



the shadow of Brazil and her fabled riches<sup>2</sup>. France too had enjoyed designs on Australia, although the voyage of Bougainville (1766–69) had been forced too far north and east denying a viable landing place and Lapérouse arrived in Sydney in February 1788, just days after Phillip had claimed the continent for the British crown.

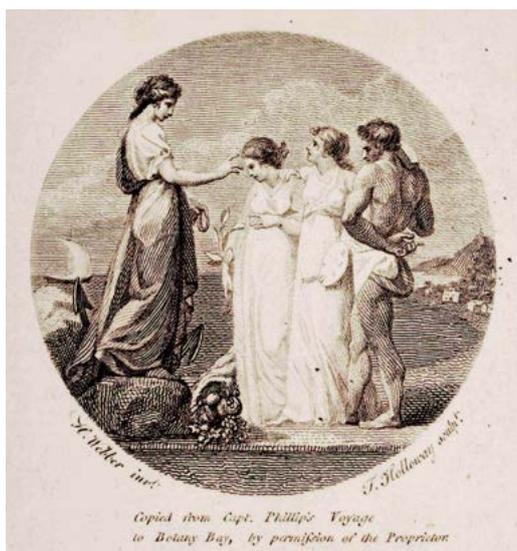


Fig. 2. Engraving of the Wedgwood Sydney Cove medallion (1789), made with Australian clay and showing in allegorical form Hope encouraging Art and Labour, under the influence of Peace to give security and happiness to the new settlement, included by Erasmus Darwin to accompany his poem *The Botanic Garden* (London, 1791) (Darwin 1791: 87). [Special Collections, Baillieu Library, The University of Melbourne]

The land was claimed under the doctrine of *terra nullius*, a legal nicety that assumed there was no prior occupation; literally that the land previously belonged to nobody or had no prior sovereignty. Yet this overlooked the long prior occupation of Indigenous Australians, who perceptive observers quickly noted as possessing considerable attachment to the land and exhibiting a high degree of sophistication in their existence living on country often regarded as inhospitable. In coastal fringes, where the land was often likened by early European observers to a gentleman's park, this appearance was due in large measure to a widespread burning regime that increased its abundance, a process that has in part yielded what Australian historian Bill Gammage has expressively described as 'the largest estate on earth' (GRAMMAGE 2011).

At the time of the First Fleet's arrival, Banks was resident in London's Soho Square sitting on vast collections (CARTER 1987, CARTER 1988, BANKS et al 1994). A savant with a storied career, he possessed a fine library, was the centre of an extensive scientific network, and de facto director of the King's Garden at Kew (reconstituted after 1841 as the Royal Botanic Gardens Kew). London at that time vied with Paris as an international centre of plant taxonomy, and if shaded slightly by their French botanical counterparts, Banks's contemporaries could certainly claim distinction in the realm of garden design. Botany, like garden design and horticulture, was undergoing a thorough transformation, with Humphry Repton commencing his influential career as a landscape gardener in 1788.

France, in 1788, was on the cusp of revolution. Bibliographer Franz Stafleu has identified this year and the five-year span it commenced as a crucial period in plant taxonomy (STAFLEU 1963). By this date the Linnaean sexual or artificial system of plant classification was being overtaken by natural systems promoted by French botanists. Stafleu points to Antoine-Laurent de Jussieu's *Genera plantarum* (Paris, 1789) as they key work in this transformation—observing the work's genesis, Jussieu's son captured the urgency of its writing and printing during 1788–79: 'he was seldom, during the printing, above two sheets in advance of the compositors' (Penny Cyclopaedia 1839). Through all this revisionist zeal, however, the Linnaean system of binomial nomenclature stood firm.

<sup>2</sup> The Portuguese discovery of Australia is contested: for the modern work that renewed speculation see *The Secret Discovery of Australia* (McIntyre 1977). For recent analysis (in Portuguese) see Simões and Domingues (2013).

Working in Paris during this time of ferment was the Portuguese botanist Félix de Avelar Brotero, who had relocated there in 1778 (CASTEL-BRANCO 2004). Although Brotero's first major book, his *Compendio de Botanica* (Paris, 1788), was published in Paris, it was written in Portuguese to explain *escretores modernos, expostas na lingua Portuguesa*, that is modern writings on botany (including classification according to the natural system), to an audience in Portugal (BROTERO 1788). The role of the text and language were made explicit through the title and language of the *Compendio* and its didactic intent was purposeful towards a nation whose ascendancy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries as maritime authority had been challenged by the Dutch, Spanish and English, but whose trade with Brazil still made Portugal a formidable power.

