



OBELISK IN THE LOWER GARDEN, erected to the memory of Allan Cunningham in 1844, and receptacle of his remains since 1901.

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



SECTION OF THE OLD MACQUARIE WALL which divided the lower from the middle garden. The plant covering the wall is the Asian Creeping Fig, Ficus pumila.

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

bound for the north-west coast. By June 1839 he was so debilitated that his friends took him from his Elizabeth Street lodgings to the cottage in the Botanic Garden, where on 27th he died in the company of his faithful friend, James Anderson.<sup>173</sup> Lamenting the loss of his old shipmate, Phillip Parker King, a member of the Committee, noted:

Alas, poor Allan! he was a rare specimen--quite a genus of himself; an enthusiast in Australian geography; devoted to his own science, Botany; a warm friend, and an honest man...<sup>174</sup>

King and others called a meeting in the Gardens for 30 October 1839 to consider a suitable memorial.<sup>175</sup> In addition, a further Cunningham plaque was fixed to the walls of St. Andrew's Scots Church.<sup>176</sup>

Cunningham was already doomed when he arrived to administer the Gardens in February 1837, and although he quickly resigned, the policy he would have pursued had he stayed at the Gardens for the extra eighteen months until his death, is clear enough. At the very outset, he established "many ornamental European plants...all desiderata of our Colonial Gardens"<sup>177</sup> and he had enabled Governor Bourke to meet the Horticultural Society's request for seeds. Cunningham divided his convict labour force according to skill, the horticulturally inclined

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173 Heward: Biog.Sketch, p.137. Cunningham was almost 48. He was buried in the old Devonshire St. Cemetery. In May 1901 his remains were enclosed in a small leaden casket which on 26 June 1901 was placed within the obelisk already erected to his memory in a pond in Botanic Gardens Creek. The original table-top tombstone was pinned to the rear wall of the Herbarium.

174 Heward: Biog.Sketch, p.138.

175 Syd.Gaz., 26 Oct. 1839. Conveners were "P. P. King, Capt., R. N. H. H. McArthur, M.C., R. Lethbridge, J.P., C. Nicholson, M.D., J. Dobie, R.N." It was decided to erect "a handsome sepulchral urn upon the small island in the lower Botanical Garden which is surrounded by willows." (Syd.Gaz., 7 Dec. 1839). However, it was an obelisk that was erected in 1844. The willows were derived from "a cutting from the willow which hangs over the the tomb of Napoleon at St. Helena" planted by Charles Fraser "on one of those miniature islands constructed by him in the New Botanic Gardens which he is laying out at Farm Cove." Syd.Gaz., 20 May 1830.

176 see the photograph of this plaque on p.463.

177 Messrs. Loddiges, nurserymen of Hackney, had given Cunningham "two-glass-roofed Cases" of plants, in return for which he had sent "young healthy plants" of Moreton Bay (or Richmond River, Colonial or Hoop) Pine, Araucaria cunninghamii, "and others of the rarer vegetable products." Cunningham: Report of 1837, ML. A1218, pp.598-599.

being sent to the kitchen garden and the "mere Labourers" to "the new or lower botanic garden in Farm Cove," and elsewhere in the Government grounds. The former garden despite "hungry, arid...soil" had provided sufficient to meet the daily supplies required for the Table of His Excellency the Governor and for those of his Suite.<sup>178</sup>

Cunningham extended Fraser's Lower Garden, developed the nursery, completed a walk along "the Western Rocky Shore of Farm Cove," established plantations of trees in Hyde Park, and maintained correspondence with Gardens at Glasgow, Edinburgh, Dublin, Calcutta, Mauritius and the Cape. He asked for a better water supply for the Gardens, preferably "by a line of Pipes," and advocated an even more vigorous correspondence and "a Mutual Exchange of Plants and Seeds" with other institutions. Such improvements were necessary, said Cunningham, if the "Colonial Botanic Garden" at Sydney were to be

fully entitled to the Support of a liberal Government, and...worthy of a place among other scientific Institutions.<sup>179</sup>

Because of official attitudes and a succession of short-lived Directors, this "scientific" function of the Gardens, long stressed by Cunningham, was not fully emphasised for another decade. Meanwhile, Cunningham's "valuable and extensive herbarium" reached England safely, and passed "by the kind bequest of the talented and admirable collector into the possession of his friend and biographer, Robert Heward."<sup>180</sup> There was no place, nor even the need, for such a herbarium in Sydney Town until the scientific side of the function of the Botanic Gardens was recognised and promoted.

In January 1838, James Anderson, Assistant Superintendent of the Botanic Gardens since September 1835, applied for the position surrendered by Cunningham. He, too, had been a shipmate of Phillip

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178 op.cit., pp.601-2.

179 op.cit., p.616.

180 Heward: Biog.Sketch, p.140.

Parker King,<sup>181</sup> who with four other members of the Committee,<sup>182</sup> was pleased to support the application. Anderson was appointed Superintendent, but not Colonial Botanist, a title which carried academic, rather than purely horticultural implications, and which for the time being had died with Cunningham. It seems doubtful that Anderson assumed much extra responsibility on Cunningham's death, although when he himself died shortly after on 22 April 1842, he was referred to courteously, as "the Colonial Botanist."<sup>183</sup> Friends rallied and erected a monument over his grave, which is in a sorry condition to-day.<sup>184</sup> Although Anderson was no doubt "a worthy friend, a valuable public officer and a zealous and indefatigable Botanical Collector,"<sup>185</sup> he was apparently an accomplished horticulturist rather than a taxonomist. Ludwig Leichhardt, the newly-arrived German naturalist certainly thought so:

They appointed an ordinary gardener, a man without scientific knowledge, under whom the garden became nothing but a kitchen garden for Government House.<sup>186</sup>

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- 181 Anderson, who arrived in Sydney on 25 Aug. 1832 in the Brothers, with Capt. P. P. King and Lieut. Wm. Breton (SMH, 27 Aug. 1832) had been botanical collector on HMS Adventure, during King's survey of Peru, Chile and Patagonia, 1826-1830. Previously he had collected at Sierra Leone, Ascension Is., Rio de Janeiro and Valparaiso. HRA, XIX, p.237.
- 182 Alex. McLeay, Wm. Macarthur, Joseph Thomson, George Macleay. HRA, XIX, p.238. Cunningham clearly did not envy his successor. In Mar. 1838, he referred to "Mr Anderson the Principal Superintendent on whom has now devolved the duties of directing the labour of the Garden and vicinity..." Cunningham to Committee, 12 Mar. 1838, ML.A1218, p.628.
- 183 SMH, 23 Apr. 1842: "...the late Mr. Anderson, the Colonial Botanist, under whose direction the very many and great improvements effected in the Gardens were made...Mr. Anderson was indefatigable with the pursuit of his favourite science, and was eminently useful in advancing the interests of horticulturists and floriculturists in this colony."
- 184 see the photograph on p.479.
- 185 SMH, 23 Apr. 1842.
- 186 Leichhardt to Dr Wm. Nicholson, Bristol, 17 May 1842, in M. Aourousseau (Ed.): The Letters of F. W. Ludwig Leichhardt, Camb., 1969, II, p.470.

GRAVE OF JAMES ANDERSON.



JAMES ANDERSON was superintendent of the Botanic Gardens from February 1838 until his death in April 1842. He was buried in the old Devonshire Street Cemetery. In 1901, Anderson's monument and remains were removed to La Perouse. The monument is now fretting rapidly, but the following is still legible on the oval inset:

Erected/ to the / Memory of the late / James Anderson /  
Superintendent of the / Botanic Gardens / Sydney /  
who died on the 22<sup>nd</sup> April / 1842 /  
He was born at Boquham / near Stirling, Scotland in  
1797 / and travelled over a great part / of Europe,  
Africa, America, and / along the coast of New Holland /  
Collecting/rare botanic specimens / He was of the  
most kindly / disposition and highly esteemed / by all  
who knew him / This monument was subscribed for / by  
a number of his friends / in this Colony / to show  
their respect / for his memory.

Photo. L. G., 18 Aug. 1969.

(Note the excellent Chinese market garden sandwiched between the cemetery and the encroaching sandhills.)

Nevertheless, it must be conceded that Anderson's experience as a field botanist and collector was wide indeed.

During Anderson's brief term, Gipps enlarged the Committee of Superintendence<sup>187</sup> by appointing William Sharp Macleay,<sup>188</sup> Charles Nicholson<sup>189</sup> and the Reverend W. B. Clarke.<sup>190</sup> The Governor won a rebuke from Lord Stanley because Sir William Hooker of Kew had received no acknowledgement either of "a Pacquet of Seeds" or of a letter sent to the Superintendent. Stanley pointed out that it was from Hooke and not from anyone in the Colony, that he had learned of Anderson's death, and he firmly concluded

you will inform me of the name of the person whom you have appointed to succeed Mr. Anderson.<sup>191</sup>

Gipps hastened to explain that

the Botanic Garden at Sydney is under the management of a Committee of Gentlemen, who are for the most part unconnected with the Government,<sup>192</sup>

and referred Stanley's letter to Deas Thomson who passed it on to "the President of the Committee," probably knowing that Alexander McLeay would open it. McLeay readily took up the challenge, and sent a chilly reply to Thomson whom he considered an unjustifiably favoured usurper.<sup>193</sup> He knew nothing of the seeds, but would take up the

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187 NSW Govt. Gaz., 2 Dec. 1840.

188 William Sharp Macleay (1792-1865) another of Alexander's sons, and a keen naturalist.

189 Charles Nicholson (1808-1903) physician, landowner, M.L.C., and one of the founders of Sydney University (1849-1850).

190 Rev. William Branwhite Clarke (1798-1878), clergyman and naturalist "the Father of Australian Geology", early discoverer of gold, first Rector of St. Thomas's, North Sydney, 1843-1870. On 1 July 1841 he became Secretary of the Committee in succession to Dr. George Bennett. NSW Returns, 1841 and Minute Book I, 1836-1863 (Aust.Mus.Lib.)

191 Stanley to Gipps, 4 Nov. 1842, HRA, XXII, p.343.

192 Gipps to Stanley, 20 June 1843, HRA, XXII, p.793.

193 Alex. McLeay was Colonial Secretary of N.S.W. from his arrival in Jan. 1826 until Jan. 1837 when Edward Deas Thomson, Governor Bourke's son-in-law replaced him amid charges of nepotism.

matter directly with his "very old and particular friend," Sir William Hooker.<sup>194</sup>

The Case of "Dr." Leichhardt.

On the advice of "several well-disposed and influential people," and with his "mind...teeming with the scientific possibilities"<sup>195</sup> of being Superintendent of the Gardens, Leichhardt himself applied for the position, despite the reduction in salary.<sup>196</sup> He believed that he had the support of Governor Gipps, but Alexander McLeay,

the most influential member of the Botanic Gardens Committee...carried the day with ease and my application was rejected.<sup>197</sup>

On 12 May 1842, the Committee decided in favour of Naismith Robertson, to whom, according to Leichhardt, McLeay had already promise the appointment.<sup>198</sup> Robertson was also well-known to William Macarthur for he had been "for many years principal gardener" to the Macarthurs at Camden Park, where he "had the chief direction of their extensive gardens and vineyards."<sup>199</sup> Like his predecessor, Robertson had but little time to prove his worth. Leichhardt consulted Robertson on botanical matters, but considered

the poor man seems to lie on his deathbed; he suffers of rheumatism and probably of dropsy.<sup>200</sup>

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194 McLeay to Thomson, 14 June 1843, HRA, XXII, p.794.

195 Leichhardt to Dr. Wm. Nicholson, 17 May 1842, in Arousseau: Leichhardt, II, pp.469-470.

196 Leichhardt believed it was reduced from "about...£250...to £120, and they even temporised about filling the position at all." Arousseau: Leichhardt, II, p.470. Also Leichhardt to Gaetano Durando, Paris, 23 June 1842, in op.cit., p.493. Actually the salary was reduced from £200 to £140. The Garden then cost about £800 a year to run. Gipps to Stanley, 20 June 1843. HRA, XXII, p.794.

