

The Monitor says 'the Botanical Gardens in the Government Domain are occasionally locked, and, on demanding admittance you are informed that none but military officers are allowed the privilege of perambulating therein.' We are not aware that the Botanic Gardens were ever intended to be a public promenade, but this we know, that the utmost attention has been paid to visitants, whether civil or military. But it happens, that on Sundays, immense numbers... flock to these gardens,...so that the whole of Mr. Fraser's time has been occupied in attending to them. Last Sunday, however, the gates were shut for the first time, on all visitors, whether civil or military, and the practice will be continued on the Sabbath...³⁶¹

The Gazette held that Fraser, like his workmen, should have Sunday free, and that he should be spared the "frequent depredations... committed on the shrubs and fruit" in his care. There seemed no reason to deprive the Colonial Botanist of his day of rest "merely because Mr. Monitor Hall chooses to give himself airs and find fault."³⁶² The Gardens, it seems, were virtually raided each Sunday by the "immense numbers" who took advantage of poor Fraser's inability to watch his precious plants while he attended to requests for cuttings and seeds. A little later, Fraser was so taxed by visitors seeking Florence Olive seeds that he "left a quantity of seeds at the Gazette Office for our optional distribution."³⁶³ One is tempted to wonder whether some were attracted to the Gardens by reports that Fraser was successfully producing opium!³⁶⁴

Charles Fraser, especially during his last two years gave much attention to the construction of walks, one of which was 1600 yards long.³⁶⁵ On 9 September 1831, Governor Darling, who had already taken care to delineate the boundaries of the Government Domain, including the Gardens, in the most meticulous terms,³⁶⁶ officially announced that the grounds in the Government Domain, near Anson's Point³⁶⁷ have been laid out in walks for the recreation of the public; and that the Domain will be opened for carriages on Tuesday next, the

361 Syd.Gaz., 26 Sept. 1827.

362 ibid.

363 Syd.Gaz., 9 June 1829.

364 Syd.Gaz., 5 Jan. and 26 Nov. 1827.

365 Kew Bulletin, 1906, p.211.

366 Govt. Order 8 June 1829 in Syd.Gaz., 9 June 1829.

367 Mrs. Macquarie's Chair.

BOTANIC GARDENS: MAP 10 (1884)

From The Australian Handbook and
Shippers' and Importers' Directory
for 1884.

- NOTE:
1. The clearly defined areas denoted the Inner Domain and the Outer Domain.
 2. The Botanic Gardens within the Domain divided into three main sections, the Upper Middle and Lower Gardens, which however are not so labelled here.
 3. The reclaimed area lying between the Farm Cove seawall and the driveway which once skirted the Cove's original shoreline. (see Maps 4 and 6)

This is a detailed historical map of Sydney, Australia, showing the city layout, harbor, and surrounding areas. The map includes labels for various landmarks, streets, and geographical features. Key locations include Sydney Cove, Farm Cove, Woolloomoolloo Bay, and the Inner Domain. Notable buildings and structures are marked, such as the Government House, the Sydney Rowing Club, and the Woolloomoolloo Bay. The map also shows the harbor and the surrounding hills.

Geographical Features and Water Bodies:

- Sydney Cove:** Located at the top left, featuring the Sydney Rowing Club and the Government House.
- Farm Cove:** A large body of water in the center, bordered by the Inner Domain and the Woolloomoolloo Bay.
- Woolloomoolloo Bay:** Located on the right side, featuring the Ladies Baths and the Woolloomoolloo Bay.
- Inner Domain:** A large area in the center, containing the Government House, the Sydney Rowing Club, and the Woolloomoolloo Bay.