Another who adopted the natural system of classification championed by Jussieu, was Portuguese philosopher, diplomat, politician and scientist José Correia de Serra, who as Abbé Correa is remembered in the Australian genus *Correa*, named in his honour in 1798. Correia de Serra contributed his own refinements to the natural system, stressing the importance of affinities rather than differences in classification. Portuguese born and Italian educated, Correia da Serra had relocated to London in the mid-1790s due to political differences; this followed an earlier forced relocation to Paris during 1786 to 1791. As a founder of the *Academia Real das Ciências de Lisboa*, Abbé Correa was easily accepted into the circle of the Royal Society in London, where he found an ally in Joseph Banks. Like Brotero, Correia de Serra was one who escaped religious or political persecution in Portugal and made his mark outside his native country. Assessing his contribution, Maria Paula Diogo, Ana Carneiro, and Ana Simões note the importance to Portuguese science of *estrangeirados*, 'Europeanised' Portuguese intellectuals, 'pivotal in the introduction, dissemination and propagation of the new sciences in Portugal' (DIOGO et al. 2001: 353). Correia de Serra's writings were mostly in the form of the journal articles, a critical means of timely knowledge dissemination. From an Australian viewpoint, his work alongside Banks in London resulted in his naming of the outstanding horticultural introduction, *Doryanthes excelsa*, the Gynea lily from New South Wales (CORREIA DE SERRA 1802).

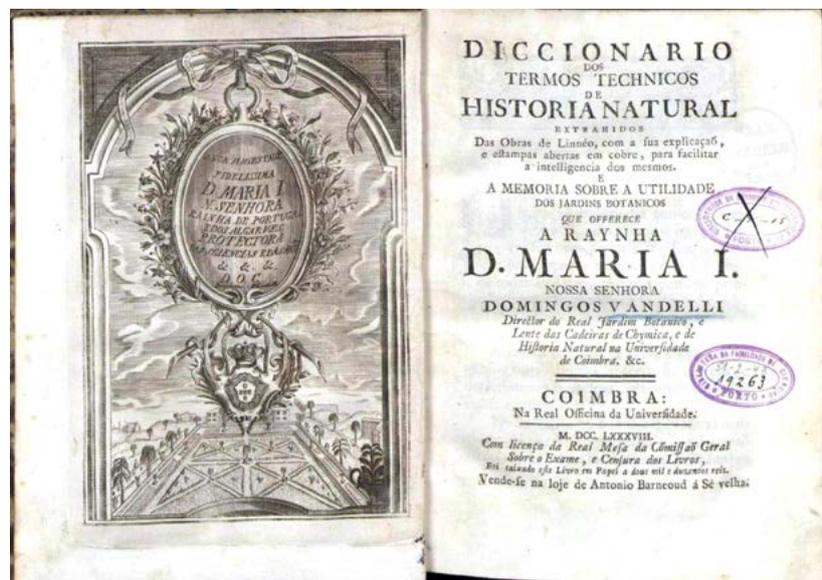


Fig. 3. Title page and frontispiece from Domingos Vandelli's *Diccionario dos Termos Technicos de Historia Natural* (Coimbra, 1788) with its intriguing birds-eye garden view (Vandelli 1788: frontispiece, title page). [Fundo Antigo, Faculdade de Ciências, Universidade do Porto]

The Italian-born Domenico Vandelli (Domingos Vandelli in Portugal) shared a link with Brotero as a director of the University Botanic Garden at Coimbra, in northern Portugal—Vandelli had been a professor at Coimbra from 1772–91 and Brotero from 1791–1811. Coimbra was one of two botanic gardens established by the Marquis

of Pombal, the other being at Ajuda, Lisbon, opened in 1768 with input from Vandelli. Like Brotero, Vandelli published a major book in 1788, his *Diccionario dos Termos Technicos de Historia Natural* (Coimbra, 1788) (VANDELLI 1788). From a garden history viewpoint, away from the technical content the frontispiece of Vandelli's *Diccionario* presents an intriguing engraved bird's-eye plan of a garden, evoking Coimbra yet sufficiently generic to represent Portuguese garden making. A garlanded medallion dedicated to Queen Maria I hovers providentially if somewhat ominously above as protector of sciences and arts.