197 Arousseau: Leichhardt, II, pp.470, 493.

198 op.cit., p.470. Robertson was recommended on the motion of A. McLeay and W. Macarthur. The other applicants were Ludwig Leichhardt, Martin Tobin, James Kidd, Francis William Newman and James Curnow. Minute Book I, 1836-1863 (Aust.Mus.Lib.)

199 SMH, 12 July 1844.

200 Leichhardt to Helenus Scott, Glendon, 20 June 1844, Arousseau: op.cit., p.769. Robertson was apparently already ailing when appointed, for he was to be Superintendent at £140 p.a. "only during health & strength without a retiring pension." Minute Book I, 1836-1863 (Aust.Mus.Lib.) minute of 8 June 1842.

On 8 July 1844, Robertson died in his cottage in the Gardens,<sup>201</sup> and on the recommendation of William Macarthur and "several other members of the 'Garden Committee'",<sup>202</sup> Leichhardt again favoured the Committee with an application. He made this second application rather diffidently, feeling, rightly, that the Macleays had xenophobic tendencies, and that if successful his projected "expedition towards Port Essington upon which he had set his heart" might have to be deferred.<sup>203</sup> The Macleays' xenophobia took two forms: antipathy towards foreigners as such,<sup>204</sup> and suspicion of a foreigner in a public position carrying on correspondence with foreign countries, even though this were done "as well for the interests of the Garden as for the benefit of science at large."<sup>205</sup>

William Macarthur recommended Leichhardt to George Macleay only to find that Macleay had already written to Sir William Hooker (then Director of the Kew Gardens) requesting that he suggest to Lord Stanley "a fit person for the appointment."<sup>206</sup> This action offended the non-Macleay faction of the Committee, which had not sanctioned it. At the time it was not clear whether the appointment was to be made

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201 Naismith Robertson (1784-1844), a native of Kilmany, Fifeshire, Scotland, arrived in 1829, apparently as a steerage passenger in the Pyramus on 9 May. (NSW Archives, Vessels Arrived, 1829). He must have gone to Camden soon after. On learning of the Committee's recommendation, Gipps expressed concern that Robertson then 58, was "a man considerably advanced in years and not likely long to be fit for any active exertions." (note by Gipps 4 June 1842 with NSW CSIL, 42/4138 in NSW Archives 4/2560.1). This proved to be true enough, but during his short term Robertson did collect material for the Gardens at Bathurst and Bargo. (NSW, CSIL 42/8700; 42/9379; 42/9617; 43/8472 in NSW Archives 4/2560.2). Not long before his death he "received a diploma as Fellow of the Royal Academy of Botany, at Stockholm, for his attention in transmitting a choice collection of valuable and rare seeds and plants to Sweden." SMH, 12 July 1844.

202 Wm. Macarthur to W. J. Hooker, 5 Aug. 1844, Macarthur Papers, Vol. 37 B. ML. A2933, p.3.

203 *ibid.*

204 George Macleay certainly felt that "all such situations should be reserved for Englishmen." Wm. Macarthur to Sir C. Nicholson, 15 July 1844. Macarthur Papers, Vol. 37A. ML. A2933, p.57.

205 Wm. Macarthur to W. J. Hooker, 5 Aug. 1844, Macarthur Papers, Vol. 37B. ML.A2933, p.4.

206 Wm. Macarthur to W. J. Hooker, 5 Aug. 1844, Macarthur Papers, *loc.cit.*

within the Colony by the Governor on the recommendation of the Committee, or in London by the Secretary of State.

Many shared the view of Leichhardt himself, who considered that the Garden was merely

a place of public amusement and the kitchen garden of Government House, rather than a place for the students of botany and horticulture,<sup>207</sup>

and here was an opportunity, in Macarthur's opinion, to change this situation for the benefit of Colonial science. Macarthur believed that Leichhardt was

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NAISMITH ROBERTSON'S GRAVE



NAISMITH ROBERTSON was superintendent of the Botanic Gardens from May 1842 until his death in July 1844. He was buried in the old Devonshire Street Cemetery. In 1901 Robertson's monument and remains were removed to La Perouse. His monument, fretting badly, is close to that of James Anderson, his predecessor and a fellow Scot. The rapidly-fading inscription reads:

In / Memory of Nasmith (sic) Robertson / Native of  
Scotland / and late Superintendent / of Botanic  
Garden Sydney / who died July 8, 1844 / aged 60 years.

Photo.: L. G., 18 Aug., 1969.

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207 Leichhardt to Gaetano Durando, 23 June 1842, in Aourousseau: Leichhardt, II, p.492.

a person more eminently well qualified for the situation than we are likely again to meet with—He is something far superior to a mere Botanical Collector, a person in short who if appointed would most probably raise the Sydney Botanic Garden into an Institution of a very superior Character instead of remaining what notwithstanding its great capabilities it has hitherto been a reproach to the Colony and the Government.<sup>208</sup>

Thwarted by the Macleays, but supported by Dr. Charles Nicholson and Rev. W. B. Clarke, Macarthur would have washed his hands of the matter had not John Carne Bidwill<sup>209</sup> then returned to Sydney and "suggested that Dr. Leichardt (sic) should at once write" to Hooker asking him to make a favourable recommendation to Lord Stanley.<sup>210</sup> Others also were interested in filling the vacancy. Macarthur parried an enquiry from James Rennie by stating that the appointment would not be made by the Committee but by the Secretary of State.<sup>211</sup> This, however, was not the case, for on 6 August 1844, just a month after Robertson's death, "the Governor, on the recommendation of the Committee of Management of the Botanic Gardens" appointed James Kidd as Superintendent on the understanding that the "appointment is only a temporary one."<sup>212</sup> This settled the matter, albeit temporarily, to the Macleays' satisfaction, and a week later Ludwig Leichhardt sailed for Moreton Bay to organize his northern expedition.

James Kidd, John Bidwill and a Grand Bungle.

Kidd had been employed at the Gardens since December 1830,

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- 208 Wm. Macarthur to W. J. Hooker, 5 Aug. 1844, Macarthur Papers, loc.cit.
- 209 John Carne Bidwill (1815-1853) arrived in Sydney in 1838 and joined a firm which sent him to New Zealand, Tahiti and Moreton Bay. He collected widely, making new discoveries. The celebrated Bunya Pine, Araucaria bidwillii of Queensland was first brought to scientific notice by Bidwill, although actually discovered by Andrew Petrie. In 1841 he took his collections to Sir Wm. Hooker at Kew, and became highly respected in botanical circles.
- 210 Wm. Macarthur to W. J. Hooker, 5 Aug. 1844. Macarthur Papers, Vol. 37B, ML.A2933, p.5.
- 211 Wm. Macarthur to James Rennie, 15 July 1844. Macarthur Papers, Vol.37A, ML.2933, p.58.
- 212 Wm. Elyard to James Kidd, 6 Aug. 1844, quoted in Pub.Serv.Jour., 10 July 1903, p.10.

and was appointed assistant overseer under Richard Cunningham in July 1833.<sup>213</sup> There had been six applicants, including Kidd and Leichhardt but the Committee was

not...satisfied as to the Qualifications of any of the Persons...to fill permanently the Situation of Superintendent, which necessarily requires considerable proficiency in the Science of Botany...<sup>214</sup>

In Alexander McLeay's opinion, Kidd had the backing of the Governor as well as

very strong recommendations from the Lord Bishop of Australia, His Honor Sir James Dowling, The Hon. C. D. Riddell, Mr. Roger Therry, and other Gentlemen of high respectability.<sup>215</sup>

Consequently, until "a Person fully qualified for the appointment of Colonial Botanist and Superintendent of the Garden" should "be sent from England by order of Her Majesty's Government," it was recommended that Kidd, with his long experience, should be temporarily appointed.<sup>2</sup>

As Superintendent, Kidd visited the Hunter and Paterson Rivers in 1845, collecting material for Kew, including "a noble specimen of *Zanthorrhoea*,"<sup>217</sup> and in April 1846 he reported having received from Leichhardt after the Port Essington expedition, "two hundred kind of seeds, which have been carefully sown and have yielded new plants."<sup>2</sup> At the end of July, 1847, Kidd listed the plants and seeds sent and received during exchange arrangements for the period 1844-1847,<sup>219</sup> thereby indicating that he had maintained a long-established practice.

Meanwhile in London, the Colonial Office maintained that no report of the death of Robertson had been received. Sir William Hooker was therefore in an embarrassing situation, being urged private to recommend Leichhardt for a position which officially had not been vacated! Actually Hooker had reservations about both Leichhardt and

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213 F. C. Harington to R. Cunningham, 20 July 1833, quoted in loc.cit

214 A. McLeay to Gipps, 20 July 1844. NSW CSIL in NSW Archives 44/5925 (with 44/6150 in 4/2638.2) and HRA, XXIV, p.723.

215 *ibid.*

216 *ibid.* Here again the appointment was as Superintendent of the Garden, not as Colonial Botanist.

217 *i.e.* *Xanthorrhoea* or Grass Tree. See W. W. Froggatt in *JRAHS*, 1932, p.124.

218 *ibid.*

219 Letter of 31 July 1847. NSW CSIL in NSW Archives 47/7796 (with 52/6623 in 4/3178).

Kidd. In March 1845, he confided to Alexander McLeay:

I have a long letter from McArthur strongly recommending Leickhard! (sic) From what you and Bidwill say I am confident that Kidd is a most unfit person & shall take care to tell Lord Stanley so & having heard a good deal of Leichhart (sic) in Paris, where he is well known, & in many respects well spoken of, I am equally satisfied he is not a suitable person.<sup>220</sup>

Hooker appreciated the problem of upgrading a Botanic Garden in the former penal colony. Clearly the difficulty was to find

a suitable person...one who is not a common Gardener, but a man of respectable sphere of Society, & not likely to give way to that horrid vice of tippling.<sup>221</sup>

Apart from the scarcity of such men, there were other obstacles. First the low salary of £200 was unattractive, and second,

the convict labourers of the Gardens & some other arrangements there, are such as a scientific man & a person of gentlemanly feelings cannot put up with.<sup>222</sup>

Hooker thus reiterated the complaint of Allan Cunningham that he had to perform the duties of a superintendent of convicts as well as those of a superintendent of the Garden. Hooker proposed

telling the Col. Office that, as far as possible, they ought to put the Garden at Sydney on the same footing as that in Ceylon, where I appointed a most efficient person...with a good House... £300 a year & 18/- a day extra when he travels on account of the Garden & further the Garden was not to supply the Governor's or any other Table with fruit & vegetables.<sup>223</sup>

In September 1845 bewildered officials in the Colonial Office still maintained that they "had no official intelligence of the death

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220 W. J. Hooker to A. McLeay, 31 Mar. 1845, Papers of the Linnean Society of London, ML.FM4/2699.

221 *ibid.*

222 *ibid.*

223 *ibid.* Hooker also assured P. P. King that he had "been in communication with the Col. Office" and had urged "Lord Stanley to put in a competent person as successor to Allan Cunningham. That is the sort of man required & I shall do my best to have such a one sent out." Hooker to King, 28 Dec. 1844. King Papers, ML. A3599, p.278. Hooker clearly regarded all appointments since 1837 as unprofessional.

of Robertson."<sup>224</sup> Poor Gipps was in trouble again, and Stanley was owed an explanation. Gipps was not very convincing:

On looking through my Despatch book, I regret to find that I omitted, in...July 1844, to report to Your Lordship the death of Mr. Nasmyth (sic) Robertson, the keeper of the Botanic Garden at Sydney.<sup>225</sup>

Gipps advised that Robertson, "not a scientific Botanist, but simply a good practical Gardener," had been succeeded by Kidd, a man of similar attainments. The Governor was aware of a decline in the standard of the Garden. In fact, he confessed,

the term 'Botanic Garden' is now almost a misnomer, since the Garden is scarcely to be looked upon as more than a very agreeable promenade for the inhabitants of, and sojourners in Sydney.<sup>226</sup>

This decline had been matched by a reduction in the annual vote of the Legislative Council "from £1,214 (in 1838) to £500 (for 1846)" which sums "formerly included a salary of £200 for a Colonial Botanist," but the title had "fallen gradually into disuse," with a gardener being in charge at £140 year.<sup>227</sup> This was economically sound, but scientifically disastrous.