Landmarks and Buildings:

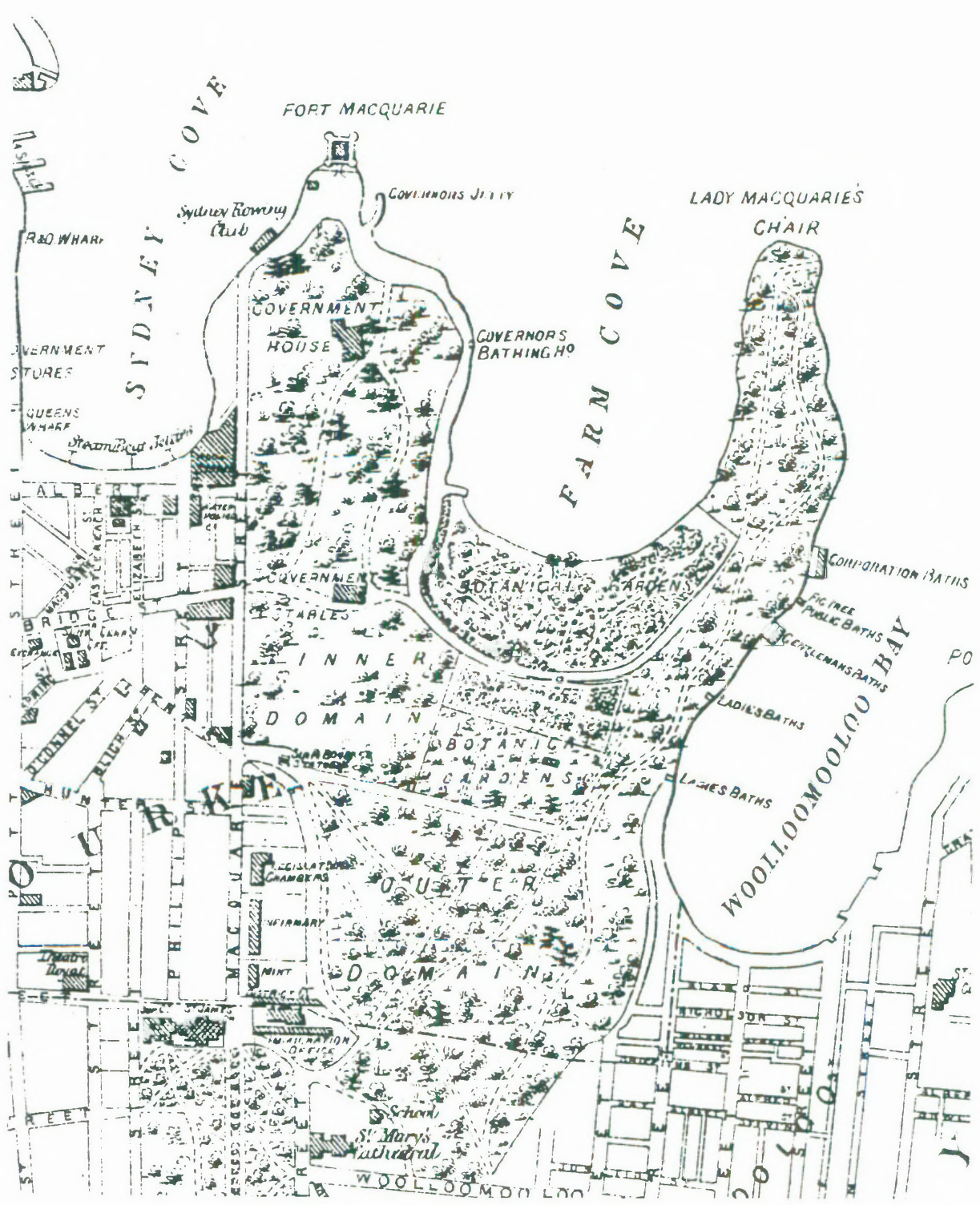
- Government House:** Located in the center, near the Sydney Rowing Club.
- Sydney Rowing Club:** Located near the Government House.
- Woolloomoolloo Bay:** A large area on the right, containing the Ladies Baths and the Woolloomoolloo Bay.
- Ladies Baths:** Located near the Woolloomoolloo Bay.
- Woolloomoolloo Bay:** A large area on the right, containing the Ladies Baths and the Woolloomoolloo Bay.

