/Miscellany/Heritage.html).

The *Adelaide Observer*, in 1868, recorded in more detail, the history and development of these olive plantation works under Sheriff Boothby's direction:

*...the Sheriff, Mr W. R. Boothby, found a difficulty in providing for the light-sentenced prisoners detained in the Adelaide Gaol employment of a suitable character. The Park Lands adjoining – bare and uninviting – offered an excellent field for experiment and, with the concurrence of the [City of Adelaide] Corporation, gangs were engaged in trenching and preparing it for some more useful purpose than it had served. Six or seven acres [2.4-2.8ha] were thus turned into strips, leaving ample walks in all directions.... On the trenched strips young olive-trees [*Olea europaea*], chiefly supplied by Captain Simpson and obtained by Mr Lawrence, Keeper of the Gaol, were planted. They were puny slips of things, but they took kindly to the soil – a sort of light loam, with a large admixture of clay – and grew*

amazingly. Acting under advice, numbers of them were budded; but this was found not to answer and so the plan of grafting, recommended by [horticulturist] Mr [Edwin] Smith, of Medindie, was adopted. In order to counteract the opposition offered by the tough bark to the union between the bud and the stock, the tree was cut down below the surface of the ground, where the bark was more soft and tender. The graft, obtained from approved varieties growing near Bailey's [Hackney] Gardens raised from imported suckers, was then introduced; and, with very few exceptions, it took well. Once having effected a start, new wood was made with great rapidity, and now the whole area is covered with trees from three or four [0.9-1.2ha] to fully fifteen feet [4.5m] high, the branches of scores of them being profusely clothed with ripe fruit. Some of the smaller olives [Olea europaea] are completely borne down by the weight of their produce, whilst others, distinguished more for quality than quantity, conceal under their foliage a rich store of large berries, from which the oil upon pressure exudes in quantity.

To the westward of this plantation there is a block of land also under municipal control. It contains about fifteen acres [6ha], and gangs of prisoners are now employed in trenching it, so as to have it ready for whatever the Corporation in its wisdom may think fit to plant. There is a very strong feeling on the part of the Sheriff and some other citizens whose opinions are deserving of consideration in favour of having it also covered with olives [Olea europaea]. The soil has been proven suitable; in point of appearance the tree is well adapted for public reserves; it is superior to ordinary garden trees as it offers little temptation to loungers; and, what is more, its fruit may be turned to good account. It is not a little surprising that more systematic attempts have not been made to make the best of a product which is yielded here so readily, and in return for exertions so comparatively trifling [sic.] (Adelaide Observer 13 June 1868, p. 9).

While the design is unclear for these plantations, it is clear that they were a regular source of labour for prisoners, especially “short sentenced prisoners.” By 1879 the plantations had become an integral part of the Adelaide Gaol economy, and were aided by the regular morning spreading of night-soil fertilisation provided by the Corporation. The nature and location of “gums” (*Eucalyptus* spp) planted is also unclear, but it appears that they were planted in the south-eastern portion of the Gaol reserve. Information on the prison gardens, and the gardens established to the north-west of the Gaol are also limited and unclear as to what was developed and the nature of the development. Remnants of several of these gardens – ‘Stone Garden’ - exist today within the Gaol reserve adjacent to the Powder Magazine and Counselling Centre (Flightpath 2002, pp. 83, 85, 89; *South Australian Register* 17 May 1879).

Boothby's knowledge was exhibited in his publication *The Olive: Its Culture & Products in the south of France and Italy* (1878) (www.users.on.net/~craighill/Miscellany.html; Nottle 2005, np). A product of his ‘holidays’ in the Mediterranean region, the book reports on his holidays:

... in the years 1876 and 1877, to visit the olive countries of Europe, and make myself acquainted with the processes of olive cultivation and manufacture of oil. ... the following notes have been compiled from information gained during my tour. The information which I gleaned is altogether too voluminous to be published in full; but from the mass of particulars which I collected, I have eliminated those points upon which it appeared to me intending olive cultivators or manufacturers might require information (www.users.on.net/~craighill/Sources.html).