By now, Hooker, irritated by the bungle, had waxed more uncharitable:

Now it appears that a Mr. Kidd is put it, an old school-fellow of our Mr. J. Smith (our Curator) & a Convict! or who was a convict. I have however individually no reason to find fault with him: he has sent voluntarily 2 excellent Cases of plants & signs himself 'Superintendent.'<sup>228</sup>

The Committee found no fault with Kidd either, despite his

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- 224 Hooker to A. McLeay, 1 Sept. 1845. Papers Linn.Soc.Lond. ML.FM/2699  
225 Gipps to Stanley, 20 Jan. 1846. HRA, XXIV, p.722.  
226 Gipps to Stanley, 20 Jan. 1846. op.cit., p.723.  
227 ibid. Gipps had a final confession to make concerning the Garden. He had to inform Stanley that it had escaped his recollection that the Legislative Council had in fact approved a salary of £200 "in the event of a scientific Botanist being appointed." Gipps to Stanley, 20 Apr. 1846, HRA, XXV, p.22.  
228 Hooker to A. McLeay, 1 Sept. 1845. Papers Linn.Soc.Lond. ML.FM4/2699. John Smith was Curator of Kew Gardens, 1841-1864.

BOTANICAL CONVICT AND BOTANICAL CLERIC



JAMES KIDD (1799-1867) worked at the Sydney Botanic Gardens for 36 years, including many years as an overseer, and a short period, 1844-1847, as Acting Superintendent.

Photo.: from Proc. Roy. Soc. NSW., 1908.

REV. GEORGE EDWARD WEAVER  
TURNER, B.C.L. (Oxon.)  
(1810-1869).

Secretary of the Committee of Management of the Australian Museum and Botanic Gardens, 1847-1853, an accomplished amateur microscopist and botanist. He was "for thirty years and upwards Incumbent of the Parish of Ryde, a Trustee of the Australian Museum for twenty-two years, and always an active supporter of Educational, Scientific, and Benevolent Institutions..."<sup>229</sup>

Photo.: from R. Carmichael (Ed.): Ryde, 1790-1926, Ryde, 1926.



earlier history.<sup>230</sup> In fact it took

great pleasure in...bringing to His Excellency's notice the very meritorious services of Mr. Kidd, who, for...upwards of seventeen years has been connected with the Gardens.

During...this long period Mr. Kidd has given the highest satisfaction...and by his becoming conduct, has acquired...the confidence and esteem of the Public.

For the last three Years, the Gardens have been under Mr. Kidd's immediate charge, and The Committee would pointedly notice, that, during this interval, the grounds have not only been maintained in perfect order, but that several important improvements have been introduced by the zeal and intelligence of the Superintendent...<sup>231</sup>

This was praise indeed for an unlikely man from an unlikely source.

Although Hooker felt that the opportunity to upgrade the Sydney Garden had already been lost, the bungling had not yet reached its peak. The forgetful Gipps left Sydney in July 1846, having been the first Vice-regal incumbent of the new Government House, built on a part of the Government Domain, graced by plants selected by James Kidd. Sir Charles FitzRoy arrived as Governor in August 1846, by which time the new Secretary of State, William E. Gladstone, had penned a despatch regretting "that the Garden has lost the scientific character which it originally had." Gladstone urged the new Governor to seek a report from the Executive Council indicating

how far...it might be practicable to restore that character to the institution, without a Sacrifice of the purposes of recreation, to which it appears to have been of late wholly devoted.<sup>232</sup>

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230 Maiden and Froggatt overlooked, or did not know Kidd's earlier record. James Kidd was born in 1799 in Fifeshire. On 14 April 1830 he was tried at Perth, Scotland for forgery and sentenced to 14 years. He was then a gardener, married with four children. He arrived in Sydney on the Burrell on 19 Dec. 1830, and was sent to the Botanic Gardens on disembarkation. Kidd was granted a ticket-of-leave in 1837 and a conditional pardon in August 1843. (NSW Archives, Convict Indents, 4/4016, p.28; Register of Conditional Pardons, 4/4442, pp.163-4). Note also John Matthew Richardson (1797?-1882) who served part of his life sentence at the Botanic Gardens, where he was working by 1825. See Chapter II p.105.

231 Committee to Col.Sec. 29 Sept. 1847. NSW CSIL, NSW Archives, 47/7796 (with 52/6623 in 4/3178). See also Minute Book I, 1836-18 (Aust.Mus.Lib.) minute of 14 Sept. 1847 supporting Kidd's protest against reduction in salary.

232 Gladstone to FitzRoy, 16 June 1846, HRA, XXV, p.98.

FitzRoy put the matter before his Council in January 1847.

The Councillors saw

no reason to think that the use of the Botanical Garden as a place of recreation would be in any degree interfered with by the restoration of its Scientific character. Nor do they perceive that anything more is wanting to effect this desirable object than the appointment of a Scientific person...<sup>233</sup>

This nicely threw the onus back upon the Governor and the Secretary of State. FitzRoy himself believed that "a competent person may be found in this Colony." This proved to be John Carne Bidwill, "a gentleman of superior qualifications," and one who was

perfectly competent to conduct a correspondence with the Botanic Societies of other Countries, and to restore the Institution to the Scientific character, which it is desirable it should maintain.<sup>234</sup>

Earl Grey, Gladstone's successor, was advised accordingly, and on 21 August 1847, Kidd was informed that as from the beginning of September he would return to being overseer "with a salary of five shillings a day," since on that date, Bidwill would become "Director of the Botanic Gardens."<sup>235</sup> Kidd remained overseer for almost twenty more years.

John Carne Bidwill was actually appointed as "Government Botanist and Director of the Botanic Gardens," a title which suggested that a new scientific era for the institution was assured. Having resolved a rather difficult situation from within the Colony, we can only imagine FitzRoy's astonishment on receiving Earl Grey's despatch advising that he had "appointed Mr. Charles Moore to be Superintendent of the Botanic Garden at Sydney," on the strongest recommendation of Dr. John Lindley.<sup>236</sup> Grey, too, was astonished to receive FitzRoy's advice concerning Bidwill, and he testily told the Governor

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233 Minute of Executive Council, 2 Jan. 1847. NSW. Gov. Desp. Vol. 53, ML. A1242, p. 460. (HRA, XXV, p. 327).

234 FitzRoy to Grey, 3 Apr. 1847, HRA, XXV, p. 454.

235 Wm. Elyard to Kidd, 21 Aug. 1847, quoted in Pub. Serv. Jour. 10 Jul 1903, p. 10. As Acting Superintendent, Kidd had been receiving £140.

236 Grey to FitzRoy, 10 July 1847, HRA, XXV, p. 657.

it is sufficient for me to refer you to my Dispatch of the 10th of July, in which you were informed that I had selected Mr. C. Moore...<sup>237</sup>

It seems probable that Earl Grey, knowing that pressures were being brought to bear upon Sir William Hooker, decided to seek a completely independent recommendation. Accordingly, he sent a note to Professor John Lindley requesting him "to select a person to fill the office of Director of the Botanic Gardens in Sydney."<sup>238</sup> From his own knowledge, and with the further recommendation of Professor John Henslow,<sup>239</sup> Lindley recommended Moore, who was promptly appointed. Moore, then 27, thanked the Secretary of State, and went to Kew to tell Sir William Hooker of his good fortune. Hooker, now thoroughly tired of the requests being made to him, yet mindful of the great advantages to Kew if the Sydney Garden were upgraded, was not in a congratulatory mood:

I can scarcely congratulate you upon that, inasmuch as the appointment has been in my hands for the last three years, and you appear to have stepped in and taken it away from me.<sup>240</sup>

Nevertheless, Hooker wished Moore well, and gave him letters of introduction to Alexander McLeay, J. C. Bidwill, "and other gentlemen." The letter to Bidwill pointed out that his appointment had not been known at the time Grey gave the position to Moore.<sup>241</sup>

Moore sought assurances about his time of departure, salary, housing, and the conditions and supervision of his work. Grey advised that he might be permitted a free passage; the provision of a house was in doubt; Moore was to place himself

under the directions of the Governor...but the practical arrangements connected with the Botanical Garden are under a Committee of Management.<sup>242</sup>

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- 237 Grey to FitzRoy, 15 Sept. 1847, *op.cit.*, p.752.  
238 Moore's version of the note in Minutes of Evidence taken before the Select Committee on the Botanic Gardens, V.&P.Leg.Council NSW., 1855, Vol.I, p.1176.  
239 John Stevens Henslow (1796-1861), botanist, geologist and Vicar of Hitcham, Suffolk; Professor of Botany at Cambridge.  
240 Moore's version of the conversation, in Minutes of Evidence, V.&P.Leg. Council NSW., *loc.cit.* However, Hooker allegedly continued: "...had it been almost any other person, I should have felt it my duty to have expostulated with the Secretary of State."  
241 *ibid.*  
242 Under Sec. B. Hawes to C. Moore, 21 July 1847, HRA, XXV, pp.704-5.

One member at least of the Committee, felt piqued. "What a pretty mess they have made in the appointment of Mr. Moore," lamented William Macarthur, and this in spite of "Mr. Bidwill's remarkable qualifications & the assurance that he was to have the appointment."<sup>243</sup> Macarthur also confessed his disappointment to Professor Lindley, not because he wished to attack Lindley or his nominee, but because of the high opinion he held of Bidwill, who it seemed, could have quickly rectified the lamentable fact that

the Garden though large & containing numerous fine specimens has long been a disgrace to the Government.<sup>244</sup>

In any case, the matter was settled. Just before Christmas, 1847, the embarrassed FitzRoy had to notify Bidwill of the decision, and to express his apologies.<sup>245</sup> As if to make the task even more difficult, the Legislative Council voted that the new Director should receive £300 a year.<sup>246</sup> John Bidwill, who had charge of the Gardens between 1 September 1847 and 1 February 1848,<sup>247</sup> accepted the decision with good grace, and took an appointment as Commissioner of Crown Lands Wide Bay -- a job which shortly cost him his life.<sup>248</sup>

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- 243 Wm. Macarthur to W. J. Hooker, n.d., Macarthur Papers, Vol. 37A, ML. A2933, p.168.
- 244 Wm. Macarthur to John Lindley, 11 July 1848. Macarthur Papers, Vol. 37A, ML.A2933, p.163.
- 245 J. Bidwill to P. P. King, 26 Dec. 1847, in Proc.Roy.Soc.NSW., 1908 p.92.
- 246 FitzRoy to Grey, 11 Feb. 1848, HRA, XXVI, p.229. The salary was shortly reduced.
- 247 Charles Moore arrived in Sydney 16 Jan. 1848, and took up duty on 1 February. FitzRoy to Grey, 11 Feb. 1848, loc.cit.
- 248 John Carne Bidwill (1815-1853) corresponded regularly on botanical matters with Captain Phillip Parker King and William Macarthur. He laid out a botanic garden at Tinana, Maryborough, but while surveying a road between Wide Bay and Moreton Bay, he became lost in the bush for eight days. As a result of this hardship he died at his home at Maryborough 16 March 1853. Most of his botanical collection was then transferred to Sydney. Proc.Roy.Soc.NSW, 1908, pp.85-93; Aust.Dict.Biog., I, p.98.

AMATEUR AND PROFESSIONAL



DR. GEORGE BENNETT (1804-1893), surgeon and naturalist, who first visited Sydney in 1829 and finally settled there in 1836 to become a successful medical practitioner. He was first secretary of the Committee of Management of the Australian Museum and Botanic Garden, and first Curator of the Museum. Bennett was intrigued by "the beauties of the kingdom of Flora, which are lavished so profusely in this colony" and advocated that a public museum should contain "the botanical productions of the colony...kept in a dried state for reference, together with specimens of the woods in different stages of growth."

