UNIVERSITY OF CINCINNATI

22 May, 1938.

I hereby recommend that the thesis prepared under my supervision by Isabel Wakelin Chase

entitled Horace Walpole, Gardenist, an Edition of The History of the Modern Taste in Gardening with an Estimate of Walpole's Contribution to Landscape Architecture,

be accepted as fulfilling this part of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Approved by:

Robert Shafer.

F.W. Chandler

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HORACE WALPOLE, GARDENIST

an Edition of

" THE HISTORY OF THE MODERN TASTE IN GARDENING"

with an

Estimate of Walpole's Contribution to Landscape Architecture

A dissertation submitted to the

Graduate School
of the University of Cincinnati

in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

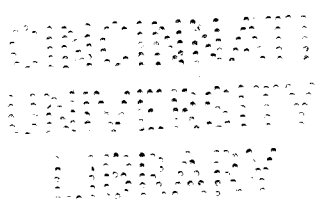
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

1938

by

Isabel Wakelin Chase

A.B. Smith College 1926
A.M. Miami University 1932



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THE EDITIONS OF WALPOLE'S "THE HISTORY OF THE MODERN TASTE IN GARDENING"

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THE EDITIONS OF WALPOLE'S "THE HISTORY OF THE MODERN TASTE IN GARDENING"

First edition--in Anecdotes of Painting in England, Strawberry Hill, 1762-1771. vol.4.

Second edition--in Anecdotes of Painting in England, with additions, London, 1782. vol.4.

Third edition--Essay on Modern Gardening (traduit en Francais par M. Le Duc de Nivernois) Engl. and Fr., Strawberry Hill, 1785.

Fourth edition--in Anecdotes of Painting in England, London, 1786. vol.4.

Fifth edition--Pirated 1785 edition, owned by W. S. Lewis.

Sixth edition--"On Modern Gardening" in The Works, London, 1798. vol.2.

Seventh edition--in Anecdotes of Painting in England, with additions by the Rev. J. Dallaway, London, 1826-28. vol.4.

Eighth edition--in Anecdotes of Painting in England, a new edition revised, with additional notes by R.N.Wornum, London, 1849. vol.3.

Ninth edition--Essay on Modern Gardening, with a faithful translation into French by the Duke of Nivernois; a reprint in type facsimile of the edition printed by Mr. Walpole at Strawberry Hill, 1785, Introductory Note by Alice Morse Earle. Canton, Pa. 1904.

Tenth edition--On Modern Gardening: an essay by Horace Walpole; with a preface and bibliographical note by W.S. Lewis, New York, 1931.

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Abbreviations used in the textual notes:

First edition--------1771 ed.

Second edition-------1782 ed.

Third edition--------1785 ed.

Fourth edition-------1786 ed.

Fifth edition----------P.ed.

Sixth edition--------1798 ed.

Seventh edition---------D.ed.

Eighth edition----------W.ed.

Ninth edition----------E.ed.

Tenth edition----------L.ed.

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THE EDITIONS OF THE HISTORY OF THE MODERN TASTE IN GARDENING

I. Date of Composition.

"The History of the Modern Taste in Gardening," published also under the titles, "The Modern Taste in Gardening" and "On Modern Gardening," was first printed in the last volume of the Anecdotes of Painting in England in 1771.[1] It was not published, however, until the fall of 1780.[2] The title used was "On modern Gardening." The exact date of composition is not known; but it is probable that it was written sometime between 1750 and 1770, the period at which Walpole was most active in the planning of his estate at Strawberry Hill, and the time when his gardening interests were naturally at their height.

The delay in publication was caused by Walpole's consideration for living artists and for the relatives of others.[3]

---

1 Journal of the Printing-office at Strawberry Hill, now first printed from the Ms. of Horace Walpole, with notes by Paget Toynbee, printed at the Chiswick Press, 1923, p.16. "April 13, 1771. finished printing the last Volume of the Anecdotes of Painting."

2 Ibid., p.19. "Oct. published the last Vol. of the Anecdotes of Painting, which has been printed nine years, 600 copies."

3 Advertisement to the 1782 ed., pp.a3-vi. "The last volume has been long written, and even printed. The publication, though a debt to the purchasers of the preceding volumes, was delayed

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from motives of tenderness. The author, who could not resolve, like most biographers, to dispense universla panegyric, especially on many incompetent artists, was still unwilling to utter even gentle censures, which might wound the affections, or offend the prejudices of those related to the persons whom truth forbad him to commend beyond their merits. He hopes, that as his opinion is no standard, it will pass for mistaken judgement with such as shall be displeased with his criticisms. If his encomiums seem too lavish to others, the public will at least know that they are bestowed sincerely. He would not have hesitated to publish his remarks sooner, if he had not been adverse to exaggeration."

That there was some wisdom in his decision is apparent; because, even though he waited as long as he did, there were those who were offended by his criticisms.[1] At the same time his policy in-

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[1] Walpole, To William Cole, May 16, 1781. "Though she [Mrs. Hogarth] was not pleased with my account of her husband,.. I assure you I have much more reason to be satisfied than she has, the editor or editors being much civiller to living me than to dead Hogarth-yet I should not have complained. Everybody has the same right to speak their sentiments."

---

convenienced those who were waiting to complete their sets of the Anecdotes of Painting.

II. Editions during Walpole's lifetime.

The second edition with additions was published in London in 1782 and was again included in the last volume of the Anecdotes of Painting. The title used was "The History of the Modern Taste in Gardening." To this edition was added the long note on French gardening[2] in which Walpole disputed the belief

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[2] Walpole, The History, pp. 35-37.

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of the French that the English imitated their gardens of the

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naturalistic type from the Chinese. Walpole had made a journey to France in 1775 when imitations of English gardens were just beginning to appear. Chambers' Dissertation on Oriental Gardening[1] which was published in 1772 had been trans-

1 Sir William Chambers, Dissertation on Oriental Gardening, London, 1772.

lated into French[2] and had made quite a stir on the continent.

2 To William Mason, September 6, 1775.

This resulted in a confusion of the English and the Chinese styles and the naming of the new garden by the French as the Anglo-Chinois style. Walpole after examining the new gardens came to the conclusion that the French totally misunderstood the basic principles of the new English style, which has come to be known as the English landscape school. His efforts to promote a better understanding of the English garden in Europe have been discussed in Chapter V. Walpole's note on French gardening was attached to all subsequent editions except those which contained the French translation.[3] As the note is

3 1785 ed. P.ed. E.ed.

satirical, it may be assumed that in deference to the Duc de Nivernois and his countrymen it was not sent to France.

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With the exception of certain minor changes in punctuation, the 1782 edition is substantially the same as the first. It has been chosen as the basic text for the present edition because, with the exception of that of 1786, it is the only one published during Walpole's lifetime which contains his remarks on French gardening. The 1786 edition, although the last published during Walpole's lifetime, has been discarded as a possible basic text because of certain defects which will be discussed later in the chapter. The 1782 edition is, consequently, the only complete and accurate one published with the author's supervision. The note on French gardening, it may be added, derives its importance chiefly from the part played by Walpole as promulgator of the new style.

In 1785 from the Strawberry Hill Press appeared the third edition, accompanied by the French translation of the Duc de Nivernois, under the title of Essay on Modern Gardening. This was also the first independent appearance of the essay apart from the Anecdotes of Painting. The Duc de Nivernois, a littérateur and a member of the French Academy, was sent to England as an Ambassador in 1762.[1] He made his first visit

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[1] To Horace Mann, August 29, 1762.

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to Strawberry Hill on April 30, 1763. In view of their later friendship it is amusing to note that their first meeting

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does not seem to have been a success.[1] Later, however, in

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1 To Horace Mann, April 30, 1763. "The Duc de Nivernois called here the other day on his way from Hampton Court; but, as the most sensible French never have eyes to see anything, unless they see it every day and see it in fashion, I cannot say he flattered me much, or was struck with Strawberry."

Paris the Duc was very kind to Walpole,[2] and Walpole became

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2 To Miss Anne Pitt, October 8, 1765. "The Duc de Nivernois appears in much better health than when he left England. Though he is very good to me I have seen much less of him than I wish."

---

genuinely fond of him. The Duc had already achieved a literary reputation in court circles for his graceful fables, written after the manner of La Fontaine,[3] which had been circulated in manuscript.

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3 Ibid.

Probably the Duc first translated Walpole's essay to be passed about in manuscript among that group of nobles who were already beginning to be interested in the new English garden. Walpole was delighted that his work had received this honor; he was especially pleased with the accuracy of the translation, and with the beauty of the language.[4] In a letter,[5] answering

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4 To the Countess of Upper Ossory, September 17, 1785. "You will find it a most beautiful piece of French, of the genuine French spoken by the Duc de la Rochefoucauld and Madame de Sevigne... The versions of Milton and Pope are wonderfully exact and poetic and elegant, and the fidelity of the whole translation, extraordinary."

---

5 To the Duc de Nivernois, 1785. "I fear I have said too much,

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though I can never satisfy or think I have sufficiently expressed my gratitude for the honour I have received--yet how unreasonable is vanity when once the bridle is thrown on its neck! Can it resist so natural an impulse as that of wishing that this charming translation were published?--But no, it would be presumption to hope it when the author of so many exquisite fables still witholds them from the press!"

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the Duc's request for corrections in the manuscript, Walpole indicated his desire to publish an edition containing the translation; but on account of the aristocratic prejudice against publication which was particularly strong in France,[1] he did not

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1 To William Mason, May, 1773. "He has written an hundred or two of fables, and read some of them to the Academy, but told me it was thought wrong for a nobleman in France to publish."

---

venture to ask directly for permission to do so. It was something of a condescension, therefore, for the Duc to allow Walpole to prepare an edition at the Strawberry Hill Press; that Walpole was quite sensible of the honor is apparent in his letter of thanks to the Duc for the privilege.[2]

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2 To the Duc de Nivernois, February 1, 1785.

In connection with their correspondence over the essay an interesting point appears. Walpole has been criticised for not taking the trouble to revise the last part of the essay which connects it with the Anecdotes of Painting, and which is out of place in a separate printing of it. Apparently he did feel the need of some revision; for he asks the Duc to add a note explaining

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"that the essay is but part of a larger work on painting or else the recapitulation seems to have nothing to do with a history of gardening."[1] He also suggested that the Duc

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1 To the Duc de Nivernois, January 6,1785.

"baptize the new style by a simple term" and tells him of the origin and meaning of the term gardenist which will go equally well in French as jardiniste[2]--a term invented by Walpole to

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2 Ibid.

---

distinguish the landscape gardener from the ordinary gardener. It is to be regretted that the Duc de Nivernois did not take up any of these suggestions.

Walpole expressed some surprise that the Duc did not delete certain passages derogatory to French formal gardening;[3]

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3 To the Countess of Upper Ossory, September 17,1785.

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he made no mention, however, of the omission of the long note on French gardens. It is probable that Walpole originally gave the Duc a copy of the first edition and that the Duc never saw the later addition to the 1782 edition. In token of his gratitude to the Duc, a special copy of the 1785 edition[4] elaborately

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4 Now in the possession of W.S.Lewis, Farmington,Conn.

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bound in scarlet and gold leather and illustrated with engravings by Kip and others was sent to him.

The fourth edition of the essay was published in London in 1786, again as part of the Anecdotes of Painting. This edition is listed by Lowndes as a separate edition.[1] It is,

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1 William Thomas Lowndes, The Bibliographer's Manual of English Literature, vol. V, p.2820.

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however, recorded in the Catalogue of the British Museum that the fourth volume of the Anecdotes of Painting, published in 1786 is but another printing of the 1782 edition.[2] This

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2 Catalogue of the British Museum, vol.61, 7-8.

---

volume is the one which contains the essay on gardening. A comparison of the two texts shows a sufficient number of variations to prove that the 1786 publication must be a new printing of the "Essay on Modern Gardening" and therefore must be considered a separate edition. As was mentioned earlier, the 1786 edition, although the last ~~edition~~ published during Walpole's lifetime, for several reasons has not been chosen as the basic text. In many respects the text is careless and inaccurate. Here for the first time appears the substitution of finished for furnished, an error which obscures the understanding of the passage in which it occurs.[3] This error has

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3 p. 14, Footnote h. 1798 ed., p.254. L.ed., p.14.

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been copied only in the 1798 edition and the Lewis edition. Changes in punctuation indicate carelessness rather than purpose. Sentences are ended with commas;[1] colons appear in

[1] p. 12, Footnote c; p. 31, Footnote b; p. 52, Footnote f.

place of semi-colons where they do not clarify the meaning in any way.[2] An attempt at modernization of spelling has been

[2] p. 31, Footnote g; p. 35, Footnote i.

made, but has not been consistently carried out.[3] It is probable

[3] p. 8, Footnote g; p. 12, Footnote h.

that this edition, printed in London received little or no supervision by Walpole. These disadvantages are sufficient to cause the elimination of the 1786 edition as a possible choice for the basic text.

The next or fifth edition of the essay on gardening is a pirated edition of that of 1785. It has not been recorded before in any list of editions. It is now in the possession of W.S.Lewis and through his courtesy a collation of the text has been made. The paper on which it was printed is similar to that used in the eighteenth century for proofs and is watermarked 1788; the type is "Fournier, a face unused at Strawberry Hill where

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Caslon was alone employed."[1] The French version is filled

[1] Lewis edition, pp.78-79.

with errors, and on this evidence W.S.Lewis infers that it is "a pirated edition probably made in England."[2] A collation

[2] Ibid., p.79.

of the text shows that the English is also full of errors--errors which an Englishman would be unlikely to make. Hyphenations occur at places which according to English pronunciation would be very awkward, but which according to French pronunciation would be perfectly possible.[3] Also whenever Mr. is used in the

[3] p. 1, sponta-neously; p. 9, Whi-tehall; p. 13, distingui-shed; p. 21, fo-reseen; p. 37, esta-blished; p. 47, inti-rely.

essay it has always been printed M.---the French abbreviation of Monsieur.[4] There are errors in the spelling which indicate

[4] p. 32, M.Joseph Spence; p. 37, M.Kent; p. 39, M.Eyre; p. 45, M.Pope; p. 46, M.Pope; p. 53, M.Philip Southcote; p. 62, M.Vertue; p. 63, M.Chute.

unfamiliarity with the English language.[5] Hence it seems

[5] p. 4, wathered; p. 5, comprohending; p. 8, mon; p. 10, irregularity-might; p. 11, regulary; p. 25, coulouring; p. 33, Meandring; p. 42, poperly; p. 50, clamite; p. 52, divids; p. 59, chiar'oscuro; p. 62, pattons.

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probable that the essay may have been pirated in France. Another point which adds weight to this argument is the probability that an edition containing the French version would be more profitable as a financial venture in France, where interest in English gardening was spreading rapidly, than in England where there were already numerous editions of the essay.

III. Editions since Walpole's death.

The last edition of the "Essay on Modern Gardening" with which Walpole was actually concerned was that included in volume two of his Collected Works, published in 1798, one year after his death. This ~~edition~~ was edited by Miss Mary Berry, although it appeared under the name of her father. The Collected Works were begun by Walpole in 1768, because he had heard that a certain printer was preparing an edition, without his permission, to be published immediately upon his death.[1] Since he

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[1] To George Nicol, August 30,1792.

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greatly desired to prevent a garbled version of his works from appearing, he was much distressed in 1792 when it began to look as though his task would never be completed. That an edition of his works at least supervised by him should be carried through in spite of ill health became of great importance to him. He entrusted the work to Miss Berry and bequeathed to her along with his manuscripts many "notes, additions, and alterations which

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he had himself collected and arranged."[1] In the preface to

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1 Preface to the 1798 edition, p.6.

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the edition Mr.Berry wrote:

> Lord Orford may therefore still be considered as his own editor: everything that he had selected is faithfully given to the public; and his arrangement, as far as it had gone, is in every respect strictly adhered to...The friend to whom he has entrusted the care of his posthumous works has thought proper implicitly to follow the track which he found already prescribed for him.[2]

---

2 1798 ed. Preface, p.6.

Since we have no reason to doubt either the honesty of Miss Berry as an editor or her devotion to Walpole,[3] it may reason-

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3 Extracts of the Journals and Correspondence of Miss Berry, from the year 1783-1852. vol.ii,p.21. "Miss Berry describes herself in the same letter as labouring with incessant perseverance for nearly a twelvemonth; as neglecting all her own pursuits; never looking in a book but that was conducive in some degree to the work she had in hand; reading and re-reading with perfect integrity of intention, both with respect to the author and the public; and she adds that she is making all that part of the publication which depends on her selection as worthy of it as possible."

---

ably be assumed that the changes which appear in this edition of the "Essay on Modern Gardening" were intended by Walpole.

There are two new passages in this edition; one a footnote to explain Pliny's "daring introduction of nature"[4]

---

4 1798 ed., p.523.

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in the garden of his Tuscan villa, and the other a digression on the maze as a "silly fashion."[1] The note on Pliny indicates

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[1] 1798 ed., pp.526-527.

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that his inclusion of a natural garden was not unique in antiquity; but that Nero, also, had made some attempt at an imitation of nature in his palace grounds. A passage in Walpoliana[2] throws

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[2] John Pinkerton, Walpoliana: Biographical Sketch, pp.30-31.

---

light on the reasons for this addition. Apparently Pinkerton had suggested the connection between Nero and naturalistic gardening to Walpole at an earlier date, although Walpole never carried out his plan of using it in the essay. It was left to Miss Berry to carry out the author's intention. Pinkerton gives the Latin as well as his own translation in the account of his conversation with Walpole. A few minor differences are to be found between Pinkerton's and Walpole's versions which indicate that Walpole made some changes to suit his own purpose. The only reason for adding the second passage in illustration of the maze seems to be the obvious one that he felt the subject had not been fully enough discussed in the earlier editions. The addition of the above-quoted passages is the only change of any importance in the 1798 edition. The remaining changes, as the textual notes will show, are confined

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to punctuation. The addition of the use of the logical comma after and throughout is to be regretted, as it hampers the peculiar flowing quality which is a characteristic of Walpole's earlier prose. It may be that changing styles in punctuation caused Walpole to use the comma in this way in his later work; on the other hand Miss Berry may be responsible for these changes in punctuation. Since it is possible that Miss Berry may have made certain changes, the 1798 edition, even though Walpole partially supervised the revision, has not been considered as a possible basic text.

Since Walpole's time there have been five editions of the essay On Modern Gardening. In 1828 appeared the seventh edition again included in the Anecdotes of Painting and edited with additions by the Rev. J. Dallaway, consisting of extensive footnotes and Supplementary Anecdotes of Modern Gardening, an essay of his own. He returned to the 1782 text and for the most part followed it faithfully. He has, however, made a few minor changes for clearness in the punctuation and has modernized the titles of people and of books. His footnotes add much of interest to Walpole's essay; they have materially aided the present editor in the search for information concerning the gardens mentioned by Walpole.

In his Supplementary Anecdotes, Dallaway gives a more detailed history of gardening than Walpole; he also includes some account of the new English taste on the continent. In his discussion of the new style Dallaway adds to the material

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already given by Walpole a survey of the work of Brown, Chambers and Repton. His chief contribution, however, is his "literary history of gardening"[1] in which he attempts to

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1 Dallaway, "Supplementary Anecdotes of Modern Gardening," in Anecdotes of Painting, vol.4, p.301.

---

determine the importance of the publications on gardening "either didactic or controversial"[2] from Stephen Switzer's Inchonigraphia

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2 Ibid.

Rustica, 1718, to Repton's last publication in 1816. After discussing the various controversies[3] over the new school of

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3 The "Chinese" and the "Picturesque."

English gardening, he concludes his treatise in a truly Walpolian vein:

> "Taste, when not under the guidance of good sense, will degenerate into whimsical conceits and absurd anomalies, which instantly detect themselves. Pope's, which was the first given, is the best maxim--
>
> "Consult the genius of the place, in all."[4]

---

4 Dallaway, p.319.

Dallaway's attempt is interesting, but he is somewhat too close to the period to evaluate the contributions of the English landscape school.

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The eighth edition is that edited by R.N.Wornum, and included in the last volume of his three volume edition of the Anecdotes of Painting, published in 1849. It has usually been listed as an adaptation of the Dallaway edition,[1] because

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1 Catalogue of the British Museum, vol.61 W,7-8.

---

of Wornum's use of Dallaway's footnotes; the text, however, is closer to the 1798 edition than the 1782 edition which Dallaway has followed. Wornum also makes certain changes in punctuation for clearness and modernizes the titles both of people and of books. His notes are very largely taken from Dallaway with a few additions of his own which are of little importance.

The ninth edition is "a reprint in type facsimile, with a faithful translation into French by the Duke de Nivernois, of the edition printed by Mr. Walpole at Strawberry Hill, in 1785."[2] This edition contains an Introductory Note by Alice

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2 See title page.

Morse Earle, well known writer on Colonial gardening. It was published in 1904 by Lewis Buddy III: The Kirgate Press, Canton, Pennsylvania. Collation of the text with the 1785 edition shows that it is an accurate type facsimile. It is of primary interest as the first American edition of Walpole's essay, and because it is the first edition since Walpole's day to include the French translation. The reproduction of the original

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draughts of two letters from Walpole to the Duke of Nivernois, adds considerably to the charm of the edition.[1]

---

1 January 6,1785. February 1,1785. These original draughts are in the possession of the Princeton Library.

The most recent and tenth edition of the essay On Modern Gardening is that edited by W.S.Lewis, New York, 1931. Its chief interest lies in the fact that it is the first appearance of the essay apart from either the Anecdotes of Painting or the French version, which "confers upon it after one hundred and sixty years, an independent dignity."[2] Mr. Lewis has followed

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2 Lewis, p.77.

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the text of the 1798 edition, both in the inclusion of the two passages which do not appear elsewhere and in the punctuation.[3]

---

3 Lewis, Bibliographical Note, p.76: "'The Second Edition with Additions' was printed by Dodsley in London in 1782...The text of this edition has been followed in all subsequent editions, including the present." My collation of the text of the L.ed. with the 1782 ed. shows that this statement is incorrect.

In this, the eleventh edition of The History of the Modern Taste in Gardening, the purpose has been to present a definitive edition, based on the text of ~~the~~ 1782, ~~edition~~. The spelling and punctuation of the original text have been retained throughout.

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THE HISTORY OF THE MODERN TASTE IN GARDENING

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THE HISTORY OF THE MODERN TASTE IN GARDENING

Gardening was probably one of the first arts that succeeded to that of building houses, and naturally attended property and individual possession. Culinary,[a] and afterwards medicinal herbs,[b] were the objects of every head of a family:[c] it became convenient to have them within reach, without seeking[d] them at random in woods, in meadows, and on mountains, as often as they were wanted. When the earth ceased to furnish spontaneously[e] all these primitive luxuries, and culture became requisite, separate inclosures[f] for rearing herbs grew expedient. Fruits were in the same predicament, and those most in use[g] or that demand attention, must have entered into and extended the domestic inclosure.[h] The good man Noah,[i] we are told, planted a vineyard, drank of the wine, and was drunken, and every body

---

a 1798 ed. L.ed. culinary and

b 1798 ed. L.ed. herbs were

c W.ed. family;

d P.ed. secking

e P.ed. sponta-neously

f 1798 ed. W.ed. L.ed. enclosures

g 1798 ed. L.ed. use,

h 1798 ed. W.ed. L.ed. enclosure

i P.ed. omits told,

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knows the consequences. Thus we acquired kitchen-gardens, orchards, and vineyards. I am apprized[a] that the prototype of all these sorts was the garden[1] of Eden,[b] but as that Paradise[c] was a good deal larger than any we read of afterwards, being inclosed[d] by the rivers Pison, Gihon, Hiddekel, and Euphrates,[2] as every tree that was pleasant to the sight and good for food grew in it, and as two other trees were likewise found there, of which not a slip or sucker remains, it does not belong to the present discussion. After the fall[e] no man living was suffered to enter into[f] the garden; and the poverty and necessities of our first ancestors hardly allowed them time to make improvements on their estates in imitation of it, supposing any plan had been preserved. A cottage and a slip of ground for a cabbage and a gooseberry-bush, such as we see by the side of a common, were in all[g] probability the earliest seats and gardens:[h] a well[i] and bucket succeeded to the Pison and Euphrates. As

---

a W.ed. apprised
b 1785 ed. P.ed. 1798 ed. W.ed. E.ed. L.ed. Eden;
c W.ed. paradise
d 1798 ed. W.ed. L.ed. enclosed
e 1798 ed. D.ed. L.ed. fall,
f P.ed. omits into
g P.ed. oll
h W.ed. gardens;
i P.ed. wel

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settlements increased, the orchard and the vineyard followed; and the earliest princes of tribes possessed just the necessaries of a modern farmer.

Matters, we may well believe, remained long in this situation; and though the generality of mankind form their ideas from the import of words in their own age, we have no reason to think that for many centuries the term garden[3] implied more than a kitchen-garden or orchard. When a Frenchman reads of the garden of Eden, I do not doubt but he concludes it was something approaching to that of Versailles,[4] with clipt hedges, berceaus, and trellis-work. If his devotion humbles him so far as to allow that, considering who designed it, there might be a labyrinth full of AEsop's fables,[5] yet he does not conceive that four of the largest rivers in the world were half so magnificent as an hundred fountains full of statues by Girardon.[6] It is thus that the word garden has at all times passed for whatever was understood by that term in different Countries.[a] But that it meant no more than a kitchen-garden or orchard[b] for several centuries, is evident from those few descriptions that are preserved of the most famous gardens of antiquity.

---

a
1771 ed. 1785 ed. P.ed. 1798 ed. W.ed. L.ed. E.ed. countries

b
W.ed. kitchen-garden, or orchard

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That of Alcinous,[a] in the Odyssey,[b] is the most renowned in the heroic times.[7] Is there an admirer of Homer who can read his description without rapture;[c] or who does not form to his imagination a scene of delights more picturesque than the landscapes of Tinian[8] or Juan Fernandez?[9] Yet what was that boasted Paradise with which[d]

> To grace Alcinous and his happy land?[e] the gods ordain'd POPE.[10]

Why, divested of harmonious Greek[f] and bewitching poetry, it was a small orchard and vineyard,[g] with some beds of herbs[h] and two fountains that watered[i] them, inclosed[j] within a quickset hedge. The whole compass of this pompous garden inclosed[k]-- four acres.

> Four acres was th'allotted space of ground,
> Fenc'd with a green inclosure[l] all around. "

---

a
1785 ed. P.ed. E.ed. Alcinous in the Odyssey is
b
W.ed. Odyssey
c
W.ed. rapture?
d
P.ed. wich
e
W.ed. "the Gods ordain'd
To grace Alcinous and his happy land?"
f
L.ed. Greek &
g
D.ed. vineyard with
h
W.ed. herbs,
i
P.ed. wathered
j
1798 ed. W.ed. L.ed. enclosed
k
1798 ed. W.ed. L.ed. enclosed
l
1798 ed. W.ed. L.ed. enclosure

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The trees were apples, figs, pomegranates, pears, olives, and vines.

> Tall thriving trees confess'd the fruitful mold[a]
> The red 'ning[b] apple ripens into gold.
> Here the blue fig with luscious juice o'erflows,
> With deeper red the full pomegranate glows.
> The branch here bends beneath the weighty pear,
> And verdant olives flourish round the year.
> * * *
> Beds of all various herbs, for ever green,
> In beauteous order terminate the scene. 12

Alcinous's garden was planted by the poet, enriched by him with the fairy gift of eternal summer, and no doubt[c] an effort of imagination surpassing any thing he had ever seen. As he has bestowed on the same happy prince a palace with brazen walls and columns[d] of silver, he certainly intended that the garden should be proportionably magnificent. We are sure,[e] therefore[f] that as late as Homer's age,[13] an inclosure[g] of four acres, comprehending[h] orchard,[i] vineyard[j] and kitchen-garden, was a stretch

---

a
1798 ed. W.ed. L.ed. mould
b
1798 ed. W.ed. L.ed. redd'ning
c
W.ed. and, no doubt,
d
P.ed. colums
e
P.ed. W.ed. sure,
f
1798 ed. W.ed. L.ed. therefore,
g
1798 ed. W.ed. L.ed. enclosure
h
P.ed. comprohending
i
P.ed. orchard vineyard
j
1798 ed. W.ed. L.ed. vineyard,

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of luxury the world at that time had never beheld.