Streets and Roads:

- Macquarie Street:** A major street running vertically through the center.
- Phillip Street:** A major street running horizontally across the middle.
- George Street:** A major street running horizontally across the bottom.
- Other streets:** Numerous smaller streets are labeled, including Elizabeth Street, Macquarie Street, and Phillip Street.

Other Labels:

- Fort Macquarie:** Located at the top center.
- Lady Macquaries Chair:** Located on the right side.
- Botanical Gardens:** Located in the center, near the Government House.
- Legislative Chambers:** Located near the Government House.
- Woolloomoolloo Bay:** A large area on the right, containing the Ladies Baths and the Woolloomoolloo Bay.



13th instant.

The road from the stairs near Fort Macquarie along Farm Cove to the gate which crosses the road at the extremity of the Botanic Garden is reserved for the exclusive accommodation of persons on foot.

Carriages and horsemen may enter...at the gate near the School of Industry,³⁶⁸ or at the Woolloomooloo gate at the southern boundary of the Domain.³⁶⁹

Once again the press saw the deprivation of a public right. After all, Sydney Town offered little enough:

The Domain—This favourite spot, the only pleasant walk in Sydney, is now rendered comparatively useless to the pedestrian, by its being made a drive for carriages. The inner domain is still exclusive—from the public. What are the inhabitants to do? we think it hard, that without ceremony, they should be curtailed in the small enjoyments the town affords. The public at large suffers, but more particularly our juvenile population; we trust that this unfair mode of vitiating public property, will be quickly abolished.³⁷⁰

The "Governor's Demesne" had become "public property."

In 1838, Governor Gipps announced that "the Botanic Garden will not in future be closed against the Public on Sundays."³⁷¹ James Kidd felt bound to point out that

Visitors to these Gardens are on no account to injure the plants or seats, nor pluck fruits or flowers.³⁷²

Soon after taking office, Moore recommended to the Committee of Management, the regulations which governed public behaviour for the remainder of the century. People were to come to the Gardens "decently dressed"; children were to be accompanied "by some responsible person" smoking was forbidden;³⁷³ plants were not to be damaged; the public

368 a school "formed...for bringing up young colonial girls, at the instance and suggestion of Mrs Darling..." Archdeacon Scott in HRA XII, p.309. The school stood on the site of the Mitchell wing of the Library of N.S.W.

369 Kew Bulletin, 1906, p.212.

370 SMH, 6 Sept. 1831.

371 Order of 24 Apr. 1838, quoted in JRAHS, 1928, p.21.

372 James Kidd's notice of 6 Nov. 1841, quoted in JRAHS, 1928, p.21.

373 until 1921. Anderson: ABC, p.14.

would not be admitted on Sundays until one o'clock; "all known bad characters" would be refused admission.³⁷⁴

It is interesting to consider how the Gardens and Domain were popularly regarded. Writing long before the area of the Domain west of Macquarie Street was sold to raise funds for a new Government House, William Charles Wentworth lamented that "extension of the town has been stopped by the Government House, and the adjoining domain" when deep water could have afforded "facilities for the erection of warehouses and the various important purposes of commerce."³⁷⁵ On the other hand, as already shown, Mr. Commissioner Bigge thoroughly approved of the Botanic Garden, albeit for its economic potential, and Dr. George Bennett, who first visited Sydney in 1829, agreed:

Such an establishment would be most valuable as a nursery for the introduction of trees, shrubs, or plants, estimable either for timber, fruits, flowers, or dyes, and thus add resources to the colony.³⁷⁶

He therefore

regretted that this establishment, as a 'botanic garden' is not encouraged, it being, in fact, merely a government vegetable and fruit garden.³⁷⁷

By 1860, however, Bennett considered that "the Botanic Garden at Sydney is an object of great attraction," owing largely to the efforts of "the present able Director, Mr. Charles Moore."³⁷⁸

The Quaker missionary, James Backhouse, not given to lavish praise, considered in 1836 that

the Sydney Botanic Garden is a fine institution; it is furnished with a good collection of native and foreign plants. Some of its Curators have ranked highly as men of science.³⁷⁹

374 Minute Book I, 1836-1863 (Aust.Mus.Lib.) minute of 18 March 1848.

375 Wentworth: Statistical Account, I, pp.10-11.

376 Bennett: Wanderings, I, p.335.

377 *ibid.*

378 Bennett: Gatherings, p.334.

379 Backhouse: Narrative, p.351. Backhouse joined Alex. McLeay, Francis Forbes, Sir John Jamison, William Macarthur "and some other gentlemen" in inspecting the vines.