Photo.: Mitchell Library, original by J. T. Gorus, Sydney.

CHARLES MOORE (1820-1905) Director of the Sydney Botanic Gardens, 1848-1896. Early in his term the Committee of Management relinquished its oversight of the Gardens. Shortly after, Moore's administration was subjected to a searching enquiry. The fact that he published little has long been regretted, but the Handbook of the Flora of New South Wales by Moore and his botanical collector, Ernst Bêche, published in 1893, remains the only work describing the indigenous vascular plants found throughout the entire State.

Photo.: Mitchell Library.



Charles Moore.

With the promise of £200 a year,<sup>249</sup> Charles Moore<sup>250</sup> arrived in Sydney on 14 January 1848, and took up duty at the beginning of February. By the time he retired on 5 May 1896, just before his 76th birthday, the embarrassment and resentment associated with his appointment were wellnigh forgotten in the light of long and faithful service. A few, perhaps, may have remembered that Stuart Donaldson<sup>251</sup> had attempted to reduce the vote for the Gardens so that Moore would have been virtually starved out in his first year.

It was made perfectly clear that the new Director was expected to work, almost it seemed, to the point of compensating for all the shortcomings of the past. He was to "undertake the general superintendence of the Garden" with the "aid and advice of the Committee of Management"; to correspond with individuals and institutions throughout the world to effect exchanges of seeds and plants "likoly in a scientific or economical point of view, to be beneficial to the countries they inhabit, or to this Colony"; the plants in the Garden were to be labelled, and a systematic census compiled; "a Code of Rules, relating to the distribution of plants and seeds" was to be prepared, keeping in mind that

as a general principle...no seeds and plants shall, in future, be distributed from the Garden which are procurable from the private Nursery Gardens.<sup>252</sup>

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- 249 The salary had been increased to £300 for Bidwill, and also for Moore (FitzRoy to Grey, 11 Feb. 1848 and Grey to FitzRoy, 27 July 1848, HRA, XXVI, pp.229,522) but it was reduced to £200 again, much to Moore's understandable annoyance.
- 250 Charles Moore was born of an Irish botanical family at Dundee, Scotland on 10 May 1820. He was educated at Dundee and Dublin, and "obtained his botanical training at the Royal Botanical Gardens at Kew and in Dublin." (Heaton: Dictionary of Dates, p.140). Moore served a period as botanist during the Ordnance Survey of Ireland. His brother David was Director of the Botanic Garden of Dublin at Glasnevin, 1838-1879.
- 251 Stuart Alexander Donaldson (1812-1867), M.L.C., 1848; first Premier of N.S.W. under responsible government, 1856. See Aust. Encyc., 2, p.56.
- 252 Thomson to Moore, 7 Mar. 1848. V. & P. Leg. Council NSW, 1855, I, p.1136.

An annual report was to be submitted; collecting excursions were to be undertaken "with the sanction of the Governor"; an annual "course of Lectures on the elementary principles of Botany and Vegetable Physiology" was to be given.<sup>253</sup>

Attention to such matters, it was anticipated, would ensure that the Garden shall become a place where the science of Botany and Horticulture may...be studied upon the most improved system.<sup>254</sup>

In addition, the Garden was "to combine with these objects a pleasant place of resort to the inhabitants of Sydney," and it would in fact become "a school of Horticulture, where the best modern systems of cultivation may be exhibited to the public."<sup>255</sup> In carrying out all these duties, the Director was

to submit to the Committee, for their advice and assistance, all matters of importance affecting the management of the Garden.<sup>256</sup>

Appraising the situation, Moore found the Gardens generally run down after years of economic restrictions, lack of a clear policy and constant changes in superintendents. The walks were ill-kept, the borders overgrown, and "the Arbor was broken down..." In his first year, Moore constructed 600 yards of new walks in the Lower Garden, with 900 cartloads of gravel, and he used 300 loads of stone, partly from old Government House, to build retaining walls around Farm Cove and the nearby ponds.<sup>257</sup> He dutifully wrote to the Committee of Management seeking advice on rebuilding the arbour, submitted "for...approval, specimens of labels" for naming the plants in the Gardens and proposed regulations which were approved. Moore also sought the Committee's opinion

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253 It should be noted that there was no Faculty of Science in the University of Sydney until 1882, and no School of Botany until 1913. Medical students attended Moore's lectures; during the 1880s, Moore's successor-to-be, J. H. Maiden, was in the audience. Proc.Roy.Soc.NSW, 1896, p.19.

254 Thomson to Moore, 7 Mar.1848. V. & P. Leg.Council NSW, 1855,I,p.113.

255 *ibid.*

256 *ibid.* As a foundation member of the Committee, and Fellow of the Linnean Society of London, Thomson, the Colonial Secretary, probably composed these instructions himself. He sent a copy to the Committee for information, pointing out that the Memorandum had been given to Moore "for his guidance in the performance of his duties."

257 Botanic Gardens: Report for 1848.

relative to the System which should be adopted in the arrangement of the plants... the Natural Method is altogether the most comprehensive, and most complete; yet the Linnean or Artificial System, presents many advantages to the young botanical student... and is therefore worth consideration, before deciding in favour of the former.<sup>258</sup>

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THE GARDENS RESIDENCE



CHARLES MOORE is shown here in front of the official Gardens residence about the time the searching enquiry into his administration was made. This shingle-roofed building stood in the Upper Garden between the Levy Fountain (1889) and the large hot-house for palms a little to the north-west. Charles Fraser would have lived in a section of this building (see Botanic Gardens: Map 5) before it was renovated and enlarged (probably then assuming the form shown) for Richard Cunningham who occupied it when the work was completed in August 1833. The old residence was demolished in 1875 after Charles Moore moved into the building which now houses the administration.

Photo.: c.1855, by courtesy of Mr. K. Mair, Chief Botanist, Royal Botanic Gardens, Sydney, 1969.

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258 Moore to Committee, 22 Apr., 1848. NSW Archives, 4/7577. He actually used both systems in arranging certain plots, "of which the Committee highly approved." Minute Book I, 1836-1863 (Aust.Mus. Lib.) minute of 22 April 1848.

Two months later, Moore again wrote to the Committee concerning the reconstruction of the arbour so that "a number of fine climbing plants" might be saved,<sup>259</sup> and he advised that the only way of "forming an experimental department" was

to clear a part of the Upper Garden joining the inner Domain...although...a few good specimens of various plants, must of necessity be destroyed."<sup>260</sup>

The Committee, too, had plans for improving the Gardens. Early in 1849, it was recommended that a glasshouse be constructed, and that provision be made for completion of a saltwater pond and a section of seawall thereby "extending the west side of the Lower Garden."<sup>261</sup>

Mindful of his instructions, Moore aimed to make

the Institution an object of interest and importance, as well for the study of Botany and Horticulture, as for the pleasure and recreation of the Public.<sup>262</sup>

Accordingly, one area was prepared "for a collection of such Plants as are used in the Arts, Manufactures, Medicine, and for Domestic Purposes" and specimens in the Gardens were to be labelled

showing the Natural Order, Scientific Name and Authority, English Name and Native Country of each Plant.<sup>263</sup>

This practice, continued to the present day, Moore found "to have given very general satisfaction."<sup>264</sup>

Rules were enforced so that all might be assured that within the Gardens,

all the privacy and retirement of a rural walk may now be enjoyed without fear of interruption by rude or disorderly persons.<sup>265</sup>

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259 Moore to Committee, 30 June 1848. NSW Archives, 4/7577.

260 *ibid.* This area was near the old "Governor's Kitchen Garden."

261 Thomson to Rev. G. E. W. Turner, 22 Feb. 1849. NSW Archives, 4/7577.

262 Botanic Gardens: Report for 1848.

263 *ibid.*

264 *ibid.* Moore tried painted labels, then cast-iron frames with glass panels, but these owing to the "moist and genial season" of 1855-1856 permitted the formation of mould and the labels became illegible.

265 *ibid.*

The energetic new Director paid a compliment to Charles Fraser and the other pioneer superintendents:

The general good taste displayed in the original design of the garden, has rendered it unnecessary to effect any important alterations in this respect.<sup>266</sup>

But there was always scope for reclaiming tidal areas, consolidating seawalls, maintaining existing walks and building new ones, turfing lawns, trenching and manuring, securing a reliable water supply,<sup>267</sup> and deepening and enriching the pitifully thin layer of soil above the sandstone with harbour silt, the sweepings of the streets and the offal of the slaughterhouse. Fortunately he had the able assistance of the faithful James Kidd until 1866.<sup>268</sup> Moore lacked the advantage of the ample labour which had been available in the convict era, having instead a free labour force "scarcely more than one-third of the convict labor hitherto employed in this Establishment."<sup>269</sup> With the goldrush, nearly all the experienced gardeners left, being replaced by "men in most instances totally unacquainted with garden labor,"<sup>270</sup> yet Moore

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266 Botanic Gardens: Report for 1849.

267 In 1852, Moore "ventured to place upon the Estimates...£100 to cover the expense of laying down a water pipe from Macquarie-street into the Upper Garden."

268 Kidd was superannuated on 31 August 1866. He died on 15 Feb. 1867. SMH, 18 Feb. 1867. Others also deserve to be remembered: John Duff who succeeded Kidd as overseer; Anthelme Thozet (1826-1878) a French collector and horticulturist who worked at the Gardens 1856-1858 before going to Queensland; George Harwood (1842-1915) an accomplished nurseryman and landscape gardener who worked at the Gardens from 1873 until his death. He succeeded Duff in June 1884; Julius Henry Camfield (1842-1916) who joined the Gardens in 1882 and became overseer of the Inner Domain; Alexander Grant (1848-1906) gardener to Thomas Walker of Yaralla, Concord, and from 1882 a plant propagator in the Gardens hot-houses; Arthur Andrew Hamilton (1855-1929) who helped lay out Centennial Park in 1887 before joining the Gardens where he specialised in the cultivation of indigenous plants (see W. W. Froggatt in JRAHS, 1932, pp.129-133.) Note also William Forsyth (1864-1910) overseer of Centennial Park, 1897-1910, a quiet studious man, "an able horticulturist and an excellent botanist" who graduated B.A. (Syd.) as an evening student just before his death. (see Proc.Linn.Soc.NSW, 1911, pp.10-11).