The hanging gardens of Babylon[14] were a still greater prodigy. We are not acquainted with their disposition or contents,[a] but[b] as they are supposed to have been formed on terrasses[c] and the walls of the palace, whither soil was conveyed on purpose, we are very certain of what they were not; I mean[d] they must have been trifling, of no extent, and a wanton instance of expence[e] and labour. In other words,[f] they were what sumptuous gardens have been[g] in all ages till the present,[h] unnatural, enriched by art, possibly with fountains, statues, balustrades,[i] and summer-houses,[j] and were any thing but verdant and rural.

From the days of Homer to those of Pliny,[15] we have no traces to lead our guess to what were the gardens of the inter-

---

a
1798 ed. W.ed. L.ed. contents;
b
W.ed. but,
c
W.ed. terraces
d
W.ed. mean,
e
W.ed. expense
f
1771 ed. 1785 ed. P.ed. 1798 ed. W.ed. E.ed. L.ed. words,
g
P.ed. peen
h
D.ed. present; W.ed. present-
i
D.ed. balustrades and
j
E.ed. summer-houses and

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vening ages. When Roman authors, whose climate instilled a wish for cool retreats, speak of their enjoyments in that kind, they sigh for grottos,[a] caves, and the refreshing hollows of mountains, near[b] irriguous and shady[c] founts; or boast of their porticos, walks of planes, canals, baths[d] and breezes from the sea. Their gardens are never mentioned as affording shade and shelter from the rage of the dog-star. Pliny[16] has left us descriptions of two of his villas. As he used his Laurentine villa[17] for his winter retreat,[e] it is not surprizing[f] that the garden makes no considerable part of the account. All he says of it is, that the gestatio or place of exercise, which surrounded the garden (the latter consequently not being very large)[g] was bounded by a hedge of box, and[h] where that was perished, with rosemary; that there was a walk of vines, and that most of the trees were fig and[i]

---

a 1785 ed. P.ed. E.ed. grottoes

b P.ed. mountains near

c W.ed. shaded

d 1798 ed. L.ed. baths,

e P.ed. winter-retreat

f 1786 ed. P.ed. W.ed. L.ed. surprising

g 1798 ed. L.ed. large,

h 1798 ed. L.ed. and,

i L.ed. or

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mulberry, the soil not being proper for any other sorts.

On his Tuscan villa[18] he is more diffuse,[a] the garden makes a considerable part of the description--and what was the principal beauty of that pleasure-ground? Exactly what was the admiration of this country about threescore years ago;[b] box-trees cut into monsters,[c] animals, letters, and the names of the master and the artificer. In an age when architecture displayed all its grandeur, all its purity, and all its taste; when arose Vespasian's amphitheatre,[19] the temple of Peace,[20] Trajan's forum,[d][21] Domitian's baths,[22] and Adrian's villa,[23] the ruins and vestiges of which still excite our astonishment and curiosity; a Roman consul, a polished emperor's[e] friend, and a man[f] of elegant literature[g] and taste, delighted in what the mob now scarce[h] admire in a college garden.[24] All the ingredients of Pliny's corresponded exactly with those laid out by London and Wise on Dutch principles.[25] He talks of slopes, terrasses,[i] a

---

a W.ed. diffuse;
b W.ed. ago-
c 1786 ed. int omonsters
d P.ed. forum.
e P.ed. emporer's,
f P.ed. mon
g 1771 ed. 1785 ed. 1786 ed. P.ed. E.ed. litterature
h P.ed. E.ed. searce
i W.ed. terraces

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wilderness, shrubs methodically trimmed, a marble bason,* pipes spouting water, a cascade falling into the bason, bay-trees,[a] alternately planted with planes, and a strait[b] walk,[c] from whence issued others parted off by hedges of box, and apple-trees, with obelisks placed between every two.[26] There wants nothing but the

* The English gardens described[d] by Hentzner[27] in the reign of Elizabeth,[e] are exact copies of those of Pliny. In that at Whitehall[f] was a sundial and[g] jet-d'eau, which[h] on turning a cock[i] spurted out water and sprinkled the spectators.[28] In lord[j] Burleigh's at Theobald's[k] were obelisks, pyramids, and circular porticos, with cisterns of lead for bathing.[29] At Hampton-court the garden walls[l] were covered with rosemary;[m] a custom, he says,[n] very common in England.[30] At Theobald's[o] was a labyrinth also,[p] an ingenuity I shall mention presently to have been frequent in that age.

---

a
1798 ed. L.ed. bay-trees alternately
b
1798 ed. W.ed. L.ed. straight
c
P.ed. walks
d
P.ed. describeb
e
1798 ed. L.ed. Elizabeth are
f
P.ed. Whi-tehall
g
L.ed. and a
h
W.ed. which,
i
W.ed. cock,
j
D.ed. Lord W.ed. Lord Burleigh's,
k
1771 ed. 1785 ed. P.ed. E.ed. Theobalds W.ed. Theobald's,
l
P.ed. garden-walls
m
1798 ed. L.ed. rosemary;
n
1786 ed. P.ed. D.ed. W.ed. L.ed. says,
o
1771 ed. 1785 ed. P.ed. E.ed. Theobalds
p
1798 ed. L.ed. also;

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embroidery of a parterre, to make a garden in the reign of Trajan serve for a description of one in that of king William.* In one passage above[a] Pliny seems to have conceived that natural irregularity might[b] be a beauty;[c] in opere urbanissimo, says he, subita velut illati ruris imitatio.[d] Something like a rural view was contrived amidst so much polished composition. But the idea soon vanished, lineal walks immediately enveloped the slight scene, and names and inscriptions in box again succeeded to compensate for the daring introduction of

* Dr. Plot, in his natural[e] history of Oxfordshire,[f] p.380, seems to have been a great admirer of trees carved into the most heterogeneous forms, which he calls topiary works, and quotes one Laurembergius for saying that the English are as expert as most nations in that kind of sculpture;[g] for which Hampton-court[h] was particularly remarkable. The Doctor[i] then names other gardens that flourished with animals[j] and castles, formed arte topiariâ,[k] and above all[l] a wren's nest[m] that was capacious enough to receive a man to sit on a seat made within it for that purpose.

---

a
1798 ed. L.ed. above,
b
P.ed. irregularity-might
c
1798 ed. L.ed. beauty: In
d
D.ed. W.ed. "in opere urbanissimo," says he, "subita velut illati ruris imitatio."
e
1798 ed. L.ed. Natural
f
D.ed. W.ed. History of Oxfordshire
g
P.ed. sculpture for
h
P.ed. Hamptoncourt
i
1771 ed. 1785 ed. P.ed. 1798 ed. W.ed. E.ed. L.ed. doctor
j
1771 ed. 1785 ed. P.ed. E.ed. animals,
k
D.ed. arte topiariâ W.ed. arte topiaria;
l
W.ed. all,
m
D.ed. W.ed. nest,

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nature.[a]

In the paintings found at Herculaneum[33] are a few traces of gardens,[34] as may be seen in the second volume of the prints. They are small square enclosures formed by trellis-work, and espaliers,* and regularly[b] ornamented with vases,[c] fountains and careatides,[d] elegantly symmetrical, and proper for the

* At Warwick-castle[35] is an ancient suit of arras, in which there is a garden exactly resembling these pictures of Herculaneum.

---

a
1798 ed. Works, vol.ii, p.523. "But though Pliny only caught an ideal glimpse of a possibility that nature might be no bad decoration; yet there had been a prince, who amidst all his wildness of extravagant expence (one of his slightest faults) had discovered real taste; and had also discovered two men of real genius who were capable of executing his most daring ideas; and his ideas anticipated the principles of modern gardening, and bespoken as accompaniment to the most costly of all palaces ground laid out with all the freedom of nature. How will my readers be surprised to hear that Nero himself was the prince in question! The fact is indubitable, is recorded by a most admired classic, and yet has never been noticed, till a gentleman Mr. Pinkerton who reads with the penetrating observation of Tacitus, furnished me with the following quotation from book xv. of the Annals of that masterly author. Taciti Annal. lib, xv. near the middle. Ceterum Nero usus est patriae ruinis, extruxitique domum, in qua haud perinde gemmae et aurum miraculo essent, solita pridem et luxu vulgata; quam arva, et stagna, et, in modum solitudinum, hinc silvae, inde aperta spatia, et prospectus. Magistris et machinatoribus Severo et Celere, quibus ingenium et audacia erat etiam quae natura denegavisset per artem tentare.
"Besides, Nero availed himself of the ruins of his country, and built a house in which gems and gold, formerly of usual and common luxury, were not so much to be admired as fields and lakes; and, as in deserts, here woods, there open spaces and prospects. The masters and designers being Severus and Celer; men possest of genius and courage to attempt by art even what nature had denied."
b
P.ed. regulary
c
1785 ed. P.ed. E.ed. vases fountains
d
1785 ed. P.ed. E.ed. Careatides

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narrow spaces alloted[a] to the garden of a house in a capital city. From such I would not banish those playful waters that refresh a sultry mansion in town, nor the neat trellis, which preserves its[b] wooden verdure better than natural greens exposed to dust.[c] Those treillages in the gardens at Paris, particularly[d] on the Boulevard, have a gay and delightful effect.[e] - They form light corridores, and transpicuous arbours[f] through which the sun-beams[g] play and chequer the shade, set off the statues, vases and flowers, that marry with their gaudy hotels, and suit the galant[h] and idle society who paint the walks between their parterres, and realize the fantastic scenes of Watteau[36] and Durfè.[i37]

From what I have said, it appears how naturally and insensibly the idea of a kitchen-garden slid into that which[j]

---

a P.ed. allotted
b 1771 ed. it
c 1786 ed. E.ed. dust,
d P.ed. particulary
e 1798 ed. W.ed. L.ed. effect. They
f W.ed. arbours,
g 1771 ed. 1785 ed. P.ed. E.ed. sunbeams
h 1786 ed. 1798 ed. W.ed. L.ed. gallant
i 1798 ed. L.ed. D'Urfey P.ed. D.ed. W.ed. Durfé
j P ed. wich

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has for so many ages been peculiarly termed a garden, and by our ancestors in this country,[a] distinguished[b] by the name of a pleasure-garden. A square piece of ground was originally parted off in early ages for the use of the family[c]-to exclude cattle[d] and ascertain the property[e] it was separated from the fields by a hedge. As pride and desire of privacy increased, the inclosure[f] was dignified by walls; and in climes where fruits were not lavished by the ripening glow of nature and soil, fruit-trees[g] were assisted and sheltered from surrounding winds by the like expedient; for the inundation of luxuries which have swelled into general necessities, have almost all taken their source from the simple fountain of reason.

When the custom of making square gardens inclosed[h] with walls was thus established, to the exclusion[i] of nature and*

* It was not uncommon, after the circumadjacent country had been shut out, to endeavour to recover it by raising large mounts of earth to peep over the walls of the garden.

---

a 1798 ed. L.ed. country distinguished
b P.ed. distingui-shed
c 1798 ed. L.ed. family: P.ed. fa-mily
d 1798 ed. L.ed. cattle,
e 1798 ed. L.ed. property,
f 1798 ed. W.ed. L.ed. enclosure
g P.ed. soil fruit-trees
h 1798 ed. W.ed. L.ed. enclosed
i E.ed. conclusion

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prospect,[a] pomp and solitude combined to call for something that might enrich and enliven the insipid and unanimated pártition. Fountains, first invented for use, which grandeur loves to disguise and throw out of the question, received embellishments from costly marbles, and at last[b] to contradict utility, tossed their waste of waters into air in spouting columns. Art, in the hands of rude man, had[c] at first been made a succedaneum to nature; in the hands of ostentatious wealth,[d] it became the means of opposing nature; and the more it traversed the march of the latter, the more nobility thought its power was demonstrated. Canals measured by the line were introduced in lieu of meandring[e] streams, and terrasses[f] were hoisted aloft in opposition to the facile slopes that imperceptibly unite the valley to the hill. Balustrades defended these precipitate and dangerous elevations, and flights of steps rejoined them to the subjacent flat from which the terrass[g] had been dug. Vases and sculpture were added to these unnecessary balconies, and statues furnished[h] the lifeless spot

---

a
1798 ed. D.ed. L.ed. and prospect,*
b
1798 ed. W.ed. L.ed. last,
c
P.ed. and
d
P.ed. wealth.
e
1798 ed. W.ed. L.ed. meandering D.ed. meandring
f
W.ed. terraces
g
W.ed. terrace
h
1786 ed. 1798 ed. L.ed. finished

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with mimic representations of the excluded sons of men. Thus[a] difficulty and expence[b] were the constituent parts of those sumptuous and selfish[c] solitudes; and every improvement that was made, was but a step farther from nature. The tricks[38] of waterworks[d] to wet the unwary, not to refresh the panting spectator, and parterres embroidered in patterns like a petticoat, were but the childish endeavours of fashion and novelty to reconcile greatness to what it had surfeited on. To crown these impotent displays of false taste, the sheers were applied to the lovely wildness of form with which nature has distinguished each various species of tree and shrub. The venerable oak, the romantic beech, the useful elm, even the aspiring circuit of the lime, the regular round of the chestnut, and the almost moulded orange-tree, were corrected by such fantastic admirers of symmetry. The compass and[e] square were of more use in plantations than the nurseryman. The measured walk, the quincunx, and the etoile[f] imposed their unsatisfying sameness on every royal and noble garden. Trees were headed, and their sides pared away; many French groves

---

a W.ed. Thus,
b W.ed. expense
c E.ed. selsish
d P.ed. W.ed. water-works
e L.ed. compass &
f W.ed. etoile,

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seem green chests set upon poles.[39] Seats of marble, arbours and summer-houses, terminated every visto; and symmetry, even where the space was too large to permit its being remarked at one view, was so essential, that, as Pope observed,

> each alley has a brother,
> And half the garden just reflects the other.[40]

Knots of flowers were more defensibly subjected to the same regularity. Leisure, as Milton expressed it,[a]

> in[b] trim gardens took his pleasure.[c][41]

In the garden of marshal[d] de Biron at Paris,[42] consisting of fourteen acres, every walk is buttoned on each side by lines of flower-pots, which succeed in their seasons. When I saw it, there were nine thousand pots of Asters,[e] or la Reine[f] Marguerite.

We do not precisely know what our ancestors meant by a bower,[g] it was probably an[h] arbour; sometimes it meant the whole frittered inclosure,[i] and in one instance it certainly included a labyrinth. Rosamond's bower[43] was indisputably of that

---

a 1786 ed. it.
b 1785 ed. P.ed. 1798 ed. L.ed. E.ed. In
c W.ed. "in trim gardens took his pleasure."
d D.ed. W.ed. Marshal L.ed. marshall
e 1798 ed. L.ed. asters
f 1798 ed. L.ed. reine
g 1798 ed. L.ed. bower:
h P.ed. au
i 1798 ed. W.ed. L.ed. enclosure

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kind, though[a] whether composed of walls or hedges[b] we cannot determine.*[c] A square and a round labyrinth were so capital ingredients of a garden formerly, that in Du Cerceau's architecture,[44] who lived in the time of Charles IX, and Henry III. there is scarce a ground-plot without one of each. The enchantment of antique appellations has consecrated a pleasing idea of a royal residence, of which we now regret the extinction. Havering in the Bower, the jointure of many dowager queens, conveys to us the notion of a romantic scene.[45]

* Drayton[d] in a note to his Epistle of Rosamund,[46] says,[e] her labyrinth was built of vaults under ground, arched and walled with brick and stone[f]--but, as Mr. Gough[47] observes, he gives no authority for that assertion, v. pref.[g] to 2d edit. of British Topography,[h] p.xxx.[i] Such vaults might remain to Drayton's time, but did not prove that there had been no superstructure.

---

a
W.ed. though,
b
W.ed. hedges,
c
1771 ed. 1785 ed. P.ed. E.ed. omit note on Drayton.
d
1798 ed. W.ed. L.ed. Drayton,
e
1786 ed. says her
f
W.ed. stone;
g
1798 ed. L.ed. Vide Pref.
h
D.ed. British Topography
i
W.ed. assertion. (V. pref. to 2d.ed. of British Topography, p.xxx.)

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In Kip's views of the seats of our nobility and gentry,[48] we see the same tiresome and returning uniformity. Every house is approached by two or three gardens, consisting perhaps of a gravel-walk and two grass-plats, or borders of flowers. Each rises above the other by two or three steps, and as many walls and[a] terrasses;[b] and so many iron-gates, that we recollect those ancient romances, in which every entrance was guarded by nymphs or dragons. At lady Orford's[c] at Piddletown[d] in Dorsetshire,[49] there was, when my brother married, a double inclosure[e] of thirteen gardens, each I suppose not much above an hundred yards square,[f] with an enfilade of correspondent gates; and before you arrived at these, you passed a narrow gut between two stone terrasses, that rose above your head, and which were crowned by a line of pyramidal yews. A bowling-green[g] was all the lawn admitted in those

---

a L.ed. & as many walls &

b W.ed. terraces

c W.ed. Orford's,

d W.ed. Piddletown,

e 1798 ed. W.ed. L.ed. enclosure

f 1771 ed. not an hundred feet square 1785 ed. P.ed. E.ed. not a hundred yards square

g P.ed. bowlin-green

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times, a circular lake the extent of magnificence.[a]

Yet[b] though these and such preposterous inconveniencies[c] prevailed from age to age, good sense in this country had perceived the want of something at once more grand and more natural.

---

[a] 1798 ed., Works, vol. ii, pp.526-527. "This, like other silly fashions, which, begun without meaning, are frequently continued with as little, lasted down to the reign of king William, and fell in with the mechanic taste of the Dutch. There was a maze in lord Arlington's garden,[50] on the site where is now the queen's house in St. James's park, thus celebrated in Latin verse by Charles Dryden in a volume of his father's Miscellanies.[51] Vide Horti Arlingtoniani, vol. i. part ii. p.273, 276.

> Nec te praeteream, tenebris quae dives opacis
> Sylva vires, vento motis peramabilis umbris!
> Hic magnus labor ille et inextricabilis error,
> Per quem mille viis errantem Thesea duxit
> Ah nimis infelix per fila sequentia virgo!
> Securi hic tenero ludunt in gramine amantes,
> Nec reperire viam curant, ubi lumina Vesper
> Deficiente die accendit; sed longius ipsam
> Hic secum placide cupiunt consumere moctem,
> Dum super arboreos modulans luscinia ramos
> Dulce melos iterat, tenerosque invitat amores.

In the royal garden at Hampton-court, planted in William's reign, there still exists, to the delight of school-boys and to the admiration of country visitors, a specimen of those insipid ingenuities."

[b] W.ed. yet,

[c] W.ed. inconveniences

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These reflections[a] and the bounds set to the waste made by royal spoilers,[b] gave origine[c] to parks.[52] They were contracted forests, and extended gardens. Hentzner says, that according to Rous of Warwick the first park was that at Woodstock.[53] If so, it might be the foundation of a legend that Henry II. secured his mistress in a labyrinth:[d] it was no doubt more difficult to find her in a park than in a palace, when the intricacy of the woods and various lodges buried in covert might conceal her actual habitation.[54]

It is more extraordinary[e] that having so long ago stumbled on the principle of modern gardening, we should have persisted in retaining its reverse, symmetrical and unnatural gardens. That parks were rare in other countries, Hentzer, who travelled over great[f] part of Europe, leads us to suppose, by observing that[g] they were common in England.[55] In France they retain the name, but nothing is more different both in compass and disposition. Their parks are usually square or oblong inclosures,[h] regularly planted with walks of chestnuts

---

a
1798 ed. L.ed. reflections,
b
1786 ed. spoilers gave
c
1798 ed. W.ed. L.ed. origin
d
W.ed. labyrinth;
e
1798 ed. L.ed. extraordinary,
f
L.ed. over a great
g
P.ed. tgat
h
1798 ed. W.ed. L.ed. enclosures

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or limes, and generally every large town has one for its public recreation. They are exactly like Burton's court[a] at Chelsea-college,[b] and rarely larger.

One man, one great man we had, on whom nor education nor custom could impose their prejudices; who, on evil days though fallen, and[c] with darkness[d] and solitude compassed round, [56] judged that the mistaken and fantastic ornaments he had seen in gardens, were unworthy of the almighty[e] hand that planted the delights of Paradise.[f] He seems with the prophetic eye of taste [as I have heard taste well*[g] defined][h] to have conceived, to have foreseen[i] modern gardening; as lord[j] Bacon announced the discoveries since made by experimental philosophy. [57]

* By the great lord Chatham, who had a good taste himself in modern gardening, as he showed[k] by his own villas in Enfield Chace[l] and at Hayes. [58]

---

a W.ed. Burton's-court

b W.ed. Chelsea-college E.ed. Che ae-college

c L.ed. fallen,&

d P.ed. darkness,

e W.ed. Almighty

f W.ed. paradise

g 1771 ed. 1785 ed. P.ed. E.ed. well note omitted

h D.ed. well defined* L.ed. (as I have heard taste well* defined)

i P.ed. fo-reseen

j W.ed. D.ed. Lord

k 1798 ed. W.ed. L.ed. showed

l W.ed. Enfield-chase

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The description of Eden is a warmer and[a] more just picture of the present style than Claud Lorrain[59] could have painted from Hagley[60] our Stourhead.[61] The first line I shall quote[b] exhibit Stourhead on a more magnificent scale.

> Thro'[c] Eden went a river large,
> Nor chang'd his course, but thro' the shaggy hill,[d]
> Pass'd[e] underneath ingulph'd,[f] for God had thrown
> That mountain as his garden-mound, high rais'd
> Upon the rapid current--[g] [62]

Hagley seems pictured in what follows,

> which[h] thro' veins
> Of porous earth with kindly thirst updrawn,
> Rose a fresh fountain, and with many a rill
> Water'd the garden--[i] [63]

What colouring,[j] what freedom of pencil, what landscape[k] in these lines,[l]

> --from[m] that saphire[n] fount the crisped brooks,
> Rolling on orient pearl and sands of gold,
> With mazy error under pendent shades
> Ran nectar, visiting each plant, and fed [64]

---

a
L.ed. warmer &
b
1771 ed. 1785 ed. P.ed. E.ed. quote,
c
P.ed. Tho W.ed. "Thro
d
1771 ed. 1785 ed. P.ed. 1798 ed. W.ed. E.ed. L.ed. hill
e
P.ed. pass'
f
1798 ed. L.ed. ingulph'd;
g
W.ed. current."-
h
W.ed. "which
i
W.ed. garden."-
j
P.ed. coulouring what
k
1785 ed. P.ed. E.ed. landscape,
l
W.ed. lines-
m
W.ed. "From
n
W.ed. sapphire

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> Flow'rs worthy of Paradise, which not nice art
> In beds and curious knots, but nature boon
> Pour'd forth profuse on hill and dale and plain,
> Both where the morning sun first warmly smote
> The open field, and where the unpierc'd shade
> Imbrown'd the noon-tide bow'rs--Thus was this place
> A happy rural seat of various view[a] 65

Read this transporting description, paint to your mind the scenes that follow, contrast them with the savage but respectable terror with which the poet guards the bounds of his Paradise, fenced

> --with[b] the champain head
> Of a steep wilderness, whose hairy sides
> With thicket overgrown, grotesque and wild[c]
> Access denied; and over head upgrew
> Insuperable height of loftiest shade,
> Cedar[d] and pine, and fir, and branching palm,
> A sylvan scene, and[e] as the ranks ascend,
> Shade above shade, a woody theatre
> Of stateliest view--[f] 66

and then recollect that the author of this sublime vision had never seen a glimpse of any thing like what he has imagined,[g] that his favourite ancients had dropped not a hint of such divine scenery,[h] and that the conceits in Italian gardens, and Theobalds[i] and Nonsuch,[67] were the brightest originals that his memory could

---

a W.ed. view."-
b W.ed. "with
c 1798 ed. L.ed. wild,
d W.ed. Cedar,
e 1798 ed. L.ed. and,
f P.ed. view W.ed. view."
g 1798 ed. L.ed. imagined;
h 1798 ed. L.ed. scenery;
i 1798 ed. L.ed. Theobald's

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furnish. His intellectual eye saw a nobler plan, so little did he suffer by the loss of sight. It sufficed him to have seen the materials with which he could work. The vigour of a boundless imagination told him how a plan might be disposed, that would embellish nature, and restore art to its proper office, the just improvement or imitation of it.*

It is necessary that the concurrent testimony of the age should swear to posterity that the description above-quoted[a] was written above half a century before the introduction of modern gardening,[68] or our incredulous descendents[b] will defraud the poet of half his glory, by being persuaded that he copied some garden or gardens he had seen--so minutely do his ideas correspond with the present standard. But what shall we say for that intervening half century who could read that plan and never

* Since the above was written, I have found Milton praised and sir[c] William Temple censured, on the same foundations, in a poem called[d] The Rise and Progress of the present Taste in Planting,[e] printed in 1767.[69]

---

a 1785 ed. P.ed. 1798 ed. E.ed. L.ed. above quoted

b 1798 ed. W.ed. L.ed. descendants

c D.ed. W.ed. Sir

d 1771 ed. called,

e 1798 ed. L.ed. The rise and progress of the present taste in planting. D.ed. W.ed. The Rise and Progress of the present Taste in Planting

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attempt to put it in execution?

Now let us turn to an admired writer,[70] posterior to Milton, and see how cold, how insipid, how tasteless is his account of what he pronounced a perfect garden. I speak not of his style, which it was not necessary for him to animate with the colouring[a] and glow of poetry. It is his want of ideas, of imagination, of taste, that I censure, when he dictated on a subject that is capable of all the graces that a knowledge of beautiful nature can bestown. Sir William Temple was an excellent man; Milton,[b] a genius of the first order.

We cannot wonder that sir William declares in favour of parterres, fountains and statues, as necessary to break the sameness of large grass-plats, which he thinks have an ill effect upon the eye, when he acknowledges that he discovers fancy in the gardens of Alcinous.[71] Milton studies the ancients with equal enthusiasm, but no bigotry, and had judgment to distinguish between the want of invention ahd the beauties of poetry. Compare his Paradise[72] with Homer's garden, both ascribed to a celestial design. For sir William, it is just to observe, that his ideas centred[c] in a fruit-garden. He had the honour of giving to his country many delicate fruits, and he thought of little else than dis-

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a P.ed. coulouring

b 1785 ed. E.ed. Milton a

c 1771 ed. 1785 ed. P.ed. E.ed. centured W.ed. centered

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posing them to the best advantage. Here is the passage I proposed to quote;[74] it is long, but I need not make an apology to the reader for entertaining him with any other words instead of my own.

"The best figure of a garden is either a square or an oblong, and either upon a flat or a descent: they have all their beauties, but the best I esteem an oblong upon a descent. The beauty, the air, the view makes[a] amends for the expence,[b] which is very great in finishing and supporting the terras-walks,[c] in levelling the parterres, and in the stone-stairs[d] that are necessary from one to the other.