In the 1840s, C. P. Hodgson felt that in the Domain

Nature appeared to have concentrated her riches and rarities...and the spirit of science and enterprize to have exerted their powers to render it a second paradise.³⁸⁰

Another writer of the forties also appreciated the paradisaic nature of the area, drawing some delightful comparisons at the expense of the regulations:

I have just returned from the most beautiful spot I ever saw—the Botanical Gardens of Sydney. It was literally a walk through Paradise; the only difference betwixt it and Eden being, that here EVERY tree was forbidden, and death and destruction awarded, by man-traps and other means, to those that touched their fruit. These Botanical Gardens in position are the finest in the world...But the splendour of the plants, the trees, the flowers! Every production of the East is here; every plant, every fruit, every beautiful flower is to be seen in these gardens in the highest possible perfection. The intensity of one's admiration is almost painful...³⁸¹

Like many visitors, Lieut.-Col. Godfrey Charles Mundy, although "having no science" considered the Botanic Gardens "a most creditable effort on the part of a young colony." He condemned the "rabid attack...by the opposition members of the Legislative Council" upon the estimates for 1849. This "disgraceful fact" had actually threatened the maintenance of "this pleasant place of public resort" and was clearly an "instance of radical ebullition and legislative wantonness."³⁸²

There never has been any doubt about the beauty of the site

380 Hodgson: Reminiscences, p.11.

381 John Hood: Australia and the East...Lond., 1843, pp.103-4.

382 Mundy: Our Antipodes, I, p.73.

of the Gardens and Domain³⁸³ and there were also good practical reasons for the appreciation of such a reserve close to the city:

Nothing can be more delicious during one of the hot days of summer, than to seek the deep shade in the sylvan recesses of these gardens, and occupy one of the numerous rustic seats... beneath the evergreen foliage.³⁸⁴

The realisation had come that the uncouth evergreen eucalypts had some value after all. The same however, could not always be said of that part of the Domain beyond the Gardens:

The domain...is rather pretty when not burnt to a cinder, nor looking like a red-hot frying-pan; the Botanical Gardens are more than pretty...³⁸⁵

The newly-arrived immigrants in the 1840s could soothe, or arouse, pangs of nostalgia by visiting the Gardens, where

the most valued plants are the English primrose, the cowslip, violet, and daisy, which are shaded from the sun by screens, and treasured as carefully as the most tender exotics...in England. These simple and homely memorials of our native land touch

383 e.g. Angas: Australia, p.149: "The Domain...is a beautiful park ...richly timbered, and laid out with carriage drives, which command a series of the most enchanting views...The Botanic Gardens are an attractive feature...delightfully situated on the banks of a deep bay..."

Balfour: Sketch, p.58: "The plan, site and general arrangement of the gardens are as creditable to those who first designed them, as their uniform good order, the cleanliness of the walks and beds, and progressing improvements are to the present managing committee."

Baden Powell: New Homes, p.26: "The gardens, singularly aided by nature, and also by clever management, would of themselves be sufficient, but the whole effect is much heightened by the beautiful views..."

Francis Myers in Andrew Garran (Ed.): Picturesque Atlas of Australasia, Syd., 1886, I, p.92: "...a better site for a permanent botanic garden could hardly have been selected had the country been scoured for a dozen miles around...Nature furnished a happy opportunity, and the gardener's skill has done the rest."

Wm. Howitt: Two Years, II, p.252: "Descending through the Domain to the Botanic Gardens, we find them possessing one of the most enchanting situations imaginable."