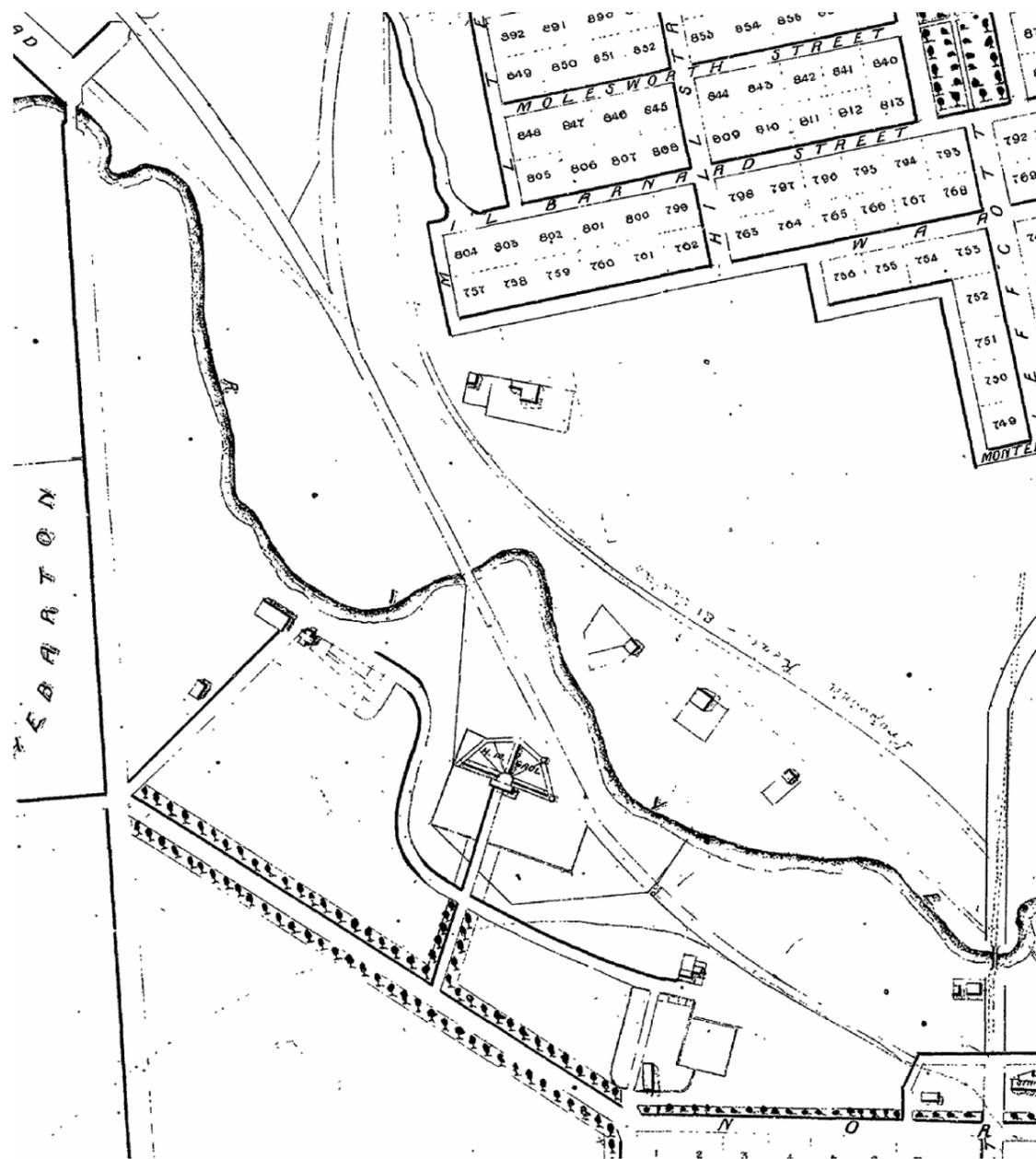
By December 1864 Boothby had completed “the planting around the Gaol ... and [it was] beginning to assume a pleasing appearance.” He now sought additional land from the Corporation to keep his short-term prisoners fruitfully occupied. The Corporation obliged such that by 1870 Boothby had expanded the plantations to approximately 10 ha over which was planted between 4,000 to 5,000 olive trees; probably seedlings that required grafting. This was a little ‘empire in the making’ as Boothby increasingly sought additional land such that by 1877 architect and politician George Strickland Kingston MLC complained in the colonial parliament that “the Sheriff was year by year enclosing new portions of the Park Lands” (*Annual Report*, December 1864; *The Register*, 20 July 1870, p. 6; *The Observer*, 23 July 1870, p. 9; *The Register*, 20

September 1870, p. 5; South Australia, Parliament, *Debates in the Houses of Legislature during the ... session of the ... Parliament of South Australia, [1877]* (Adelaide, Parliament of South Australia, 1877), p. 1563).

The Corporation aided in this endeavour supplying olive (*Olea europaea*) cuttings and trees specifically for these plantations. Some 300 trees were provided in 1872, and a further 600 in 1876. Some 364 trees were relocated in 1878-79 due to the construction and alignment of the Nairne (Melbourne) Railway through Tulya Wodli/Park 27 but somehow the new plantation was enlarged to over 12 ha with some 3,020 trees being planted. By 1880 the plantation stretched from Shierlaw Terrace [East Terrace/Port Road] in Thebarton to the present Morphett Street Bridge excluding the Corporation's Cattle & Market Yards fronting North Terrace (opposite the University of South Australia today) but which was compromised by the later alienations by railway line extensions and yards in 1880 and 1913, and the Thebarton Police Barracks in 1913 and 1917. Further, as distinct from olive (*Olea europaea*) plantations elsewhere in the Park Lands, these plantations were harvested solely by prisoners from the Gaol and the produce and oil obtained earned revenue for the Gaol operations. It was only due to a decline in the market value of olives, and public complaints about the Gaol's ‘commercial’ activities in 1909 through the ‘Olive (*Olea europaea*) Oil Rumpus’, that the Gaol relinquished its management of the plantations to the Corporation (Hill 2006, pp. 14-15; Daly 1987, pp. 107-111; Martindale 1958, np; Burgess 1907-1909, Vol 2, p. 121; letter, William Pengilly, City Gardener, to Town Clerk, 16 July 1872, TC 1872/519; *Annual Report*, 1876, p. 4; *Annual Report*, 1879, p. 104; letter, Marlowe to Town Clerk, 12 May 1876, TC 1876/970, 28 April 1878, TC 1878/1129; letter, Barnard to Town Clerk, 24 March 1879, TC 1879/867, 11 April 1879, TC 1879/1077, 2 April 1880, TC 1880/865; letter, Smith to Town Clerk, 9 July 1881, TC 1881/1956; letter, Villanis to Town Clerk, 5 June 1884, TC 1884/1846, 11 April 1885, TC 1885/892).