Botanical science and art at this period in Britain was dominated by the Royal Gardens at Kew. Here Sir Joseph Banks (knighted in 1795) continued his work linking the science of botany with the theory and practice of horticulture, particularly regarding exotic species. Banks was a great facilitator rather than an active worker. He sent out or supported plant collectors to Australia in the late eighteenth century, such as David Burton and George Suttor; encouraged the universal work of plant taxonomy and botanical illustration; and provided great encouragement for further botanical exploration. Robert Brown, for instance, who had been introduced to Correia de Serra by the British botanist William Withering, and then subsequently recommended by him to Banks, took the major role as naturalist on the *Investigator* voyage of Matthew Flinders to Australia (1801–05), a voyage that Banks had urged the Admiralty to undertake as a counter to the French expedition under Baudin. Brown's work resulted in the first Flora of Australia, the unfinished *Prodromus Florae Novae Hollandiae et Insulae Van Diemen* (London 1810), 'important in re-introducing the "natural system" of botany to England' according to Brown's biographer David Mabberley (MABBERLEY 2002).

Botanic gardens stood at the junction of science and art, but by the end of the eighteenth century they were not necessarily at the cutting edge of design. That instead was the province of domestic gardens. Yet botanical exploration had made a significant contribution to botanic gardens and similarities between Portugal and Australia can be located in the framework of scientific exchange, especially as this affected plant exchanges and acclimatisation of exotic species. (BROCKWAY 1979; MCCRACKEN 1997; LIVINGSTONE 2003). In this respect, the career of Joseph Banks and his circulation of scientific knowledge are well known (GASCOIGNE 1994; Gascoigne 1998). Less well known, especially to non-English speaking audiences, are figures such as Brotero, Vandelli, or Link. Heinrich Friedrich Link had travelled extensively in Portugal during 1797–99, with his account published in German and English in 1801 and in French in 1805 (LINK 1801a; LINK 1801b; LINK 1803). Link and his travelling partner Johann Centurius Hoffmannsegg published a supplementary volume and are today best remembered for their *Flore portugaise* (1809–40). Link's subsequent directorship of the botanic garden at Berlin (1815–51) elevated him to the top job in one of the most significant and influential among European botanic gardens. London nursery proprietor and botanist Robert Sweet, for instance, in his botanical and horticultural work on Australian plants *Flora Australasica* (London, 1827–28), quoted Link<sup>3</sup> as an authority (SWEET 1827–28).

The concept of a system garden, wherein plants might be arrayed according to their classification or naming, was a feature of many of the earliest botanic gardens. Yet the reconciliation of evolving botanical classificatory systems with garden design was fraught: classification and taxonomy might be changed with new books or revised editions, but gardens were much slower to grow and more difficult to change. Rather it was the practical acclimatization of exotic plants that had the greater impact on garden design than their theoretical classification or nomenclature.

The domestication of primitive plant species and then the acclimatization of exotic plants had influenced gardening across the ages, but quickened in its impact from the time of the Renaissance and the great age of

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3 Sweet quoted Link's 'Enumeratio plantarum horti regii botanici Berolinensis', 2 vol. 8vo. 1821–1822.

maritime exploration. West Asian fruits and New World introductions broadened the range of edible plants, while floriculture and arboriculture were enriched by species from southern Africa, eastern Asia, and Mesoamerica. Recently, Andrea Wulf's complementary pair of books *The Brother Gardeners* and *The Founding Gardeners* has eloquently demonstrated how a similar palette of trees and shrubs could, in the eighteenth century, invest English gardens with new richness through novel American introductions whilst at the same time be used on home soil to frame an emerging American national identity (WULF 2008; WULF 2011).