384 Angas: Savage Life, II, p.190.

385 Townsend: Rambles, p.158.

the heart with their eloquent silence, and the sternest soul is not insensible to their mute appeal.³⁸⁶

Once Sunday admission was instituted, the Domain and Gardens were "crowded with people of every degree" for "the artisan...spruce clerks and younger employes of the government offices...troops of boarding-school girls" all enjoyed "the recreation of a walk."³⁸⁷ It took the Principal of Sydney College to point out the wider value of such a reserve. He saw it as

a secluded retirement for the man of contemplation, a gorgeous and profusely abundant feast for the true lover of nature...a field of research for the man of science; a relief and refreshment to the busy and industrious citizen: it recruits wasted energies, renews exhausted powers, and adds an attraction to our fair city...The gardens in the centre of this domain are arranged with much taste and neatness ...They are open...from sunrise to sunset...The throwing these gardens open to the public serves many useful purposes: not only does it afford a pleasant promenade, but it induces a love for botanical science; it inspires an attachment to Nature's works; it leads...the youthful mind to seek a more intimate acquaintance with those beauties which here cannot but be admired.³⁸⁸

This fervent apologia contains reasons which are still accepted over 120 years later.

All these enthusiastic accounts, however, related to the Lower and Middle Gardens, for the Upper Garden, which had contained the old Kitchen Garden, propagating beds, stables, residences, etc. was not opened to the public until 1876.³⁸⁹ Thus in 1862 for example, it was clear that the Gardens were

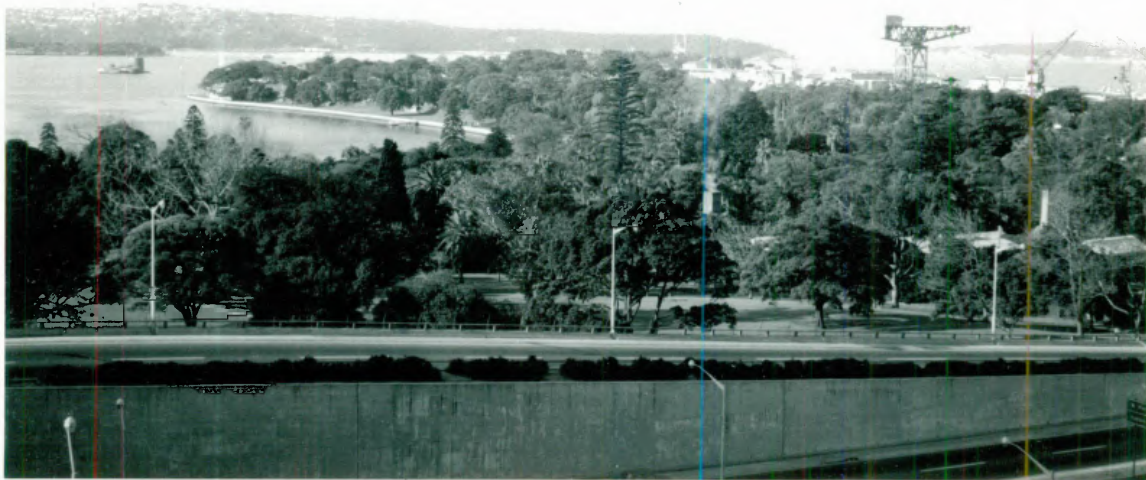
386 Angas: Savage Life, II, pp.190-1.

387 R. G. Jameson: New Zealand, South Australia and New South Wales... Lond., 1842, p.112. For further evidence of the popularity of the Gardens during holidays, see also A Visit to Australia, p.121 and Balfour: Sketch, p.59: "The Sydney gardens present on Sunday afternoons a most animated scene; persons of all classes flock to them and seem to forget the toils and cares of the past week, in admiration of the beauty and loveliness that surround them." See also Syd.Mail, 19 Aug. 1865.

388 (Rev.) Thomas Henry Braim: A History of New South Wales... Lond., 1846, II, p.296.

389 JRAHS, 1931, p.127; Anderson: ABC, p.14.

BOTANIC GARDENS AND DOMAIN.