"The perfectest figure of a garden I ever saw, either at home or abroad, was that of Moor-park in Hertfordshire,[e] when I knew it about thirty years ago. It was made by the countess[f] of Bedford,[g] esteemed among the greatest wits of her time,[75] and celebrated by doctor Donne;[76] and with very great care, excellent contrivance,[h] and much cost;[i] but greater sums may be thrown

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[a] 1785 ed. E.ed. make
[b] W.ed. expense
[c] 1798 ed. L.ed. terrass-walks W.ed. terrace-walks
[d] D.ed. W.ed. stone stairs
[e] P.ed. Hertfodshire
[f] D.ed. Countess
[g] P.ed. Bedfort
[h] 1785 ed. E.ed. contrivance and
[i] W.ed. cost,

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away without effect or honour, if there want[a] sense in proportion to money, or <u>if nature be not followed</u>, which I take to be the great rule in this, and perhaps in every thing else, as far as the conduct not only of our lives, but our governments."
[We shall see how <u>natural</u> that admired garden was.][b]

"Because I take* the garden I have named to have been in all kinds the most beautiful and perfect, at least in the figure and disposition[c] that I have ever seen, I will describe it for a model to those that meet with such a situation, and are above the regards of common expence.[d] It lies on the side of a hill, upon which the house stands, but not very steep. The length of the house, where the best rooms and of most use or pleasure are, lies upon the breadth of the garden; the great parlour opens into the middle of a terras[e] gravel-walk

* 77
This garden seems to have been made after the plan laid down by lord[f] Bacon in his 46th essay,[g] to which, that I may not multiply quotations, I will refer the reader.[h]

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a
1785 ed. P.ed. E.ed. wants
b
L.ed. (We shall see how <u>natural</u> that admired garden was.)
D.ed. We shall see how <u>natural</u> that admired garden was. W.ed. We shall see etc.
c
1798 ed. L.ed. disposition,
d
W.ed. expense
e
1798 ed. L.ed. terass W.ed. terrace
f
W.ed. Lord
g
W.ed. Essay
h
W.ed. reader.-

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that lies even with it, and which may lie, as I remember, about three hundred paces long, and broad in proportion; the border set with standard laurels and at large distances, which have the beauty of orange-trees out of flower and fruit. From this walk are three descents by many stone steps,[a] in the middle and at each end,[b] into a very large parterre. This is divided into quarters by gravel-walks, and[c] adorned with two fountains and eight statues in the several quarters. At the end of the terras-walk[d] are two summer-houses, and the sides of the parterre are ranged with two large cloisters open to the garden, upon arches of stone, and ending with two other summer-houses even with the cloisters, which are paved with stone, and designed for walks of shade, there being none other in the whole parterre. Over these two cloisters are two terrasses covered with lead and fenced with balusters; and the passage into these airy walks is out of the two summer-houses at the end of the first terras-walk.[e] The cloister facing the south is covered with vines, and would have been proper for an orange-house, and the other for myrtles or other more common greens, and had, I doubt not, been cast for that purpose, if this piece

---

a P.ed. steps;
b P.ed. end into
c L.ed. gravel-walks, &
d 1798 ed. L.ed. terrass-walk W.ed. terrace-walk
e 1798 ed. L.ed. terrass-walk W.ed. terrace-walk

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of gardening had been then in as much vogue as it is now.

"From the middle of this parterre is a descent by many steps flying on each side of a grotto that lies between them, covered with lead and flat, into the lower garden[a] which is all fruit-trees ranged about the several quarters of a wilderness[b] which is very shady; the walks here are all green, the grotto embellished with figures of shell-rock-work,[c] fountains, and water-works. If the hill had not ended with the lower garden, and the wall were not bounded by a common way that goes through the park, they might have added a third quarter of all greens; but this want is supplied by a garden on the other side the house, which is all of that sort, very wild, shady, and adorned with rough rock-work and[d] fountains.

78

"This was Moor-park, when I was acquainted with it, and the sweetest place, I think, that I have seen in my life, either before or since, at home or abroad."[e]

I will make no farther remarks on this description. Any man might design and build as sweet a garden, who had been born in and never stirred out of Holbourn.[f] 79 It was not peculiar

---

a 1771 ed. 1785 ed. P.ed. 1798 ed. E.ed. L.ed. garden,

b W.ed. wilderness,

c 1771 ed. shell-rock-work;

d L.ed. & adorned with rough rock-work &

e 1798 ed. W.ed. L.ed. abroad."

f W.ed. Holborn

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to sir William Temple to think in that manner. How many Frenchman are there who have seen our gardens, and still prefer natural flights of steps and shady cloisters covered with lead! Le Nautre,[a] 80 the architect of the groves and grottoes[b] at Versailles, came hither on a mission to improve our taste He planted St. James's and Greenwich parks--no great monuments of his invention.[81]

To do farther justice to sir William Temple, I must not omit what he adds.[c] 82 "What I have said of the best forms of gardens,[d] is meant only of such as are in some sort regular; for there may be other forms wholly irregular, that may, for aught I know, have more beauty than any of the others;[e] but they must owe it to some extraordinary dispositions of nature in the seat, or some great race of fancy or judgment in the contrivance, which may reduce many disagreeing parts into some figure, which shall yet, upon the whole, be very agreeable.[f] Something of this I have seen in some places, but heard more of it from others, who have lived much among the Chineses,[g] a people whose way of

---

a
1798 ed. L.ed. Le Nôtre
b
1798 ed. W.ed. L.ed. grottos
c
1798 ed. L.ed. adds:
d
W.ed. gardens is
e
1798 ed. L.ed. others:
f
1771 ed. agreable
g
1798 ed. L.ed. Chinese

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thinking seems to lie as wide of ours in Europe,[a] as their country does.[b]- Their greatest reach of imagination is employed in contriving figures, where the beauty shall be great and strike the eye, but without any order or disposition of parts,[c] that shall be commonly or easily observed.[83] And though we have hardly any notion of this sort of beauty, yet they have a particular word to express it; and where they find it hit their eye at first sight, they say the Sharawadgi[d] is fine or is admirable, or any such expression of esteem--but I should hardly advise any of these attempts in the figure of gardens among us,[e] they are adventures of too hard atchievement[f] for any common hands;[g] and though there may be more honour if they succeed well, yet there is more dishonour if they fail, and it is twenty to one they will; whereas in regular figures[h] it is hard to make any great and remarkable faults."

Fortunately[i] Kent[84] and a few others were not quite so

---

a W.ed. Europe as
b 1786 ed. does, W.ed. does.
c P.ed. 1798 ed. L.ed. parts that
d 1798 ed. L.ed. sharawadgi
e 1798 ed. W.ed. L.ed. us;
f 1798 ed. W.ed. L.ed. achievement
g 1798 ed. 1786 ed. L.ed. hands:
h 1771 ed. 1785 ed. P.ed. E.ed. figures,
i W.ed. Fortunately,

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timid, or we might still be going up and down stairs in the open air.

It is true, we have heard much lately, as sir[a] William Temple did, of irregularity and imitations of nature in the gardens or grounds of the Chinese. The former is certainly true; they are as whimsically irregular[b] as European gardens are formally uniform,[c] and unvaried[d]--but with regard to nature, it seems as much avoided,[e] as in the squares and oblongs[f] and strait[g] lines of our ancestors. An artificial perpendicular rock starting out of a flat plain, and connected with nothing, often pierced through in various places with oval hollows,[h] has no more pretension to be deemed natural than a lineal terrass[i] or a parterre. The late Mr.[j] Joseph Spence, 95 who had both taste and zeal for the present style, was so persuaded of the Chinese emperor's[k] pleasure-ground being laid out on

---

a D.ed. W.ed. Sir
b 1771 ed. 1785 ed. P.ed. E.ed. irregular,
c 1798 ed. L.ed. uniform and
d W.ed. unvaried;
e 1798 ed. L.ed. avoided as
f 1785 ed. P.ed. E.ed. oblongs,
g 1798 ed. W.ed. L.ed. straight
h P.ed. hollow
i W.ed. terrace
j P.ed. M.
k D.ed. Emperor's

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principles resembling ours, that he translated and published, under the name of sir Harry Beaumont, a particular account of that inclosure[a] from the collection of the letters of the Jesuits.[86] I have looked it over, and[b] except a determined irregularity, can find nothing in it that gives me any idea of attention being paid to nature. It is of vast circumference[c] and contains 200 palaces, besides as many contiguous for the eunuchs, all gilt, painted and varnished. There are raised hills from 20 to 60[d] feet high, streams and lakes, and one of the latter five miles round.[e] These waters are passed by bridges[f]-but even their bridges must not be strait[g]--they[h] serpentize[i] as much as the rivulets, and are sometimes so long as to be furnished with resting-places, and begin and end with triumphal arches. Methinks a strait[j] canal is as rational at least as a mæandring[k]

---

a
1798 ed. W.ed. L.ed. enclosure from
b
1798 ed. L.ed. and,
c
1798 ed. W.ed. L.ed. circumference,
d
W.ed. L.ed. twenty to sixty
e
P.ed. round,
f
1798 ed. L.ed. bridges, W.ed. bridges;
g
1798 ed. W.ed. L.ed. straight
h
P.ed. the
i
1798 ed. L.ed. serpentise D.ed. W.ed. serpentine
j
1798 ed. W.ed. L.ed. straight
k
P.ed. Meandring D.ed. meandring 1798 ed. W.ed. L.ed. meandering

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bridge. The colonades[a] undulate in the same manner. In short, this pretty gaudy scene is the work of caprice and whim;[b] and[c] when we reflect on their buildings, presents no image but that of unsubstantial tawdriness. Nor is this all. Within this fantastic Paradise[d] is a square town, each side a mile long. Here the eunuchs of the court, to entertain his imperial majesty with the bustle and business of the capital in which he resides, but which it is not of his dignity ever to see, act merchants and all sorts of trades, and even designedly exercise for his royal amusement every art of knavery that is practised under his auspicious government. Methinks this is the childish solace and repose of grandeur, not a retirement from affairs to the delights of rural life. Here too[e] his majesty[f] plays at agriculture; 87 there is a quarter set apart for that purpose; the eunuchs sow, reap, and carry in their harvest in the imperial presence; and his majesty returns to Pekin[g] persuaded that

---

a
1798 ed. W.ed. L.ed. colonnades
b
1798 ed. L.ed. whim,
c
1798 ed. L.ed. and,
d
1798 ed. W.ed. L.ed. paradise
e
W.ed. Here, too,
f
D.ed. Majesty
g
1786 ed. D.ed. W.ed. Pekin,

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he has been in the country.*[a]

*

The French have of late years adopted our style in gardens,[b] but chusing[c] to be fundamentally obliged to more remote rivals, they deny us half the merit, or rather the originality of the invention, by ascribing the discovery to the Chinese, and by calling our taste in gardening Le Gout[d] Anglo-Chinois.[88] I think I have shewn[e] that this is a blunder, and that the Chinese have passed to one extremity of absurdity, as the French and all antiquity had advanced to the other, both being equally remote from nature;[f] regular formality is the opposite point to fantastic Sharawadgis.[g] The French, indeed, during the fashionable paroxysm of philosophy, have surpassed us, at least in meditation on the art.[89] I have perused a grave treatise of recent date, in which the author, extending his views beyond mere luxury and amusement, has endeavoured to inspire his countrymen, even in the gratification of their expensive pleasures, with benevolent projects. He proposes to them to combine gardening with charity, and to make every step of their walks an act of generosity and a lesson of morality. Instead of adorning favourite points with a heathen temple, a Chinese pagoda, a Gothic tower, or fictitious bridge, he proposes to them[h] at the first resting-place to erect a school;[i] a little farther to found an academy; at a third distance, a manufacture; and[j] at the termination of the park[k]

---

a
1771 ed. 1785 ed. P.ed. E.ed. country. Omit note.
b
1798 ed. L.ed. gardens;
c
1798 ed. W.ed. L.ed. choosing
d
D.ed. Le Gout Anglo-Chinois
e
1798 ed. W.ed. L.ed. shown
f
1798 ed. L.ed. nature:
g
1798 ed. L.ed. sharawadgis
h
1798 ed. L.ed. them,
i
1786 ed. school:
j
W.ed. and,
k
W.ed. park,

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Having thus cleared my way by ascertaining what have been the ideas on gardening in all ages,[a] as far as we have materials to judge by, it remains to show[b] to what degree

> to endow an hospital. Thus, says he, the proprietor would be led to meditate, as he saunters, on the different stages of human life,[c] and both his expence[d] and thoughts would march in a progression of patriotic acts and reflections. When he was laying out so magnificent, charitable, and philosophic an Utopian villa, it would have cost no more to have added a foundling-hospital, a senate-house, and a burying-ground.--[e] If I smile at such visions, still one must be glad[f] that in the whirl of fashions,[g] beneficence should have its turn in vogue; and though the French treat the virtues like every thing else, but as an object of mode, it is to be hoped that they too will, every now and then, come into fashion again. The author I have been mentioning reminds me of a French gentleman, who[h] some years ago made me a visit at Strawberry-hill.[90] He was so complaisant as to commend the place, and to approve our taste in gardens[i]--but in the same style of thinking with the above cited[j] author, he said,[k] "I do not like your imaginary temples and fictitious terminations of views: I would have real points of view[l]

---

a
D.ed. W.ed. ages as
b
1785 ed. P.ed. E.ed. shew
c
1798 ed. L.ed. life;
d
W.ed. expense
e
W.ed. burying-ground. If
f
W.ed. glad,
g
1798 ed. L.ed. fashions beneficence
h
W.ed. gentleman who,
i
D.ed. W.ed. gardens;
j
1798 ed. W.ed. L.ed. above-cited
k
W.ed. said-
l
W.ed. view,

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Mr.[a] Kent invented the new style, and what hints he had received to suggest and conduct his undertaking.

We have seen what Moor-park was, when pronounced a standard. But as no succeeding generation in an opulent and luxurious country contents itself with the perfection established[b] by its ancestors, more perfect perfection was still sought; and[c] improvements had gone on, till London and Wise had stocked our gardens with giants, animals,[d] monsters,** coats of arms and mottoes[e] in yew, box and holly.

> with moving objects;[f] for instance, here I would have--(I forget what)--and there a watering-place." "That is not so easy, I replied; one[g] cannot oblige others to assemble at such or such a spot for one's amusement[h]--however, I am glad you would like a watering place, for <u>there</u> happens to be one; in that creek of the Thames the inhabitants of the village do actually water their horses; but I doubt whether, if it were not <u>convenient</u> to them to do so, they would frequent the spot only to enliven my prospect."--Such Gallo-Chinois[i] gardens, I apprehend, will rarely be executed.
>
> **
>
> On the piers of a garden-gate[j] not far from Paris[k] I observed two very coquet sphinxes.[91] These lady monsters had straw

---

[a] P.ed. M.
[b] P.ed. esta-blished
[c] L.ed. &
[d] P.ed. animals monsters
[e] 1798 ed. L.ed. mottos, D.ed. mottoes,
[f] 1798 ed. L.ed. objects:
[g] 1798 ed. W.ed. L.ed. easy," I replied; "one
[h] 1798 ed. L.ed. amusement:- W.ed. amusement;
[i] D.ed. <u>Gallo-Chinois</u>
[j] W.ed. garden-gate,
[k] W.ed. Paris,

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Absurdity could go no farther, and the tide turned. Bridgman,[92] the next fashionable designer of gardens, was far more chaste; and[a] whether from good sense, or that the nation had been struck and reformed by the admirable paper in the Guardian,[93] No 173, he banished verdant sculpture, and did not even revert to the square precision of the foregoing age. He enlarged his plans, disdained to make every division tally to its opposite,[b] and though he still adhered much to strait[c] walks with high clipped hedges, they were only his great lines; the rest he diversified by wilderness,[94] and with loose groves of oak, though still within surrounding hedges. I have observed in the garden*

> hats[d] gracefully smart on one side of their heads, and silken cloaks half veiling their necks; all executed in stone.
>
> *
> The seat of the late sir[e] Jeremy[f] Sambroke. It had formerly[g] belonged to lady[h] More, mother-in-law of sir[i] Thomas More, and had been tyrannically wrenched from her by Henry VIII[j] on the execution of sir Thomas, though not her son, and though her jointure from a former husband.

---

a
1798 ed. L.ed. and,
b
1798 ed. W.ed. L.ed. opposite;
c
1798 ed. L.ed. straight
d
W.ed. hats,
e
D.ed. Sir
f
E.ed. Jemery
g
P.ed. formely
h
D.ed. Lady
i
D.ed. Sir
j
L.ed. Henry VIII,

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at Gubbins[a] in Hertfordshire many detached thoughts,[b] that strongly indicate the dawn of modern taste. As his reformation gained footing, he ventured farther, and in the royal garden at Richmond dared to introduce cultivated fields, and even morsels of a forest appearance, by the sides of those endless and tiresome walks, that stretched out of one into another without intermission. But this was[c] not till other innovators had broke[d] loose from rigid symmetry.

But the capital stroke, the leading step to all that has followed, was[I believe the first thought was Bridgman's][e] the destruction of walls for boundaries, and the invention of fossès[f]--an attempt then deemed so astonishing, that the common people called them Ha! Ha's! to express their surprize[g] at finding a sudden and unperceived check to their walk.

One of the first gardens planted in this simple[h] though still formal style, was my father's at Houghton.[95] It was laid out by Mr.[i] Eyre,[j] an imitator of Bridgman. It contains

---

a
1785 ed. P.ed. E.ed. garden at* Gubbins W.ed. garden* at Gubbins, L.ed. garden at Gubbins*

b
1798 ed. L.ed. Thoughts that

c
P.ed. vas

d
1798 ed. L.ed. broken

e
P.ed. 1798 ed. L.ed. (I believe the first thought was Bridgeman's)

f
1785 ed. P.ed. 1798 ed. D.ed. W.ed. L.ed. fossés

g
1798 ed. W.ed. L.ed. surprise

h
W.ed. simple

i
P.ed. M.

j
1785 ed. P.ed. E.ed. Eyre and

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three-and-twenty acres, then reckoned a considerable portion.

I call a sunk fence the leading step, for these reasons.[a] No sooner was this simple enchantment made, than levelling, mowing and rolling, followed. The contiguous ground of the park[b] without the sunk fence[c] was to be harmonized with the lawn within; and the garden in its turn was to be set free from its prim regularity, that it might assort with the wilder country without. The sunk fence ascertained the specific garden,[d] but that it might not draw too obvious a line of distinction between the neat and the rude, the contiguous outlying[e] parts came to be included in a kind of general design: and when nature was taken into the plan, under improvements, every step that was made, pointed out new beauties and[f] inspired new ideas. At that moment appeared Kent, 96 painter enough to taste the charms of landscape, bold and opinionative enough to dare and to dictate, and born with a genius to strike out a great system from the twilight of imperfect essays. He leaped the fence, and saw that all nature was a garden. He felt the delicious contrast of hill and valley changing imperceptibly into each other, tasted the beauty of the gentle swell, or concave scoop, and remarked

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a
1798 ed. L.ed. reasons:
b
W.ed. park,
c
W.ed. fence,
d
1798 ed. W.ed. L.ed. garden;
e
1798 ed. L.ed. outlying
f
L.ed. &

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how loose groves crowned an easy eminence with happy ornament, and[a] while they called in the distant view between their graceful stems, removed and extended the perspective by delusive comparison.

Thus the pencil of his imagination bestowed all the arts of landscape on the scenes he handled. The great principles on which he worked were perspective, and light and shade. Groupes[b] of trees broke too uniform or too extensive a lawn; evergreens and woods were opposed to the glare of the champain,[c] and where the view was less fortunate, or so much exposed as to be beheld at once, he blotted out some parts by thick shades, to divide it into variety, or to make the richest scene more enchanting by reserving it to a farther advance of the spectator's step.[d] Thus[e] selecting favourite objects, and veiling deformities by screens of plantation;[f] sometimes allowing the rudest waste to add its foil to the richest theatre, he realised the compositions of the greatest masters in painting. Where objects were wanting[g]

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a
1798 ed. L.ed. and,
b
D.ed. W.ed. groups
c
1798 ed. W.ed. L.ed. champaign;
d
1785 ed. P.ed. E.ed. steps
e
1771 ed. 1785 ed. P.ed. E.ed. Thus,
f
1798 ed. L.ed. plantation,
g
P.ed. want.ing

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to animate his horizon, his taste[a] as an architect could bestow immediate termination. His buildings, his seats, his temples, were more the works of his pencil than of his compasses. We owe the restoration of Greece and the diffusion of architecture to his skill in landscape.

But of all the beauties he added to the face of this beautiful country, none surpassed his management of water. Adieu to canals, circular basons, and cascades tumbling down marble steps, that last absurd magnificence of Italian and French villas. The forced elevation of cataracts was no more. The gentle stream was taught to serpentize[b] seemingly at its pleasure,[c] and[d] where discontinued by different levels,[e] its course appeared to be concealed by thickets properly[f] interspersed, and glittered again at a distance where it might be supposed naturally to arrive. Its borders were smoothed, but preserved their waving irregularity. A few trees scattered here and there on its edges sprinkled the tame bank that accompanied its[g] mæanders;[h] 97 and when it disappeared among the hills, shades descending from the heights leaned towards

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a
L.ed. tastes
b
1798 ed. L.ed. serpentise
c
1798 ed. L.ed. pleasure;
d
L.ed. &
e
W.ed. levels its
f
P.ed. poperly
g
P.ed. it
h
1798 ed. W.ed. L.ed. meanders P.ed. M anders

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its progress, and framed the distant point of light under which it was lost, as it turned aside to either hand of the blue horizon.

Thus dealing in none but the colours of nature, and catching its most favourable features, men saw a new creation opening before their eyes. The living landscape was chastened[a] or polished, not transformed. Freedom was given to the forms of trees; they extended their branches unrestricted,[b] and[c] where any eminent oak,[d] or master beech[e] had escaped maiming[f] and survived the forest, bush and bramble was[g] removed, and all its honours were restored to distinguish and shade the plain. Where the united plumage of an ancient wood extended wide its undulating canopy, and stood venerable in its darkness, Kent thinned the foremost ranks, and left but so many detached and scattered trees, as[h] softened the approach of gloom[i] and blended a chequered light with the thus lengthened shadows of the remaining columns.

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a P.ed. chastened,
b 1798 ed. D.ed. L.ed. unrestricted;
c L.ed. &
d W.ed. oak or
e 1798 ed. L.ed. beech,
f 1798 ed. W.ed. L.ed. maiming,
g 1798 ed. L.ed. were
h P.ed. omits as
i 1798 ed. W.ed. L.ed. gloom,

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Succeeding[a] artists have added new masterstrokes to these touches; perhaps improved or brought to perfection some that I have named. The introduction of foreign trees and plants, which we owe principally to Archibald duke[b] of Argyle,[98] contributed essentially to the richness of colouring[c] so peculiar to our modern landscape. The mixture of various greens, the contrast of forms between our forest-trees and the northern and West-Indian firs and[d] pines, are improvements more recent than Kent, or but little known to him. The weeping-willow[e] and every florid shrub, each[f] tree of delicate or bold leaf, are new tints in the composition of our gardens. The last century was certainly acquainted with many of those rare plants we now[g] admire. The Weymouth pine has long been naturalised here;[h] the patriarch plant still exists at Longleat.[99] The light and graceful acacia was known as early; witness those ancient stems in the court of of Bedford-house[i] in Bloomsbury-square;[100] and in the bishop[j] of

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a P.ed. succeding
b W.ed. Duke
c P.ed. coulouring
d L.ed. &
e W.ed. willow,
f P.ed. eah
g P.ed. non
h P.ed. here,
i P.ed. bedfordhouse
j W.ed. Bishop

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London's garden at Fulham are many exotics of very ancient date.[101] I doubt therefore whether[a] the difficulty of preserving them in a clime so foreign to their nature did not convince our ancestors of their inutility in general;[b] unless the shapeliness of the lime and horse-chestnut,[c] which accorded so well with established regularity, and which thence and from their novelty grew in fashion, did not occasion the neglect of the more curious plants.

But[d] just as the encomiums are that I have bestowed on Kent's discoveries, he was neither without assistance or[e] faults. Mr.[f] Pope undoubtedly contributed to form his taste. The design of the prince[g] of Wales's garden at Carlton-house[102] was evidently borrowed from the poet's at Twickenham. There was a little of affected modesty in the latter, when he said,[h] of all his works he was most proud of his garden. And yet it was a singular effort of art and taste[i] to impress so much variety and scenery on a spot of five acres.[103] The passing through the gloom from the grotto to the opening day, the retiring and again assembling

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a P.ed. whe-ther

b 1771 ed. 1785 ed. P.ed. E.ed. general,

c 1771 ed. 1785 ed. P.ed. E.ed. horse-chestnut which

d W.ed. But,

e 1798 ed. L.ed. nor

f P.ed. M.

g W.ed. Prince

h 1785 ed. P.ed. E.ed. said of

i W.ed. taste,

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shades, the dusky groves, the larger lawn, and the solemnity of the termination at the cypresses that lead up to his mother's tomb, are managed with exquisite judgment;[a] and though lord[b] Peterborough[104] assisted him[c]

To form his quincunx and to rank his vines,[d][105] those were not the most pleasing ingredients of his little perspective.

I do not know whether the disposition of the garden at Rousham,[106] laid out for general Dormer, and in my opinion the most engaging of all Kent's works,[e] was not planned on the model of Mr.[f] Pope's, at least in the opening and retiring shades of Venus's vale. The whole is as elegant and antique as if the emperor[g] Julian had selected the most pleasing solitude about Daphne[107] to enjoy a philosophic retirement.

That Kent's ideas were but rarely great, was in some measure owing to the novelty of his art. It would have been difficult to have transported the style of gardening at once from a few acres to tumbling of forests: and though new

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a
1798 ed. L.ed. judgement
b
W.ed. Lord
c
P.ed. him.
d
P.ed. vines. W.ed. "To form his quincunx and to rank his vines,"
e
P.ed. works was
f
P.ed. M.
g
D.ed. Emperor
h
W.ed. D.ed. forests;

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fashions[a] like new religions, [which are new fashions] [b] often lead men to the most opposite excesses, it could not be the case in gardening, where the experiments would have been so expensive. Yet it is true too[c] that the features in Kent's landscape were seldom majestic. His clumps were puny,[d] he aimed at immediate effect, and planted not for futurity. One sees no large woods sketched out by his direction. Nor are we yet entirely[e] risen above a too great frequency of small clumps, especially in the elbows of serpentine rivers. How[f] common to see three or four beeches, then as many larches, a third knot of cypresses, and a revolution of all three! Kent's last designs were in a higher style, as his ideas opened on success. The north terrass[g] at Claremont[108] was much superior to the rest of the garden.

A return of some particular thoughts was common to him with other painters, and made his hand known. A small lake edged by a winding bank with scattered trees that led to a seat at the head of the pond, was common to Claremont, Esher,[109] and

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a W.ed. fashions,

b 1785 ed. P.ed. E.ed. (which are new fashions) 1798 ed. L.ed. religions (which are new fashions) W.ed. fashions ,

c W.ed. true, too,

d 1798 ed. L.ed. puny;

e 1785 ed. E.ed. intirely P.ed. inti-rely

f 1785 ed. P.ed. E.ed. rivers: how

g 1798 ed. L.ed. terrass W.ed. terrace

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others of his designs. At Esher,

Where Kent and Nature[a] vied for Pelham's love,[b] 110

the prospects more than aided the painter's genius[c]--they marked out the points where his art was necessary or not;[d] but thence left his judgement in possession of all its glory.