In the interim, while Boothby was undertaking these plantings, inaugural City Gardener William O'Brien was busy establishing the gardens within the Squares of the municipality building upon the plantings and layouts established by George Francis through a contract. He was also involved in establishing fenced shelterbelt plantations along many of the roadways that dissected the Park Lands. By 1865 it was clear, as documented in a City Surveyor's Office prepared ‘Plan of the City of Adelaide’, that O'Brien had established plantations along the north side of North Terrace from the Morphett Street Bridge westwards to West Terrace, and then along both sides of Port Road to Shierlaw Terrace (Port Road in Thebarton) from the North/West Terrace intersection then to East Terrace on the edge of Thebarton.

While Francis, Bailey and Boothby were predominantly planting olive (*Olea europaea*) trees in the Park Lands, City Gardener William Pengilly also undertook olive (*Olea europaea*) plantings in several areas. During 1872 he was planting them in various specified locations throughout the Park Lands and Squares but he mentioned no plantings for Tulya Wodli/Park 27. Italian olive (*Olea europaea*) expert Paolo Villanis, in 1882, corroborated the existence of these plantings when he reviewed the state and condition of all the olive (*Olea europaea*) plantations in the Park Lands for the Corporation recording substantial olive (*Olea europaea*) groves “between the Port and Slaughterhouse Roads and Sheep Market” in Tulya Wodli/Park 27 amongst other locations (Letter, Paolo Villanis to Town Clerk, 13 July 1883, TC 1883/2224; *The Register*, 24 July 1883, p. 6; letter, Paolo Villanis to Town Clerk, 22 February 1886, TC 1886/465; letter, William Pengilly to Town Clerk, 16 July 1872, TC 1872/519 and 4 September 1872, TC 1872/622).



Figure

Extract of a 'Plan of the City of Adelaide' as prepared by the City Surveyor's Office and dated 11 February 1865 that depicts building, roads and roadside shelterbelt plantations in Tulya Wodli/Park 27 in 1865. Note the straight access road to the Slaughterhouse from the Port Road & East Terrace intersection which leads past the former Ranger's Residence or Slaughterhouse Manager's Residence to the rectangular-shaped Slaughterhouse building with its adjacent cattle yards. Note the fenced roadway from the Slaughteryards eastwards that winds around the Adelaide Gaol precinct to the former Corporation's Cattle Yards near the intersection of North and West Terraces where the railway marshalling yards exist today. The Cattle Yards are depicted as a series of enclosures with approximately two small buildings with a further small building and fenced enclosure on the north-western corner of the intersection of North Terrace and Morphett Street where the SK8 park exists today. The alignment reserve of the 'Northern Railway' to Port Adelaide and Gawler is also indicated sweeping through Tulya Wodli/Park 27. Note also the extensive fenced shelterbelt plantations that inaugural City Gardener William O'Brien had established along both sides of Port Road, the original roadway leading into the Gaol precinct, and along the northern side of North Terrace. Light's "island" in the River Torrens/Karrawirra Parri is clearly not evident in this survey. Source: ACC Archives.

Photographer Townsend Duryea's 1865 photographic panorama of Adelaide also provides a valuable record of what was extant in Tulya Wodli/Park 27 in 1865 confirming much of what was contained in the 1865 City Surveyor's Office 'Plan'. The photograph depicts the vegetation-barren landscape, with the Gaol buildings. Newly planted Olive (*Olea europaea*) trees are very clear to the south of the Gaol, and the newly constructed railway line and bridge cuts a swath through the land. The 'Adelaide Tribe' brick sheds, between the railway line and the River Torrens/Karrawirra Parri, have been demolished. Significantly, not a tree is to be seen in the Adelaide Gaol to Port Road to Shierlaw Terrace landscape (Duryea 1865; Harris 1999, p. 63).

In August 1867 O'Brien wrote to Mayor Henry Fuller advising of extensive tree planting works that had been carried out over the previous autumn planting season under his care. The list is extensive and valuable to consider. Further, O'Brien records where these specimens were being generally planted but unfortunately not the specific details of these plantings per place. Specimens included "Laurels [*Laurus nobilis*; 249 in number], Oleanders [*Nerium oleander*; 216], Moreton Bay Figs [*Ficus macrophylla*; 6], China Privet [*Ligustrum lucidum*; 21], Stone Pines [*Pinus pinea*; 78], Native Pines [*Callitris/Casuarina/Allocasuarina* ssp; 1,627], Cupressus [*Cupressus* ssp; 24], White Cedar [*Melia azedarach* var *australis*; 12], Gums [*Eucalyptus/Corymbia* ssp; 4,450], Poplars [*Populus* ssp; 100], Olives [*Olea europaea*; 10,600], Ficus [*Ficus* ssp; 99], Oaks [*Quercus* ssp; 280], Laurestinas [sic; *Viburnum tinus*; 149], Laburnums [*Laburnum x watereri*; 48], Sycamors [sic; *Platanus* ssp; 48], Elms [*Ulmus* ssp; 6], Walnuts [*Juglans regia*; 24], Pomegranates [*Punica granatum*; 2], Ash [*Fraxinus* ssp; 50], Aristolochias [*Aristolochia* ssp; 74]. Evergreen Oaks [*Quercus ilex*; 24], Whitethorn [*Crataegus monogyna*; 30], Acacias [*Acacia/Robinia* ssp; 14], Ches[t]nuts [*Castanea sativa*; 18], also, about one thousand willow [*Salix* ssp] and poplar [*Populus* ssp] cuttings, making a grand total of about 19,249 plants." In addition, O'Brien records donations of an unspecified number poplar (*Populus* ssp), rose (*Rosa* ssp), herbaceous plants and bulbs, willow (*Salix* ssp), bamboo (*Bambusa* ssp), privet (*Ligustrum* ssp), weeping willows (*Salix babylonica*), and five mulberries (*Morus* ssp) from various individuals. These were planted in various locations throughout the municipality including along "Both sides of the River Torrens" from Albert Bridge to the Weir (Karrawirra/Park 12 and Tandanya Womma/Park 26); along East, West, North and South Terraces; along the "North Terrace Esplanade"; along the Slaughterhouse Road (Tulya Wodli/Park 27); behind the Cattle Yards in North Terrace adjoining the River (Tulya Wodli/Park 27) (Letter from W O'Brien to the Mayor, 19 August 1867; ACC Archives). These initial plantings are confirmed in the City Surveyor's Office 'Plan' of 1865.