THE ROYAL BOTANIC GARDENS, SYDNEY. View from the roof of the Library of New South Wales shows Mrs. Macquarie's Point, Farm Cove, and the expressway which in 1962 robbed the Gardens of both land and trees.

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



THE SYDNEY DOMAIN. The Inner and Outer Domains bound the Gardens on three sides. This is the area of sports and speeches generally referred to simply as "The Domain", but more accurately, the "Outer Domain." There is some evidence here for "Mr. Moore's predilection for that scourge of gardens, the Moreton Bay Fig..."³⁹⁰ but a later generation lamented the loss of Fig Tree Avenue to make way for the Expressway in 1962.

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

390 R. Etheridge in Records of the Australian Museum, Syd., Vol. XI, 1916-17, p.361.

divided into the scientific and pleasure-grounds. The former, old in appearance, care-worn, and not very large, promise something in the distant future; at present their treasury is small, and contains a variety of good things, but a multitude of bad. The latter are magnificent, delightful, and invaluable...³⁹¹

Moore's work at the Gardens in the years after the enquiry did not go unnoticed. In 1860 attention was drawn to

the improvements...being made in the Sydney Botanic Gardens...so gradual in their operation that they probably do not attract from casual visitors that attention which they deserve. Those, however, who remember the size and condition of the gardens a few years back will recognise the desirable alteration...³⁹²

A major part of this "alteration" was the reclamation work in Farm Cove. Three acres had been recently added to the Gardens, "part from the bush and part from Farm Cove" and a further three acres were about to be added.

The scientific part of the new ground will be occupied with an extension of the natural system of arrangement, on a similar plan and scale to that already adopted on the ground adjoining...³⁹³ although the scientific division may not be properly appreciated by the public it will be of the greatest value to those who...study botany. The larger number who last season attended Mr. Moore's lectures at the Botanic Gardens than during any previous season may be regarded as an indication that the taste for this interesting science is on the increase...³⁹⁴

391 Jessop: Flindersland, I, p.89. Mundy also referred to the two distinct sections (i.e. the Upper Garden on the one hand, and the Middle and Lower Gardens on the other): "...divided into two compartments; one laid out in formal squares, containing the floral produce of many...lands,...the other more in the English pleasure-ground style embracing a wide circuit of the picturesque Farm Cove." (Mundy: Our Antipodes, I, pp.70-1).

392 Syd.Mail, 28 July 1860.

393 It was now proposed to arrange plants according to Dr. John Lindley's system, in four classes: Hypogynous, Perigynous, Epigynous referring to the point of attachment of the stamens in relation to the gynoecium of a flower, and Diclinous, applied to plants with unisexual flowers.

394 Syd.Mail, 16 June 1866.

Unhappily, the reclamation work did not maintain a desirable tempo, and in 1866 there were complaints about the head of Farm Cove where

the action of the sun on the refuse deposited in the mud generates ~~a~~ rank and sickening odour...The fetid and loathsome slough is an eyesore...³⁹⁵

Nevertheless, the public was kept informed of what plants were in flower, and inspections at appropriate times were urged.³⁹⁶ In 1871, Thomas Sutcliffe Mort won praise for presenting to the Gardens a glass-house, together with some specimens of exotics to be raised within it.³⁹⁷

Notwithstanding the problems of reclamation in the Lower Garden, the Gardens generally were, by 1864, considered to be an indicator of colonial progress:

It is a conceded fact that a nation's progress and the love of gardening, go hand in hand, and we should imagine that were a stranger to land in the Botanic Gardens, on his first arriving in this Colony, his impression would be that this country is in a progressive state.

The contribution to this desirable state of affairs by Moore and his former Vice-regal patron was not overlooked:

It must be patent to the minds of the generality of our readers, the great improvements that have taken place in the Botanic Gardens during the last ten years, in fact, we date its progress from the time of Sir William Denison's advent; and it must be a convincing proof of the great utility an energetic Governor is to a young country...Too much praise cannot be given to the worthy Director and his subordinates...³⁹⁸

It was only nine years since "the worthy Director" had been charged as unqualified and incompetent. Now, however, the Director himself was "glad to say that the Garden was never held in higher estimation than at the present."³⁹⁹

395 *ibid.*

396 *c.g. Syd. Mail*, 3 July 1869. The issue of 15 July 1871 even published Moore's annual Report.