Having routed professed art, for the modern gardener[e] exerts his talents to conceal his art,[f] Kent, like other reformers, knew not how to stop at the just limits. He had followed nature, and imitated her so happily, that he began to think all her works were equally proper[g] for imitation. In Kensington-garden 111 he planted dead trees,[h] to give a greater air of truth to the scene[i]--but he was soon laughed out of this excess. His ruling principle was, that nature abhors a straight line[j]-- 112 His[k] mimics, for

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a
P.ed. D.ed. nature

b
D.ed. love. W.ed. "Where Kent and Nature vied for Pelham's love,"
L.ed. Where Kent and Nature vied-
for Pelham's love,

c
1771 ed. 1785 ed. P.ed. E.ed. genius.

d
W.ed. not,

e
1771 ed. 1785 ed. E.ed. gardiner

f
W.ed. (for the modern gardener exerts his talent to conceal his art,)

g
P.ed. prope

h
1785 ed. P.ed. E.ed. trees to

i
W.ed. scene:

j
1771 ed. line, W.ed. line;

k
1785 ed. P.ed. W.ed. E.ed. his

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every genius has his apes, seemed to think that she could love nothing but what was crooked. Yet so many men of taste of all ranks devoted themselves to the new improvements, that it is surprizing[a] how much beauty has been struck out, with how few absurdities. Still in some lights the reformation seems to me to have been pushed too far. Though an avenue crossing a park or separating a lawn, and intercepting views from the seat to which it leads, are capital faults,[b] yet a great avenue* cut through woods,[c] perhaps before entering a park, has a noble air, and

> Like footmen running before coaches
> To tell the inn what lord approaches,[e]

announces the habitation of some men of distinction. In other places[f] the total banishment of all particular neatness immediately about a house, which is frequently left gazing by

* Of this kind one of the most noble is that of Stanstead,[g] the seat of the earl of Halifax, traversing an ancient wood for two miles[h] and bounded by the sea. The very extensive lawns at that seat, richly enclosed[i] by venerable

113

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a 1785 ed. P.ed. 1798 ed. W.ed. L.ed. surprising

b 1798 ed. L.ed. faults;

c P.ed. voods

d 1798 ed. L.ed. and,

e W.ed. "Like footmen running before coaches
To tell the inn what lord approaches,"

f 1798 ed. L.ed. places,

g W.ed. Earl

h W.ed. miles,

i 1798 ed. W.ed. L.ed. enclosed

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itself in the middle of a park, is a defect. Sheltered and even close walks[a] in so very uncertain a climate[b] as ours, are comforts ill exchanged for the few picturesque days that we enjoy:[c] and whenever a family can purloin a warm[d] and even something of an old-fashioned[e] garden[f] from the landscape designed for them by the undertaker in fashion, without interfering with the picture, they will find satisfactions on those days that do not invite strangers to come and see their improvements.

Fountains have with great reason been banished from gardens as unnatural; but it surprizes[g] me that they have not

> beech woods,[h] and chequered by single beeches of vast size, particularly when you stand in the portico of the temple[i] and survey the landscape that wastes itself in rivers of broken sea, recall[j] such exact pictures of Claud[k] Lorrain, that it is difficult to conceive that he did not paint them from this very spot.

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a
1785 ed. W.ed. E.ed. walks, P.ed. walk,
b
P.ed. clamite
c
W.ed. enjoy;
d
W.ed. warm,
e
1785 ed. P.ed. E.ed. old fashioned
f
W.ed. garden,
g
1785 ed. P.ed. 1798 ed. W.ed. E.ed. L.ed surprises
h
1785 ed. P.ed. E.ed. beech-woods
i
W.ed. temple,
j
W.ed. recal
k
W.ed. Claude

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been allotted to their proper positions,[a] to cities, towns, and the courts of great houses, as proper accompaniments to architecture, and as works of grandeur in themselves. Their decorations admit the utmost invention,[b] and when the waters are thrown up to different stages, and tumble over their border, nothing has a more imposing or a more refreshing sound. A palace demands its external graces and attributes, as much as a garden. Fountains and cypresses peculiarly become buildings,[c] and no man can have been at Rome, and seen the vast basons of marble dashed with perpetual cascades in the area of St.[d] Peter's, 115 without retaining an idea of taste and splendour. Those in the piazza Navona 116 are as useful as sublimely conceived.

Grottos[e] 117 in this climate are recesses only to be looked at transiently. When they are regularly composed within of symmetry and architecture, as in Italy, they are only splendid improprieties. The most judiciously, indeed most fortunately placed grotto,[f] is that at Stourhead, where the river bursts from the urn of its god, and passes on its course through the cave.

But it is not my business to lay down rules for gardens,

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a W.ed. position-
b 1798 ed. D.ed. L.ed. invention;
c 1798 ed. W.ed. L.ed. buildings;
d P.ed. S.
e 1785 ed. P.ed. W.ed. Grottoes
f 1798 ed. L.ed. grotto is

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but to give the history of them. A system of rules pushed to a great degree of refinement, and collected from the best examples and practice, has been lately given in a book intituled,[a] Observations on modern[b] Gardening.[118] The work is very ingeniously and carefully executed, and in point of utility rather exceeds than omits any necessary directions. The author will excuse me if I think it a little excess, when he examines that rude and unappropriated scene of Matlocke-bath,[c][119] and criticizes[d] nature for having bestowed on the rapid river Derwent too many cascades.[120] How can this censure be brought home to gardening? The management of rocks is a province can fall to few directors of gardens;[121] still in our distant provinces such a guide may be necessary.

The author divides[e][122] his subject into gardens, parks, farms, and ridings.[f][123] I do not mean to find fault with this division. Directions are requisite to each kind, and each has its department at many of the great scenes from whence he drew his observations. In the historic light, I distinguish them into the garden that connects itself with a park, into the ornamented farm, and into the forest or savage garden. Kent, as

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a 1771 ed. 1785 ed. P.ed. E.ed. intituled Observations 1798 ed. L.ed. entitled Observations W.ed. entitled

b W.ed. Modern

c 1798 ed. L.ed. Matlock-bath W.ed. Matlock bath

d 1798 ed. W.ed. L.ed. criticises

e P.ed. divids

f 1786 ed. ridings,

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I have shown, invented or established the first sort. Mr.[a] Philip Southcote[124] founded the second[b] or ferme ornèe,*[c] of which is a very just description in the author I have been quoting. The third I think he has not enough distinguished. I mean that kin of alpine[d] scene, composed almost wholly of pines and firs, a few birch, and such trees as assimilate with a savage and mountainous country. Mr. Charles Hamilton,[125] at Pain's-hill, in my opinion has given a perfect example of this mode in the utmost boundary of his garden. All is great and foreign and rude; the walks seem not designed, but cut through the wood of pines and the style of the whole is so grand, and conducted with so serious an air of wild an uncultivated extent, that[e] when you look down on this seeming forest,[f] you are amazed to find it contain a very few acres. In general, except as a screen to conceal some deformity, or as a shelter in winter, I am not fond of total plantations of ever-greens.[126] Firs in particular form a very ungraceful summit, all broken into angles.

* At Woburn-farm[g] in Surry.

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a P.ed. M.

b 1798 ed. W.ed. L.ed. second,

c 1771 ed. 1785 ed. P.ed. omit note 1798 ed. D.ed. W.ed. L.ed. ornée

d W.ed. Alpine

e 1798 ed. L.ed. that,

f W.ed. forest you

g 1786 ed. Wobourn-farm

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127

Sir Henry Englefield was one of the first improvers on the new style, and selected with singular taste that chief beauty of all gardens, prospect and fortunate points of view: we[a] tire of all the painter's art when it wants these finishing touches. The fairest scenes, that depend on themselves alone, weary when often seen. The Doric portico, the Palladian bridge, the Gothic ruin, the Chinese pagoda, that surprize[b] the stranger, soon lose[c] their charms to their surfeited master. The lake that floats the valley is still more lifeless, and its lord[d] seldom enjoys his expence[e] but when he shows it to a visitor. But the ornament whose merit soonest fades,[f] is the hermitage[g] or scene adapted to contemplation. It is almost comic to set aside a quarter of one's garden to be melancholy[h] in. Prospect, animated prospect, is the theatre that will always be the most frequented. Prospects formerly 128 were sacrificed to convenience and warmth. Thus Burleigh stands behind a hill, from the top of which it would command Stamford. 129 Our ancestors[i]

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a
1771 ed. 1785 ed. P.ed. W.ed. E.ed. view. We
b
1798 ed. W.ed. L.ed. surprise
c
1785 ed. P.ed. E.ed. loose
d
D.ed. Lord
e
W.ed. expense
f
W.ed. fades is
g
1798 ed. D.ed. W.ed. L.ed. hermitage,
h
1785 ed. P.ed. E.ed. melancholly
i
1798 ed. W.ed. L.ed. ancestors

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who resided the greatest part of the year at their seats, as others did two years together or more, had an eye to comfort first, before expence. Their vast mansions received and harboured all the younger branches, the dowagers and ancient maiden aunts of the families,[a] and other families visited them for a month together. The method of living is now totally changed,[b] and yet the same superb palaces are still created, becoming a pompous solitude to the owner, and a transient entertainment to a few travellers.

If any incident abolishes or restrains the modern style of gardening, it will be this circumstance of solitariness. The greater the scene, the more distant it is probably from the capital; in the neighbourhood of which land is too dear to admit considerable extent of property. Men tire of expence[c] that is obvious to few spectators. Still[d] there is a more imminent danger that threatens the present, as it has ever done[e] all taste. I[f] mean pursuit of variety. A modern French writer has in a very affected phrase given a just account of this, I will call it, distemper. He says, l'ennui du beau

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a
1798 ed. W.ed. L.ed. families;
b
1798 ed. L.ed. changed;
c
W.ed. expense
d
W.ed. still,
e
1771 ed. 1785 ed. P.ed. D.ed. E.ed. done,
f
W.ed. Taste--I

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amène le gout du singulier.[a] The noble simplicity of the Augustan age was driven out by false taste.[130] The gigantic, the puerile, the quaint, and at last the barbarous[b] and the monkish,[131] had each their successive admirers. Music has been improved,[c] till it is a science of tricks and slight[d] of hand: the[e] sober greatness of Titian is lost, and painting since Carlo Maratti[f][182] has little more relief than Indian paper. Borromini[133] twisted and*[g] curled architecture,[h] as if it was subject to the change of fashioms like a head of hair. If we once lose sight of the propriety of landscape in our gardens, we shall wander into all the fantastic sharawadgis[i] of the Chinese. We have discovered the point of perfection. We have given the true model of gardening to the world; let[j] other countries mimic or corrupt our taste; but let it reign here on its verdant throne, original by its

* In particular, he inverted the volutes of the Ionic order.

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a 1785 ed. P.ed. 1798 ed. L.ed. E.ed. L'ennui du beau amene le goût du singulier. W.ed. L'ennui du beau âmène le gout du singulier.

b 1771 ed. P.ed. barbarous,

c 1785 ed. P.ed. W.ed. E.ed. improved till

d P.ed. tricks slight

e 1798 ed. L.ed. hand. The W.ed. hand; the

f 1785 ed. P.ed. E.ed. Maratti,

g 1771 ed. 1785 ed. P.ed. E.ed. omit note

h 1798 ed. L.ed. architecture*

i 1785 ed. P.ed. E.ed. sharawaggis

j W.ed. world. Let

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elegant simplicity, and proud of no other art than that of softening nature's harshnesses and copying her graceful touch.

The ingenious author of the Observations on modern Gardening[a] is, I think, too rigid when he condemns some deceptions,[b] because they have been often used.[134] If those deceptions, as a feigned steeple of a distant church, or an unreal bridge to disguise the termination of water, were intended only to surprize,[c] they were indeed tricks that would not bear repetition;[d] but[e] being intended to improve the landscape, are no more to be condemned because common, than they would be if employed by a painter in the composition of a picture. Ought one man's garden to be deprived of a happy object, because that object has been employed by another? The more we exact novelty, the sooner our taste will be vitiated. Situations are every where so various, that there never can be a sameness, while the disposition of the ground is studied and followed, and every incident of view turned to advantage.

In the mean time how rich, how gay, how picturesque the face of the country! The demolition of walls laying open each improvement, every journey is made through a succession of

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a W.ed. Observations on Modern Gardening L.ed. Observations on modern Gardening L.ed. Observations on modern Gardening

b 1798 ed. W.ed. L.ed. deceptions as

c 1798 ed. W.ed. L.ed. surprise

d 1785 ed. P.ed. E.ed. repetition:

e 1798 ed. L.ed. but,

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pictures; and even where taste is wanting in the spot improved, the general view is embellished by variety. If no relapse to barbarism, formality, and seclusion, is made, what landscapes will dignify every quarter of our island, when the daily plantations that are making have attained venerable maturity! A specimen of what our gardens will be, may be seem at Petworth,[135] where the portion of the park nearest the house has been allotted to the modern style. It is a garden of oaks two hundred years old. If there is a fault in so august a fragment of improved nature, it is, that the size of the trees are[a] our of all proportion to the shrubs and accompanyments.[b] In truth, shrubs should not only be reserved for particular spots and home delight, but are past[c] their beauty in less than twenty years.

Enough has been done to establish,[d] such a school of landscape,[e] as cannot be found on the rest of the globe. If we have the seeds of a Claud or Gaspar[136] amongst us, he must come forth. If wood, water, groves, vallies,[f] glades, can

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a
1798 ed. L.ed. is
b
1798 ed. W.ed. L.ed. accompaniments
c
1771 ed. P.ed. passed
d
P.ed. 1786 ed. 1798 ed. D.ed. L.ed. establish such
e
1798 ed. L.ed. landscape as
f
1798 ed. W.ed. L.ed. valleys

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inspire or poet[a] or painter, this is the country,[b] this[c] is the age to produce them. The flocks, the herds, that now are admitted into, now graze on the borders of our cultivated plains, are ready before the painter's eyes, and groupe[d] themselves to animate his picture. One misfortune in truth there is[e] that throws a difficulty on the artist. A principal beauty in our gardens is the lawn and smoothness of turf: in a picture it becomes a dead and uniform spot,[137] incapable of chiaro scuro,[f][138] and to be broken insipidly by children, dogs, and other unmeaning figures.

Since we have been familiarized to the study of landscape,[139] we hear less of what delighted our sportsmen-ancestors, a fine open country. Wiltshire, Dorsetshire,[g] and such oceanlike[h] extents[i] were formerly preferred to the rich blue prospects of Kent, to the Thames-watered views in Berkshire, and to the magnificent scale of nature in Yorkshire. An open country is

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a 1798 ed. L.ed. inspire poet

b P.ed. omits this is the country,

c 1798 ed. L.ed. country, or this

d W.ed. L.ed. group

e W.ed. misfortune, in truth, there is,

f P.ed. chiar' oscuro W.ed. chiaro-scuro

g 1785 ed. P.ed. E.ed. Dorsetshire and

h P.ed. oceanlike

i W.ed. extents,

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but a canvass on which a landscape might be designed.

It was fortunate for the country and Mr. Kent, that he was succeeded by a very able master; and did living artists come within my plan, I should be glad to do justice to Mr. Brown; 140 but he may be a gainer,[a] by being reserved for some abler pen.

In general it is probably true, that the possessor, if he has any taste, must be the best designer of his own improvements. He sees his situation in all seasons of the year, at all times of the day. He knows where beauty will not clash with convenience, and observes in his silent walks[b] or accidental[c] rides[d] a thousand hints that must escape a person who in a few days sketches out a pretty picture, but has not had leisure to examine the details and relations[e] of every part.

Truth, which[f] after the opposition given to most revolutions, preponderates at last, will probably not carry our style of garden into general use on the continent. The expence[g] is only suited to the opulence of a free country, where emulation reigns among many independent particulars. The keeping of our grounds is an

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a W.ed. gainer by
b W.ed. walks,
c P.ed. occidental
d W.ed. rides,
e L.ed. relation
f 1798 ed. W.ed. L.ed. which,
g W.ed. expense

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obstacle, as well as the cost of the first formation. A flat country, like Holland, is incapable of landscape. In France and Italy the nobility do not reside much, and make small expence[a] at their villas. I should think the little princes of Germany, who spare no profusion on their palaces and country-houses, most likely to be our imitators;[141] especially as their country and climate bears[b] in many parts resemblance to ours. In France, and still less in Italy, they could with difficulty attain that verdure which the humidity of our clime bestows as the ground-work[c] of our improvements. As[d] great an obstacle in France is the embargo[142] laid on the growth of their trees. As after a certain age, when they would rise to bulk, they are liable to be marked by the crown's surveyors as royal timber,[e] it is a curiosity to see an old tree. A landscape and a crown-surveyor are incompatible.[f]

I have thus brought down to the conclusion of the last reign[143] [the period I had marked to this work][g] the history of our arts and artists,[144] from the earliest aera[145] in which we can

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a
1798 ed. L.ed. expence, W.ed. expense
b
1785 ed. P.ed. 1798 ed. E.ed. L.ed. bear
c
1798 ed. W.ed. L.ed. groundwork
d
W.ed. trees, as,
e
D.ed. W.ed. timber:
f
D.ed. W.ed. Leave space between 11.1 and 2
g
1785 ed. P.ed. 1798 ed. E.ed. L.ed. (the period I had marked to this work)

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be said to have had either. Though there have been only gleams of light and flashes of genius, rather than progressive improvements,[a] or flourishing schools;[b] the inequality and insufficience of the execution[c] have flowed more from my own defects[d] than from those of the subject. The merits of the work, if it has any, are owing to the indefatigable industry of Mr. Vertue[e] in amassing all possible materials.[146] As my talk[f] is finished, it will, I hope, at least excite others to collect and preserve notices and anecdotes for some future continuator. The aera[g] promises to furnish a nobler harvest. Our exhibitions, and the institution[147] of a royal academy,[h] inspire the artists with emulation,[i] diffuse their reputation, and recommend them to employment. The public examines and reasons on their works, and spectators by degrees become judges. Nor are persons of the first rank meer[j] patrons.[k] Lord[l] Harcourt's[m] etchings[148] are

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a W.ed. improvements or

b W.ed. schools,

c 1771 ed. 1785 ed. P.ed. W ed. execution,

d P.ed. defect

e 1771 ed. 1785 ed. E.ed. Vertue, P.ed. M.Vertue,

f 1771 ed. 1785 ed. E.ed. task

g W.ed. era

h W.ed. D.ed. Royal Academy

i 1771 ed. 1785 ed. P.ed. E.ed. excite emulation in the artists

j 1785 ed. P.ed. 1798 ed. E.ed. L.ed. mere

k P.ed. pattons

l 1798 ed. L.ed. Lord* note

m 1771 ed. 1785 ed. P.ed. E.ed. Nuneham's

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superior in boldness and freedom of stroke to any thing we have seen from established artists. Gardening and architecture owe as much to the nobility and to men of fortune as to the professors. I need but name general[a] Conway's rustic bridge[b] at Park-place,[149] of which every stone was placed by his own direction[c] in one of the most beautiful scenes in nature; and the theatric staircase designed and just erected by Mr. Chute[d] at his[e] seat of the Vine[f] in Hampshire.[150] If a model is sought of the most perfect taste in architecture, where grace softens dignity, and lightness attempers magnificence; where proportion removes every part from peculiar observation, and delicacy of execution recalls every part to notice; where the position is the most happy, and even the colour of the stone the most harmonious; the virtuoso should be directed to the new* front[g]

* The old front, still extant, was erected by Thomas Wentworth late earl[h] of Strafford;[i] the new one was entirely designed by the present earl[j] William himself.

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[a] D.ed. General
[b] W.ed. bridge,
[c] 1798 ed. L.ed. direction,
[d] P.ed. M.Chute 1798 ed. L.ed. Chute* note W.ed. Chute,
[e] P.ed. is
[f] W.ed. Vine,
[g] L.ed. front*
[h] D.ed. Earl
[i] 1798 ed. L.ed. Strafford:
[j] D.ed. Earl

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151

of Wentworth-castle: the result of the same elegant judgment that had before distributed so many beauties over that domain, and called from wood, water, hills, prospects and buildings, a compendium of picturesque nature, improved by the chastity of art. Such an aera[a] will demand a better historian. With pleasure therefore[b] I resign my pen; presuming to recommend nothing to my successor, but to observe as[c] strict impartiality.
August 2, 1770

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a
W.ed. era
b
W.ed. pleasure, therefore,
c
L.ed. a

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EXPLANATORY NOTES TO WALPOLE'S

"THE HISTORY OF THE MODERN TASTE IN GARDENING"

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1
Sir William Temple, Upon the Gardens of Epicurus, 1685. "If we believe the Scripture, we must allow that God Almighty esteemed the life of a man in a garden the happiest he could give him, or else he would not have placed Adam in that of Eden; that it was the state of innocence and pleasure; and that the life of husbandry and cities came after the fall, with guilt and with labour."

2
"Genesis," Bible, II,10-14. "And a river went out of Eden to water the garden; and from thence it was parted, and became four heads. The name of the first is Pishon: that is it which compasseth the whole land of Havilah, where there is gold; and the gold of that land is good: there is bdellium and the onyx stone. And the name of the second river is Gihon: the same is it that compasseth the whole land of Cush. And the name of third river is Hiddekel: that is it which goeth in front of Assyria. And the fourth river is the Euphrates."

3
Crisp, Medieval Gardens, vol. i, pp.22-25. The herb garden or kitchen garden was of two sorts, one for cut flowers and one for vegetables. In the earliest gardens the two were combined. The orchard or pleasaunce was not restricted to fruit, but "more nearly resembled in its use the 'garden' of to-day." The term "orchard" was derived from the Anglo-Saxon word wyrt-geard (plant yard) which was sometimes spelt ort-geard (orchard). It included all kinds of plants.

4
Walpole, To Richard West, Paris, 1739. "The garden [at Versailles] is littered with statues and fountains, each of which has its tutelary deity. In particular, the elementary god of fire solaces himself in one. In another, Euceladus, in lieu of a mountain, is overwhelmed with many waters. There are avenues of water-pots, who disport themselves much in squirting up cascadelins. In short 'tis a garden for a great child. Such was Louis Quatorze."

5
Labyrinte de Versailles: Description du Labyrinte de Versailles, Paris, 1779, pp.3-4. "Entre tous les Bocages du petit Parc de Versailles, celuy qu'on nomme de Labyrinte, est sur tout recommandable par le nouveauté du dessein, et par le nombre et la diversité de ses Fontaines. Il est nommé Labyrinte, parce qu'il s'y trouve une infinité de petites allées tellement meslées les unes dans les autres, qu'il est presque impossible de ne s'y pas égarer: mais aussi afin que ceux qui s'y perdent,

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puissent se perdre agréablement, il n'y a point de détour qui ne presente plusieurs Fontaines en mesure temps à la veûë, en sorte qu'à chaque pas on est surpris par quelque nouvel objet.

On a choisi pour sujet de ces Fontaines une partie des Fables d'Aesope, et elles sont si naivement exprimées qu'on ne peut rien voir de plus ingenieusement exécute. Les animaux de bronze colorié selon le naturel, sont si bien désignéz, qu'ils semblent être dans l'action mesure qu'ils represent, d'autant plus que l'eau qu'ils jettent imite en quelque sorte la parole que la Fable leur a donnée."

6

Francois Girarden (1630-1715), French sculptor, designer of the statues and fountains of the labyrinth of Versailles and of the Baths of Appollo in the gardens at Versailles. He was "noted for the exaggerated grace of his female figures. In 1699 he cast the bronze equestrian statue of Louis XIV., which was set up in what is now the Place Vendome, but was destroyed during the Revolution. The tomb of Cardinal Richelieu, in the Chapel of the Sorbonne in Paris, still remains, and is of extreme interest, although of that ultra-picturesque treatment characterized above. Italian influence in the manner of Bernini. The Rape of Proserpina at Versailles, dated 1699, is in the gardens of that chateau." Lübke, History of Art, vol.ii,pp.349-51.

7

Odyssey, VII,p.106. The Garden of Alcinous, Homer (962-927 B.C.). "And without the court-yard hard by the door is a great garden, of four plough-gares, and a hedge runs round on either side. An there grow tall trees blossoming, pear-trees and pomegranates, and apple-trees with bright fruit, and sweet figs, and olives in their bloom. The fruit of these trees never perisheth, neither faileth winter or summer, enduring through all the year. Evermore the West Wind blowing brings some fruits to birth and ripens others. Pear upon pear waxes old, and apple upon apple, yea, and cluster ripens upon cluster of the grape, and fig upon fig. There too hath he a fruitful vineyard planted, whereof the one part is being dried by the heat, a sunny plot on level ground, while other grapes men are gathering, and yet others they are treading the wine press. In the foremost row are unripe grapes that cast the blossom, and others there be that are growing black to vintaging. There too, skirting the furthest line, are all manner of garden beds, planted trimly, that are perpetually fresh, and therein are two fountains of water, whereof one scatters his streams all about the garden, and the other runs over against it beneath the threshold of the court-yard, and issues by the lofty house, and thence did the townsfolk draw water.--These were the splendid gifts of the gods in the palace of Alcinous."

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8
I have been unable to find any record of a painter by this name. It is in fact undoubtedly a misprint for Titian (Vecelli Tiziano, 1489-1576). Titian was noted for his highly developed landscape backgrounds unusual at this early date.
Bryan, Dictionary of Painters and Engravers, vol.v,p.187.
"No mention of Titian's art would be sufficient without mentioning the surpassing beauty of his landscape backgrounds. The first picture, claiming to be nothing but a landscape, mentioned in the annals of Italian Painting, is one by Titian, which is spoken of by Ridolfi as 'A landscape with Soldiers and Animals,' in the collection of Paolo del Sera. The background, in the now destroyed 'S.Peter Martyr,' added enormously to its effect, and in many of his lighter subjects, we find the same charm of harmonious and poetic landscape."

9
Juan Antonio Ribera Fernandez, frequently known as Ribera. Spanish painter, 1779-1860. Studied in Paris under David, where he painted "Cincinnatus," now in Madrid. Other paintings for which he is noted are "Allegory of Summer," "Allegory of Autumn," "Afternoon" and "Night." These are probably the landscapes referred to by Walpole.
Ibid., vol.iv,p.224.

10
Pope, Odyssey, bk.vii,ll.176-177.

11
Ibid., bk.vii,ll.144-145.

12
Ibid., bk.vii,ll.146-151; ll.167-168.

13
Homer(962-927 B.C.).

14
Sieveking, In Praise of Gardens, p.12. From Diodorus Siculus (about B.C.50). "The Hanging Garden of Babylon was not built by Semiramis who founded the city, but by a later prince called Cyrus, for the sake of a courtezan, who being a Persian, as they say, by birth, and creating meadows on mountain tops, desired the king, by an artificial plantation, to imitate the land in Persia. This garden was 400 feet square, and the ascent up to it was to the top of a mountain, and had buildings and apartments out of one into another, like a theatre. Under the steps to the ascent were built arches one above another, rising gently by degrees, which supported the whole plantation. The highest arch, upon which the platform of the garden was

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laid, was fifty cubits high, and the garden itself was surrounded with battlements and bulwarks. The walls were made very strong, built at no small charge and expense, being 22 feet thick, and every sally port 10 feet wide. Over the several storeys of this fabric were laid beams, and summers of large massy stones, each 16 feet long and 4 broad. The roof over all of these was first covered with reeds daubed with abundance of brimstone (or bitumen), then upon them were laid double tiles, joined with a hard and durable mortar, and over them all was a covering with sheets of lead, that the wer, which drained through the earth, might not rot the foundation. Upon all these was laid earth, of a convenient depth, sufficient for the growth of the greatest trees. When the soil was laid even and smooth, it was planted with all sorts of trees, which both for beauty and size might delight the spectators. The arches, which stood one above the other had in them many stately rooms of all kinds, and for all purposes. There was one that had in it certain engines, whereby it drew plenty of water out of the river Euphrates, through certain conduits hid from the spectators, which supplied it to the platform of the garden."

Falconer, A Historical View of the Gardens of Antiquity, p.17.- "The prospect from these elevated gardens was grand and delightful. From the upper area was obtained a view not only of the whole city, and the windings of the Euphrates, which washed the base of the superstructure three hundred feet below, but of the cultivated environs of the city, and of the surrounding desert, extending as far as the eye could reach. The different terraces and groves contained fountains , parterres, seats and banqueting rooms and combined the minute beauties of flowers and foliage, with the masses of shade and extensive prospects: the retirement of the grove with the vicinity of civic mirth and din; and all the splendour and luxury of eastern magnificence in art, with the simple pleasures of verdant and beautiful nature."

15
Accounts of Greek and Roman gardens are to be found in Hesiod (contemporary with Homer); Herodotus (484-425 B.C.); Xenophon (444-359 B.C.); Plato (427-437 B.C.); Aristotle (384-322 B.C.); Theophrastus (4th century B.C.); Livy (59 B.C.-17 A.D.) and Dionysus of Halicarnassus, who flourished during the reign of Augustus, described the gardens of Tarquinus Superbus, 534 B.C.; Plutarch (1st century A.D.), Phaedrus (15 B.C.-55 A.D.), Varro (116-27 B.C.) and Cicero (106-43 B.C.) described the gardens of Lucullus; Vergil (70-19 B.C.); Horace (65-8 B.C.).