269 Botanic Gardens: Report for 1848.

270 Botanic Gardens: Report for 1851. William Waterman, appointed Gardens overseer on 1 July 1846, later transferred to the Inner Domain before joining those who resigned to go to the goldfields about 1852. Proc.Roy.Soc. NSW, 1908, p.128.

persisted with such ticklish projects as the raising of aquatics, "a class of plants not hitherto successfully cultivated in this Establishment."<sup>271</sup>

To make the Gardens instructive, Moore laid out beds with plants in botanical order, "according to their natural and sexual affinities"<sup>272</sup> and by 1850 he had "the whole of the classes of the latter, or Linnean system...represented" and "three of the grand classes of the former."<sup>273</sup> By following De Candolle's system, in designing some plots, the four great divisions of plants<sup>274</sup> could be appreciated,

divisions so natural, that the arrangement cannot fail to be understood and appreciated by persons at all conversant with the science.<sup>275</sup>

Moore established a medical plant garden<sup>276</sup> and gave increasing attention to economic botany, which ultimately led to the proposal that a Botanical Museum should be set up similar to those at Kew, Melbourne and Adelaide.<sup>277</sup> On 1 February, 1850 the Secretary of the Committee of Management<sup>278</sup> advised the Colonial Secretary<sup>279</sup> that two committeemen, William Sharp Macleay and Dr. Archibald Shanks had inspected the Gardens. They had been "much gratified" by the improvements effected under the new Director, and "by the neatness and efficiency...apparent in every department of the Garden...they inspected."<sup>280</sup> Deas Thomson relayed this welcome information to Gov-

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- 271 Botanic Gardens: Report for 1854.  
272 Botanic Gardens: Report for 1849.  
273 Botanic Gardens: Report for 1850.  
274 Thalamiflorae, Calyciflorae, Corolliflorae, Monochlamydeae.  
275 Botanic Gardens: Report for 1851.  
276 Botanic Gardens: Report for 1851.  
277 Botanic Gardens: Report, 29 March 1879. By 1883, Moore had issued a Catalogue of the Botanical Museum, Sydney Botanic Gardens, listing 763 exhibits of gums, dyes, seeds, spices, timbers, etc. Maiden developed this collection, but at present (1970) the Botanical Museum no longer exists, the space it formerly occupied being used for the Herbarium Library (of some 10,000 volumes and 10,000 pamphlets) which had its genesis in Moore's collection of 26 volumes established 1852-1853.  
278 then the Rev. George Edward Weaver Turner (1810-1869), a keen amateur botanist, Rector of St. Anne's, Ryde, 1839-1869.  
279 The Botanic Gardens were under the jurisdiction of the Colonial Secretary until responsible government in 1856 when they were transferred to the control of the Dept. of Lands and Works. In 1880 they reverted to the Chief (formerly Colonial) Secretary's control.  
280 Botanic Gardens: Report for 1849.

ernor FitzRoy who was also "much gratified" that the Committee agreed "with Him in the opinion He has formed of Mr. Moore's merits."<sup>281</sup>

Despite these findings, some members of the Committee must have been dissatisfied either with Moore's actions or his personality, or with his relationship to the Committee. The upshot was that late in 1851 the Committee

having taken into consideration its position, with respect to the supervision of the Botanic Garden, thinks that, unless it be deemed expedient that some definite instructions be given by the Government to authorize its direct interference, the Committee should be relieved from the present reference to it, which can scarcely be attended with any beneficial results.<sup>282</sup>

Doubtless contrary to expectations, FitzRoy was loath to grant extended powers. He simply took part of the advice offered, and relieved "the Committee from any supervision of the Botanic Garden,"<sup>283</sup> adding somewhat tepid thanks for services rendered.<sup>284</sup> Charles Moore was now a free agent, responsible directly to the Governor, through the Colonial Secretary. The situation was thus nicely reversed since Cunningham's time, but the severance of the Committee's association with the management of the Gardens did nothing to allay the resentment which with the aid of private nurserymen, increased rapidly.

#### Origins of the Herbarium.

Moore blithely continued to follow his instructions as he understood them. By April 1852 he was giving public lectures "to introduce a taste for the science of Botany." These

met with greater success than I anticipated; the large attendance of persons of both sexes, and the interest which they appeared to take in the subject was to me satisfactory and encouraging.<sup>285</sup>

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- 281 Thomson to the Committee, 19 Feb. 1850, NSW Archives, 4/7577.  
282 Rev. G. E. W. Turner to Thomson, 17 Nov. 1851. V. & P. Leg. Council NSW, 1855, I, p.1137. See Minute Book I, 1836-1863 (Aust.Mus. Lib.) minute of 15 Nov. 1851.  
283 Thomson to Moore, 22 Nov. 1851, V. & P. Leg. Council NSW, loc.cit.  
284 Thomson to Committee, 22 Nov. 1851, *ibid.*  
285 Botanic Gardens: Report, 2 April 1852.

The following year Moore established "the nucleus of a Public Botanical Library" of twenty-six works,<sup>286</sup> and in 1854 he began a herbarium,

with the view of enabling the Public more easily to become acquainted with the names of plants, as well as to afford a ready means of reference...The Ferns have already been completed as far as possible, and may now be consulted by those interested...<sup>287</sup>

Establishment of a herbarium was apparently considered soon after Moore's arrival, for in June 1849, the Committee of Management received an application from one who had

heard that it has been in contemplation to establish a Hortus Siccus in connection with the botanic garden and Museum.<sup>288</sup>

The applicant was William Carron, who had recently returned to Shepherd's Darling Nursery, Glebe, after serving as botanist to E. B. Kennedy's disastrous Cape York expedition. A competent botanist, Carron did not finally win appointment to the Botanic Gardens until November 1866, and then as a collector, and not as curator of the herbarium.

In July 1852 Sir Thomas Mitchell advised the Rev. G. E. W. Turner, then Secretary of the Australian Museum, that he was donating

a collection of specimens of sub-tropical plants, collected by me during my last expedition...into Tropical Australia. These plants have been arranged and described by Dr. Lindley, Sir William Hooker, Mr. Bentham, and Professor De Vries. The specimens are now fit to occupy a place in the museum, and you will perceive that great care is necessary to keep the labels along with the specimens to which they respectively refer.<sup>289</sup>

Mitchell further pointed out to the botanical clergyman,

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286 Botanic Gardens: Report, 4 April 1853.

287 Botanic Gardens: Report, 10 July 1854.

288 Wm. Carron to Committee, 22 June 1849, NSW Archives, 4/7577. Carron had unsuccessfully applied for the position of Overseer of the Gardens in 1846. Minute Book I, 1836-1863 (Aust.Mus.Lib.) minute of 10 June 1846.

289 Mitchell to Turner, 3 July 1852 in JRAHS, 1931, p.155.

In delivering over to the Curator of the Museum this collection, the proceeds of much personal trouble, but rendered valuable only by the liberal attention bestowed on the plants by men of science in Europe, I would take leave to observe that I consider scientific arrangement the first step toward the cultivation and domestication of the indigenous plants and shrubs of their country, a duty one owes to his Creator and to himself; and I believe these natural productions are full of promise, for culinary and commercial purposes.<sup>290</sup>

Mitchell hoped for the establishment of a school of "Economic Botany in these regions, where bountiful nature seems to await the industrious hand of man."

These specimens were apparently handed over in four packets, with lists of contents which still exist,<sup>291</sup> but the specimens themselves did not pass into sympathetic hands. As a botanist, no doubt Turner appreciated their worth, and either he, or one of his successors saw that the specimens were transferred to the Botanic Gardens. This must have occurred in Moore's time, but unhappily the collection was grossly neglected. Moore later stated<sup>292</sup> that until 1853 the "Garden was utterly destitute" of a herbarium, and that when he arrived "there was not a single specimen."<sup>293</sup> Since the early collections chiefly finished up in the Kew Herbarium, the British Museum or in private collections in Europe, what Moore claimed would have been perfectly true as long as the Mitchell specimens remained at the Museum. Yet, despite Moore's establishment of a herbarium, J. H. Maiden found only a dozen portfolios, each with 150 pages, comprising the collection, when he took over from Moore in 1896.<sup>294</sup> George Harwood, who had joined the Garden in 1873, told Maiden of a "Cunningham collection" which had been stored in a Gardens cottage which Moore had vacated in 1875. Maiden finally found these specimens in an old seed store, and they

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290 *ibid.*

291 The list comprises names of 160 specimens. NSW Archives, 4/7577.

292 in 1855.

293 V. & P. Leg. Council NSW, 1855, p.1158.

294 Anderson: ABC, p.29, where it is also noted that the National Herbarium of N.S.W. now contains some 700,000 specimens, housed in 25,000 boxes.

proved to be the remnants of the collection of which Mitchell had been so proud half a century earlier.<sup>295</sup>

Moore maintained professional contact with other settlements through individuals<sup>296</sup> and the official Botanic Gardens of Hobart, Adelaide, Melbourne and Brisbane. Moore also appealed for information from the settlers:

It being desirable to test, by cultivation, the qualities of such plants as are indigenous to the Colony, and used by the Aborigines as food, or in the arts, or for medicinal purposes, I would respectfully invite all persons, particularly those residing in the interior, to forward plants or seeds of productions of this description...stating... the native or local name of each, and for what purposes they are employed. In return I shall be happy to make an equivalent exchange of whatever this Garden can afford.<sup>297</sup>

Of such plants, the grasses were likely to be the most valuable:

Seeds of indigenous grasses have been furnished ...by R. Weston...at my request, that they may be cultivated, named, and properly arranged. This...will afford the public the means of supplying themselves with...information relative to a class of indigenous plants in the highest degree useful, and concerning which so little is yet really known. Seeds and specimens of these from all parts of the Colony would be most thankfully received.<sup>298</sup>

#### Moore's Early Excursions.

Moore travelled widely to increase the range of plants in the Gardens and to obtain material for exchange with local colonists<sup>299</sup> and

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295 See Maiden's account, as edited by W. W. Froggatt, in JRAHS, 1931, p.156.

296 e.g. Sir Wm. Denison (Gov. of V.D.L.); Archdeacon Davies (Launceston); R. Weston (Moreton Bay); F. Mylrea (Port Curtis).

297 Botanic Gardens: Report for 1850.

298 Botanic Gardens: Report, 2 April 1852.

299 These included in 1848 the Macarthurs of Camden, Rev. G. E. W. Turner, Sir Thomas Mitchell, George Macleay, and "G. Bennett, Esq. (who) contributed seeds of a new specie of 'Clianthus,' found in the desert by Mr. Sturt."

with botanists and institutions overseas.<sup>300</sup> In his first Report he noted:

My visit to the Illawarra District has enabled me to procure some valuable seeds and plants for the English Gardens.<sup>301</sup>

Although botanically laudable, such announcements did not win friends among the ranks of the local nurserymen.

By entrusting seeds and plants to ships' captains, "Medical Superintendents of Emigrant Vessels," and other "persons returning to Europe," Moore fulfilled his part of the arrangement, and waited for "some equitable return" to "be made in kind." His antagonists considered that he waited too long for too little of what was too common. The desiderata sought by overseas gardens, botanists and nurserymen still tended to include the favourites of Phillip's day,<sup>302</sup> the obviously unique and Antipodean, species which are to-day largely protected by law. With the investigation of the northern rainforests other species were soon sought,<sup>303</sup> and even the White Cypress, Callitris hugelii of

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300 These included during Moore's first ten years: Kew Gardens; Royal Gardens, Regent's Park; Apothecaries' Garden at Chelsea; Horticultural Societies of London and Cheswick; Botanic Gardens of Dublin; Jardin des Plantes, Paris; Botanic Gardens, Hamburg; Duke of Bedford, Woburn Abbey; Duke of Devonshire; Duke of Richmond; W. Howard Hartley House, Devonshire; English nurserymen including Henderson (London); Robert Glendinning (Turnham Green); Rollinson (Tooting); Veitch (Chelsea); local nurserymen including John Baptist, Michael Guifoyle and Thomas W. Shepherd (Sydney) and F. Ferguson (Camden), and nurserymen in Melbourne and Adelaide. Other botanical correspondents lived in Calcutta, China, New Zealand, Tahiti, New Hebrides, New Caledonia, Samoa, Batavia, Mauritius, Capetown, Madagascar, Ceylon, Lisbon, San Francisco, Honolulu.

301 Botanic Gardens: Report for 1848.

302 e.g. Giant Lily, Doryanthes excelsa; Waratah, Tolopea speciosissima; Christmas Bells, Blandfordia nobilis, B. grandiflora, B. cunninghamii; Christmas Bush, Ceratopetalum gummiferum; Native Iris, Paterosnia sericea, P. longifolia; Burrawang, Macrozamia communis; Cabbage Tree Palm, Livistona australis; Bangalow Palm, Archontophoenix cunninghamiana; Tree Ferns, Dicksonia antarctica, Cyathea australis, Leptopteris fraseri; Flannel Flowers, Actinotus helianthi; Honey Flower, Lambertia formosa; Honeysuckles, Banksia ericifolia, B. serratifolia; Woody Pear, Xylomelum pyriforme; Grass Tree, Xanthorrhoea hastile.