397 *Syd. Mail*, 16 Sept. 1871.

398 *Horticultural Magazine and Gardeners' and Amateurs' Calendar*, Syd., 1864, I, p.160.

399 Moore to Sir Wm. Macarthur, 21 Aug. 1863. Macarthur Papers, Vol.41, ML. A2937, p.371.

By 1878, the Gardens were considered even more worthy of a justified boast:

There are two objects for which every visitor to Sydney is expected to express his enthusiastic admiration—our harbour and our Botanical Gardens. If he does not do so, he is set down at once as an unmitigated barbarian.

After describing the Gardens with some nice touches of whimsy, the writer concluded on an urgent note of local pride:

We should like to see our gardens the best kept, as they are the most beautiful in the Australian colonies, and there is no reason why they should not also be scientifically the best without interfering with the natural beauty...⁴⁰⁰

By 1880 Charles Moore had proved himself an able administrator who had restored and developed the scientific function and character of the Gardens without losing sight of the aesthetic and recreational functions such an institution must have in order to be justified and acceptable. No longer could a John Henderson hope for much support should he declare "the Botanic Garden is an unproductive institution" which "ought...to be abandoned."⁴⁰¹ Thanks to the stand of Allan Cunningham, the support of the Hookers of Kew, the interest of scientifically-inclined Governors and Colonial Secretaries, the searching questions of the Select Committee, the enthusiasm and criticism of a rising elite of colonial amateur scientists—and the labours of Charles Moore, the grounds for such unreserved criticism had long since been removed. But as an institution which both sought and disseminated botanical knowledge, the Botanic Gardens could not achieve its aims in isolation. Not only was it essential to establish and maintain links with overseas institutions, but it had to rely upon vital contributions from the man in the field. Nor should we underestimate the influence upon the development of the Gardens of the nineteenth century English gentleman's concern for his garden, and of those nurserymen who catered for his needs.

⁴⁰⁰ Town & Country Journal, 6 April 1878.

⁴⁰¹ Henderson: Observations, p.85.