16
Pliny the Younger (A.D.62-116), a nephew of Pliny the Elder.

17
Account from his Letter to Gallus, Bk.II,Letter 17. "You are surprised, it seems, that I am so fond of my Laurentinum, or

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(if you like the appellation better) my Laureus: but you will cease to wonder, when I acquaint you with the beauty of the villa, the advantages of its situation, and the extensive prospect of the seacoast. It is but seventeen miles distant from Rome... There are two different roads to it; if you go by that of Laurentum, you must turn off at the fourteenth milestone; if by Testia, at the eleventh... The landscape, on all sides, is extremely diversified; the prospect, in some places, being confined by woods, in others extending over large and beautiful meadows, where numberless flocks of sheep and herds of cattle, which the severity of the winter has driven from the mountains, fatten in the vernal warmth of this rich pasturage. My villa is large enough to afford all desirable accomodations, without being extensive...

pp.89-90. "The gestatio [which surrounds the garden] is encompassed with a box-tree hedge, and where that is decayed, with rosemary: for the box, in those parts which are sheltered by the buildings, preserves its verdure perfectly well; but where, by an open situation, it lies exposed to the spray of the sea, though at a great distance, it entirely withers. Between the garden and this gestatio runs a shady plantation of vines, the alley of which is so soft, that you may walk barefoot upon it without any injury. The garden is chiefly planted with fig and mulberry trees, to which this soil is as favorable, as it is averse from all others.

p.91. "On the upper end of the terrace and portico stands a detached building in the garden, which I call my favorite; indeed it is particularly so, having erected it myself. It contains a very warm winterroom, one side of which looks upon the terrace, the other has a view of the sea, and both lie exposed to the sun... On that side next the sea, and opposite to the middle wall, stands a little elegant recess, which, by means of glass doors and a curtain, is either laid into the adjoining room or separated from it. It contains a couch and two chairs. As you lie upon this couch, from the feet you have a prospect of the sea; if you look behind, you see the neighbouring villas; and from the head you have a view of the woods; these three views may be seen either distinctly from so many different windows in the room, or blended to-gether in one confused prospect."

18

About 150 miles from Rome. Account from his Letter to Appollinaris, Bk.V, L.6. "You would be most agreeably entertained by taking a view of the face of this country from the mountains: you would imagine that not a real, but some painted landscape lay before you, drawn with the most exquisite beauty and exactness; such an harmonious and regular variety charms the eye which way soever it throws itself. My villa, though situated at the foot of the mountain, commands as wide a prospect as the summit affords; you go up to it by so insensible a rise, that you find yourself upon an elevation without perceiving you ascended... The exposure of the main part of the

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house is full south; thus it seems to invite the sun, from midday in summer (but something earlier in winter), into a wide and proportionably long portico, containing many divisions, one of which is an atrium, built after the manner of the ancients. In front of the portico is a terrace divided into a great number of geometrical figures, and bounded with a box-hedge. The descent from the terrace is a sloping bank, adorned with a double row of box-trees cut in the shape of animals; the level ground at the foot of the bank is covered with the soft, I had almost said liquid acanthus: this lawn is surrounded by a walk enclosed with dense evergreens, trimmed into a variety of forms. Beyond is an allée laid out in the form of a circus, which encircles a plantation of box-trees cut in numberless different figures, and of small shrubs, either low-growing or prevented by the shears from running up too high. The whole is fenced in with a wall masked by box-trees, which rise in graduated ranks to the top. Beyond the wall lies a meadow that owes as many beauties to nature, as all I have been describing within does to art; at the end of which are several other meadows and fields interspersed with thickets.... In the fromt of these agreeable buildings lies a very spacious hippodrome, entirely open in the middle, by which means the eye, upon first entrance, takes in its whole extent in one view. It is encompassed on every side with plane-trees covered with ivy, so that while their heads flourish with their own green, their bodies enjoy a borrowed verdure; and the ivy twining round the trunk and branches, spreads from tree to tree, and connects them to-gether. Between each plane-tree are planted box-trees, and behind these, bay-trees, which blend their shade with that of the planes. The raised path around the hippodrome, which here runs straight, bends at the farther end into a semi-circle and takes on a new aspect, being embowered in cypress-trees and obscured by their denser and more gloomy shade; while the inward circular alleys (for there are several) enjoy the full sun. Farther on, there are roses too along the path, and the cool shade is pleasantly alternated with sunshine.

Having passed through these manifold winding alleys, the path resumes a straight course, and at the same time divides into several tracks, separated by box-hedges. In one place you have a little meadow; in another the box is interposed in groups, and cut into a thousand different forms; sometimes into letters, expressing the name of the master, or again that of the artificer: whilst here and there little obelisks rise intermixed alternately with fruit-trees: when on a sudden, in the midst of this elegant regularity, you are surprised with an imitation of the negligent beauties of rural nature; in the centre of which lies a spot surrounded with a knot of dwarf plane-trees. Beyond these are interspersed clumps of the smooth and twining acanthus; then come a variety of figures and names cut in box."

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19
Vespasian (69-79 A.D.) "The largest amphitheatre is that know as the Colosseum. Built on the site of Nero's lake, it was commenced by Vespasian, continued by Titus, completed by Domitian, and restored in 222-244 A.D. by Alexander Severus and Gordianus III, and in 249-51 by Decius. The building is elliptical in plan, and measures 620 feet on the longer axis, by 513 feet on the shorter axis."
Anderson and Spiers, The Architecture of Ancient Rome, P.69.

20
The Temple of Peace was in the Forum of Vespasian; it was one of the temples in which Greek precedent was followed by the Romans; temples of this type "were isolated and enclosed in areas surrounded by porticoes."
Ibid., p.92.

21
Forum of Trajan (98-117 A.D.) illustrates one of the earliest examples of the use of the composite order as developed by the Romans.
Ibid., p.48.

22
Baths of Domitian (81-96 A.D.). "Here Domitian built an enormous palace, which falls into five main parts: (a) The state apartments on one floor only, grouped round a peristyle,.. (b) The private apartments.. (c) A large walled garden (the so-called Stadium) at the lower level.. (d) The thermae on the south-east side of it at the upper level, which were partly rebuilt by Septimius Severus, who added considerably to the palace on this side, extending the side by the juge arched substructures which form so prominent a feature from below, and building the Septizonium, a huge sham facade, to conceal them..(e) The so-called gardens of Adonis, at the east angle of the hill, where, according to some authorities, the temple of Apollo is to be placed." Ibid., p.135.

23
Louden, Encylopedia of Gardening, p.17. "The villa of the emperor Adrian (117-138 A.D.) near Tivoli, appears to have been more a palace than a garden, though its grounds were extensive, and contained considerable variety of surface. They are said to have included a Vale of Temple, Elysian Fields, Regions of Tartarus, a Nanmachia, or place for the exhibition of mock naval combats, etc.; but there is no evidence of their having borne much resemblance to the Persian paradises."

24
Sieveking, p.389. "The Colleges of Oxford and Cambridge often preserved the integrity of their old-fashioned Gardens through various changes of style around them--and in Loggan's

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view of Wadham college in 1675 may be seen the Mount, and the Palissades or Groves looking in Horace Walpole's words, 'like Green Chests set upon Poles.' A view is given here of the Gardens of Trinity College, Oxford, on the left of which may be seen the peculiarly designed grove or labyrinth. Even so ardent a 'Landscapist' as Humphry Repton has declared that he should 'doubt the taste of any improver who could despise the congruity, ability, order and symmetry of these Gardens of Trinity.'"

25

George London was a pupil of Rose, gardener to Charles II. He founded the Brompton Park Nursery and was co-author with Wise of The Compleat Gardener, translated and abridged from the French of De La Quintyne, London, 1693. John Evelyn in the "Advertisement" to The Compleat Gardener praises their work: "I mean Mr. George London (chief Gardner to their Majesties) and his Associate Mr. Henry Wise: For I have long observ'd (from the daily practise, and effects of the laudable Industry, endeavorer'd to improve themselves in the Mysteries of their Profession, from the great Advantages, and now long Experience they have had, in being Employ'd in most of the celebrated Gardens and Plantations which this Nation abounds in; besides what they have learn'd Abroad, and where Horticulture is in highest Reputation...

Lastly, I might super-add, the great number of Grounds and Gardens of Noble-men and Persons of Quality, which they have made and planted ab Origine, and are still under their Care and inspection (though at Considerable Distances) and how exceedingly they prosper, to justifie what I have freely said in their behalf."

26

The Architecture of Ancient Rome, p.144. "The ruins which remain at Tivoli represent only the more solid portions of the constructions, but the landscapes which decorate the walls of Pompeii and the famous garden scene of the Villa Livi at Prima Porta, suggest that in the Roman gardens there were many varieties of ephemeral structures in wood (such as small temples, shrines, nymphaea, etc.), arbours of trellis-work carrying vines, groves of laurel, streams, fountains, and cascades. Alleys of trees are frequently referred to by Pliny, as well as bow trees cut into various capricious shapes, which recall those existing at Versailles and in many of the English formal gardens."

27

Paul Hentzner, A Journey into England by Paul Hentzer, in the year 1598, an edition, translated from the original Latin by Bentley with a preface by Walpole was published at the Strawberry Hill Press, 1757. Walpole, Preface ii. "The original

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work, of which perhaps there are not above four, or five copies in England, is an itinerary through Germany, England, France, and Italy, performed by Hentzner, a travelling tutor to a young German nobleman."

28
Whitehall was the royal residence of Henry the VIII after Westminster Hall burned down.
Hentzner, p.29. "This palace is truly Royal; inclosed on one side by the Thames, on the other by a Park, which connects it with St. James's, another royal palace."
p.34. "In a garden joining to this palace, there is a Jet d'eau, with a sun-dial, which while strangers are looking at, a quantity of water, forced by a wheel, which the gardiner turns at a distance, through a number of little pipes, plentifully sprinkles those that are standing round."

29
Ibid., p.54. "The first was Theobalds, belonging to Lord Burleigh the Treasurer: In the gallery was painted the genealogy of the kings of England; from this place one goes into the garden, encompassed with a ditch full of water, large enough for one to have the pleasure of going in a boat, and rowing between shrubs; here are a great variety of trees and plants; labyrinths made with a great deal of labour; a jet d'eau, with it's bason of white marble; and columns and pyramids of wood and other materials up and down the garden: After seeing these, we were led by the gardiner into the summer-house, in the lower part of which, built semicircularly, are the twelve Roman emperors in white marble and a table of touchstone; the upper part of it is set round with cisterns of lead, into which the water is conveyed through pipes, so that fish may be kept in them, and in summer time they are very convenient for bathing; in another room for entertainment very near this, and joined to it by a little bridge, was an oval table of red marble."

30
Ibid., p.82.
Loudon Encyclopedia of Gardening, p.239. "Hampton Court was laid out, about the middle of [the reign of Henry VIII (1509 to 1547)], by Cardinal Wolsey... The labyrinth, one of the best which remains in England, occupies only a quarter of an acre, and contains nearly a half mile of winding walks."
p.243-44. "During the reign of William and Mary (1689 to 1702)... Hampton Court being at this time the actual residence of the royal family, the gardens underwent considerable improvement. An elegant alcove and arched trellis were added at the end of one of the alleys, and four urns were placed before the principal part of the house.".

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31
Walpole, Preface to Hentzner, p.vi. "We are apt to think that Sir William Temple, and king William, were in a manner the introducers of gardening into England: By the description of Lord Burleigh's gardens at Theobalds, and of those at Nonsuch, we find that the magnificent though false taste, was known here as early as the reigns of Henry VIII, and his Daughter. There is scarce an unnatural and sumptuous impropriety at Versailles, which we do not find in Hentzner's description of the gardens above-mentioned."

32
Robert Plot (1640-1696), The Natural History of Oxfordshire, being an essay toward the natural history of England, Oxford, 1677.

33
Between 1760-1767 Walpole purchased through Sir Horace Mann volumes of Herculaneum as they appeared. See Letters to Sir Horace Mann, February 3, 1760; April 13,1762; September 9,1766; December 14,1767.

34
The Architecture of Ancient Rome, p.153-154. "The Villa of Diomede was situated outside the town, beyond the Herculaneum Gate. It was built on sloping ground, so that the entrance door in the centre of the main front, is 5 feet above the roadway, and the ground at the rear is at a lower level... From the entrance porch (the only example projecting in front of a house) one entered direct into the perstyle. At first sight it resembles the Corinthian atrium, especially as the tablinum occupies the usual position: but the centre court was planted with shrubs and flowers, with a fountain in the centre as in a peristyle. The rooms round also are of larger size, and one of them..is of elliptical shape, with three windows overlooking a garden, being virtually a bow window. At the back of the tablinum a colonnade with terrace in front overlooking the garden. Under the terrace, at a lower level, was a series of rooms...These were all lighted through a portico overlooking the garden, which measured 85 feet by 73 feet, with a small fish-pond in the centre, and beyond it an arbour with columns round carrying trellis-work."

35
Walpole, To George Montague, July 22, 1751. "On my return I saw Warwick, a pretty old town, small and thinly inhabited, in the form of a cross. The castle is enchanting , the view pleased me more than I can express; the river Avon tumbles down a cascade at the foot of it. It is well laid out by one Brown, who has set up on a few ideas of Kent and Mr. Southcote. One sees what the prevalence of taste does; little Brook, who would have chuckled to have been born in an age of clipt hedges

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and cockleshell avenues, has submitted to let his garden and park be natural." Here, of course, Walpole is referring to "improvements"made in the eighteenth century.

36
Antoine Watteau (1684-1721), French painter of "fêtes galantes." "The pompous works of Lebrun were now replaced by the pastoral graces of Watteau, who in the early art of the eighteenth century obtained a conspicuousness that has given his name an enduring association with the fashions then prevailing, for by copying these he perpetuated, if he did not originate them, though it is fair to assume that their charming grace, as seen in his pictures led to their adoption...Watteau was the leading painter of the holiday merriment and full-dress flirtation of the age; the caprices and costumes of its society-scenes were his subjects, love his theme, and he, the lover's poet. He is the chief of the school known as painters of 'fêtes galantes' which often were also 'fêtes champetres' and in which even nature assumed an air of frolic, 'a sort of French Arcadian pastoral which never existed,' but to which his graceful touch gave value." C.H.Stranahan, A History of French Painting,p.90.

37
Honoré d'Urfé (1568-1625) uncle of Thomas D'Urfey, the English songwriter and dramatist of the eighteenth century, was a French poet, and author of the pastoral romance l'Astrée. This romance, popular well into the eighteenth century, exerted a tremendous influence not only on the literature of the age, but even upon French society. First written to honor the reforms in the conduct of love as established by "l'hotel de Rambouillet," the poem became the model for other salons of a similar nature. The aristocrats chose names from d'Urfé's shepherds and shepherdesses, and modeled their conduct after his heroes and heroines. Bonafous, Etudes sur l'Astrée et sur Honoré D'Urfé, pp.161-247.

38
D.ed.,pp.290-291. "But for magnitude and enormous cost, the hydraulic works, fountains and waterfalls, were the most extraordinary; indeed their extreme first expense, and the constant demand for supporting them in perfection, led in a few years to their total disuse. Neglect soon occasioned decay, and decay caused their entire removal. We borrowed them from the French. Le Nôtre had astonished the world at Versailles; and his assistant, Grillet, was brought over to complete the waterworks at Chatsworth, for the Duke of Devonshire, and at Bretby, Derbyshire, for Chesterfield."

39
Walpole, To the Earl of Stratford, Paris September 8,1769. "They are first stripped up and then cut down, and you would as

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soon meet a man with his hair about his ears as an oak or an ash."

40
Pope, Epistle IV, To Richard Boyle, E.of Burlington. "Of the Use of Riches," ll.117-118.

41
Milton, Il Penseroso, l.50.

42
Biron, Armand Louis de Gontaut, Duc de (Duc de Lauzun) who entertained Walpole in Paris. Later left France and settled at Richmond, England.
Walpole, To the Countess of Upper Ossory, Nov.26,1789. "I have been twice in town to see three of the refugees with whom I used to live very much at Paris, the Comtesse de Boufflers, the Duchesse de Lauzun, now of Biron, and Madame de Cambis."

43
Michael Drayton, "The Epistle of Rosamond to King Henry the Second," The Works, vol.ii,p.133.

"Henry the Second keepeth (with much care)
Lord Cliffords daughter, Rosamond the faire;
And whilst his Sonnes doe Normandie invade,
He forc'd to France, with wond'rous cost had made
A Labyrinth in Woodstock, where unseene
His Love might lodge safe, from his jealous Queene."

44
Androuet Du Cerceau, Les plus excellents Bastiments de France, 1576-9. A series of views of contemporary buildings including the monuments of Paris and the principal mansions of France.

45
Walpole, To William Mason, July 6,1777. "I don't know anybody so much in the wrong as you are for not coming to me this summer; you would see such a marvellous closet, so small, so perfect, so respectable; you would swear it came out of Havering in the Bower, and that Catherine de Valois used retire into it to write to Owen Tudor."
Owen Tudor, grandfather of Henry VII, belonged to an ancient Welsh family. He grew up in the court of Henry V, and was appointed by Catherine de Valois, widow of Henry V, clerk of her wardrobe. Owen Tudor and Catherine were united about 1429, but whether the marriage was legal or not is unknown. Owen Tudor was taken prisoner at the Battle of Mortimer's Cross (Feb.1460-61) and was beheaded in the market-place of Hereford. D.N.B.

46
Drayton, The Works, vol.ii,p.139. "Rosamonds Labyrinth, whose Ruines, together with her Well, being paved with square Stone in the bottome, and also her Tower, from which the Labyrinth did runne (are yet remaining) was altogether under ground, being

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Vaults arched and walled with Bricke and Stone, almost inextricably wound one within another; by which, if at any time her Lodging were laid about by the Queene, shee might easily avoid Peril eminent. And if neede be, by secret Issues take the Aire abroad, many Furlongs round about Woodstocke in Oxfordshire, wherein it was situated. Thus much for Rosamonds Labyrinth."

47
Richard Gough, British Topography, in 2 vols. London, 1753.

48
Kip, Britannia Illustrata, 1709.

49
Walpole, To Horace Mann, December 28,1781. "My Lord, in this past month, determined to visit his new domains in Dorset and Devon shires, and his seats at Piddletown and Heanton were ordered to be aired and prepared for his reception."
Walpole, To Richard Gough, March 29,1793. "The estate at Piddletown is not mine, but belongs to Lord Walpole's son. I never was there but in the year 1745.

50
Evelyn, Diary, p.215. Henry Bennett, Earl of Arlington, made Lord Chamberlain, February 17,1685.

51
Dryden, Preface to Sylvae, or the Second Part of the Poetical Miscellanies, 1685. "I hope it will not be expected from me, that I should say anything of my fellow undertakers in this miscellany. Some of them are too nearly related to me, to be commended without suspicion of partiality."

52
Cheney, A Short History of England, p.425. "Much of the land of England lay within the old tracts that were known as royal forests. Men who held these lands were not allowed to inclose them with hedges or fences and were limited in other ways in their use of them."
Traill, Social England, vol.iii,p.117. Enclosure Acts were passed to prevent the fencing of these lands for sheep-raising. "Disobedience to the Acts was punishable by the forfeiture of the land till the neglect was made good, and by a new Act,..the king was given the right to seize the lands into his hands for this purpose instead of the Lords of the fee." The king and nobles took this opportunity to seize lands for their own personal use.

53
Hentzner,p.65. "This palace abounding in magnificence was built by Henri I. to which he joined a very large park, enclosed with a high wall, according to John Rosse the first park in England."

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54
Hentzner, p.67. "Not far from this palace are to be seen near a spring of the brightest water the ruins of the habitation of Rosamond Clifford, whose exquisite beauty so entirely captivated the heart of king Henry II. that he lost thought of all other women; she is said to have been poisoned at last by the Queen."

55
Hentzner, p.53. "Near this palace is the Queen's Park stocked with deer: Such Parks are common throughout England, belonging to those that are distinguished either for their rank or riches. In the middle of this is an old square Tower, called Mirefleur, supposed to be that mentioned in the romance of Amadis de Gaul; and joining to it a plain, where Knights and other Gentlemen used to meet at set times and holidays to exercise on horse-back."

56
Milton, Sonnet XIX.

"When I consider how my light is spent
E're half my days, in this dark world and wide,
And that one Talent which is death to hide,
Lodg'd with me useless, though my soul more bent
To serve therewith my Maker, and present
My true account, lest he returning chide,
Doth God exact day-labour, light deny'd,
I fondly ask; But patience to prevent
That murmur, soon replies, God doth not need
Either man's work or his own gifts who best
Bear his milde yoak, they serve him best, his State
Is Kingly. Thousands at his bidding speed
And post o're Land and Ocean without rest:
They also serve who only stand and waite."

57
Francis Bacon suggested modern laboratory methods of experimentati in his Of the Advancement of Learning, London, 1605.

58
Sieveking, p.157-158. Earl of Chatham(1708-1778) "Earl of Chatham's taste in laying out his grounds was exquisite. In the pleasing gardens of South Lodge, Enfield Chase, he designed A Temple of Pan, and its accompaniments, which are highly commended by Mr. Whately, in his Observations on Modern Gardening." The passage referred to in Whately is on p.129. "About 1754 Hayes Place, Kent, was purchased by Pitt. He rebuilt the house, and considerably added to the grounds. Here General Wolfe dined the evening before he left England for Quebec, Chatham died, and William Pitt was born.
Lord Mahon, in his History of England, says that at Hays in former years Chatham had made improvements, which his memory

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fondly recalled: plantations for example, pursued with so much ardor and eagerness, that they were not even interrupted at nightfall, but were continued by torchlight, and with relays of labourers. The belts thus planted are pointed out to this day at Hayes."

59
Claude Gellée de Lorraine (1600-1682), French landscape painter of classic landscapes. "His three great charms are: The unlimited space expressed in his pictures, effected by the use of soft vapor to define separate distances, and equalled, perhaps, only by Corot; the effects of the air, shown in veiling and subduing outlines and tints, as well as in causing the foliage to quiver, light clouds to sweep across the sky, and water to ripple; and the brilliant effects of light on a charming coloring. But as far as the eye may wander away into space in Claude's pictures, it is always able to retrace its wanderings to a definite and beautiful foreground, where all is repose and serenity, crowned with some one of the varied mysteries of light; the ethereal drapery of aerial perspective or the more tangible, though still dreamy, mist of sunrise or sunset." Stranahan, A History of French Painting, p.43.

60
Designed by Lord Lyttelton, the owner, assisted by the poet Thomson.
Whately, pp.194-195. "The excellencies both of a park and of a garden are thus happily blended at Hagley, where the scenes are equally elegant and noble. It is situated in the midst of a fertile and lovely country, between the Clent and the Witchberry Hills, neither of which are within the pale, but both belong to the same place. The latter rise in three beautiful swells; one of them is covered with wood; another is an open sheep-walk, with an obelisk on the summit; on the third, the portico of the temple of Theseus, exactly on the model of that at Athens, and little less in the dimensions, stand boldly out upon the brow, backed by the dark ground of a fir plantation, and has a most majestic appearance, above the steeps which fall before and beside it. The house is seen to the greatest advantage from these eminences, and every point of them commands some beautiful prospect; the busy town of Stourbridge is just below them; the ruins of Dudley castle rise in the offskip.
p.147. "An octagon seat, sacred to the memory of Thomson, and erected on his favorite spot, stands on the brow of a steep; a mead winds along the valley beneath, till it is lost on either hand behind some trees; opposite to the seat, a noble wood crowns the top, and feathers down to the bottom, of a large, oval swelling hill; as it descends on one side, the distant country becomes the offskip; over the fall on the other side the Clent hills appear; a dusky antique tower stands just below them, at the extremity of the wood; and in the midst of it is seen a Doric portico, called Pope's Building,

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with part of the lawn before it. The scene is very simple; the principle features are great; they prevail over all the rest, and are intimately connected with each other."

Alison, Essays on Taste, v.ii, p.103. "The Seasons, in the opinion of Dr. J.Warton, contributed in no small degree to influence and to direct the taste of men in this art, which had for its object the production of natural beauty."
Thomson, The Seasons, ll.515-554.

Description of a garden at Hagley from "Spring"

"At length the finished garden to the view
Its vistas opens, and its alleys green.
Snatched through the verdant maze, the hurried eye
Distracted wanders; now the bowery walk
Of covert close, where scarce a speck of day
Falls on the lengthened gloom, protracted sweeps;
Now meets the bending sky; the river now,
Dimpling along, the breezy ruffled lake,
The forest darkening round, the glittering spire,
The ethereal mountain, and the distant main.
But why so far excursive? when at hand
Along these blushing borders bright with dew,
And in yon mingled wilderness of flowers,
Fair-handed Spring unbosoms every grace;
Throws out the snowdrop and the crocus first,
The daisy, primrose, violet darkly blue,
And polyanthus of unnumbered dyes,
The yellow wallflower, stained with iron brown,
And lavish stock that scents the garden round;
From the soft wing of vernal breezes shed,
Anemones; auriculas, enriched
With shining meal o'er all their velvet leaves,
And full ranunculas of glowing red.
Then comes the tulip race-where beauty plays
Her idle freaks: from family diffused
To family, as flies the father dust,
The varied colours run, and, while they break
On the charmed eye, the exulting florist marks
With secret pride the wonders of his hand.
No gradual bloom is wanting, from the bud
First-born of Spring to Summer's musky tribes;
Nor hyacinths, of purest virgin white,
Low-bent, and blushing inward; nor jonquils,
Of potent fragrance; nor narcissus fair,
As o'er the fabled fountain hanging still;
Nor broad carnations; nor gay spotted pinks;
Nor, showered from every bush, the damask-rose;
Infinite numbers, delicacies, smells,
With hues on hues expression cannot paint,
The breath of nature, and her endless bloom!"

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61
Manwaring, Italian Landscape in Eighteenth Century England,p.155. "Stourhead, designed by Colt Hoare, was much decorated with classic buildings. 'I have never beheld the beauties of nature so well set off by a judicious taste of ornament, as here,' wrote John Wilkes to his daughter: 'Wood, lawn, water, hill, plain, form this beauteous landscape, happily joined.' 'The imagination could not invent a more picturesque scene,' said Edward Jerningham.'

62
Milton, Paradise Lost, Bk.IV, ll.223-227.

63
Ibid., ll.227-230.

64
Ibid., ll.237-240.

65
Ibid., Bk.IV, ll.241-247.

66
Ibid., ll.134-142.

67
Hentzner, pp.82-84. "Nonesuch, a Royal Retreat, in a place formerly called Cuddington, a very healthful situation, chosen by King Henry VIII, for his pleasure and retirement, and built by him with an excess of magnificence and elegance, even to pstentation; one would imagine everything that architecture can perform to have been employed in this work...

The palace itself is so encompassed with parks full of deer, delicious gardens, groves ornamented with trellis work, cabinets of verdure, and walks so embrowned by trees, that it seems to be a place pitched upon by Pleasure herself, to dwell in along with Health.

In the pleasure and artificial gardens are many columns and pyramids of marble, two fountains that spout water one round the other like a pyramid, upon which are perched small birds that stream water out of their bills: In the grove of Diana is a very agreeable fountain, with Act on turned into a stag, as he was sprinkled by the goddess and her nymphs, with inscriptions."

68
Loudon, Encyclopedia of Gardening, p.236-49. Introduction of the modern style in the reign of George II(1712-1760). First examples of modern landscape gardening were Pope at Twickenham, Addision at Bilton. First artists in the modern style Bridgeman and Kent.

69
The rise and progress of the present Taste in Planting Parks, Pleasure Grounds, Gardens, etc., from the time of Henry VIII.to George III. In a poetic epistle to the Right Hon.Charles, Lord Viscount Irwin. 1767.