303 e.g. Silky Oak, Grevillea robusta; Moreton Bay Chestnut, Castanospermum australe; Hoop Pine, Araucaria cunninghamii (the related Norfolk Is. Pine, A. heterophylla, was also in great demand); Teak, Flindersia australis; Red Cedar, Toona australis; Staghorn, Platynerium grande; Scrub 'Lily', Calanthe ve trifolia.

the western plains, found its way into the garden of the Duke of Devonshire.<sup>304</sup>

In 1850, Moore joined H.M.S. Havannah for the South Seas,<sup>305</sup> returning with many seeds, plants and dried specimens. In the spring of 1852 he made an "excursion...through a portion of the interior" of N.S.W., obtaining "the seeds of many plants new to the collection," but "the want of a proper supply of water" during a drought killed many of the seedlings raised.<sup>306</sup> Not long after Bidwill's death, in 1853, Moore travelled

through the Northern districts of the Colony... with the triple object of reporting upon the plants left by the late Mr. Bidwell (sic) at Wide Bay, selecting Specimens of Timber for the Paris Universal Exhibition, and collecting Seeds and Plants for the general purposes of this establishment...<sup>307</sup>

Council, Committee and Crisis.

Despite every indication that Moore was performing his duties with commendable energy, a crisis was brewing. The local nurserymen were endeavouring to meet not only local demands, but also the requests of overseas nurserymen, especially in England. As a protective measure, Moore's instructions virtually forbade the distribution of plants available from private nurserymen. Complaints concerning the distribution of plants from the Gardens moved the Legislative Council in October 1854 to ask Governor Denison to table

a Return of all plants, seeds, and specimens distributed from, or received at, the Botanic Gardens...during the last three years...<sup>308</sup>

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304 Botanic Gardens: Report, 4 April 1853.

305 He visited New Hebrides, New Zealand, New Caledonia and the Solomons.

306 Moore travelled to the Castlereagh R. and the Warrumbungles.

307 Botanic Gardens: Report, 10 July 1854. Moore won a silver medal for his exhibit of 92 timbers from Moreton Bay and Wide Bay. They were "accompanied by dried specimens to verify their scientific names." Catalogue: Paris Exhibition, 1855, pp.114, 123-125.

308 V. & P. Leg. Council NSW, 1854, II, p.1291.

Moore replied that he had already provided this information "in the appendices to...annual reports" published by the Council itself. Since identification of individual donors and recipients was required, Moore was happy to name eleven colonists with whom he had consistently exchanged plants.<sup>309</sup> He was aware of his instructions, yet what means were at his disposal for introducing new species to the Colony if he could not send material in return? Moore protested that his

only desire in effecting exchanges of plants, &c., has been to advance the science of Botany, and to benefit the Colonists by enriching this garden to the greatest possible extent.<sup>310</sup>

If the Governor wished to issue any further instructions, Moore would "be most willing to attend" to them.

Two nurserymen, Thomas W. Shepherd<sup>311</sup> and Michael Guilfoyle<sup>312</sup> considered Moore's account was "evidently drawn up with the intention to mislead" and accordingly they submitted a petition to the Council complaining that

the supply of...specimens from a Government Institution to the Nurserymen of Foreign Countries is a direct and unfair interference with their trade.<sup>313</sup>

The petitioners claimed that their

vocation...is...calculated...to develop the resources and capabilities of the country, and to aid largely in the promotion of the moral and social, as well as the physical arts.<sup>314</sup>

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309 He listed Wm. Macarthur of Camden; George and William Sharp Macleay; Thomas Ware Smart, later M.L.A. and M.L.C.; Thomas Woolley, a successful merchant who returned to England in 1850; Rev. G. E. W. Turner of Ryde; Thomas Sutcliffe Mort, the prominent Sydney businessman; Isaac Nichols, "gentleman," son of the emancipist postmaster; and three prominent nurserymen, T. W. Shepherd, M. Guilfoyle and J. Baptist, all nicely distinguished by 'Mr.' instead of 'Esq.' as applied to the others.

310 Moore to Col.Sec., 24 Oct. 1854. V. & P. Leg. Council NSW, 1854, II, p.12  
311 son of Thomas Shepherd (1779?-1835) founder of the Darling Nursery, 1827.

312 Guilfoyle established a nursery at Double Bay in 1851.

313 V. & P. Leg. Council NSW, 1854, II, p.1295.

314 ibid.

It was also claimed that Moore wasted public money in sending overseas large numbers of under-packed cases; that plants of equal market value were not being received in return, either from overseas or from local colonists; that local nurserymen should be permitted to buy seeds and cuttings of new discoveries and introductions if they so wished.<sup>315</sup>

Here was the opportunity Moore's antagonists had awaited, if in fact they had not contrived it. On 24 July 1855, a Select Committee was formed "to enquire into and report upon the management and conduct of the Botanic Gardens of New South Wales."<sup>316</sup> The chairman, G. R. Nichols called for a copy of Moore's instructions, and all correspondence relative to the dissociation of the Committee of Management from the Gardens. Then followed the relentless examinations of the six sessions of the enquiry during August and September 1855. Witnesses called were James Kidd,<sup>317</sup> the Rev. G. E. W. Turner,<sup>318</sup> Stuart Donaldson,<sup>319</sup> and the two petitioners, Michael Guilfoyle and Thomas W. Shepherd. Moore himself was examined twice.

No efforts were spared to embarrass Moore and to condemn his administration. The 591 questions clearly revealed Moore's strengths and weaknesses, his friends and enemies, and the keen desire of some to curb Moore's authority by saddling him with a new Committee. There wer

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315 V. & P. Leg. Council, NSW, 1854, II, p.1296.

316 Report from the Select Committee on the Management of the Botanic Gardens, V. & P. Leg. Council NSW, 1855, I, p.1151. The Select Committee comprised: George Robert Nichols, M.L.C. for Northumberland, through whom the petition was presented (Chairman) Charles Cowper, M.L.C. for Durham; George Macleay, M.L.C. for Murrumbidgee, and a keen naturalist; Thomas Barker, M.L.C., Commissioner for Railways; James Macarthur, M.L.C. for Camden West; William Macleay, M.L.C. for Lachlan and Lower Darling, and an amateur naturalist; James Wilshire, M.L.C. for Sydney; Phillip Parker King, M.L.C. for Gloucester and Macquarie, and an experienced naturalist and explorer; Stuart A. Donaldson, M.L.C. for Sydney Hamlets; Daniel Egan, M.L.C. for Monaro; Capt. Edward W. Ward, R. E., M.L.C., Deputy Master of the Mint.

317 employed at the Gardens since 1830.

318 secretary of the Committee of Management since 1847.

319 already a proven antagonist who had tried to intimidate Moore by seeking to have the Garden vote reduced to £150.

leading questions and wrangles over the desirability of a Committee of Management in the public interest, how large such a committee should be, and whether it should be directive or consultative in function. Efforts were made to show that exchanges had been made on terms botanically and economically unfavourable to the Gardens, and that favouritism determined the distribution of plants, seeds and cuttings. The Gardens accounts were queried, and even issues such as fencing repairs and the construction of plant cases were given prominence. Moore's qualifications were seriously questioned, together with his ability to classify and label plants accurately, and aspersions were cast at his ability to spell. He was accused of having been discourteous to the Committee of Management, and of having neglected to prepare a catalogue of plants in the Garden. Moore's botany lectures were criticised in their nature and scope, and odious comparisons were made with Bidwill's "eminent degree" of "botanical science and general information."

The unfortunate Director was accused of frequently and arbitrarily dismissing employees, of permitting unseemly dog-hunts during visiting hours, of being too lavish with distributions of plants to the point where private nurserymen were being injured, and of exaggerating the forlorn state of the Gardens when he took office. Moore protested that he had been persecuted especially by P. P. King, ever since he arrived. "I am either fit for the position I hold," proclaimed Moore, "or I am not fit; if I am fit, there is no necessity for a Managing Committee." He alleged that his salary had been reduced because he "was represented to be an incompetent man."

The Reverend George Turner handled the inquisitors well, and supported the Director. He did not know "a man more competent to manage a Botanic Garden than Mr. Moore," who had been previously "contemptuously treated and discouraged by the Committee." In Turner's view, P. P. King, James Macarthur, George Macleay and Sir Charles Nicholson had from the outset all been opposed to Moore whom "they did not speak of...as a botanist," but "as one unfit for the situation he held."

James Kidd answered impartially and honestly, but it was Donaldson who dropped the greatest bombshell. He maintained that Sir

William Hooker, "would not, for one moment, have thought of Mr. Moore" as fit to replace Bidwill. Hooker had not known of Bidwill's appointment, and allegedly had said:

Mr. Moore is not, in my opinion, a scientific botanist. I have known him for some time; and he is an excellent practical head-gardener, but not a botanist, in the sense in which I understand the term.<sup>320</sup>

Other factors, less dramatic, but no less significant were also revealed. One was dissatisfaction over Moore treating nurserymen in a miserly fashion after receiving plants from them. More interesting however, was the revealed assertiveness of the new colonial scientific fraternity, some of whom, like George Macleay and Phillip Parker King, had had considerable experience in exploration, while others were becoming expert horticulturists and keen biological hobbyists. Such men were ready and able to pit their scientific knowledge against that of the appointed professional, either to win an academic point, to indicate the superiority of their local knowledge or to proclaim some personal animosity.<sup>321</sup>

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320 V. & P. Leg. Council NSW. 1855, I, p.1170.

321 e.g. George Macleay to Moore: "Do you not also admit that a body of gentlemen might be found in Sydney with greater scientific attainments -- I do not say it invidiously--but with a greater amount of knowledge than yourself, who might assist in naming the plants which already exist in the Garden?"

Moore: "It is possible there may be; but I do not think you will find any body of gentlemen in the Colony, who are acquainted with the management of a Botanic Garden..."

Macleay: "You admit that there may be some gentlemen, who could assist advantageously in the naming of plants in the Garden -- many plants have not been named?"

Moore: "No doubt they might assist; but I am satisfied...that unless we have, what I have been endeavouring to get, an herbarium and works of reference, very few people would be able to render much assistance..."

Macleay persisted: "As a complete botanical library is an expensive thing, would it not be desirable to have a Committee of gentlemen, who may already be in possession of works of reference to assist in naming the plants...in the garden?"

Moore: "...it depends upon the powers you give them."

Donaldson revived the matter when questioning the Rev. George Turner: "Should not the Committee consist of scientific gentlemen?" To which Turner shrewdly replied, "Yes; of scientific, practical, and impartial gentlemen..." V. & P. Leg. Council NSW, 1855, I, pp.1158, 1168.

The outcome of the whole gruelling business was that the Select Committee submitted a report to Sir William Denison pointing out that while

in the general management and arrangement of the Gardens, Mr. Moore appears to have acted with ability and industry...much has been left undone...<sup>322</sup>

The labelling of plants should have been more correct and complete, a catalogue was needed, the accounts were "kept in a very unsatisfactory manner," the annual reports were deficient, and there had been a "too extensive distribution of plants and seeds from the Gardens." The Lecture Room and Library had not been used to the best advantage and the lectures themselves appeared "to have been of a desultory character." It was therefore recommended that the Director should henceforth be the Curator,<sup>323</sup> "subject to the control of, and responsible to, three Commissioners." Thus, the new scientific fraternity did not want to lose Moore; it merely wanted to be in the position to control him.

#### After the Storm.

The Governor did not agree, preferring the current arrangement whereby a responsible Director seemed clearly preferable "to three unpaid and so far irresponsible Commissioners." Denison himself was

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322 References to the evidence and findings of the Select Committee are all contained in V. & P. Leg. Council NSW, 1855, I, pp.1135-1179.