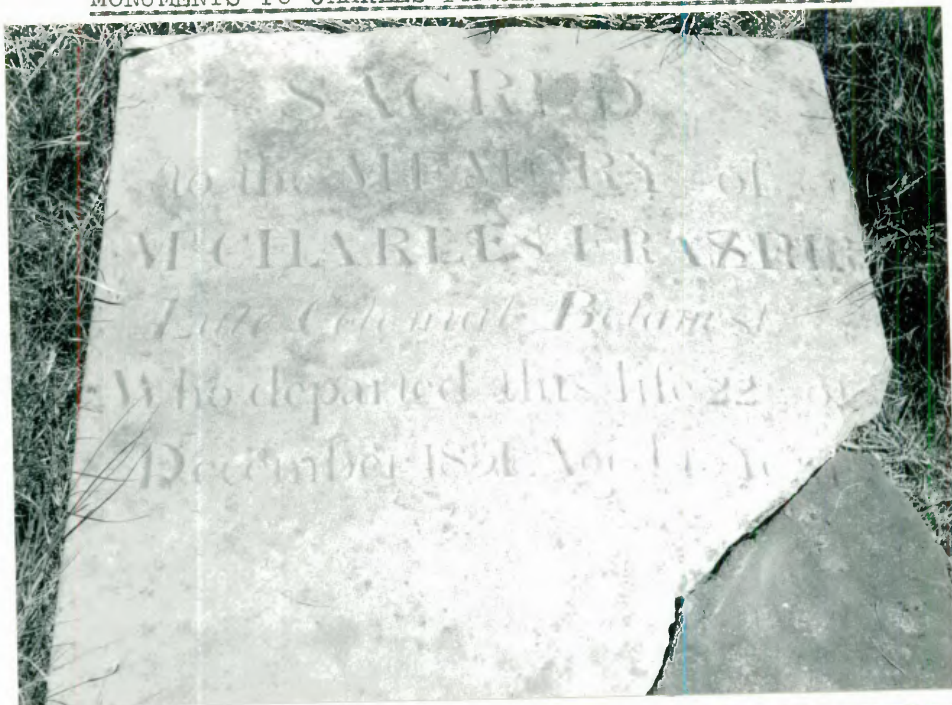
As shown in Chapter II, a tremendous amount of field work had been done by the early explorers; so much, in fact, that George Bentham was able to complete his Flora Australiensis without coming to Australia. The results of the early field work had necessarily gone to England and the Continent for systematisation. Sydney had now developed its own recognised botanical institution with the nucleus of a herbarium and a growing potential for research. It therefore seemed as if the field work had to begin all over again to meet these new local needs. In 1876, duplicate sets of Robert Brown's specimens were distributed by the British Museum, yet it is recorded that Moore, for some reason, perhaps lack of storage facilities, failed to respond to the offer of a set for Sydney,⁴⁰² and we have already considered the fate of the Mitchell collection. Perhaps Moore, in establishing his modest herbarium, wanted only fresh material, yet it is astonishing that he should not have welcomed some of the classic material upon which so many species were based. Moore visited Europe three times,⁴⁰³ yet he does not appear to have sought the return to New South Wales of any historic material. Within three years of taking over from Moore in 1896, Maiden had a new herbarium building erected, and during his trip to Europe in 1900 he made the necessary contacts which led to the National Herbarium of N.S.W. being enriched by a great deal of material from the earliest collections, including some 600 specimens collected in 1770 by Banks and Solander.

Since the days of Phillip, the meagre soil around Farm Cove had been made to serve a variety of botanical purposes — as a government farm, an entrepot for plants received and despatched, as grants for small settlers, as a place of gubernatorial recreation, a source of

402 JRAHS, 1931, p.155.

403 in 1867 for the Paris International Exhibition, in 1874 for an international congress of botanists at Florence, and in 1896 when he retired. Maiden in SMH, 2 May 1905. Moore was warmly commended by the Commissioners "for his great exertions in the arrangements and disposition of Articles at the Paris Exhibition." Resolution of 20 Sept. 1867, NSW Archives, 4/7577.

MONUMENTS TO CHARLES FRASER AND CHARLES MOORE



Above: The broken sandstone slab marking Charles Fraser's grave in St. John's Cemetery, Parramatta. Note the stone-mason's indecision on the spelling of the surname, about which there was some doubt during the botanist's lifetime.

Right: The handsome diorite monument on Charles Moore's grave in the old Church of England Cemetery, Rookwood.

Photos.: L. G., Jan. 1970.



"official" fruit and vegetables, and as a public park. The area which came to be known as the Government or Botanic Gardens has been developed by a variety of botanical people, ranging from the agriculturist, Henry Edward Dodd, to Charles Fraser, the "botanical soldier" and a succession of industrious gardeners, competent horticulturists and experienced field botanists. As the Colony developed economically, socially and intellectually, colonial science came into its own, and new demands were made upon the institution which now required new talents and wider resources, if these demands were to be met. The long directorship of Charles Moore marked a significant period of transition in the attitudes directed towards, and emanating from the Gardens, and Moore himself had to adjust to these changing conditions. The man who distributed cuttings to favoured progressive colonists in 1848, was moved by 1893 to produce a Handbook of the Flora of N.S.W. to be used by all.

Long before Maiden moved into his new herbarium building with 15,000 or so specimens in 1899,⁴⁰⁴ local enthusiasts had been quietly investigating the flora on their own account, observing, collecting, and corresponding among themselves. It was upon their efforts that the resources of the Botanic Gardens, and botanical knowledge generally, depended so much, and it is these efforts we shall now consider.

404 Anderson: ABC, p.29.