This is an important inventory as it presents the most detailed account of the great number of trees that O'Brien was planting but also the typical species he was seeking to establish in the late 1860s in the municipality and the Park Lands. His preference was clearly towards a mixture of indigenous British and Mediterranean species, but interestingly demonstrates a strong overall preference to Australian native species including "Pines [*Pinus* ssp] ... [and] Gums [*Eucalyptus* ssp]." Unfortunately where these specimens are being planted is unclear but it is known that O'Brien was planting shelterbelts or avenues of *Eucalyptus* ssp along the entrance roadways, through the Park Lands. The other important point is that a large number of Olive (*Olea europaea*) trees are being planted, and O'Brien mentions amongst other place, the East Park Lands and the Slaughterhouse Road (Tulya Wodli/Park 27) as planting venues without stating the species. It is very likely, given the age of tree specimens in these areas today, that this was when the majority of these Olive (*Olea europaea*) were planted in these two areas (Letter from W O'Brien to the Mayor, 19 August 1867; ACC Archives).

In 1875 several gaol guard cottages were erected at a cost of £890 outside the Adelaide Gaol boundary. They were located in the 'Dog Paddocks', to the south and west of the Gaol compound. Additional cottages were added in 1885 and 1925, and the complex, except one cottage, was demolished in 1971. They were sited on Slaughter House Road (Danvers 1986, p. 36; Flightpath 2002, p. 81; *SAPP* No 29, 1876).



Figure

Extract of the Townsend Duryea 1865 photograph looking north-west from the Adelaide Town Hall tower. To the left is a line of trees stretching out which is the Port Road shelterbelt plantings undertaken by inaugural City Gardener William O'Brien. From the left to the middle where the Gaol building is located is the Gaol Road and a mass of young Olive (*Olea europaea*) specimens that had been planted by Gaol internees. The new railway line skirting around to the north and the new railway bridge arches (centre right) can be observed in the centre. The two storey galvanised iron roofed Slaughterhouse appears behind left to the Gaol, and a landscape scene that is totally devoid of trees whether on the plains or in the River Torrens/Karrawirra Parri watercourse is very evident. Port Road through Brompton/Bowden can also be seen stretching to the north-west as a line devoid of shelterbelt plantings. Source: History Trust of South Australia.



Figure

A balloon ascent occurring to the rear of the Cattle Yards. Photograph taken from the Newmarket Hotel in North Terrace looking north-west. In the foreground are several timber and galvanised iron roofed structures, and holding pens associated with the Cattle Yards. Extensive rough-cut timber post and rail fencing is evident. Source: Old Parliament House Archives GN4830; Morton 1996, p. 24.



Figure
 Photograph of the River Torrens/Karrawirra Parri in the 1870s before Weir was erected and Lake Torrens created. The scene depicts the deeply eroded banks of the River Torrens/Karrawirra Parri, approximately where the main portion of the Lake is located today, possibly looking from the present restaurant and weir location, with post and rail fenced sides, and glimpses of the Adelaide townscape within the tree canopy in the upper right portion of the image. Source: Moreton 1997, p. 11, MLSA B26486.

In compiling a *History of the City of Adelaide* (1878) Town Clerk Thomas Worsnop included a map of the municipality. The map depicts conceptual locations of the Slaughter House, Gaol, Olive (*Olea europaea*) Plantations, Sheep Market, and the Slaughter House Road that traversed Tulya Wodli/Park 27. 'Slaughterhouse Road', at one stage, commenced at North Terrace at the site of the SK8 park today, and interconnected in a line to the Gaol Road before skirting towards the River Torrens/Karrawirra Parri and thence to the Slaughterhouse complex. The Sheep Market was a series of rectangular paddocks immediately opposite the present Newmarket Hotel where the present railway maintenance sheds are extant today. Olive (*Olea europaea*) plantations were located on both sides of this Road surrounding the Gaol. The Slaughter House is depicted as two structures with an adjacent cattle yard.

Worsnop's plan illustrates restructuring works undertaken by the Corporation as to yards associated with the cattle yards and Slaughter House in 1878-79. During this period the market was newly split between large cattle and sheep, and new yards erected specifically to service the sheep market (*Annual Report 1878-79*, p. 81).