323 The suggested change in title may indicate that some separation of horticultural duties from strictly scientific duties was intended. In Sydney the division did not occur until 1933, when Edwin Cheel was appointed Chief Botanist and Curator of the Herbarium with E. N. Ward as Curator of the Gardens. In 1945 the late R. H. Anderson assumed the dual office. In Melbourne, however, the problem had arisen in 1873, when Baron von Mueller while retaining his post of Government Botanist, lost the Directorship of the Gardens to William Robert Guilfoyle (1840-1912) son of the nurserymen who had taken Moore to task. Possibly because of developments in the Sydney Gardens, there was a demand in Melbourne for greater emphasis on the aesthetic side, and Guilfoyle during his 36 years as Director, extended the Melbourne Garden and carried out many landscaping projects.

acknowledged as a competent amateur scientist, and the matter was dropped. Charles Moore thus emerged officially, if not professionally, unscathed from his trial, to embark upon a further forty years of service.<sup>324</sup> He nevertheless took note of the grounds upon which he had been attacked. By June 1856, the public had "free access three days a week" to the botanical library, to which various sums were allocated in subsequent years. In 1857, the long-awaited census of plants in the Gardens appeared,<sup>325</sup> with a brief, unsigned introduction. Throughout the enquiry it was maintained that instead of labelling each plant, it would be better to number the plants according to a published list of corresponding numbers and classifications. Happily Moore persisted with his direct method instead of adopting this clumsy procedure. The catalogue was arranged in alphabetical order of genera, with the species unnumbered. An analysis of this catalogue indicates that by 1857, the Gardens contained nearly 3,000 species of flowering plants and ferns, including about 750 species indigenous to New South Wales.<sup>326</sup>

Moore "obtained permission to visit the Blue Mountain district in the summer of 1857-1858. He collected between Hartley and Lapstone Hill, and around Mt. Tomah and Kurrajong in order to render "the Public Herbarium of indigenous plants as complete as possible," and to provide material for exchange."<sup>327</sup> His next important trip was to the

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324 There was another enquiry in 1861, when a Select Committee of the Legislative Assembly investigated "the state and management of the Sydney Domain." This arose mainly from the establishment of a cricket ground in the Domain in Dec. 1856 to replace the old one in Hyde Park, and therefore the issue is not relevant here. See Minute: Govt. Domains and Botanic Gardens, 30 Jan. 1896 in NSW Archives, 4/7577.

325 Catalogue of Plants in the Government Botanic Garden. Sydney, New South Wales, Syd., 1857.

326 NSW species, 741; species from elsewhere in Aust., 110; from overseas, 1863; horticultural hybrids, 232. Total: 2946 species.

327 Botanic Gardens: Report, 6 July 1858. Moore also proposed "to be absent from the Garden a good deal" during the summer of 1863-1864 "collecting in localities which I have not before visited. I am the more anxious to do this at once, that some of the fruits of my labors may be made available to Mr. Bentham in his work on Australian Botany." Moore to Sir Wm. Macarthur, 21 Aug. 1863, Macarthur Papers, Vol.41, ML. A2937, p.372. Bentham acknowledged Moore's collections 366 times in Flora Australiensis, a work which of course made the compilation of Moore's Handbook a comparatively easy task.

Richmond and Clarence Rivers in 1861 to collect timber specimens for the London International Exhibition of 1862. Moore, who had already exhibited about 90 timbers at the Paris Exhibition of 1855, now exhibited 115 samples, with notes on classification, locality, aboriginal names, vernacular names and uses.<sup>328</sup> It was later charged that this catalogue of timbers from the northern areas (duly revised for subsequent exhibitions) was Moore's chief published work for forty-five years.<sup>329</sup> Although Moore's published works when compared with the astonishingly prolific output of his successor, J. H. Maiden, appeared necessarily slight, it should be noted that he also published a short yet comprehensive account of N.S.W. timber in 1871<sup>330</sup> and A Census of the Plants of New South Wales in 1884.<sup>331</sup> Moore's main contribution to the botanical literature of N.S.W. appeared in 1893, just forty-five years after his arrival in Sydney. This was the Handbook of the Flora of New South Wales which Moore produced with the assistance of Ernst Betche, and which to this day remains the only work covering the whole

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328 C. Moore: "Woods Indigenous to the Northern Districts of the Colony," in London International Exhibition, 1862: Catalogue of the Natural and Industrial Products of New South Wales...Lond., 1862, pp.27-32. William Macarthur of Camden organised the collection and exhibition of timbers from the southern districts and produced catalogues of 240 species in 1855 and of 193 species in 1862. Moore also exhibited timbers from northern N.S.W. (156 specimens) at the Paris International Exhibition in 1867 and 277 specimens at the Melbourne International Exhibition in 1880.

329 J. H. Maiden in SMH, 2 May 1905.

330 The Industrial Progress of New South Wales...a Report of the Intercolonial Exhibition of 1870 at Sydney, Syd., 1871, pp.633-662. See also Chapter IV.

331 This however was clearly stated to have been compiled "principally from the Census of Australian Plants lately published by Baron Von Mueller..." (i.e. 1882).

State.<sup>332</sup>

In May 1869, Moore, accompanied by William Carron and Robert David FitzGerald<sup>333</sup> joined the Thetis for Lord Howe Island,<sup>334</sup> where

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332 Interestingly, this work had a brief historical preface "mainly obtained from Sir Joseph Hooker's Introductory Essay to Flora of Tasmania." It included a full glossary and a guide to the meanings of specific names. In 1887, Moore contacted Von Mueller about his Handbook. Mueller advised that he would "be happy to aid in the elaboration of the Flora of New South Wales; but in order that no clashings or contradictions occur in naming, characteristics and systematic disposition, it would be necessary, that my Census should be the basis of operation." Mueller, as expected, considered it "not at all necessary, to follow the arrangements and nomenclature adopted for the Flora Australiensis, because hardly anyone, who will use the special work on New South Wales, will use the seven volumes of all Australia." Furthermore, "if all the naming of orders, genera and species had to be strictly adopted from the Flora Australiensis, the rule of priority, which finally must prevail, would be carried out very imperfectly; and if the limitation of genera & species had also to be exactly in accordance with the Flora, all the research of the last 25 years (not only by me but also of European Botanists) would be lost sight of, and the work be so much behind the times!" If Mr. Betcher, under Moore's direction, cared to send "the manuscript of order after order in the sequence of the Census" Mueller would be pleased to "add...localities and perfect the whole in some other ways..." before it went to press. Mueller strongly advised that the work not be printed before the beginning of 1880 "so that efforts may be made, in which Mr. Maiden wishes to share by help of his Department, to get the plants of the remotest N.W. of N.S.Wales next spring. I am satisfied, that many genera and a very large number of species...from thence are yet to be added to the Flora of N.S.W..." If this were not done, "the new Flora of N.S.W. will at once be very incomplete." Ferd. von Mueller to Moore, 2 Mar. 1887, NSW Archives 4/7577. Moore did, in fact use Mueller's systematic arrangement, for it seemed "to approach more nearly the ideal of the natural system than De Candolle's and Jussieu's system used in most colonial floras." Moore: Handbook, p.xiv. Moore's collaborator, Ernst Betcher (1851-1913) a German botanist joined the Gardens as a collector in 1881 and became botanical assistant in 1897. Although his name on the title is prefixed by "assisted by," it has been recently averred that Betcher "worked prodigiously on the flora of New South Wales and was largely responsible" for the Handbook (Anderson: ABC, p.62). Betcher also assisted Maiden to produce A Census of New South Wales Plants, Syd., 1916. His "Notes from the Botanic Gardens," in Proc.Linn.Soc.NSW, 1897-1913, set a high standard.

333 noticed in Chapter VI.

334 H. R. Rabone in JRAHS, 1940, p.147.

this notable botanical trio made observations and collections from which Moore produced a report. Returning to Sydney, Moore continued the reclamation project which was well-advanced by 1871, and seven years later he managed to complete the semi-circular retaining wall around Farm Cove as we know it to-day.<sup>335</sup>

Sir William Denison, the most "Scientific Governor" since Brisbane, not only supported Moore at the time of the enquiry, but presented him with specimens for the "public Herbarium." He further encouraged the Director by authorizing

most kindly...a portion of the Kitchen Garden attached to Government House to be fenced off and appropriated

for a nursery and propagating ground for "new and rare plants as they arrive."<sup>336</sup> By 1871, the whole of the Kitchen Garden had been ceded to the Botanic Gardens which were accordingly expanded by some five acres.<sup>337</sup> The development of market gardens had at last laid the ghost of Allan Cunningham. While thankful for space in which to raise "new and rare plants," Moore was concerned lest exotics should detract from the importance of the indigenous flora:

While I may continue to procure plants worthy of introduction from other countries, I shall lose no opportunity...of enriching the Garden with the best productions of the Australian flora. It is a source of much regret that, through the variableness of the climate and the nature of the soil, the trees of this and the neighbouring colonies are not better represented.<sup>338</sup>

When the Director noticed that

the native trees, mostly Eucalypts and Banksias, which a few years ago grew so thickly in all parts of the Domain, are fast disappearing from natural decay,

he took steps to replace them.<sup>339</sup>

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- 335 see Botanic Gardens: Map 8, from Moore's Report of 24 May 1871.  
336 Botanic Gardens: Report, 6 July 1858.  
337 Botanic Gardens: Report, 24 May 1871.  
338 Botanic Gardens: Report, 14 Mar. 1857.  
339 Botanic Gardens: Report, 24 May 1871.

Despite charges of being dilatory, Moore did, throughout his long term, urge that the natural resources of the bush should be more thoroughly investigated. He wanted the bushworkers and the botanists to combine their knowledge for the economic advancement of the Colony. In October 1864, he told the Philosophical Society of N.S.W.:

The character of the vegetation of this Colony, in many respects so remarkable, is, as regards its economic value, but little understood. From it neither commerce, science, nor the arts have as yet been benefited to any appreciable extent. With the exception of a few trees, the timber of which is used for building and fencing purposes, scarcely any importance has been attached to any qualities of our indigenous plants, many of which I feel convinced contain valuable properties which only require to be made known.<sup>340</sup>

Moore regretted that the botanical material sent to the Exhibitions of Paris and London had not stirred "the authorities connected with these exhibitions" to investigate the properties of Australian bush products, despite the fact that

various vegetable substances, supposed to have medicinal, dyeing, and textile properties, were forwarded from this colony on both occasions.<sup>341</sup>

Clearly what was needed was a man whose science was wider than his botany, preferably one trained in chemistry and with some knowledge of analytical and experimental techniques. New South Wales, in fact, needed another Ferdinand Mueller or a Joseph Bosisto.<sup>342</sup>

In 1880, at the close of the period here reviewed, Moore, then President of the Royal Society of N.S.W., apologised for again stressing his favourite theme:

...I may be pardoned in drawing attention to the very great necessity which now and has long existed of ascertaining the uses and economic value of the Australian flora. The knowledge which we possess of the properties of the greater number of the plants of the Colony is most imperfect.<sup>343</sup>

That Moore had rather exaggerated the state of ignorance at this time was amply demonstrated by his successor-to-be, J. H. Maiden, who in

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340 Transactions of the Philosophical Society of N.S.W., 1862-1865, p.204

341 op.cit., p.205.

342 see Chapter III, p.185.

343 Proc.Roy.Soc.NSW, 1880, p.10.

1889, after a mere nine years in N.S.W., devoted his first book to this very matter.<sup>344</sup> Maiden showed that much of the information on plant uses so earnestly desired by Moore, was indeed available if one took the trouble to make a survey and to assemble the results.

The Garden Palace.

One of Moore's greatest challenges came at the end of the period considered here. Early in 1878 it was decided that the first Australian International Exhibition should be held in Sydney under the auspices of the Agricultural Society of N.S.W.<sup>345</sup> The Colonial Architect, J. J. Barnet<sup>346</sup> was instructed in December 1878,

to prepare plans for a building suitable for an International Exhibition, proposed to be built in the Inner Domain.<sup>347</sup>

Within a few days, Barnet presented a design for an enormous structure, some 800 feet by 500 feet, with a ground area of  $5\frac{1}{2}$  acres, and with a total floor space of over  $8\frac{1}{2}$  acres.

On 2 January 1879, Barnet marked out the site between Governor Bourke's statue and the Government House Stables<sup>348</sup> on land which had been "exclusively used by the Governor for grazing purposes, to which the public had then no access whatever,"<sup>349</sup> and work began eleven days later.<sup>350</sup>

Such was the demand for space, that in addition to Barnet's

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344 J. H. Maiden: The Useful Plants of Australia, Syd., 1889. The work was published under the auspices of the Technological, Industrial and Sanitary Museum, Sydney, of which Maiden was the Curator. Maiden assembled a wide range of information relative to plant uses from all over the continent.