Although acclimatization was largely a practical affair, few gardening handbooks failed to include cultural directions for the most popular species. For Australian species introduced into Europe, these books included Steele's *An Essay upon Gardening* (London, 1793), Cushing's *The Exotic Gardener* (Dublin, 1811), and Theuss's *Allgemeines Blumen-Lexicon* (Weimar, 1811) alongside periodical publications such as those edited by Curtis and Andrews and expensive plate books (STEELE 1793; CUSHING 1811; THEUSS 1811). Comparable Portuguese-language horticultural publications are rare, but information can be found in Andrada e Silva's *Memoria sobre a necessidade e utilidades do plantio de novos bosques em Portugal* (Lisboa, 1815) and Encarnação Lobo's *O jardineiro* (Coimbra, 1824) (ANDRADA E SILVA 1815; ENCARNAÇÃO LOBO 1824). Books such as Theuss's *Allgemeines Blumen-Lexicon* indicate the widespread interest in northern European of plant acclimatization. Such advice was, however, almost universally directed towards planting in glazed and heated plant houses of northern Europe. Practical comparisons suggest that Australia and Portugal enjoyed a range of similar warm temperate and sub-tropical climates, with Sydney (34° S) being roughly comparable in latitude to Lisbon (31° N) and therefore a different range of plants suited to outdoor cultivations were favoured.

In Australia, the earliest acclimatization had been concentrated on European fruit trees, but as the nineteenth century progressed, species indigenous to Portugal (and often with wide distribution across the Mediterranean) including *Arbutus unedo*, *Ceratonia siliqua*, *Pinus pinaster*, *Prunus lusitanica*, and *Quercus suber* were progressively introduced into parks and gardens. In Portugal, the rich lode of the acclimatization movement of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was to be seen in botanic gardens, at Palácio Nacional da Pena in Sintra from the 1840, and much later elsewhere in Sintra and at the Mata Nacional do Buçaco, where native Iberian species sat alongside a wide range of introductions, many from Australia including *Acacia*, *Araucaria*, and *Eucalyptus* spp., *Ficus macrophylla*, and *Grevillea robusta*.

The great period of Australian introductions to Portugal was, however, in the mid-nineteenth century during which the subtropical splendour of giant araucarias began louchly protruding from clipped Baroque *parterres*, and massive eucalypts and tree ferns appeared in cool temperate dells such as those of Buçaco. Some Australian trees (particularly *Acacia dealbata* and *Eucalyptus globulus*) are now considered weed species and yet this clouds the rich nineteenth-century history of Australian plants in Portugal. But this was in the future, later than the period under consideration, and in both Portuguese and Australian garden design it was the influence of books and published ideas rather than the acclimatization of exotic plants that arguably produced a more profound impact in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Garden historian Ana Duarte Rodrigues has identified several of the seminal works of aesthetics that have influenced taste (RODRIGUES 2014a). These included Hogarth's *The Analysis of Beauty* (London, 1753), Burke's *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (London, 1757), David Hume's essay 'Of the standard of taste' in his *Four Dissertations* (London, 1757), and Gerard's *An Essay on Taste* (London, 1759). But as Rodrigues has pointed out, these works did not necessarily circulate widely in Portugal, and nor did they exert a direct influence on garden design (RODRIGUES 2011). In Australia, an educated elite may have been familiar

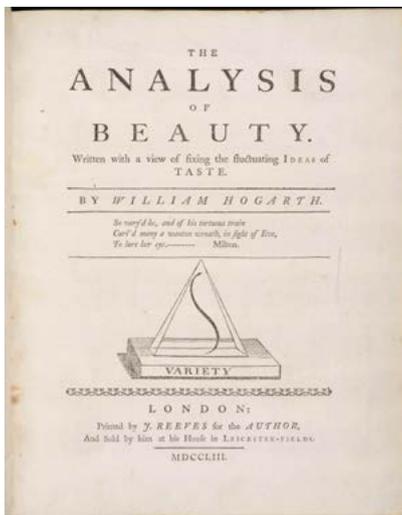


Fig. 4. Title page from William Hogarth's *The Analysis of Beauty* (London, 1753) showing the serpentine line of beauty, intended to promote variety over formality (Hogarth 1753: i). [Special Collections, Baillieu Library, The University of Melbourne]