Figure
 Extract of a 'Military Map of Adelaide' as prepared by the Surveyor-General's Department in 1880 that depicts land use activities in Tulya Wodli/Park 27. Note the extensive "Olive (*Olea europaea*) Plantations, the "Slaughterhouse" complex, the Gaol and its original straight roadway, the new Adelaide-south railway line corridor sweeping through Tulya Wodli/Park 27, and the cluster of fencing and structures associated with the Corporation's "Cattle Yards" to the immediate north of the North and West Terraces intersection. Source: Surveyor-Generals Dept 1880, Military Map of Adelaide, in Griffin & McCaskill 1986 frontispiece.

In 1878 the colonial government permanently alienated a tract of land in Tulya Wodli/Park 27 by legislation to enable the construction of the Adelaide-Port Railway and the Adelaide-Nairne Railway together with land for Railway Station purposes. This involved the significant uprooting and destruction of several hundred mature olive (*Olea europaea*) trees in the Corporation's plantations. This was the first phase of railway line expansion into the lower portion of Tulya Wodli/Park 27 that included later an excision to enable the Adelaide Loop Line in 1909 under the *Adelaide Gaol Reserve Alteration Act, 1911*, and the railway marshalling and service yards in

1917 under the *Adelaide Park Lands Alteration Act, 1917* (Moreton 1996, p. 148; *Adelaide Gaol Reserve Alteration Act, 1911*; *Adelaide Park Lands Alteration Act, 1917*).

By 1879 the olive (*Olea europaea*) plantations were known as the ‘olive yard’. Tulya Wodli/Park 27, surrounding the Gaol and sweeping eastwards to the railway station hosted the largest concentration of olive (*Olea europaea*) plantations in the Park Lands. The ‘yard’ was regularly maintained by Gaol prisoners under supervision, and the Corporation daily deposited night-soil, excrement and slaughterhouse refuse throughout the plantations as a form of fertiliser. “The work [of the prisoners] is being carried out in a very satisfactory manner, and the whole of the olive trees within the enclosure appear to be in a healthy condition” reported Mayor [Sir] Edwin Thomas Smith. In response to the construction of the Adelaide-Nairne railway line several hundred olive (*Olea europaea*) trees were grubbed and City Gardener William Pengilly planted some 3,000 new trees on 12ha nearby. The actual site of these new plantings is unclear but it was presumably still in Tulya Wodli/Park 27 as it was not in adjacent Narnungga/Park 25 (*Annual Report 1880-81*, pp. 109-110; Moreton 1996, p. 158).



Figure
Montefiore Road looking north from near the present Morphett Street Bridge in c.1880. Note the open paddocks to the left, Sir Samuel Way's residence 'Montefiore' on the far hill, and the landscape works along the roadside. Source: Pike & Moore 1983, p. 73.

With the engagement of John Ednie Brown to prepare a *Report on a System of Planting the Adelaide Park Lands* (1880) Brown did not include the larger portion of Tulya Wodli/Park 27 in his recommendations. Presumably this was because the land was occupied by the Slaughterhouse, olive (*Olea europaea*) plantations, and cattle yard functions, and the Corporation may not have perceived it a part of the wider ‘park lands’ *per se*. He did however include Park 27A and 27B in his recommendations when reviewing the park lands adjacent to Mill Street, North Adelaide. This area involves the triangular portion of land surrounded by Park Terrace, and the Port and Northern Railway lines.

In reviewing Parks 27A and 27B Brown observed that this area consisted of a “rich flat between the two lines of railway and partly on the east of the North line” (Brown 1880, p. 24). In a short review he recommended the following trees to be planted in this area:

Nomenclature as used by JE Brown (1880) [sic]	Current Scientific Nomenclature	Current Common Name
<i>Pinus Longifolia</i>	?	
<i>Pinus Geradiana</i>	<i>Pinus gerardiana</i>	
<i>Pinus Pinaster</i>	<i>Pinus pinaster</i>	Maritime Pine, Cluster Pine
<i>Pinus Maritima</i>	<i>Pinus nigra</i> ‘maritima’	
<i>Cupressus Lawsoniana</i>	<i>Chamaecyparis lawsoniana</i>	Lawson Cypress, Port Orford Cedar
<i>Araucaria Excelsa</i>	<i>Araucaria heterophylla</i>	Norfolk Island Pine
<i>Araucaria Cunninghamii</i>	<i>Araucaria cunninghamii</i>	Hoop Pine, Moreton Bay Pine
<i>Abies Douglasii</i>	<i>Pseudotsuga menziesii</i>	Douglas Fir
<i>Abies Orientalis</i>	?	
<i>Thuja Lobii</i>	<i>Thuja plicata</i>	Giant Thuya, Western Aborvitae, Western Red Cedar
<i>Juniperus Virginiana</i>	<i>Juniperus virginiana</i>	Pencil Cedar, Eastern Red Cedar
<i>Ulmus Suberosa</i>	<i>Quercus suber</i>	Cork Oak
<i>Ulmus Montana</i>	<i>Ulmus glabra</i>	Scotch Elm, Wych Elm
<i>Ulmus Campestris</i>	<i>Ulmus procera</i>	English Elm
<i>Fraxinus Americana</i>	<i>Fraxinus americana</i>	White Ash
<i>Fraxinus Excelsior</i>	<i>Fraxinus excelsior</i>	English Ash
<i>Platanus acerifolia</i>	<i>Platanus x acerifolius</i>	London Plane
<i>Plantanus Orientalis</i>	<i>Platanus orientalis</i>	Oriental Plane
<i>Eucalyptus Corynocalyx</i>	<i>Eucalyptus cladocalyx</i>	Sugar Gum
<i>Quercus essiliflora</i>	<i>Quercus petraea</i>	Durmast Oak
<i>Quercus pedunculata</i>	<i>Quercus robur</i>	English Oak, Common Oak