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70
Sir William Temple, Bart.(1628-1699), English statesman, diplomatist and author.

71
Temple, "Upon the Gardens of Epicurus," pp.209-210. "The garden of Alcinous, described by Homer, seems wholly poetical, and made at the pleasure of the painter; like the rest of the romantic palace in that little barren island of Phacia or Corfu. Yet, as all the pieces of this transcendent genius are composed with excellent knowledge, as well as fancy; so they seldom fail of instruction as well as delight, to all that read them. The seat of this garden, joining to the gates of the palace, the compass of the inclosure being four acres, the tall trees of shade, as well as those of fruit, the two fountains, the one for the use of the garden, and the other of the palace, the continual succession of fruits throughout the whole year, are, for aught I know, the best rules or provisions that can go towards composing the best gardens; nor is it unlikely, that Homer may have drawn this picture after the life of some he had seen in Ionia, the country and usual abode of this divine poet; and indeed, the region of the most refined pleasures and luxury, as well as invention and wit."

72
Milton, Paradise Lost, Bk.IV, ll.131-153.

"Of Eden, where delicious Paradise,
Now nearer, Crowns with her enclosure green,
As with a rural mound the champain head
Of a steep wilderness, whose hairie sides
With thicket overgrown, grottesque and wilde,
Access deni'd; and over head up grew
Insuperable highth of loftiest shade.
Cedar,and Pine, and Firr, and branching Palm,
A Silvan Scene, and as the ranks ascend
Shade above shade, a woodie Theatre
Of stateliest view. Yet higher then thir tops
The verdurous wall of Paradise up sprung:
Which to our general Sire gave prospect large
Into his neather Empire neighbouring round.
And higher then that wall a circling row
Of goodliest Trees loaden with fairest Fruit,
Blossoms and Fruits at once of golden hue
Appeerd, with gay enameld colours mixt:
On which the Sun mor glad impress'd hus beams
Then in fair Evening Cloud, or humid Bow,
When God hath showrd the earth; so lovely seemd
That Landskip."

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73
John Evelyn, Diary, vol.2, p.275. March 24,1688. "After dinner, we went to see Sir William Temple's near to it; the most remarkable things are his orangery and gardens, where the wall-fruit-trees are most exquisitely nailed and trained, far better than I ever noted."

74
Temple, pp.227-229.

75
Lucy Russell, Countess of Bedford (d.1627); daughter of John Harington, first Lord Harington of Exton; wife of Edward Russell, third Earl of Bedford (1574-1627) was a patroness of poets. She was repeatedly mentioned by the chief men of letters of her day, including Ben Jonson, Donne, Daniel Drayton and Chapman. D.N.B.

76
John Donne, To the Countesse of Bedford: "I have written then, when you writ." p.164. "This twilight of two yeares, not past nor next." p.167.

77
Bacon, "Of Gardens," p.218. "For gardens (speaking of those which are indeed prince-like, as we have done of buildings), the contents ought not well to be under thirty acres of ground; and to be divided into three parts; a green in the entrance; a heath or desert in the going forth; and the main garden in the midst; besides alleys on both sides; And I like well that four acres of ground be assigned to the green; six to the heath; four and four to either side; and twelve to the main garden. The green hath two pleasures: the one, because nothing is more pleasant to the eye than green grass kept finely shorn; the other, because it will give you a fair alley in the midst, by which you may go in front upon a stately hedge, which is to enclose the garden... But this hedge I intend to be raised upon a bank, not steep, but gently slope, of some six foot set all with flowers. Also I understand, that this square of the garden should not be the whole breadth of the ground, but to leave on either side ground enough for diversity of side alleys; into which the two covert alleys of the green may deliver you. But there must be no alleys with hedges at either end of this great enclosure; not at the hither end, for letting your prospect upon this fair hedge from the green; nor at the further end, for letting your prospect from the hedge through the arches upon the heath...

For the side grounds, you are to fill them with variety of alleys, private, to give full shade, some of them, wheresoever the sun be. You are to frame some of them likewise for shelter, that when the wind blows sharp, you may walk as in a gallery...

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At the end of both the side grounds I would have a mount of some pretty height, leaving the wall of the enclosure breast high, to look abroad into the fields.

For the main garden, I do not deny but there should be some fair alleys ranged on both sides with fruit-trees; and some pretty tufts of fruit-trees, and arbours with seats, set in some decent order; but these to be by no means set too thick; but to leave the main garden so as it be not close, but the air open and free. For as for shade, I would have you rest upon the alleys of the side grounds, there to walk, if you be disposed, in the heat of the year or day; but to make account that the main garden is for the more temperate parts of the year; and in the heat of the summer, for the morning and the evening, or overcast days."

78
In Hertfordshire. Later Temple named his own garden in Surrey Moor-park after this one.

79
See Walpole's Letter to Horace Mann, May 17,1749.

80
André Le Nôtre(1612-1700), Royal Gardener to Louis the Fourteenth. His work represents the height of architectural design in gardening. Versailles, Chantilly and the terrace at Fountainebleau are the best known of his works.

81
Amherst, A History of Gardening in England, p.178. "There has always been a legend that Le Nôtre came to England, and time after time it has been asserted as a fact that the alterations made by Charles II. in St.James's Park, Hampton Court, Greenwich, and Whitehall, were carried out under his directions, and also that he laid out the grounds of several country-houses... Up to the present time no contemporary papers or letters that have come to light mention this journey as an accomplished fact, and no payments were made to him or incurred on his behalf, as far as can be ascertained by a careful examination of the accounts of various departments in the Record Office... There is a colossal MS. Biography in the British Museum by Joseph Gulston, who died in 1786, of 'Foreigners who have visited England,' and it gives a short notice of the life of Le Nôtre, in which it states 'he was in England in the reign of King William. The gardens at Cassiobury, in Hertfordshire, in the seat of the Earl of Essex, were planted and laid out by Le Nôtre in the reign of Charles II... He planted St. James and Greenwich Park, no great monuments of his invention.'"

82
Temple, pp.229-230.

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83
See my "Estimate of Walpole's Contribution to Landscape Architecture," pp. 182-83.

84
Sieveking, p.140. William Kent(1684-1748). "Coach-painter, portrait and historical painter, sculpter, architect, furniture and dress designer, and landscape gardener; patronized by the Earl of Burlington, the great amateur-architect, with whom he lived and died. He sculptered Shakespeare's monument in Westminster Abbey,and painted an altar-piece for St. Clement Dane's Church, of St Cecilia, afterwards removed to the Vestry Hall, Hogarth's Caricature 'The Man of Taste' places Kent on the summit of Burlington Gate, with Pope his patron lower down; and his opinion of Kent as a painter was that 'neither England nor Italy ever produced a more contemptible dauber.'"

D.ed., pp.292-293. "When Kent had returned to England, about 1730, he first distinguished himself as an architect and ornamental gardener at his great patron's, Lord Burlington's villa at Chiswick; and his additions to the plans of Bridgeman and Vanbrugh, at Stowe, firmly established his fame. Esher and Claremont are cited as his best works; yet the garden laid out for General Dormer at Rousham, in Oxfordshire, was more agreeable to our noble author."

85
Anecdotist and friend of Pope and Walpole, Author of Polymetis, 1732. See my "Estimate of Walpole," pp.

86
"A Particular Account of the Emperor of China's Gardens, near Pekin," published in Fugitive Pieces on Various Subjects, printed for R. and J.Dodsley, London, 1761.

87
See my "Estimate of Walpole," pp. 212-13.

88
See my "Estimate of Walpole," pp. 276-84.

89
Probably de Lille's Les Jardins. See my "Estimate of Walpole," pp.

90
It is possible that Walpole referred to a visit of the Duc de Nivernois. See chapter on The Editions, p.vii,Footnote 2.

91
To George Montague, April 3,1766. "On the road to Livry I passed a new house, on the pilasters of the gate to which were two sphinxes in stone."

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92
Louden, Encyclopedia of Gardening, pp.248-249. "Bridgeman was the fashionable designer of gardens in the beginning of the eighteenth century, and may be considered as having succeeded to London and Wise, London having died in 1713... Of Bridgeman we have been able to procure no information.. In the Gentleman's Magazine for 1737, the death of William Bridgeman, Esq. 17th August, in that year, occurs in the obituary; but whether this be the landscape-gardener is uncertain."

93
Pope, The Guardian, September 29, 1713. "We seem to make it our study to recede from Nature, not only in the various tonsures of greens into the most regular and formal shapes, but even in monstrous attempts beyond the reach of the art itself: we run into sculpture, and are yet better pleased to have our trees in the most awkward figures of men and animals, than in the most regular of their own...

I believe it is no wrong observation, that persons of genius, and those who are most capable of art, are always most fond of nature; as such are chiefly sensible, that all art consists in the imitation and study of nature: On the contrary, people of the common level of understanding are principally delighted with the little niceties and fantastical operations of art, and constantly think that finest which is least natural."

94
Bacon, "Of Gardens," p.222. "For the heath, which was the third part of our plot, I wish it to be framed, as much as may be, to a natural wildness. Trees I would have none in it, but some thicksets made only of sweet-briar and honey-suckle, and some wild vine amongst; and the ground set with violets, strawberries, and primroses. For these are sweet, and prosper in the shade. And these to be in the heath, here and there, not in any order. I like also little heaps, in the nature of molehills (such as are in wild heaths), to be set, some with germander, that gives a good flower to the eye; some with periwinkle; some with violets; some with strawberries; some with cowslips; some with daisies; some with red roses; some with lilium convallium; some with bear's-foot; and the like low flowers, being withal sweet and sightly. Part of which heaps are to be with standards of little bushes pricked upon their top, and part without. The standards to be roses; juniper; holly; berberries; (but here and there, because of the smell of their blossom) red currants; gooseberry; rosemary; bays; sweet-briar; and such like. But these standards to be kept with cutting, that they grow not out of course."

95
See my "Estimate of Walpole," p. 105, 220-21.

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96
Walpole, "Anecdotes of Painting," Works, vol.iii, p.488. "He was a painter, an architect, and the father of modern gardening. In the first character, he was below mediocrity; in the second, he was a restorer of the science; in the last, an original, and the inventor of an art that realises painting, and improves nature. Mahomet imagined an Elysium, but Kent created many."

97
Drayton, p.139. Drayton describes the labyrinth concealing Rosamond's bower:

"Whose strange Meanders turning every way.
Meander is a River in Lycia, a Province of Natolia, or Asia minor famous for the sinuositie and often turning thereof, rising from certaine Hills in Meonia: Hereupon are intricate Turnings, by a Transumptive and Metonymicall kind of speech, called Meanders; for this River did so strangely path it selfe, that the Foot seemed to touch the Head."

This term already applied to the windings of labyrinths and mazes quite naturally became applied to the eighteenth-century "serpentine river.

98
Argyll, Archibald Cambell (1682-1761) 3rd D; of (Earl of Islay) Walpole's Letter to Horace Mann, June 3,1742, contains an Epigram on Lord Islay's garden upon Hounslow Heath. See my "Estimate of Walpole," pp.

99
Note to Walpole's Letter to George Montague, Nov. 8,1755, Toynbee edition, vol.iii, p.363."Pinus Strobus, White Pine. Introduced into England about 1705, largely planted at Longleat by Thomas Thynne (circ.1640-1714), first Viscount Weymouth, President of the Board of Trade and Foreign Plantations, 1702-7."

100
London house of John Russel Bedford, 4th Duke of Bedford. Died 1771.
Walpole, To George Montagu, May 14, 1761. "I came to town yesterday for a party at Bedford House, made for Princess Emily; the garden was open, with French horns and clarionets, and would have been charming with one simple zephyr that had not come from the north-east."

101
D.ed., p.267. "Dr. Compton, Bishop of London, 1675-1713, may be considered the father of exotic planting in England. He spared no expense to import the most rare specimens."

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102
Walpole, To the Countess of Upper Ossory, September 17, 1785. "We went to see the Prince's new palace in Pall Mall [Carlton House], and were charmed. There is an august simplicity that astonished me. You cannot call it magnificent; it is the taste and propriety that strike. Every ornament is at a proper distance, and not one too large, but all delicate and new, with more freedom and variety than Greek ornaments... There are three most spacious apartments, all looking on the lovely garden, a terreno, the state apartment, and an attic. The portico, vestibule, hall, and staircase will be superb, and, to my taste, full of perspectives; the jewel of all is a small music-room, that opens into a green recess and winding walk of the garden."

103
Walpole, To Horace Mann, June 20, 1760. "In short, it was a little bit of ground of five acres, enclosed with three lanes, and seeing nothing. Pope had twisted and twirled, and rhymed and harmonized this, till it appeared two or three sweet little lawns opening and opening beyond one another, and the whole surrounded by impenetrable woods."

104
Pope, Imitations of Horace, Satire I, Note to l.132. "Charles Mordaunt, Earl of Peterborough, who, in the year 1705, took Barcelona, and in the winter following, with only 280 horse and 900 foot, enterprised and accomplished the conquest of Valentia."

105
Ibid., ll.129-132.

"And he, whose lighting pierced
Iberian lines,
Now forms my quincuux, and now
ranks my vines,
Or tames the genius of the stubborn
plain,
Almost as quickly as he conquered
Spain."

106
Walpole, Journals of Visits to Country Seats, pp.25-26. "Rousham, Journey made July 17, 1760. Sir Charles Cotterel's, was a small old indifferent house, built by a Dormer; much improved for General Dormer, by Kent, in four years; with the garden.... The garden of 25 acres; the best thing I have seen of Kent. Gothic buildings, Arcade from ancient baths, temples, old bridge, palladian do., river, slender stream winding in a stone channel thro grass walks in wood, cascades overgrown with Ivy; grove of Venus of Medici. the whole, sweet."

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107

Purchas His Pilgrimage, p.71. "It was ten miles about; a place euery way enuironed with many stately Cypresses, besides other trees , which suffered not the Sunne to kisse their mother (earth:) whose lappe was according to the diuersitie of the season replenished with varietie of flowers, her breastes flowing with streames of watery nourishment. A spring there was, deruing (as men supposed) her water from the Castalian Fountaines, to which auncient superstition (and therefore superstitious Antiquitie) attributed a diuining faculty with like name and force to that at Delphos. This also was furthered by the Legend of Daphne, recorded by the Poets, beleeued (and what will not Superstition beleeue, but the truth?) by the credulous multitude: who was said to haue fled from Apollo, and here turned into a tree. But thus could not Apollo bee turned from his loue, which he continued both to the Tree and place... Here were erected sumptuous buildings: the temple of Apollo Daphnaeus; with a stately Image therein; the works (as was thought) of Seleucus: also Dianas chappel and sanctuarie. .. The Oracles added renowne to the place, which were delivered out of these Daphnaean waters by a certain winde or breath. Hadrian the Emperor is reported to haue hence receiued the faculty of Diuining, by dipping a Cypresse leafe in the Fountaine. Julian resorted hither often for that purpose."

108

Whately, pp.48-50. "The force of them [irregular groups of trees] is most strongly illustrated at Claremont; where the walk to the cottage, though destitute of many natural advantages, and eminent for none; though it commands no prospect; though the water below it is a trifling pond; though it has nothing, in short, but inequality of ground to recommend it; is yet the finest part of the garden; for a grove is there planted in a gently curved direction, all along the side of a hill, and on the edge of a wood; which rises above it. Large recesses break it into several clumps, which hang down a declivity; some of them approaching, but none reaching quite to the bottom. These recesses are so deep as to form great openings in the midst of the grove; they penetrate almost to the covert; but the clumps being all equally suspended from the wood; and a line of open plantation, though sometimes narrow, running constantly along the top; a continuation of grove is preserved, and the connection between the parts is never broken. Even a groupe, which near one of the extremities stands out quite detached, is still in stile so similar to the rest, as not to lose all relation. Each of these clumps is composed of several still more intimately united: each is full of groupes, sometimes of no more than two trees; sometimes of four or five; and now and then in large clusters: an irregular waving line, issuing

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from some little crowd, loses itself in the next; or a few scattered trees drop in a more distant succession from the one to the other. The intervals winding here like a glade, and widening there into broader openings, differ in extent, in figure, and direction; but all the groupes the lines, and the intervals are collected to-gether into large general clumps, each of which is at the same time both compact and free, identical and various. The whole is a place wherein to tarry with secure delight, or saunter with perpetual amusement."

109
Whately, p.50-51. "The grove at Esher-place was planted by the same masterly hand; but the necessity of accommodating the young plantation to some large trees which grew before, has confined its variety. The groupes are few and small; there was not room for larger or for more; there were no opportunities to form continued narrow glades between opposite lines; the vacant spaces are therefore chiefly irregular openings spreading every way, and great differences of distance between the trees are the principal variety; but the grove winds along the bank of a large river, on the side and at the foot of a sudden descent, the upper part of which is covered with wood. In one place it presses close to the covert; retires from it in another; and stretches in a third across a bold recess, which runs up high into the thicket. The trees sometimes overspread the flat below; sometimes leave an open space to the river; at other times crown the brow of a large knole, climb up a steep, or hang on a gentle declivity. These varieties in the situation more than compensate for the want of variety in the disposition of the trees; and the many happy circumstances which concur

-------In Esher's peaceful grove,
Where Kent and nature vie for Pelham's love."

110
Pope, "Dialogue II," Epilogue to the Satires, ll. 66-67.

111
Louden, Encyclopedia of Gardening, pp.245-246. "During the reign of George II (1727-1760), Queen Caroline enlarged and planted Kensington Gardens, and formed what is now called the Serpentine River, by uniting a string of detached ponds. This was a bold step, and led the way to subsequent changes of taste... Kensington Gardens were originally only twenty-six acres in extent; Queen Anna added thirty acres, which were laid out by her gardener, Henry Wise. The principal additions were made by Queen Caroline, by whose directions nearly three hundred acres were taken out of Hyde Park, and laid out by Bridgeman." Later improvements were made by Kent.

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112
Hogarth, "Analysis of Beauty," pp.57-58. "The waving line, which is a line more productive of beauty than any of the former, as in flowers, and other forms of the ornamental kind; for which reason we shall call it the line of beauty..

And that the serpentine line, by its waving and winding at the same time different ways, leads the eye in a pleasing manner along the continuity of its variety, if I may be allowed the expression; and which by its twisting so many different ways, may be said to inclose (though but a single line) varied contents; and therefore all its variety cannot be expressed on paper by one continued line, without the assistance of the imagination, or the help of a figure; see where that sort of proportioned, winding line, which will hereafter be called the precise serpentine line, or line of grace, is represented by a fine wire, properly twisted round the elegant and varied figure of a cone."

113
Footnote to Letter 1884. Toynbee edition, vol.x, p.298. "Stausted Park, near Racton, in Sussex, a seat of the Earl of Scarborough."

114
Walpole, To George Montagu, June 15,1768. "We ruin ourselves with inviting over foreign trees, and make our houses clamber up hills to look at prospects. How our ancestors would laugh at us, who knew there was no being comfortable, unless you had a high hill before your nose, and a thick warm wood at your back! Taste is too freezing a commodity for us, and, depend upon it, will go out of fashion again."

115
Venturi, A Short History of Italian Art, pp.325-28. The area at St.Peter's is circular in form and surrounded by a vast colonnade of severe Doric columns designed by Lorenzo Bernini. Bernini saw "St.Peter's as a giant head crowned with an immense tiara; he therefore makes his colonnade in the form of two open arms, with the idea that architecture must follow the propostions of the human body." The colonnade is the "highest expression of that sustained line that still distinguishes Italian buildings." It was a characteristic of Baroque architecture to build "palaces and churches on a larger scale," to "make them one with their surroundings."

116
Ibid., p.328. The fountains in the Piazza Navona at Rome are designed to enhance the beauty of the Church of San Carlino an the facade of Sant'Agnese, where "the Lombard Francesco Borronimi displays his love of softly carved designs, twisted spirals, sharp projections and irregular cornices."

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117

Pope, To Edward Blount, June 2,1728. "I have put the last hand to my works of this kind in happily finishing the subterraneous way and grotto. I there found a spring of the clearest water, which falls in a perpetual rill, that echoes through the cavern day and night. From the river Thames you see through my arch up to the walk of the wilderness, to a kind of open temple, wholly composed of shells in the rustic manner; and from that distance under the temple you look down through a sloping arcade of trees, and see the sails on the river passing suddenly and vanishing as through a prospective glass. When you shut the doors of the grotto it becomes on an instant, from a luminous room, a camera obscura, on the walls of which all the objects of the river, hills, woods, and boats, are forming a moving picture in their visible radiations; and when you have a mind to light it up, it affords you a very different scene. It is finished with shell, interspersed with pieces of looking glass in angular forms; and in the ceiling is a star of the same materials, at which, when a lamp of an orbicular figure of thin alabaster is hung in the middle, a thousand pointed rays glitter and are reflected over the place."

118

Published anonymously, but written by Thomas Whateley in 1765; second edition 1770. Sieveking, p.194 "Thomas Whately: Brother of the proprietor of Nonsuch Park, near Epsom in Surrey, which place he mainly assisted in 'laying out.' He was for a short time secretary to the Earl of Suffolk; then M.P. and secretary to the Treasury; besides this work, he published two anonymous English pamphlets, and died in 1772. After his death his Remarks on Shakespeare were published in 1785 by his brother, the Rev. J.Whately, and a second edition in 1808 by his nephew Dr.R.Whately, Archbishop of Dublin, 1831."

119

Walpole, Journal of Visits to Country Seats, p.65. "Matlocke. Most beautiful Scene, rocks, woods, cascades, mines; and walks and seats; these last improvements made by a fisherman who rents the rock for 5 a year of Mr. Lascelles, & gets money by showing them."

120

Whately, p.105-106. "That character of the Derwent is, indeed, rather too strong for the place: in size, and in the direction of its course, the river is exactly such as might be wished; but it is a torrent, in which force and fury prevail; the cascades in it are innumerable; before the water is recovered from one fall, it is hurried down another; and its agitation being thus encreased by repeated shocks, it pushes on with restless violence to the next, where it dashes against fragments of rocks, or foams among heaps of stones

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which the stream has driven to-gether. The colour all along is of a reddish brown; even the foam is tinged with a dusky hue: and where there are no cascades, still the declivity of the bed preserves the rapidity, and a quantity of little breakers continue the turbulence of the current. Many of these circumstances are certainly great; but a more temperate river, rolling its full tide along with strength and activity, without rage; falling down one noble cascade, instead of many; and if animated sometimes by resistance, yet not constantly struggling with obstructions, would have been more consistent with the steady dignity of these noble piles of rock, whose brightness to-gether with the verdure of a vigorous and luxuriant, though humble vegetation, and some appearances of culture, give to the whole an air of chearful serenity, which is disturbed by the impetuosity of the Derwent."

121

Ibid., p.96, "If such a scene occurs within the precints of a park or garden, no expence would be spared to meliorate the soil, wherever any soil can be found: without some vegetation among the rocks, they are only an object of curiosity, or a subject of wonder; but verdure alone will give some relief to the dreariness of the scene; and shrubs or bushes, without trees, are a sufficiency of wood; the thicksets may also be extended by the creeping plants, such as pyracantha, vines, and ivy, to wind up the sides, or cluster on the tops of the rocks." See my "Estimate of Walpole," pp.

122

Ibid., pp.156-161.

123

D.ed.,pp.271-72. "The riding or grand avenue at Oakley, near Cirencester, has much higher pretensions, as to priority of design and planting, no less than magnificence. About the year 1722, Allen, the first Earl Bathurst, (one of Pope's patrons, and who was consulted by him in the formation of these stately groves) applied himself to the encouragement of planting, and rendered it subservient to ornament and utility. Lord Bathurst had a still greater interest in these scenes, as his extreme longevity enabled him to enjoy, with philosophic calmness, the shade of those trees which himself had planted half a century before. If it be recollected, that he was one of the first to explode the false taste of Le Nôtre and King William's gardeners, we shall allow that Pope's compliment was most justly merited.

> Who them shall grace--or who improve the soil?
> Who plants like Bathurst, and who builds
> like Boyle.
> Ep.4, p.177.

He likewise, in his letters to Mr. Digby, gives a particular account of his noble friend's plantations, which join 'Cotswold Hills to Saperton's fair dale.' Imit.Horace, Ep.3, v.256. One avenue has an elongation of four miles."

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124
See my "Estimate of Walpole," pp.301-307.

125
Ibid., pp.307-310.

126
Price, Essays on the Picturesque, vol. i, p.273. "But even large plantations of firs, when they are not the natural and prevailing trees of the country, have a harsh and heavy look, from their not harmonizing with the rest of the landscape, and this is particularly the case when, as it sometimes happens, one side of a valley is planted solely with firs, the other with deciduous trees.

127
D.ed., p.275. "Of White Knights near Reading. He died in 1780; and was the father of the late Sir Henry Charles Englefield, distinguished by his love of science and literature." Walpole, To John Chute, August 4, 1753. "When I was at Park Place I went to see Sir H.Englefield's, which Mr. Churchill and Lady Mary prefer, but I think undeservedly, to Mr. Southcote's [Woburn Farm]. It is not above a quarter as extensive, and wants the river. There is a pretty view of Reading seen under a wide arch, and the water is well disposed."

128
Theobalds, seat of Lord Burleigh, William Cecil, 1st Baron, ancestor of Walpole's.

129
Walpole, To Richard Bentley, August 1756. "The Road as far as Stamford is superb; in any other country it would furnish medals, and immortalize any drowsy monarch in whose reign it was executed. It is continued much farther, but is more rumbling. I did not stop at Hatfield and Burleigh to see the palaces of my great-uncle-ministers, having seen them before."

130
Augustus (27 B.C.-14 A.D.) "In later Roman architecture these sham orders and niches lose their original significance, and become forms of decoration with an independent existence of their own. The forms then become more plastic and less fixed, and we get a kind of Baroque tendency, especially in the second and third centuries after Christ. Later on the use of brick-faced concrete, which began in Rome under Augustus, facilitated the growth of this tendency and in the buildings of Domitian and Hadrian the wall surfaces almost entirely disappear." The Architecture of Ancient Rome, p.33.

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131
O.E.D. (3) "Characteristic of monks or the monastic system; chiefly in depreciatory sense, having the evil characteristics, features, or tendencies attributed to monasticism."

132
Carlo Maratti or Maratta (1625-1713), Italian painter and etcher. "He was much employed in painting Holy Families, pictures of the Virgin, and female saints, on which account the contemporary artists, particularly Salvator Rosa, supposing him incapable of higher or more arduous exertions, satirically styled him 'Carluccio delle Madonne.' To counteract the efforts of his enemies, Andrea Sacchi procured him the commission to paint a picture for the Baptistery of the Lateran, where he represented 'Constantine destroying the Idols,'...esteemed one of the ablest productions of the time." Bryan, Dictionary of Painters, vol.iii, p.281.

133
Francesco Boromini (1599-1667), Italian architect, representative of the Italian barocco. His work which is full of excess and violence is well illustrated by the front of the church on the Piazza Navona, in Rome. Lübke, History of Art, vol.2, p.334.

134
Whately, p.73. "Bridges, therefore, are inconsistent with the nature of a lake, but characteristic of a river: they are on that account used to disguise a termination, but the deception has been so often practised, that it no longer deceives; and a bolder aim at the same effect will now be more successful."

135
In Sussex. Walpole, To George Montagu, August 26, 1749. "We were charmed with the magnificence of the park at Petworth, which is Percy to the backbone; but the house and garden did not please our antiquarian spirit."

136
Gaspar Poussin (1613-1675), French landscape painter, brother-in-law of Nicholas Poussin, distinguished painter of history and of landscape.
"Gaspar (Dughet) Poussin, also known as Le Guaspre, at first adopted the style, as well as the name, of his brother-in-law, varying it, however, by an equally thorough study of Claude, whom, it may be said, he dramatized, breathing a tempest in to his serenity. He also had something of the careful study of nature of the Netherlanders, which gave to every tree and flower the characteristic of its species. Later,

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he worked out his own individuality and became somewhat like Salvator Rosa, who was also one of the colony of artists centering about Poussin. He is very grand in a large landscape in the Louvre, a river scene, and his works are scattered broadcast in Europe, for, having great rapidity of execution, he could with ease paint a large landscape-with-figures in a day. Those in the Corsini Palace, as well as walls by him in the Villa Borghese and friezes and eleven water-color landscapes in the colonna palace, all at Rome, are of great interest." Stranahan, A History of French Painting, p.42.