345 NSW Govt. Gazette, 7 Feb. 1878. This "International Exhibition of Works of Industry and Art" soon became a Government responsibility.

346 James Johnstone Barnet (1827-1904) also designed such Government buildings as the Sydney G.P.O., the Customs House and Lands Office

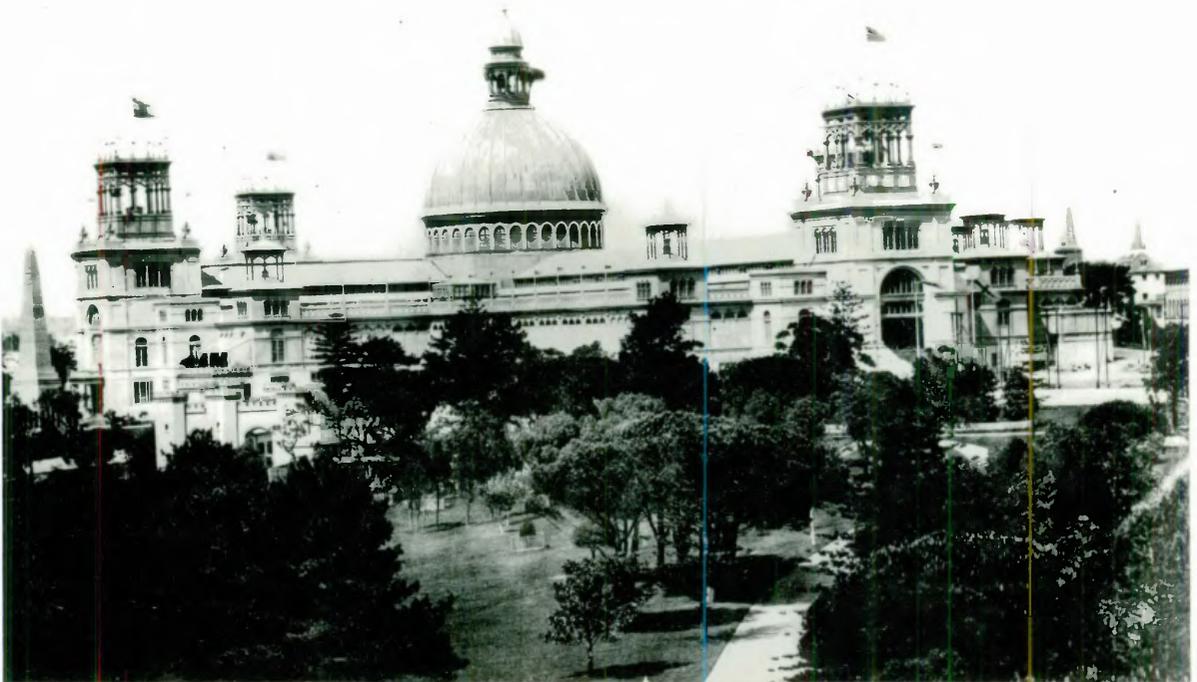
347 Colonial Architect's Report in Official Record of the Sydney International Exhibition, 1879, Syd., 1881, p.xx.

348 op.cit., p.xci.

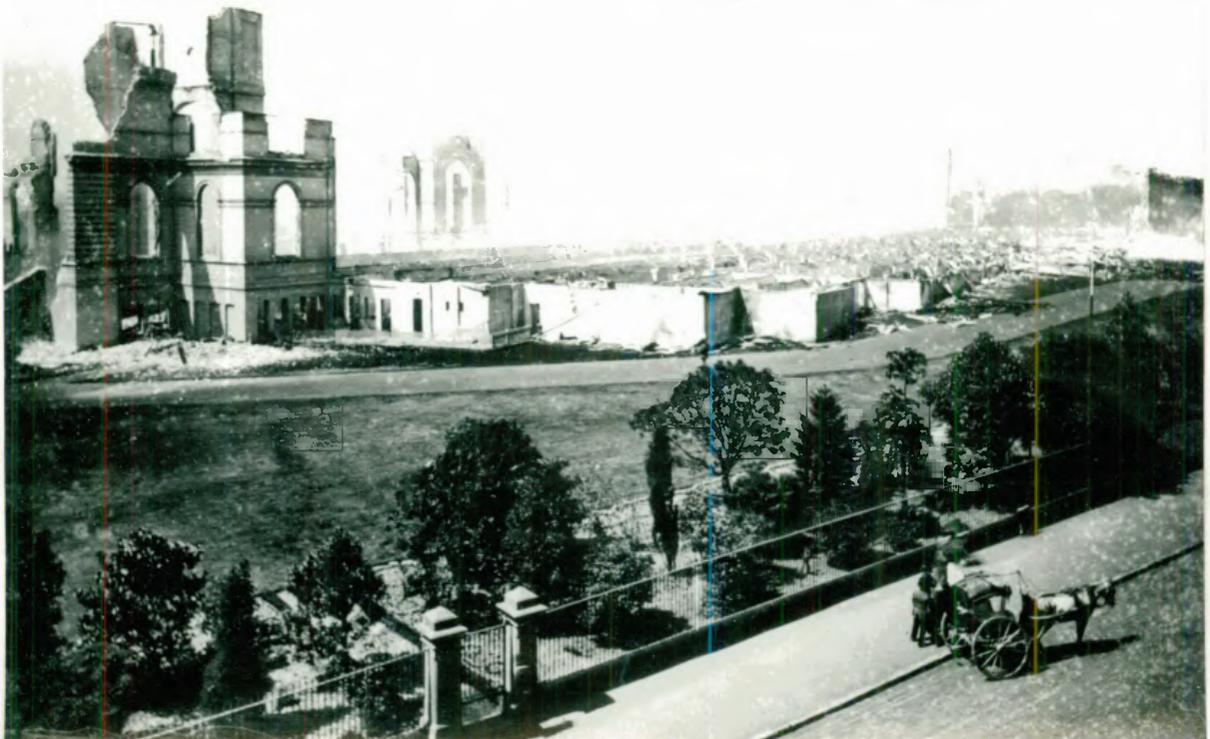
349 Charles Moore in op.cit., p.xxv.

350 op.cit., p.xci.

THE GARDEN PALACE



THE GARDEN PALACE, built in the Inner Domain for the International Exhibition of 1879, covered over 5 acres of ground. After the Exhibition closed in April 1880, parts of the building were used for meetings, storage, and scientific collections. In the fire which completely destroyed the building in September 1882, the Linnean Society of N.S.W. lost its valuable library and herbarium. Photos. before and after the fire, NSW Govt. Printer, Nos.331 & 1411.



gargantuan structure<sup>351</sup> in the Inner Domain, a further twenty-three acres of the Outer Domain were appropriated, despite opposition,<sup>352</sup> for machinery, livestock and other exhibits. Moore was charged with landscaping the grounds around the Garden Palace in January 1879, and by the time the Governor, Lord Loftus, officially opened the Exhibition on 17 September, the "immense labour" of filling, draining, turfing and planting the area with some 28,000 seedlings and shrubs in gardens and borders had been completed.<sup>353</sup>

Notable among the vast array of exhibits were the collections of timbers already mentioned.<sup>354</sup> By the time the Exhibition closed on 20 April 1880, over a million people had been admitted.<sup>355</sup> Thereafter, various sections of the Garden Palace were used for meetings and concerts, for the storage of Government records, the Art Society's collections, the Linnean Society's headquarters, and for a mineralogical museum. Early on the morning of 22 September 1882, the entire Garden Palace and its contents were destroyed by fire. Thus were lost many field notes, maps, books and the geological collection of the Rev. W. B. Clarke,<sup>356</sup> the office of the newly-established Forest Conservancy Branch, the Art Society's 300 paintings, the entire library of the Linnean Society and "the valuable collection of plants belonging to the members." Charles Moore estimated that between twenty and thirty thousand of his ornamental plants around the Palace were "nearly all destroyed."<sup>357</sup>

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351 This astonishing "Garden Palace", with a forest of towers around a giant dome surmounting "a bronze statue of Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria" above the intersection of nave and transept, contained 4,500,000 super. ft. of timber, 2,500,000 bricks, 243 tons of galvanized iron, as well as vast quantities of glass, statuary, etc. It was built in the remarkably short time of eight months, largely because a pioneer use of electric light enabled work to proceed at night. A strike by 400 of the 650 carpenters, seeking an increase of 3d. in the hourly rate of 1/3, was short-lived.

352 For "the Outer Domain was one of the most favourite of the public parks of Sydney and included the well-known Domain cricket ground, and the Fig-tree walk, one of the most frequented promenades of the city." Syd. Exhib., 1879, p. xxi.

353 Moore in op.cit., p. xxvi.

354 Chapter IV.

355 SMH, 23 Sept. 1882. The number actually recorded was 1,117,536.

356 only recently bought from Clarke's estate by the N.S.W. Govt. for £7,000.

357 SMH, 23 Sept. 1882.

THE LOWER GARDEN AND THE PALACE GARDEN



THE LOWER GARDEN comprising about 36 acres, includes about 12 acres reclaimed from Farm Cove. This area has been noted for ornamental ponds since the days of Charles Fraser.  
Photo.: L. G., 19 Aug. 1969.



THE PALACE GARDEN GATES completed in 1889, formerly faced the Library of N.S.W. After the expressway through the Gardens was completed in 1962, the gates were reconstructed to face Macquarie Street close to the site of the Garden Palace. Note the representation of the Palace dome in the central section. The typically Victorian festoons carved on the pillars contain floral motifs based on indigenous species. Governor Phillip's statue is on the right. Photo.: L. G., 19 Aug. 1969.

Aesthetically, the four-hour holocaust removed from the Sydney skyline a huge building which would have been difficult to utilise fully and to maintain effectively.<sup>358</sup> Historically and scientifically the fire was a disaster. Once the debris had been cleared, the "Palace Gardens" became part of the Botanic Gardens. Only a sunken garden on a site once straddled by the great dome and the magnificent "Garden Palace" gates which have that dome incorporated in their design, remain to mark the scene of such a scientific catastrophe — a scene surveyed since 1897 by Governor Phillip's statue.

#### Popular Reactions to the Gardens.

Although the scientific function assumed by the "Governor's Demesne" so carefully reserved by Phillip and Macquarie, was appreciated by very few, its economic function was appreciated by a wider circle of colonists who used the Gardens as a source of plants for their farms, vineyards and gardens. In the nineteenth century, as to-day, the majority of people however, regarded the Gardens and Domain as pleasant places for recreation which became more valued as the city grew.

Macquarie, while striving to exclude trespassers by wall, palisade and lash, had no objection to "the respectable...inhabitants" enjoying "as heretofore" some "innocent recreation" in daylight.<sup>359</sup> This might be a stroll or ride along Mrs. Macquarie's Drive

constructed within the Wall entirely surrounding the Grounds for the recreation and Amusement of the Public, with free access thereto by two separate Gateways.<sup>360</sup>

After Macquarie's departure concern was shown if access were restricted. In 1827, Sydney's semi-official paper hastened to refute charges made by the truculent Edward Smith Hall, editor of the Monitor:

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358 Rumours suggested that some malevolent citizen wished to regain his lost view of the Harbour or that someone was intent on destroying the convict records in the Government archives.

359 Order of 6 July 1816, quoted in Pub.Serv.Jour., 10 Dec. 1903, p.10.

360 Macquarie to Goulburn, 15 Dec. 1817, HRA, IX, p.735.

BOTANIC GARDENS : MAP 9.

NEW SOUTH WALES

Scale of Feet  
0 100 200 300 400 500 600 700 800 900 1000

Refinery  
Explosive Compound

CUMPER WHARF

OUTER  
DUM

PARK

LOVE

BOTANICAL

SCIENCE

ROSE  
LITERARY

MUSEUM  
MUSEUM

Infirmary

Apical Hall (Library)

General Assembly Office

Parliamentary