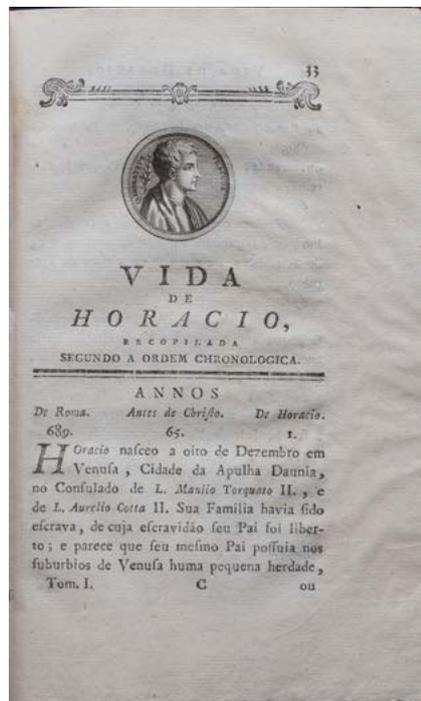
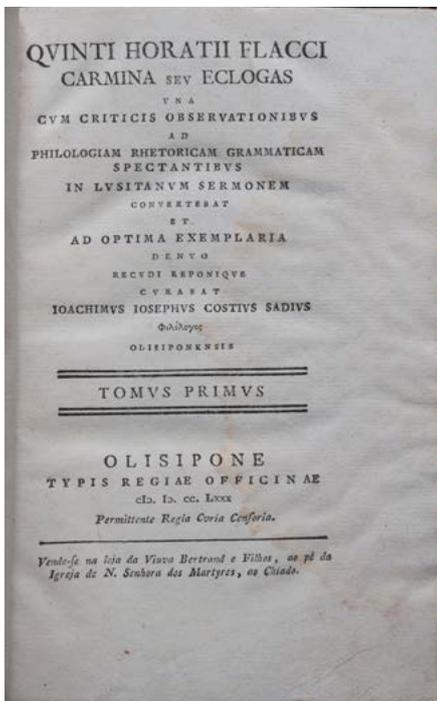
with these works, but in the years before 1810, and the arrival of Governor Macquarie, subsistence rather than ornamental gardening was a necessity. Yet concepts such as beauty and sublimity, and their application to garden design, remained powerful concepts of aesthetics well into the nineteenth century, evidenced by the earliest local book on garden design, Shepherd's *Lectures on Landscape Gardening in Australia* (Sydney, 1836) (SHEPHERD 1836).

It was, rather, the transformation of aesthetic ideas through observations of exemplary places and in design manifestos based on the prevailing landscape gardening movement that had a more profound impact on garden design (RODRIGUES 2011: 133–34). In this respect, works such as Whately's *Observations on Modern Gardening* (London, 1770), Walpole's *The History of the Modern Taste in Gardening* (London, 1780), and Gilpin's *Remarks on Forest Scenery* (London, 1791) provided a practical, historical and theoretical basis for 'modern gardening' (WHATELY 1770; WALPOLE 1780; GILPIN 1791). And as historians Dora Wiebenson and John Dixon Hunt have demonstrated (WIEBENSON 1978; HUNT 2003), works such as Morel's *Théorie de Jardins* (Paris, 1776), Girardin's *De la Composition des Paysages* (Genève, 1777), and Delille's poem *Les Jardins* (Paris, 1782) communicated new ideas on the *jardin anglois* to French-language readers (MOREL 1776; GIRARDIN 1777; DELILLE 1782). Interchange was also provided by French translations of English works, such as Whately's *L'Art de Former des Jardins Modernes* (Paris, 1771), Gilpin's *Voyage en Différentes Parties de l'Angleterre ... contenant des Observations relatives aux beautés pittoresques* (Paris & Londres, 1789), and Mason's *Le jardin anglois* (Paris, 1788) (WHATELY 1771; GILPIN 1789; MASON 1788). Likewise, several significant French works were translated into English, including Girardin's *An Essay on Landscape* (London, 1783) and Delille's *The Garden* (London, 1789) (GIRARDIN 1783; DELILLE 1789).<sup>4</sup>

Poems such as Thomson's *The Seasons* (London, 1730; rev. ed. 1746) and Mason's *The English Garden* (London, 1772), with their numerous garden observations, had paved the way for the success of Delille's *Les Jardins* that ran from 1782 through many editions (THOMSON 1730; MASON 1772). In a Portuguese context, Delille's poem stands as an important marker in the modern revival of national identity through its 1800 translation by Manuel Maria Barbosa du Bocage into the native language (DELILLE 1800). This came at a time in the late eighteenth century when Portuguese national identity was being reasserted through the publication of celebrated authors and poets in the Portuguese language.