137

Price, Essays on the Picturesque, vol. i, p.291. "I have frequently heard it wondered at, that a green lawn, which is so charming in nature, should look so ill when painted. It must be owned, that it does look miserably flat and insipid in a picture! but that is not entirely the fault of the painter, for it would be difficult to invent anything more wretchedly insipid, than one unifrom green surface dotted with clumps, and surrounded by a belt. If, however, instead of such accompaniments, we supposed a lawn to be adorned with trees disposed in the happiest manner, still I believe it would scarcely be possible to make a long extent of smooth uniform green interesting in a picture: such a scene, even painted by a Claude, would want precisely what it wants in nature; that happy union of warm and cool, of smooth and rough, of picturesque and beautiful, which makes the charm of his best compositions."

138

D.ed., p.31. "To apply the art of painting so as to produce only striking effects of colour and chiaro-scuro, was unknown to Claude Lorraine. He contemplated the beauty and grandeur of nature as the legitimate elements of his art. The times of the day, the seasons of the year with all their attributes, were by him combined, and selected to give grace and beauty to his compositions. Hence, all that is elegant or refined in art or nature he appropriated to make his pictures partake of the poetical beauties of Virigil or Tasso. Light-and-shadow and colour are employed by him to produce these effects only, whereas the picturesque painters, like Salvator Rosa, consider colour and chiar'-oscuro, as their sole aim and end; consequently objects rugged and irregular, suited to produce the most brilliant effects of light and shadow are by them preferred and selected."

139

See my "Estimate of Walpole," pp. 116-19.

140

Walpole, Notes to Mason's Satirical Poems, p.41. "Lancelot Brown had been Kitchen gardiner to Lord Cobham at Stowe, and

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became the best Imitator of Kent, and the most fashionable Designer of Grounds and Gardens. At last He applied to Architecture, and with no bad success. The House he built for Lord Clive at Claremont is one of the best disposed Mansions in England for its Dimensions."

D.ed., pp.296-297. "Launcelot Brown had the supreme controul over the art of modern gardening during the course of nearly half a century. He had been bred as a kitchen gardener at Stowe. Having been recommended by Lord Cobham to the Duke of Grafton, at Wakefield Lodge, Northamptonshire, he directed the formation of a large lake, and afterwards at Blenheim, where he covered a narrow valley with an artificial river, and gave a character to a lofty bridge. He exultingly said, that "The Thames would never forgive him." His chief excellence was certainly confined to such imitations, only when they were upon a large scale. He soon rose into highest reputation and patronage, and was consulted rather upon a complete renovation of scenery, and destroying what had been done by his predecessors, even by Kent, than in creating original places. Croome in Worcestershire, and Fisherwick in Staffordshire, are the only works entirely new, as taken from the fields. But it would be barely possible to enumerate all the villas and their environs which he re-modelled, according to the system upon which he acted, with persevering uniformity, for he was a consummate mannerist. His reputation and consequent wealth gave him almost exclusive pretensions."

141
See my "Estimate of Walpole," pp. 1 P. 322

142
Walpole, To the Earl of Strafford, Paris, Sept. 8, 1769. "A tree of thirty years growth being liable to be marked as royal timber, the proprietors take care not to let their trees live to the age of being enlisted, but burn them, and plant others as often almost as they change their fashions. This gives an air of perpetual youth to the face of the country."

143
Reign of Georg II, died 1760.

144
Anecdotes of Painting in England, Strawberry Hill, in 4 vols. 1762-1771.

145
Reign of Henry III, died 1273.

146
See my "Estimate of Walpole," pp. P. 107

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147
The formal opening of the Royal Academy was on January 2,1769.

148
D.ed., p.282. "Four large etchings of the Priory of Stanton Harcourt in Oxfordshire, were made by the late George Earl of Harcourt, then Lord Nuneham. Mr.W. must surely have put on his aristocratic spectacles to discover a claim to such exclusive praise."

149
See my "Estimate of Walpole," pp. 289-90

150
See my "Estimate of Walpole," pp.

151
Walpole, To Richard Bentley. Wentworth Castle, August, 1756. "This place is one of the very few that I really like; the situation, woods, views, and the improvements, are perfect in their kinds; nobody has truer taste than Lord Strafford. The house is a pompous front screening an old house... I shall bring you a ground-plot for a Gothic building, which I have proposed that you should draw for a little wood, but in the manner of an ancient market-cross. Without doors all is pleasing: there is a beautiful (artificial)river, with a fine semicircular wood overlooking it, and the temple of Tivoli placed happily on a rising towards the end. There are obelisks, columns, and other buildings, and, above all, a handsome castle in the true style, on a rude mountain, with a court and towers: in the castle-yard, a statue of the late lord who built it. Without the park is a lake on each side, buried in noble woods."

Humphrey Repton, The Art of Landscape Gardening, p.81. "Wentworth Park consists of parts, in themselves truly great and magnificent. The woods, the lawns, the water, and the buildings are all separately striking; but, considered as a whole, there is a want of connexion and harmony in the composition, because parts, in themselves large, if disjoined, lose their importance. This, I am convinced, is the effect of too great an expanse of unclothed lawn, but when the young trees shall have thrown a mantle over this splendid scenery will be connected and brought together into one vast and magnificent whole."

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AN ESTIMATE OF

WALPOLE'S CONTRIBUTION TO LANDSCAPE ARCHITECTURE

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INTRODUCTION

Horace Walpole is more fully representative of the eighteenth-century cultivated gentleman than any one else. With a mind curious rather than brilliant, observing rather than original, he provides an interesting medium through which to study the changing tendencies of the middle half of the century in the related arts of painting, architecture, and gardening. Fortunate enough to be made financially independent at an early age by sinecures, and later by a legacy, Walpole may well stand today as an example of one who made a wise and interesting use of leisure. Dividing his energies over several fields, he achieved considerable recognition in each. For besides gaining fame as letter-writer, political observer, and minor poet, he has done work of real value in the history of painting, architecture, and gardening. His Anecdotes of Painting, the first attempt of note at a history of English painters and their work, is regarded at the present time as invaluable to the student of that subject.[1]

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[1] Katherine A. Esdaile, "Walpole's 'Anecdotes of Painting,'" T.L.S., March 19, 1931, p. 224. "The world has done Horace Walpole justice as a letter writer; but though scholars have long treated the 'Anecdotes of Painting,' that solid achievement based on the inchoate Notebooks of George Vertue, as the ultimate authority on the subject of English art, its author is too often spoken of as a mere gentleman amateur."

Much has already been written concerning his interest in the Gothic taste and his influence in spreading the revival of an appreciation of Gothic archi-

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tecture,[1] as well as his role of originator of the "Gothic Tale";[2]

[1] Clark, The Gothic Revival, pp.43-77.

[2] Birkhead, The Tale of Terror: A Study of the Gothic Romance, pp. 17-37.

but little has been done to evaluate his connection with the changes in gardening from the formal to the naturalistic style which came as an early manifestation of the so-called Romantic Movement in literature and art. While he has long been known as the historian of the new taste, and while he modestly designated himself as a mere historian, it has not yet been noted that he was both a theorist and a practical experimenter in the field of gardening.

Pope, Mason, and Shenstone have received recognition for being gardeners as well as poets; but no attempt has as yet been made to give Walpole the credit due him for his work at Strawberry Hill and his work in an advisory capacity on the estates of his friends. His letters and journals are rich in comments on the gardens of those who were experimenting in the new style; even allowing for personal prejudices his enthusiasms and dislikes give us an insight into the development of naturalistic gardening in its various stages which can be acquired in no other way. The part which Walpole played, along with others in the English landscape school, in the transformation of the principles of painting into what are today still regarded as the basic principles of modern landscape design of the natural-

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istic or park-type was an important one. It seems fitting both as an introduction and as a companion piece to his essay on gardening, to add a study of his theories of landscape design, and of his practical work in the field of landscape gardening.

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CHAPTER I

WALPOLE AND THE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY INTEREST IN PAINTING AND PRINTS

Walpole's share in the interest in painting and prints fashionable in the eighteenth century led to his interest in gardening as a branch of painting. In 1739, the year after his departure from Cambridge, he made his first Continental Tour in the accepted manner of the young gentleman of his day. With Gray as a companion he took the customary route through the Alps into Italy. While crossing the mountains Walpole displayed his first enthusiasm for rugged scenery:

> "Precipices, mountains, torrents, wolves, rumblings, Salvator Rosa----the pomp of our park and the meekness of our palace! Here, we are, the lonely lords of glorious, desolate prospects.
>
> But the road, West, the road! winding round a prodigious mountain, and surrounded with others, all shagged with hanging woods, obscured with pines, or lost in clouds! Below, a torrent breaking through cliffs, and tumbling through fragments of rocks! Sheets of cascades forcing their silver speed down channelled precipices, and hasting into the roughened river at the bottom! Now and then an old foot-bridge, with a broken rail, a leaning cross, a cottage, or the ruin of an hermitage! This sounds too bombast and too romantic to one that has not seen it, too cold for one that has. If I could send you my letter post between two lovely tempests that echoed each other's wrath, you might have some idea of this noble roaring scene, as you were reading it. Almost on the summit, upon a fine verdure, but without any prospect, stands the Chartreuse. We staid there two hours, rode back through this charming picture, wished for a painter, wished to be poets!" [1]

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[1] To Richard West, September 28-30, 1739

His enjoyment of the scene is obviously heightened by his recognition, of the qualities of a Salvator Rosa painting in the country about him. The features of the landscape which

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he comments on, later appear as elements of the new English garden: the winding road, the hanging wood, the cascades, the old footbridge, the cottage and the ruin of an hermitage.

While in Italy he spent much of his time visiting the great art galleries both in Rome and Florence. He studied the collections of the Barberini and other Italian nobles,[1] and became especially interested in the landscapes of

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1 Walpole, Works, vol.ii,p.225.

Salvator Rosa and Claude Lorrain. It was customary in Italy for the nobles to have Catalogues written describing their collections. Observation of such accounts gave Walpole the idea for his first written work on painting, Aedes Walpolianae.[2]

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2 A description of his father's collection at Houghton.

Travelers to Italy brought back prints as we do photographs. In 1743 we find Walpole commissioning Mann who was then abroad to purchase drawings for the collection which he had just begun. [3] For the next twenty years there are ref-

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3 To Horace Mann, July 31, 1743.

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erences in his letters which indicate a continuous interest in prints and drawings. He mentioned prices for which the originals and copies of Italian paintings were sold.[4] He kept track

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4 Ibid., March 12, 1773. "Sir Watkin Williams gave six hundred and fifty pounds last week for a landscape of Nicolo Poussin;

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and Lord Chesterfield four hundred guineas for another; which somebody was so good as to paint a few months ago for Claude Lorrain."

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of the whereabouts of important pictures and was in this respect a source of information to his friends. [1]

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[1] Ibid., April 2, 1750.

During the craze for building and improving which went on at the beginning of the century many picture galleries, as well as gardens were built on private estates. The gallery of Walpole's father in his new mansion at Houghton illustrates the popularity of Italian landscape painting. In his collection were four paintings by Salvator Rosa, two by Claude and five by Gaspar Poussin.[2] In 1743 Walpole began his descrip-

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[2] Manwaring, Italian Landscape in Eighteenth Century England, p.65.

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tion of this collection, [3] completing it in 1747. In the

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[3] Aedes Walpoliana

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introduction he sets forth his views on the study of painting:

> "There are enough here for any man who studies painting to form very true ideas of most of the chief schools, and to acquaint himself with most of the chief hands. Knowledge of this sort is only to be learned from the pictures themselves. The numerous volumes wrote on this art have only served to perplex it. No science has had so much jargon introduced into it as painting." [4]

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[4] Walpole, Works, vol.ii, p.226.

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Walpole in this statement expressed what was then a growing sentiment, that English painters must study the methods of the great masters from their works rather than from European authorities, if an indigenous English art was to develop. Shaftesbury had prophesied at an earlier date that a new English school of painting might arise equal to European schools:

> "Though we have as yet nothing of our native growth in this kind worthy of being mentioned; yet since the Publick has of late begun to express a relish for engravings, and for the original paintings of the chief Italian schools (so contrary to the modern French), I doubt not, that in a very few years, we shall make an equal progress in this other science." [1]

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[1] "A Letter concerning the Art, or Science of Design," written to Lord Somers in 1712, Second Characters, p.20.

All Walpole's work in the history of painting was directed toward the encouragement of English artists; for his great hope was that England might finally take her place on a level with European artists through a school of painting peculiarly her own.

In 1757 Walpole wrote the introductions [2] to the

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[2] Walpole, Works, vol. i, pp.234-241.

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catalogues of the famous seventeenth-century collections of Charles I, James II and George, Duke of Buckingham. The actual descriptions of the works of art were written by Vertue the engraver. In these introductions Walpole again stressed the value of such works to the student of painting. Walpole wrote one more catalogue of paintings, for in 1774 he included in his Description of Strawberry Hill an account of his own art

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treasures. He defines his purpose: to preserve for posterity some account of those objects of art purchased from historically famous collections which are now broken up and scattered.[1]

[1] Ibid., vol, ii, pp. 395-398.

In 1759 he purchased forty volumes of Vertue's notes and began in the following year, his Anecdotes of Painting in England. This was not completed until 1780. His purpose here was to make available to English artists some account of what had been done in England in painting to their day. The same year in which he purchased Vertue's notebooks he began to keep a record which he called his Book of Materials. There were three volumes of this, one begun in 1759, one in 1771; a third volume called Miscellany was started in 1786. During these years he made many visits to important country seats and jotted down notes concerning the picture galleries, the architecture of the buildings and the gardens. He was constantly at work checking and editing Vertue's notes, correcting many of the errors, and supplementing Vertue's material with notes of his own. Some of the unused material from this record has already been edited by Paget Toynbee,[2] but the bulk of it is

[2] Published under the title, Journal of Visits to Country Seats, New York, 1926.

as yet unpublished and is at present in the possession of the Folger Library in Washington.[3] In 1763 Walpole published the

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[3] Gift of W.S. Lewis.

Catalogue of Engravers, which is an important contribution of our knowledge of engraving after 1700, and especially of the English engravings of the work of Italian landscape painters.

Just as interest in Italian landscape painting was influential in the start of the new taste in gardening, so the development of a British school of landscape engraving in turn had its effect on the development of landscape gardening. Engravings provided patterns for landscape designers. In 1777 appeared Liber Veritatis, a large collection of reproductions of Claude Lorrain done by Richard Earlom[1] in a combination of

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[1] Richard Earlom (1743-1822), English mezzotint engraver, "was the first artist who made use of the point in mezzotint work. He first engraved for Boydell, who in 1777 brought out the 'Liber Veritatis,' comprising two hundred plates, executed by Earlom in the style of the original drawings by Claude Lorrain, which are for the most part in the possession of the Duke of Devonshire." Bryan, vol. ii, p. 115.

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engraving and mezzotint. These engravings were mentioned by Richard Payne Knight[2] as models used by eighteenth-century

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[2] The Landscape, a Didactic Poem, in three books, addressed to Uvedale Price, Esq. 1794.

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gardeners. According to prints published by Pond in 1734,[3] Kent owne

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[3] Arthur Pond (1705-1758) was an English painter and engraver. "By a combination of etching and aquatint he produced plates in imitation of Salvator Rosa, the Poussins, and others, and after these brought out his 'Imitations of the Italian Masters' (1734-5)." Bryan, vol. iv, p. 143.

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paintings by Salvator Rosa and Gaspar which may have been used by him as suggestions for garden designs. The well known incident of his planting of a dead tree in Kensington gardens has been attributed to the influence of Salvator Rosa. [1]

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[1] Manwaring, p. 131.

It became the fashion to have drawings and engravings made of country seats. An elaborate edition of Whately's Observations on Modern Gardening was published in 1801, with illustrations engraved by Woollet [2] who was considered the best

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[2] William Woollet (1735-1785). "By an intelligent union of the point and the burin, he carried landscape engraving to a perfection unknown before his time, and still unsurpassed. His foregrounds are as deep and vigorous as his distances are tender and delicate. In his exquisite prints from Richard Wilson, he has impressed on the copper the very mind and feeling of that classic painter. The talent of Woollet was not, however, confined to landscape; he engraved historical subjects and portraits with equal success...On November 27, 1775, he was appointed engraver to the king." Bryan, vol. V,p.394.

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of the English engravers. Hall Barn near Beaconsfield, laid out by Waller; Esher, one of Kent's best designs; the House and Gardens at Woobourn, laid out by Southcote; Hamilton's seat at Painshill; and a view of Hagley from Thomson's seat were used by Whately to illustrate his theories of landscape design. A special copy of the 1785 edition of Walpole's essay was presented to the Duc de Nivernois, [3] illustrated by engravings

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[3] Now in the possession of W.S. Lewis, Farmington, Conn.

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of both formal and informal gardening. The old style was illustrated by views after Kip [1] and the new by engravings of

[1] Kip, Britannia Illustrata, 1709.

Claremont, Esher, Oatlands, Stanstead, Painshill and Woobourn: all gardens which Walpole mentioned as successful examples of the new style. Walpole enriched his Description of Strawberry Hill by engravings of the grounds, as well as by views of the house. [2] This indicates how closely improvements within and

[2] Letter to Rev. William Cole, December 19, 1780. "I intend next summer to set about completing my plan of the Catalogue and its prints; and when I have found any of the plates or proofs, you shall certainly have those you want. There are the two large views of the house, one of the cottage, one of the library, one of the front to the road, and the chimney-piece in the Holbein room. I think these are all that are finished - oh, yes, I believe the Prior's garden."

without the house were associated with each other; and how easy it was for the two processes which were carried on simultaneously to influence each other. Thus, the close relation between gardening and painting became a natural outgrowth of numerous trends of the time.

Walpole not only contributed to the development of a school of English painting by his historical researches, but also by practical assistance to struggling painters in the way of criticism, encouragement and financial assistance. In 1758 he wrote enthusiastically to Horace Mann [3] of the new society

[3] Letter to Horace Mann, February 9, 1758.

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for the encouragement of the arts which had just been proposed, [1]

[1] Hillis, The Literary Career of Sir Joshua Reynolds, pp.14-15. "In 1755 a group of painters drew up plans for the formation of an Academy, plans which were later used when the Royal Academy was founded. These were printed with an introduction and distributed among the members of the Society of Dilettanti in the hope that such noblemen would give them their support. The committee of painters, headed by Hayman, included among others Reynolds, his master Hudson, and his associates, Roubliae, Astley, Pine and Dalton."

and of the Duke of Richmond's plan to encourage drawing. [2]

[2] Letter to Horace Mann, February 9, 1758. "I was pleased yesterday with a very grand seigneurial design of the Duke of Richmond, who has collected a great many fine casts of the best antique statues, has placed them in a large room in his garden, and designs to throw it open to encourage drawing."

A garden room furnished with busts and pictures was to be kept open for students. In 1760 Walpole wrote a letter of introduction [3]

[3] Letter to Horace Mann, May 7, 1760.

to Mann for Robert Strange, [4] the engraver, who was about to set

[4] Robert Strange (1721-1792) "In 1751 he returned to London from France , at a period when historical engraving had made little progress in England, and became the father of that arduous and difficult branch of the art in this country. Sir Robert Strange engraved about eighty plates. His style shows a combination of purity, breadth, and vigour which has scarcely been equalled. In contour, however, his prints are somewhat deficient... Strange published 'A Descriptive Catalogue of a Collection of Pictures, and of thirty-two Drawings, collected by him in Italy. Also 'An Inquiry into the Rise and Establishment of the Royal Academy of Arts.' " Bryan, vol. v,p.134-135.

out for study in Italy. Since Walpole at a later date gives an account of him in the Catalogue of Engravers, [5] as one of the

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5 Walpole, Works vol. iv, p. 48.

best of the English engravers of Italian masters, he seems to have justified Walpole's expectations. In 1775 he sent Pars, [1]

1 William Pars (1742-1782), English painter. "Studied at St. Martin's Lane School and the Duke of Richmond's Gallery... He was engaged by the second Lord Palmerston to accompany him on a tour through Switzerland and Italy, to make drawings of the most remarkable views and antiquities. In 1770 he was elected an Associate of the Royal Academy." In 1774 he received a pension from the Dilettanti Society for several years study in Italy. He went to Rome in 1775 and died there in 1782 of a fever. Bryan, vol. iv, p. 73.

the young painter who had made some drawings of Strawberry Hill, to Mann with letters of introduction, [2] urging Mann to assist

2 Letter to Horace Mann, October 27, 1775.

him by recommendations to Cardinal Albani. To the German painter Muntz who was interested in English landscape Walpole was more than kindhearted. He retained him at Strawberry Hill for some time.[3] Many of the drawings of Strawberry Hill which

3 Dobson, pp. 154-155.

are preserved in Walpole's scrapbook were done by Muntz and by Pars.

Both Mason and Bentley sent Walpole their paintings for criticism. Of a landscape of Bentley's, Walpole writes:

> "You have united and mellowed your colours, in a manner to make it look like an old picture; yet there is something in the tone of it that is not quite right. Mr. Chute thinks that you should have

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> exerted more of your force in tipping with light the edges on which the sun breaks: my own opinion is, that the result of the whole is not natural, by your having joined a Claude Lorrain summer sky to a wintry sea, which you have drawn from the life, The water breaks finely, but the distant hills are too strong, and the outlines much too hard. The greatest fault is the trees..they are not of a natural green, have no particular resemblance, and are out of all proportion too large for the figures." [1]

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1 To Richard Bentley, February 23, 1755.

The reason for including an account of Walpole's connections with men actively engaged in painting is to show that this experience in the analysis of certain effects as achieved on canvas, resulted in a familiarity with the problems of painting, and a habit of thinking in terms of painting which was carried over into the creation of scenes out-of-doors. That he realized the incongruity of trying to combine a peaceful summer sky with a winter sea, that he condemned a tree which was an "idealized type," because it did not actually resemble anything in nature, indicates a degree of observation of the landscape unusual at this early date, which even anticipates the later work of Crome and Constable. [2] It is not necessary

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2 Fry, Reflections on British Painting, p.44. "Young noblemen who made the grand tour brought back with them memories of the luminous tranquillity, the Virgilian suavity of Italian landscape ... No wonder, then, that certain artists shared in feelings which were so marked a characteristic of English sentiment of the day. Now this feeling was essentially bound up with poetical allusions and reminiscences, and it was towards the evocation of these feelings that the artists naturally strove. So they went to Claude and Poussin almost exclusively for that quality in their work, for the overtones of their vision rather than for the vision itself. They tried to skim off from their

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design just these poetic evocations without attempting to construct a landscape as they had." p.115 While in some of his pictures Crome "made an effort to meet the demand for poetical landscape," in others "there is no attempt to emphasize in any way the poetical overtones. He leaves his impressions of nature to speak for themselves." p. 136 Constable went directly to nature for his landscapes. "He leaves us alone with his impression to make what we can of it, to repeat, in contemplating his picture, the experience he had before nature and to feel gradually the mood which emanates from it."

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to imply that the landscapes of Mason and Bentley, or any other of these amateur painters were of aesthetic value in themselves. It is only important here to show the connection between drawing and gardening. It cannot be but a curious coincidence that those who contributed ideas of value to the new theory of irregular landscape design were, over the same period of years, making practical experiments in painting. Even Walpole tried his hand at creative work in this medium, [1]

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[1] Drawings done by Walpole, listed in the Description of Strawberry Hill. A conversation, after Watteau, in water colors; A girl and cat in water colors, copied from Rosalba; A boy with a flute, from a picture of Cavalier Luti, at Houghton; A man and a woman in water colors after Watteau; Christ laid in the sepulchre after Parmegiano.

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although he was always most successful at criticism.

Print collecting as well as amateur drawing had its effect on trends in landscape gardening. The study of prints was a determining factor in producing the eighteenth-century attitude toward nature, in that it provided training for the eye and a stimulus to drawing itself. Scrapbooks of prints were a popular form of entertainment. Walpole spent much time

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pasting his prints. [1] A folio scrapbook made on paper of the

[1] Letter to Rev. William Mason, March 7, 1783. "You know the principal occupation of my dotage is making books, that is, dressing them up with prints and pretty bindings; a charming amusement for a superannuated child, and which neither hurts the eyes nor employs the head. Your Fresnoy is to be decorated proudly."

type regularly used by the Strawberry Hill Press, and elaborately bound in leather is preserved in the Lewis collection. It is known as Walpole's extra-illustrated copy of the Description of Strawberry Hill. [2] Although unfinished,

[2] W.S. Lewis, The Genesis of Strawberry Hill, p.58. "It is a copy of the 1784 Description inlaid to folio magna, with upwards of 300 prints and original drawings illustrative of the text, inserted by Walpole and Thomas Kirgate, his printer-secretary. The drawings are by Chute, Muntz, Edward Edwards, Barrow Carter etc. The text and inserted material have been freely annotated by Walpole and Kirgate. The book is bound in contemporary calf (rebacked), with Walpole's arms on the sides."

it contains many prints of the pictures which Walpole owned, drawings of Strawberry Hill, a plan of the grounds and various designs by Bentley and others for architectural features in the house and in the garden. Another scrapbook may have been kept by Walpole, for in the Description is an item which reads: "Aedes Walpolianae, the original drawings, with every print that has been engraved from the pictures, and with other prints and drawings of houses and buildings that belonged to Sir Robert Walpole and the family of Walpole." [3]

[3] Walpole, Works, vol, ii, p.446.

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As Shaftesbury noted,[1] the importance of the study of prints as a training for the eye was immeasurable. The invention of prints was to English taste what the "invention of Printing" was to "the Commonwealth of letters." There is no doubt that long hours spent in looking at landscape prints resulted in the seeing of natural landscape in terms of pictures and in an increased interest in scenes in nature. It is a natural habit of the mind, even if the results are not translated into creative activity, to make mental pictures out of "nature unassimilated and unadorned." Nature untouched is too large and vast to grasp as a whole; therefore the mind creates order in a fragment of nature to achieve the completely satisfactory aesthetic experience. Just as an amateur painter may make a more successful drawing by imitating a print, where not only the selection of subject matter has been made, but the proportions have been reduced to a size more easily handled by the inexperienced; so the appreciation of natural beauties is enhanced for many people by a study of pictures. This results in the development of a capacity to select, and to reduce to a comprehensible size a scene or a fragment of nature. This is the same process described by Reynolds when he says: "Mind predominates over matter, by contracting into one whole, what nature has made multifarious."[2]

[1] Shaftesbury, "Plastics," Second Characters, p.121.

[2] Reynolds, Discourses, p. 183.

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Just as symmetry on too vast a scale is displeasing,[1] so in

[1] Walpole, The History, p.16. "Symmetry, even where the space was too large to permit its being remarked at one view."

the beauty of irregularity found in nature, some sort of grouping must be made by the mind to reach full appreciation. When the eye is captured by some striking element of a scene: a well-shaped tree, the curve of a mountain top, the spire of a church--instantly this object becomes the focal point of a picture created in the imagination. The object of intense interest seems to come forward and become the center of the picture, other objects recede proportionately to form the middle distances and the background. The mind has gone through a creative activity comparable to that of the artist when he paints a picture. Pictures painted from memory, perhaps illustrate this principle most clearly; here the artist has gone through the creative activity on the scene, but has preserved it in his unconscious mind until ready to put it on canvas. The person who observes the landscape with appreciation goes through this same process to a greater or less degree according to the sensitivity of his perceptions. This is the esthetic transaction (to borrow a term though applying it in a somewhat different sense)[2] which takes place

[2] Mather, Concerning Beauty, Chap, II. "The Esthetic Transaction," p. 61. "We should consider the esthetic transaction implied in the enjoyment of beauty in nature. It is apparently a twofold transaction, between some appearance in nature - including man - and a beholder. Inherently it would seem to

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be a less coherent and rich experience than that of the beauty of art since the shaping of it really rests wholly with the spectator, with no expert guide, such as an artist, in charge of the activity."