Central in this planting design proposal for the escarpment was the establishment of a carriage drive along the base of the escarpment. A further carriage drive was proposed along the River Torrens/Karrawirra Parri edge also along the present boundary of Piltawodli/Park 1 and Tulya Wodli/Park 27. Brown is quite specific in his intent and the locations of these carriage drives:

In order to make this Park deservedly popular on such occasions as those referred to, I have to advise that Carriage Drives be constructed through the grounds as shown on Plan; that is, one starting from gate at end of present plantation near Victoria [Morphett Street] Bridge, running along back of an parallel to the fence of plantation on river side to near the Railway Bridge, thence along line of Railway until it joins the road from Nort Adelaide to Hindmarsh; and another Drive entering from Montefiore-road opposite the Oval, and winding round the foot of hill, also parallel to fence of plantation, until it joins the other Drive near the Railway.

On the inner or park-side of the road described above, I would suggest that a row of trees be planted; these to be Ficus Macrophylla [Moreton Bay Fig; Ficus macrophylla], and to be inserted at fifty feet [16.76m] apart and protected by guards ... (Brown 1880, p. 14).

These are very specific instructions as to carriage drive creation and siting, and the manner and species that needed to accompany these routes. Substantially, the upper carriage drive appears to have been constructed and planted, and a large part of the southern or river-side carriage drive was constructed and planted; both with Moreton Bay Figs (*Ficus macrophylla*).

But while Brown excluded the larger portion of Tulya Wodli/Park 27 from his recommendations, he proposed a major renovation of the River Torrens/Karrawirra Parri edge to craft a more Gardenesque landscape setting. Conceptually this recommendation was quite detailed in its planting design strategy, adopting a strong Gardenesque philosophy, and was accompanied by a suite of lithograph images so to portray the visual outcomes that Brown was seeking to achieve. This recommendation applied specifically to the River Torrens/Karrawirra Parri embankments from the present Morphett Street bridge to the Hackney Road bridge, and in its description occasionally makes specific references to portions within each Park. While Tulya

Wodli/Park 27 is excluded, Pitawodli/Park 1 is partially included, and there is the obtuse reference to the River-scape as a whole. Accordingly it is relevant to include a summation of his recommendations in this Report.