This historical shift was the subject of comment as early as the 1820s, when the German critic Friedrich Bouterwek noted that the work of Portuguese poet Pedro Correia Garção, whose poetical works had been published in 1778 in Lisbon, 'contributed to the diffusion of good taste'. 'About the same time', Bouterwek continued, 'the desire to cultivate a correct style of Portuguese poetry was fostered by new translations of some of the Latin

<sup>4</sup> A potentially rich source for this investigation is still in press (Rodrigues 2014b).



Figs. 5 and 6. Title page and vignette from Joaquim José da Costa e Sá's 1780–81 Portuguese translation of the *Odes* of Horace (1800), an edition that exposed the pleasures of the Roman countryside to new audiences (Horace 1800: 1, 33). [Private collection]

classics' (BOUTERWEK 1823: 366). Amongst these were Horace's *Odes*, translated into Portuguese in 1780–81 by Joaquim José da Costa e Sá, in which the contentment and amenity of rural living were extolled (HORACE 1780–81). Here the deep comfort of Latin and the virtues of Rome were combined with the vernacular ease of Portuguese. Evidence from newspaper advertisements suggests that such classical texts by Horace, Ovid, and Virgil were widely available in Australia, and there was a wealth of English-language translations and poetic renderings, and a wide literature of the second Augustan Age, such as those by Addison, Pope, Steele, and Swift.

In Portugal, the formality of baroque and rococo gardens had passed from fashion by the early nineteenth century, and especially after the French invasion in 1807, although after his flight to Brazil, Dom João VI continued to make new gardens in this manner. But despite the sentiments of Whately, Mason, Delille, and Gilpin, the practical difficulties of creating verdant parks in Portugal and Australia militated against landscape gardening. Summer droughts and the exigencies of agriculture and pastoralism made landscape embellishment difficult and placed such improvement as a low priority. In Australia, for example, it was not until economic improvement and security of land tenure in the 1830s to 1870s that widespread landscape gardening became feasible while in Portugal it was largely due to foreign residents and those Portuguese educated abroad.

Yet the lure of ornamental gardening remained strong and the Portuguese *quinta*, with its combination of utility and ornament, had been a vernacular precursor of the *ferme ornée* wherein the naturalism of the landscape garden had traditionally been represented by the ornamented farm, tilled or grazed fields substituting for deer parks, orchards and vineyards supplying pleasurable associations, and irregularly shaped plots allowing for the equivalent of informal circuit paths. If the pleasures of the *quinta*—with its pleasing blend of the orange, olive, and vine—were available in Portugal, the situation was less certain in Australia, where new estates were more strongly focused on utility. Yet the climate of New South Wales suited the vine, and wealthy early settlers envisioned themselves in the manner of the ancients.<sup>5</sup>

If landscape gardening was not a possibility for the majority, an emerging interest in the Picturesque was far more attainable. When blended with a prevailing cultural interest in Romanticism, this defined, as landscape de-

<sup>5</sup> New South Wales settler and outstanding colonial horticulturist William Macarthur, wrote on the vine under the Latin pseudonym 'Maro': see 'Antipodean Augustans and an imaginary Australian Arcadia' (Aitken 2010: 34–39).

signer and writer Elizabeth Barlow Rogers has noted, ‘a profoundly new attitude towards nature’ and one that had a global impact (ROGERS et al. 2010: 11). William Gilpin’s books had been in the vanguard of the new interest in the Picturesque and the period 1794–95 saw Gilpin’s ‘observations’ complemented by aesthetic treatises by Richard Payne Knight and Uvedale Price that made the link between theory and practice (in much the same way that Gilpin’s *Remarks on Forest Scenery* had done in 1791) (KNIGHT 1794; Price 1794).

The South Pacific evoked a strong Romantic response from successive maritime explorers, where Rousseau’s idea of the ‘noble savage’ amid palm-fringed islands in the verdant tropics swayed the outlook of even the most science-hardened naturalist (SMITH 1960). Even the call at Rio de Janeiro for ships travelling to and from Australia provided a romantic (and Portuguese-influenced) interlude. First Fleet surgeon John White noted:

1 September 1787 ... When we arrived at the palace [at Rio de Janeiro], an officer of the household, who was waiting to receive us, conducted us through a most delightful recess, hung round with bird-cages, whose inhabitants seemed to vie with each other, both in the melody of their notes and the beauty of their plumage. The passage we walked through was adorned on each side with odoriferous flowers, and aromatic shrubs; which, while they charmed the eye, spread a delightful fragrance around (White 1790: 56).