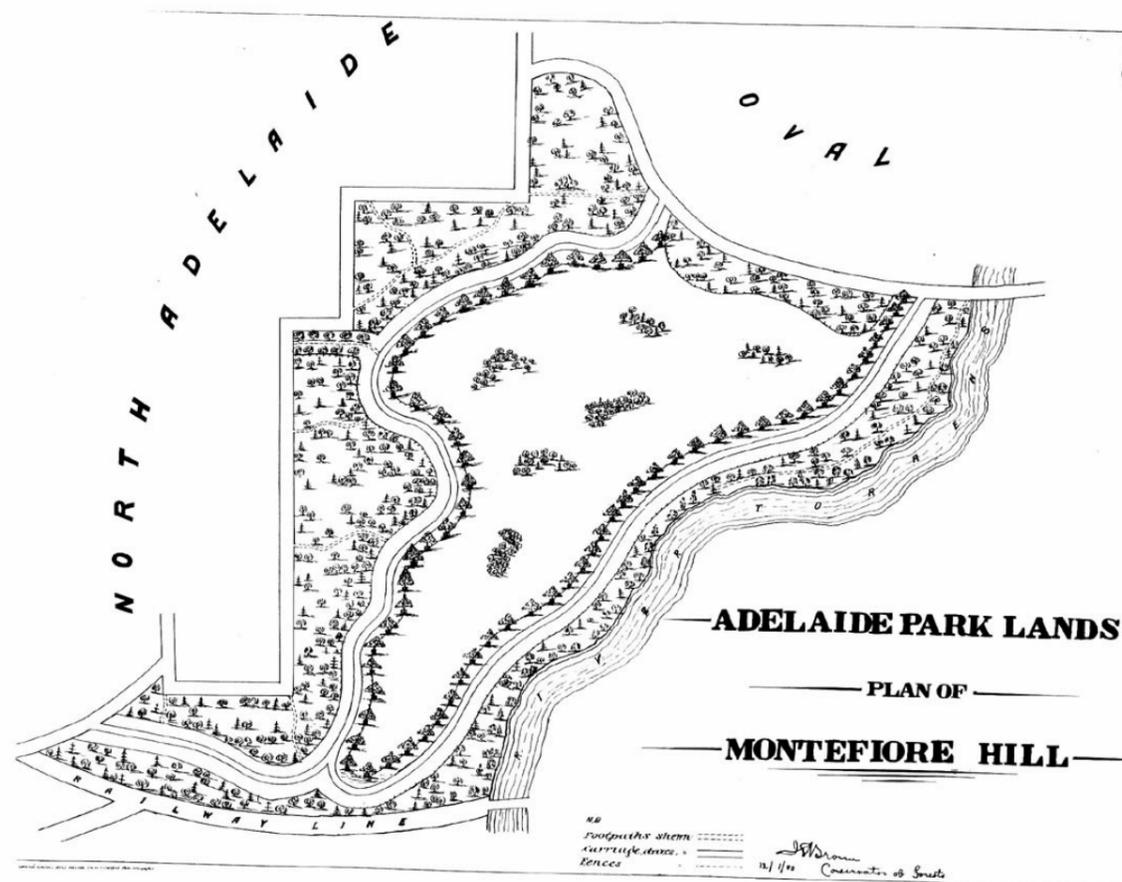


Figure
 Extract from John Ednie Brown's *Report on a System of Planting the Adelaide Park Lands* (1880) depicting part of Piltawodli/Park 1 (originally Park 27) with west to the bottom and east to the top of the Plan. A notional alignment for a "carriage drive" along the Moreton Bay Fig (*Ficus macrophylla*) lined southern flank now mirrors the location and alignment of War Memorial Drive, whereas the perceived not-constructed northern "carriage drive" as indicated on plan as a notional alignment but was in fact planted with Moreton Bay Figs (*Ficus macrophylla*) and other Victorian-era ornamental trees and a gravel journey route constructed within these plantings. Source: Brown 1880.

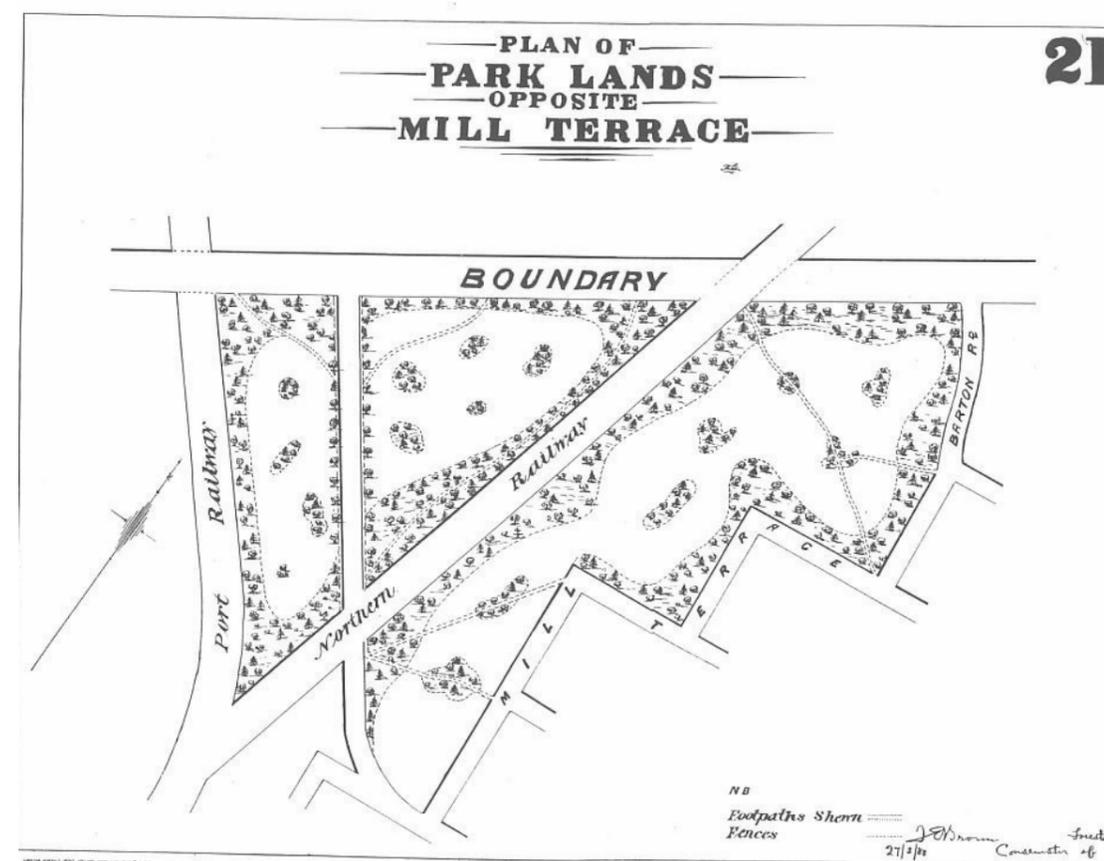
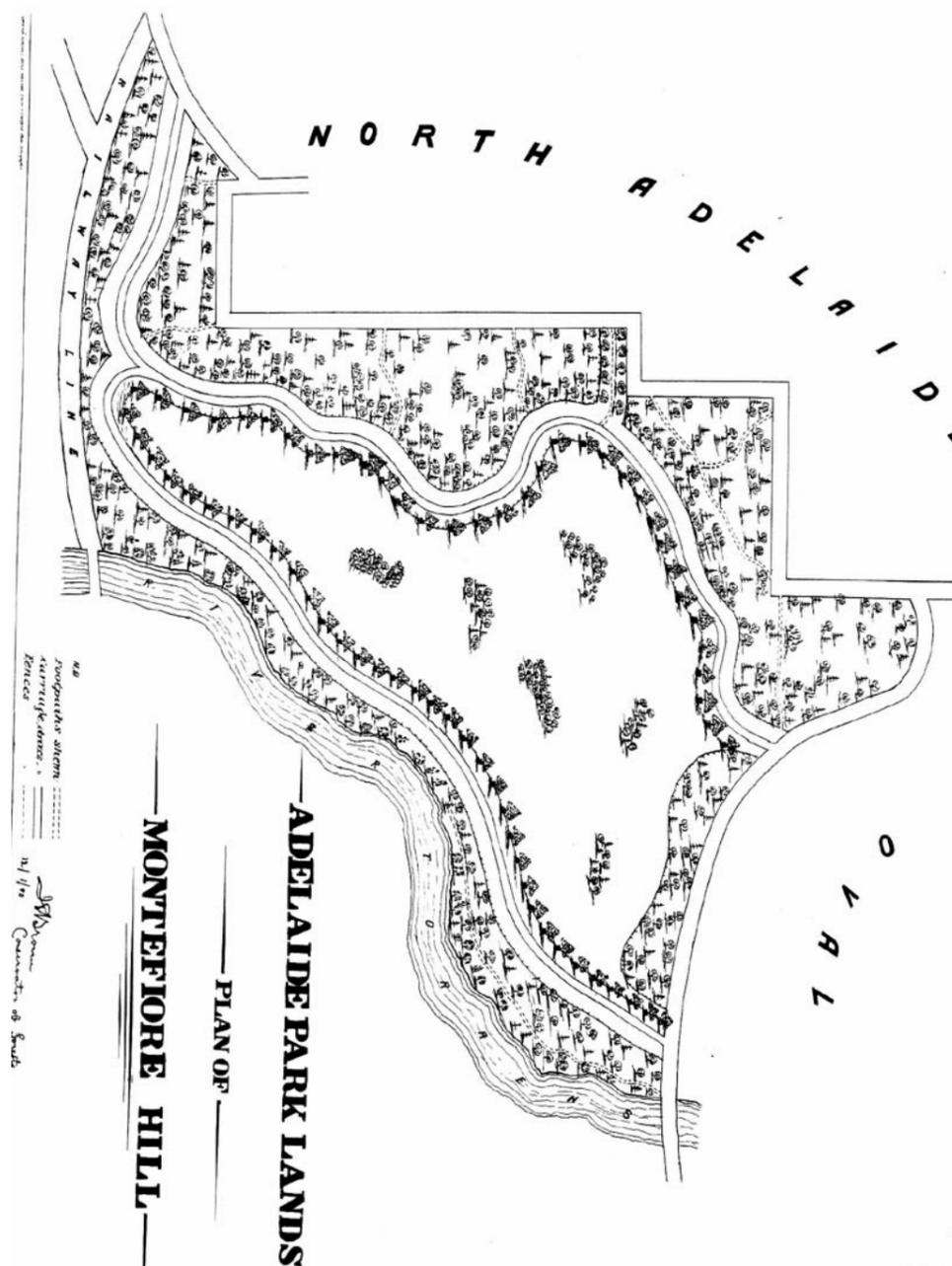