In Portugal, the descriptions of Lord Byron evoked similar romantic sentiments. His poem *Childe Harold’s Pilgrimage* (London 1812) was loosely based on his experiences in 1809 on a trip to Portugal and his exaltations capture what he termed ‘romant’ (romance), including the scenery: ‘Oh Christ! It is a goodly sight to see / What Heaven hath done for this delicious land! / What fruits of fragrant blush on every tree! / What goodly prospects o’er the hills expand!’ (BYRON 1812: Canto 1, XV). Byron stayed at Cintra and was charmed with its prospects (‘glorious Eden’), including the decaying garden of William Beckford’s Monserrate (decades before it was revived by Sir Francis Cook) (LUCKHURST 2011; Luckhurst 2014).

In eighteenth-century studies, the concept prompted by British historian Frank O’Gorman of the ‘long eighteenth century’ has recently enjoyed considerable popularity, extending the century back to 1688 or earlier, and forward to 1815 (Battle of Waterloo) or even 1832 (*English Reform Act*) (O’GORMAN 1997). In garden history terms an end date of 1832 might also include Loudon’s codification of the Gardenesque, which makes good sense given that Humphry Repton had already expressed elements of this theory some decades earlier. Under this scenario, eighteenth-century works by the likes of Price and Repton might also be considered in terms of their continued influence in new editions, *Price on the Picturesque* (London, 1842) and Loudon’s editing of *The Landscape Gardening and Landscape Architecture of the late Humphry Repton, Esq.* (London, 1840) (PRICE 1842; REPTON 1840). In Australian library collections, there is evidence of such continued usage, but perhaps these instances are more demonstrative of a long nineteenth century, extending back to the 1770s, rather than a long eighteenth century extending forward to the 1830s.



Figs. 7 and 8. Title page and vignette of a naturalistic garden from Manuel Maria Barbosa du Bocage’s 1800 Portuguese translation (with dual French text on facing pages) of Jacques Delille’s 1782 poem *Les Jardins* (Delille 1800: i, 2). [Private collection]

It is difficult to isolate exact evidence of influence from books: we can deduce the influence and iconography of statuary, for instance at Fronteira, with much greater certainty than we can point to instances of Whately or Mason being influential. Yet from newspaper and other advertisements, surviving copies bearing evidence of known provenance, and contemporary commentary, we can conclude with some certainty that published texts exerted a great general influence. Such texts as those mentioned here had the power to transcend individual usage and embrace more widespread trends. There is perhaps no better example of the diverse nature of such potential influence than to end on Delille in its first Portuguese translation by Bocage as *Os Jardins, ou a arte de aformosear as paisagens* (Lisboa, 1800) (DELILLE 1800).

Delille criticises formal (especially French) gardens, and so by extension, perhaps those of Portugal; he venerates nature and forests, which in Portugal might include Buçaco or Sintra; invokes change within gardens and acclimatization of plant species; all vital aspects of the changing nature of Portuguese gardens. So here was a Portuguese translation of a French writer, evoking British (and specifically English) landscape gardening ideals, translated by a writer Bocage (whose surname means ‘rustic wood’), with experience in Asia, for Portuguese audiences, some of whom may have been in Brazil (and other colonial outposts), with mentions of the South Pacific, specifically Bougainville in Otahetie or Tahiti, and the death of Cook in the Pacific (‘Tu Cook, infatigável, denodado’—‘You Cook, indefatigable, tireless’). Delille and Bocage here produced a poetic garden of ideas applicable to Portugal as well as Australia.

This intriguing linkage coincides with a vital moment in the exercise of imperial power in the fields of botany and horticulture, of the global acclimatization of plants, and of the increasing influence of literature on garden design, not just of practical horticultural texts, but embracing enlightened works of philosophy, literature, and aesthetics. In this, Australia and Portugal can be seen not just as receptive recipients of these influences but as active players in a widespread and multivalent transfer of knowledge, with diverse yet often interlinked ideas producing a rich fusion of garden making.

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