Figure
 Map 21 from Brown's *A Report on a System of Planting the Adelaide Park Lands* (1880) that depicts Mill Terrace down to Park Terrace in Thebarton. The triangular portion of Tulya Wodli/ Park 27, between the Port Railway Line and the Gawler Railway line is depicted with extensive perimeter plantings, and occasional clump plantings in the open spaces. Source: ACC Archive.

Along the River Torrens/Karrawirra Parri edge, between the Morphett Street Bridge and the Piltawodli 'Location', Brown noted the poor and deteriorating quality of River Red Gums (*Eucalyptus camaldulensis*) and perceived the need for a more extensive plantation to be established. He proposed, from the Morphett Street Bridge, the creation of a "nicely-formed footpath to be constructed in a winding and circuitous form" to a point then called "the 'Willows'" which is where the present weir is located. He observed that the River Red Gums (*Eucalyptus camaldulensis*) were generally "dead or dying" along this River edge and should in the main be "removed to make place for more suitable kinds of trees." This recommendation also applied to the "very sickly-looking" Cypress (*Cupressus* spp) in this locality. Brown makes no observation as to ornamental trees extant in this location, including the Piltawodli 'Location' as also any buildings or structures in this locality (Brown 1880, pp. 13-14). In this regard he proposed the following trees:



Images:

Two images of the southern golf course portion of Piltawodli/Park 1 to enable a visual comparison between what John Ednie Brown proposed in 1880. On the right side, his plan in 1880, and on the left what existed in 1949. The plan has been re-aligned to enable this visual comparison.

On the left is a 1949 aerial photograph of the locality that depicts the site prior to the development of the golf course, indicating two lines or corridors of what appears today as Moreton Bay Fig (*Ficus macrophylla*) trees. The lower corridor, with an access track winds considerably but links with the weir. The upper corridor is more pronounced, follows the lower edge of the North Adelaide escarpment in a circuitous manner, and is accompanied by a more defined track of carriage drive. The presence of these two corridors has been somewhat obscured as a consequence of the development of the Golf Course and War Memorial Drive. Interestingly, Plan 3 of Brown's *Report on a System of Planting the Adelaide Park Lands* (1880), inverted in this image, proposes the establishment of two carriage drives in exactly the same positions and using Moreton Bay Figs (*Ficus macrophylla*) as the tree to edge the drives. This is substantive evidence that Brown's *Report* was faithfully executed by Brown and Pelzer during their tenures as 'Conservator of Plantations' and City Gardener respectively. Sources: ACC Archives, left, Brown 1880, *A System of Planting the Adelaide Park Lands*.