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between man and nature; it is a creative activity which may or may not be translated into action. It naturally exists to some extent in the untrained person, is further developed in the cultured person through the study of landscape painting or of naturalistic landscape design. If translated into action it may result in descriptive poetry of the purest type, in the sense of being uncoloured by human emotions which are linked with human aspirations or desires; it may result in pure landscape painting which does not need a human figure with all its attendant associations for contrast; or it may result in the creation of a scene out-of-doors for the sake of a beautiful arrangement, and only indirectly connected with problems of order and convenience. This natural habit of mind was intensely stimulated and developed in the eighteenth century by travel. The observation of scenery strikingly different from the English, and the interest aroused by the study of Italian landscape painting acted as a sort of catalyst upon the eighteenth century imagination. With eyes now trained in the appreciation of landscape the Englishman turned to a study of his own country. The result was not only a new nature poetry, a new school of landscape painting, but a new school of gardening. This, rather than the direct imitation of Italian paintings in the garden, was the real

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influence of painting on landscape design.

The relationship between painting and gardening had definitely changed by the middle of the century. The paintings of Claude Lorrain and Salvator Rosa were by this time regarded as ideal representations of the beautiful and the picturesque; an ideal parallel to that which the gardener might strive for in designing a garden. Although it has been customary for writers on the English landscape school to conclude that paintings were directly imitated in gardens[1]; there is no mention

[1] Manwaring, Preface, p. iii. Rohde, The Story of the Garden, p. 206.

of the imitation of specific paintings in the writings of the eighteenth-century theorists on landscape design. It has also been maintained that the naturalistic garden was not a characteristically English development, but an artificial imitation of a foreign ideal.[2] Much weight has been attached

[2] Manwaring, p. iii. Rohde, p. 200.

to Alison's account of the origin of the new garden.[3] He

[3] Essays on the Nature and Principles of Taste. p. 302.

attributed the art of creating landscape "to the accidental circumstance of our taste in Natural Beauty being founded upon foreign models; and to the difference or inferiority of the scenery of our own country." In a later passage, however, he described the change in attitude which took place. The first

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imitation of nature though "foreign, and very different from the appearance or character of Nature in our own country, was yet still the imitation of Nature."[1] While the beginning

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[1] Alison p. 306.

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stage consisted chiefly in adding "Temples, Ruins, Statues, and all the other adventitious articles of Italian scenery" to the English garden; this soon became ridiculous. "The power of simple nature was felt and acknowledged, and the removal of the articles of acquired Expression, led men only more strongly to attend to the natural Expression of scenery, and to study the means by which it might be maintained or improved."[2]

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[2] Ibid., p.306-307.

As it was to Walpole, so the ideal landscape garden to Alison was one which brought out the inherent "character" of the scene.[3] The loveliest spots in nature are marred by "signs

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[3] Ibid, p. 248-249.

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of cultivation," "the regularity of inclosures," "the traces of manufactures" and the "presumptuous embellishments of fantastic Taste," until the "general character of the scene" is lost.[4] The superiority of the art of gardening over the

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[4] Ibid, p. 74-75.

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original scenes of nature "consists in the purity and harmony

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of its compositions, in the power which the artist enjoys, to remove from his landscape whatever is hostile to its effect, or unsuited to its character, and by selecting only such circumstances as accord with the general expression of the scene, to awaken an emotion more full, more simple, and more harmonious than we can receive from the scenes of Nature itself."[1] This is an expression of an ideal of landscape

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[1] Alison, p. 75.

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gardening in keeping with the spirit of our naturalistic gardening today. It is not necessary to imply that these high ideals were universally achieved in eighteenth century gardens; without the expression of this new spirit, however, we would not have developed modern informal gardening. It may be granted that the development of landscape gardening began with an admiration for Italian scenery, the first stage of the new interest in nature appreciation; but, just as in the nature poetry of the romantic school, the old poetic diction carried over from the classics was discarded for a new language, based on the observation of English landscape; so in gardening the idealized Italian scenery was abandoned for a new creation based on a similar study. In this change the popularity of theoretical treatises on painting, and the interest in experiments in the technique and practice of the art were the determining factors.

Pope experimented with drawing and then applied the

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principles of painting to gardening. In 1713 Pope was so enthusiastic about painting that he wrote: "I have at present no notion of any harmony, besides that of colours." [1] Spence

[1] To John Caryll, August 31, 1713.

tells us that in 1728 "Pope learned to draw of Jervas [2] for

[2] Charles Jervas (1675-1739), Irish painter studied under Sir Godfrey Kneller. Nonis, the frame-maker and keeper of the pictures to King William and Queen Anne was his first patron. He was permitted to copy what he pleased from the royal collection. There are paintings by him of Caroline, Queen Consort of George II, Pope, Martha Blount and Dean Swift in the National Portrait Gallery. Bryan, vol. iii, p. 112.

a year and a half." [3] That he experimented with the painting

[3] Spence, Anecdotes, p.23.

of landscape we know from the same source. [3] From the changes which he makes when he translates the Iliad [4] it is apparent

[4] The first book of the Iliad was published in 1715; the last two in 1720.

that his studies in painting have influenced his poetry; by the time that he composes the Epistle to Burlington, [5] we find

[5] Published in 1731.

that the theory of painting has influenced his theory of landscape gardening. Twining in a Dissertation on Poetry considered as an Imitative Art compares Homer's Iliad to Pope's as descriptive poetry:

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> "The Greek Poets, then, did not describe the scenery of nature in a picturesque manner, because they were not accustomed to see it with the painter's eye. Undoubtedly they were not blind to all the beauties of such scenes; but those beauties were not heightened to them, as they are to us, by comparison with painting--with those models of improved and selected nature, which it is the business of the landscape-painter to exhibit. They had no Thomsons, because they had no Claudes. Indeed, the influence of painting, in this respect, not only on Poetry, but on the General Taste for the visible beauties of rural nature, seems obvious and indisputable." [1]

1 Twining, p. 53.

By citing picturesque touches which Pope has incorporated into his translation of the Iliad, Twining illustrates his contention that the language of the painter now describes the creative process of the poet. He writes: "We say the poet has painted his object, we talk of his imagery, of the lively colours of his description, and the masterly touches of his pencil." [2]

2 Twining, p. 14.

In the same manner the theory of painting influences Pope as he designs his garden. He explains how certain effects in gardening may be achieved:

> "The lights and shades in gardening are managed by disposing the thick grove work, the thin, and the openings, in a proper manner: of which the eye is generally the properest judge.--Those clumps of trees are like the groups in pictures, (speaking of some in his own garden).--You may distance things by darkening them, and by narrowing the plantation more and more towards the end, in the same manner as they do in painting, and as 'tis executed in the little cypress walk to that obelisk." [3]

3 Spence, Anecdotes, p. 209-211.

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In 1734 Pope asserted that "all gardening is landscape painting," and by 1742 he had worked out a theory of design which was the basis of his plea for naturalistic gardening in his attack on Timon's villa:[1] "All the rules of gardening

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1 Epistle to Burlington.

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are reducible to three heads;-the contrasts, the management of surprises, and the concealment of bounds."--When asked what he meant by contrasts, he answered, "the disposition of the lights and shades," and when asked whether this was connected with the colouring, he answered "Just that."[2]

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2 Spence, p. 206.

Pope's views illustrate the fact that the same influence of the theory and study of painting upon poetry which has been generally recognized by critics as an important aspect of the romantic movement took place in the field of gardening. The continual association by the poets of these three arts, and their combined interest in them was largely responsible for the parallel trend in gardening. Mason was something of a painter throughout his life;[3] his continuous experiments with

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3 Draper, William Mason, pp. 302-314.

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drawing in different media undoubtedly crystallized many of his ideas on garden theory. We know that he drew landscapes; and this observation of nature in many forms undoubtedly

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contributed as much to his theory of garden design as his practical experiments at Aston. Shenstone was a painter as well as a gardener. There remains today a manuscript note-book of Shenstone's water-colour paintings. Manwaring describes these as "awkward little pictures of groves, streams, cascades, lakes, vistas of blue hills, and ruins." [1]

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[1] Manwaring, p. 92. Shenstone's notebook is "now in the Alice Freeman Palmer Collection at Wellesley. It is described by Alice Hazeltine in her Study of Shenstone, 1918."

Dodsley's Description of The Leasowes [2] shows that

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[2] Published in Shenstone's Works, vol. ii, pp.333-371.

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these aspects of scenery were all present on Shenstone's estate. The natural cascades were the unique feature of the location which he chose, and his enhancement of them by plantations and the handling of vistas is one of the most effective elements of his garden design. Seats were placed throughout the estate to allow views of the blue hills in the distance; groves were set off by ruins, the brooks were dammed in many places so that the beauty of smooth lakes might contrast with the rocky torrents of the cascades. Whether Shenstone's drawings were views of his beloved property, or whether he worked out some of his planting arrangements on paper before he executed them in living materials we may only conjecture; but his Unconnected Thoughts on Gardening [3] prove the close

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[3] Published in 1764.

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association in his mind of gardening and painting. His aketchbook is connected with his garden pictures, in that his theories grew out of the principles of painting. Walpole also applied his knowledge of painting to the development of a theory of gardening on principles of picturesque beauty.

The critical writings of the century on painting were as important in the development of landscape design as was the study of pictures. Walpole's use of the language of the painter to express his views of gardening is a direct outgrowth of his association with Spence, Richardson, Reynolds and Gilpin, all of whom contributed to the advancement of painting theory. Walpole's friendship with Spence is well known. They met as early as 1739 in Turin; and two years later Spence saved Walpole's life in Italy.[1] Judging from Spence's Anecdotes[2] and from

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[1] Dobson, p. 60.

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[2] Spence, p. xix, xxi.

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references in Walpole's letters, we must infer that the connection between the two men was continuous throughout their lives.[3] Spence's contribution to the literature of painting

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[3] To Joseph Spence, February 21, 1741; Ibid., June 3, 1751.

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was Polymetis, written in 1732,[4] a voluminous work

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[4] First published in 1767.

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devoted to an examination of the poetry and painting of the ancients to determine whether there was any connection between the two arts in antiquity. The purpose of this study was to assist in the removal of the barriers which exist between the arts; the idea was suggested to him by a similar experiment made by Addison.[1] Citing the authority of Cicero to bear out

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1 Dialogues on Medals, published in 1720.

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his contention, Spence wrote:

> "There is a natural connexion between all the polite arts: and consequently, they may rather seem to meet one another, than to have been brought together by any contrivance." [2]

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2 "Omnes artes quae ad humanitatem pertinent, habent quoddam commune vinculum, et quasi cognatione inter se continentur." Cicero.

It is significant that as early as 1732 Spence [3] should have

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3 Spence, Polymetis, Preface, p.iii.

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suggested the idea developed more fully by Reynolds in his Seventh Discourse some forty years later. Reynolds wrote:

> "All the arts having the same general end, which is to please; and addressing themselves to the same faculties through the medium of the senses it follows that their rules and principles must have as great affinity, as the different materials and the different organs or vehicles by which they pass to the mind, will permit them to retain."[4]

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4 Reynolds, Discourses, p.118.

Another passage of Reynolds [5] which warned against the carrying

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5 Ibid., p. 221.

over of rules from one art to another, without taking into consideration the difference of the media used, indicates the extent to which Spence's words bore fruit.

Spence's interest in gardening is reflected in Polymetis by his choice of setting. Those who take part in the dialogues meet at the country villa of Polymetis, the connoisseur, the hear him discourse on the arts. His estate is described in some detail; and the landscaping of the grounds is obviously patterned after the new garden of his day. The villa was situated on the Thames with lawns sloping down to the river much as in the gardens of Pope and Walpole at Twickenham:

> "You see," says Polymetis, "I have followed the taste in fashion (which, as it happens is certainly the best taste too) of making my gardens rather wild than regular. Their general air, I hope, has nothing stiff and unnatural in it; and the lower part, in particular, joins in with the view of the country, as if it made a part of it. Indeed the mode has allowed me to have as many temples as I could wish, in such a space of ground: but I would not have you imagine that they are temples only for shew; I have found out a use for them, which you might not think of. The statues I got formerly from Italy, and which used to crowd up all my house, are placed in them." [1]

1 Spence, Polymetis, pp. 1-2.

Within the temples, the statues were placed in niches; the walls were ornamented with copies of "antient relievo's or pictures that related to them," and the pedestals were

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equipped with drawers which contained "gems, medals, prints and drawings." [1] Thus the art of the ancients was studied by

[1] Ibid., p.3.

the friends of Polymetis after the manner of those who took part in the drawing project established in the Duke of Richmond's garden room. [2] Sessions on art were alternated

[2] Referred to in Walpole's letter quoted on p.

with walks in the garden and discourses on landscape design. In a wild section of the estate, where irregular paths led to small streams and to lakes overshadowed by willows, were placed statues of the River-dieties of ancient times. The plain which sloped gently to the river was "planted all with little groves, and clusters of willows and alders; which were so irregular, that they seemed much more to have grown there by chance, than to have been ever helped by art." [3] There

[3] Spence, p. 227.

was a Tuscan grotto of rude rock-work stuck about with rough shells and coral where the statues of the Sea-Deities were kept. [4] Here were "seats cut out of the rock that made the

[4] Ibid., p. 217.

arch over their heads." [5] In each part of the garden a special

[5] Ibid.

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effort had been made to design the landscape backgrounds best suited to the enhancement of the statue or temple for which they were planned.

That Spence achieved unusual financial success with this venture indicates the extent to which the interest in painting and gardening had grown. The money received from Polymetis enabled him to carry out a long desired plan, the development of his estate at Oatlands. Like Walpole and Mason he became engrossed in "rural improvement," and so great was his success that he was often consulted by his friends. Walpole complimented him "upon his taste and zeal for the reformed style of picturesque gardening." [1] There is evidence that Spence intended to write an essay on gardening, to be called Tempe, for there were collections toward such a work left in his unpublished manuscripts.[2] These notes on his garden experiments would undoubtedly throw further light on the evolution of modern landscape design.

Walpole's connection with Richardson[3] is less well

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[1] Samuel Weller Singer, "Life of Author," in Spence, Anecdotes, p.xxi.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Jonathan Richardson (1665-1745), portrait painter and writer, was noted for his critical works on painting. Beside the essays already mentioned he and his son were joint authors of An account of some of the Statues, Bas-reliefs, Drawings and Pictures in Italy, and of Explanatory Notes and Remarks on Milton's Paradise Lost, with the Life of the Author, and a Discourse on the Poem. Bryan, vol. iv, p. 228.

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known than his friendship for Spence: Richardson is, however, occasionally mentioned in Walpole's letters.[1] Richardson's

[1] Walpole, To Thomas Warton, October 9, 1764. To the Earl of Hardwicke, November, 1772. To Lord Hailes, December 11, 1780.

three essays: The Theory of Painting, The Art of Criticism and The Science of a Connoisseur were collected in 1792 and published at Strawberry Hill as a supplement to Walpole's Anecdotes of Painting.[2] The inference may reasonably be made

[2] See Title Page.

that Walpole was familiar with the material of these essays.

Walpole's friendship with Gilpin was one of long standing. For years Gilpin's writings were circulated in manuscript and were read with enthusiasm by both Walpole and Mason. They sponsored him among their friends and were instrumental in encouraging him to publish his works.[3]

[3] Hussey, The Picturesque, p.III. "The Duchess of Portland, Horace Walpole, and William Mason were some of his sponsers to fame, during the ten years that his works circulated in manuscript, and it was Mrs. Delany who sent them to the Queen."

In 1768 Gilpin published his first work, The Essay on Prints, which he dedicated to Walpole "in deference to his taste in the Polite Arts and the valuable researches he has made to improve them."[4] It is in this essay that the term "picturesque beauty"

[4] "To the Honorable Horace Walpole, etc." Walpole, Letter to William Mason, January 27, 1781. "Mr. Gilpin has sent me his

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.book and dedication. I thank you for the latter being so moderate, yet he talks of my researches, which makes me smile; I know as Gray would have said, how little I have researched, and what slender pretensions are mine to so pompous a term."

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was first used, "a term expressive of that peculiar kind of beauty, which is agreeable in a picture."[1] Walpole's

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[1] Gilpin, p. xii.

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definition of the new garden style as design based on an imitation of the principles of natural picturesque beauty was probably derived from Gilpin's use of the term.

Of Walpole's connections with Reynolds there is ample evidence. Their mutual interest in the advancement of painting in England and in the founding of the Royal Academy for the encouragement of the arts made many contacts between them.[2]

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[2] Letter to Horace Mann, April 22, 1775. Letter to William Mason, May 7, 1775. Ibid., May 6, 1781.

Reynolds also painted portraits of various members of the Walpole family, including one of Horace himself. His "conversation-piece" of the "committee of taste"[3] was "one of

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[3] Lewis, The Genesis of Strawberry Hill, p. 63. "The difficulties of 'Gothic' only added to its charm. To avoid the pitfalls on every side, Walpole formed the Committee on Taste at Strawberry Hill.
This committee included, beside Walpole himself, John Chute (1701-1776) and Richard Bentley (1708-1782)."

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the chief ornaments of the Refectory at Strawberry Hill.[4]

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[4] Dobson, p. 154.

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Both Walpole and Reynolds played an important part in Mason's translation of Du Fresnoy; for Walpole provided criticism and encouragement, while Reynolds wrote the notes which are its value today.

While the influence of the essays of Spence, Richardson, Reynolds and Gilpin was indirect rather than direct, the influence of Du Fresnoy's De Arte Graphica [1] on the art of

[1] Charles Alphonse Du Fresnoy (1611-1665), French painter, "more celebrated for his poem on the art, than for his merit as a painter." The poem was published three years after his death, in 1688. Bryan, vol. ii, p. 96.

landscape design may be directly traced. First translated into English by Dryden in 1695, the poem became tremendously popular; the analogy between poetry and painting, first suggested by Du Fresnoy, became one of the leading tenets of the day, and literary criticism was filled with comparisons drawn from the two fields now closely associated in the cultivated mind of the period. Since both Spence and Reynolds laid emphasis upon the "natural connexion" between all the arts, it was not long before gardening became inevitably associated with the other two. Walpole's euology of Mason's poem on landscape gardening admirably illustrates the tendency to regard the three as sister arts:

> "Mr. Mason in his English Garden has laid down rules not only for exercising taste but for preserving it in its purity. Like Aristotle and Longinus he has formed a system from the examples

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> of the great masters; and by his superior felecity of being a Poet and Painter too, he has illustrated the beauties of the Third, the youngest, Sister by the affluence of the other Two with such happy art, that Poetry, Painting and Gardening, or the science of Landscape, will forever by men of Taste be deemed Three Sisters, or the Three New Graces who dress and adorn Nature." [1]

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1 Walpole, Notes to Mason's Satirical Poems, p. 43.

The frequency of the translation of Du Fresnoy's poem into English during the eighteenth century,[2] and the large number

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2 First translated into English by Dryden in 1695; by J.W. Wright in 1728; by James Wills in 1754.

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of editions to which it ran, account for the fact that it became in many respects the background of all the other treatises on painting of the period.

Pope's connection with Du Fresnoy's poem grew out of his friendship with the painter Jervas, and culminated in his writing of The Epistle to Jervas.[3] Something of the delight

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3 First published in 1716, it was prefixed to a correction of Dryden's translation of Du Fresnoy made by Jervas; and to all subsequent editions including Mason's.

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which the eighteenth-century gentleman derived from his experiments in the field of painting appears in Pope's lines:

> "Smit with the love of sister arts we came,
> And met congenial, mingling flame with flame;
> Like friendly colours found them both unite,
> And each from each contract new strength and light.
> How oft in pleasing tasks we wear the day,
> While summer suns roll unperceiv'd away?
> While images reflect from art to art?

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How oft review; each finding like a friend,
Something to blame, and something to commend." [1]

[1] "Epistle to Jervas," prefixed to Mason's translation, p. 221.

It cannot be doubted that his knowledge of Du Fresnoy's treatise, as well as his experiments in drawing, had something to do with his statement that "all gardening is landscape painting."

It is in William Mason's translation of Du Fresnoy's De Arte Graphica, however, that the link between gardening and painting may be most directly traced by comparing it with his poem The English Garden.[2] Mason began the translation in his

[2] Bk. I was published in 1772; Bk. II in 1777; Bk. III in 1779; Bk. IV in 1782.

youth, but did not complete it until 1781. It is not surprising that Du Fresnoy's poem should have influenced his poem on gardening as the two were composed over much the same period of time. Walpole, who was delighted with Mason's work, said that he had transformed a dull didactic treatise into a poem which could please as well as teach.[3] The English Garden was

[3] Letter to the Earl of Strafford, August 31, 1781.

designed to fill a similar place in the field of landscape gardening. For his medium Mason chose a didactic poem whose precepts were to be veiled beneath embellishments. The invocation to "divine Simplicity best arbitress of what is good and fair" [4]

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4 Mason, "The English Garden," in Chalmers, Works of the English Poets, vol. xviii, p. 379, Bk. I. All subsequent references to The English Garden are to this edition.

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recalls Du Fresnoy's "Beauty's best handmaid is Simplicity." [1]

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1 Mason's translation of Du Fresnoy, l. 284.

In the preface to his translation of Du Fresnoy, Mason cites the two "archtypes" of nature to be followed by the painters:

> "Yet the reader of taste will always be pleased to see a Frenchman holding out to his countrymen the study of nature, and the chaste models of antiquity... The modern artist will also be proud to emulate that simplicity of style, which..is become one of the principle tests of picturesque excellence." [2]

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2 Ibid., Preface, pp. 7-8.

In his poem on landscape gardening, the study of nature, imitation of the great masters, and simplicity of style become the basic principles of his theory of garden design; these principles are also to be found in Walpole's essay.

There are many other points of similarity between The English Garden and De Arte Graphica. Du Fresnoy advised: "In all to sage propriety attend,..let each object know its native place."[3] Mason also gave rules for maintaining

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3 Mason's translation, ll. 309-314.

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propriety in garden design. Youth must rein his skill within the limits allowed by Nature who "will not bear one beauty foreign to the spot or soil."[4] If nature decrees a level lawn

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4 The English Garden, p. 379, Bk. I

one must not build mountains on the site, nor should one level mountains to produce a lawn. In gardening as well as painting one should not "presume from Nature wholly to depart, for nature is the arbitress of art." [1]

1 Mason's translation, ll, 247-248.

Both Mason and Du Fresnoy advise dependence upon the great masters of painting to aid in selecting and combining the best features of nature. Mason's "Turn thy eye to those, the masters of correct design, who from her vast variety, have cull'd the loveliest, boldest parts, and new arranged," [2] is very close

2 The English Garden, p. 381, Bk. I.

to Du Fresnoy's "Not such the Master' care, curious he culls the perfect from the fair;..selects, combines, improves, diversifies." [3] In a later passage Mason further expounds on

3 Mason's translation, ll. 75-78.

the same theory:

> "And then confess that beauty is best taught
> By those, the favor'd few, whom Heav'n has lent
> The power to seize, select, and reunite
> Her loveliest features; and of these to form
> One archetype complete of sovereign grace.
> Here Nature sees her fairest forms more fair;
> Owns them for hers, yet owns herself excell'd
> By what herself produced." [4]

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4
The English Garden, p. 381, Bk.I.

This view of idealized nature as the model for imitation in gardens does not suggest the imitation of pictures, but rather the imitation of the process carried on by the artist in creating a picture. Mason contrasting that "dull uniformity, contrivance quaint, or labour'd littleness"[1] so often to be

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1
Ibid.

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found in the early efforts of the garden reformers with the "contrasts broad, careless lines, whose undulating forms play through the varied canvas,"[2] of the works of the great

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Ibid.

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masters writes:

> "These transplant
> Again on Nature; take thy plastic spade,
> It is thy pencil; take thy seeds, thy plants,
> They are thy colours; and by these repay
> With interest every charm she lent thy art."[3]

3
Ibid.

Du Fresnoy's directions for the use of colour and of light and shade appear in Mason's lines:

> "When thy taste is call'd
> To deck a scene where Nature's self presents
> All these distinct gradations,[4] then rejoice

4
The foreground, middle distance and background which exist naturally in nature.

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As does the painter, and like him apply
Thy colours; plant thou each separate part
Its proper foliage; Chief, for there thy skill
Has its chief scope, enrich with all the hues
That flowers, that shrubs, that trees can yield, the sides
Of that fair path, from whence our sight is led
Gradual to view the whole. Where'er thou wind'st
That path, take heed between the scene and eye,
To vary and to mix thy chosen greens.
Here for a while with cedar or with larch,
That from the ground spread their close texture, hide
The view entire. Then o'er some lowly tuft,
Where rose and woodbine bloom, permit its charms
To burst upon the sight; now thro' a copse
Of beech, that rear their smooth and stately trunks,
Admit it partially, and half exclude,
And half reveal its graces: in this path
How long soe'er the wanderer roves, each step
Shall wake fresh beauties; each short point present
A different picture, new, and yet the same." [1]

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[1] The English Garden, p. 380, Bk.I.

Other stock phrases drawn from Du Fresnoy which have frequent parallels in eighteenth-century garden essays are: "He best employs his art who best conceals"[2]; "explore..the accidental

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[2] Mason's translation, l. 610.

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graces of nature"[3]; "the judging eye demands the charms of

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[3] Ibid., ll. 663-64.

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contrariety"[4]; "diversity of parts is sure to please, if all

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[4] Mason's translation, ll. 173-194.

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the various parts unite with ease"[5]; "permit not two

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[5] Ibid., ll. 599-600.

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conspicuous lights to shine with rival radiance in the same design."[1] The last two phrases quoted, the content of which

[1] Ibid., ll. 419-420.

appears also in expanded form in Reynolds,[2] were modified by

[2] Reynolds, Discourses, p. 130, p. 109.

George Mason, Shenstone and Whately in their treatments of coherence and unity in garden design.[3] Du Fresnoy's "the

[3] See Chap. VII.

artist's hand must be allowed to strike a free design,"[4] yet

[4] Mason's translation, ll. 41-44.

"Fancy's headlong rage must be curbed"[5] for "taste like morals,

[5] Ibid., l.98.

loves the golden mean"[6] may be compared to Pope and Walpole's

[6] Ibid., l. 100.

doctrine of "good sense" as the necessary curb to the then fashionable pursuit of novelty. The continual emphasis on the importance of variety and intricacy in the new garden goes back to the belief that the eye naturally delights in variety and contrast expressed by Du Fresnoy and others. Finally Du Fresnoy's exhortation that the true genius does not copy slavishly but:

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"By nature taught he strikes the unerring lines,
Consults his eye, and as he sees designs." [1]

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[1] Mason's translation, ll. 169-170.

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is transformed into a theory of landscape design in Mason's lines:

"Be various, wild, and free as Nature's self,
For in her wildness is there oft an art." [2]

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[2] The English Garden, p, 384, Bk. II.

Both place emphasis on the power to see with the painter's eye the beauties of nature, and from this observation to learn how to combine the elements of a scene into a harmonious whole, whether it be on a canvas or in living material. The similarities between Du Fresnoy's De Arte Graphica and Mason's English Garden have been compared here in such detail, because it is between these two treatises that the direct carrying over of ideas from the field of painting to the field of gardening can best be traced. Even though it can be done in the case of Du Fresnoy it is not actually necessary to prove this. It is rather sufficient to show, that just as the study of prints was a part of the background of the eighteenth-century gentleman, so the reading of theoretical works on painting was both fashionable and popular. Since Pope, Spence, Walpole, William Mason and Shenstone, were all associated with the field of painting in its various aspects, it is reasonable to assume that the theoretical writings on painting, as well as their practical experiments in amateur drawing influenced their writings

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on landscape design.

An attempt will be made in the following chapters to show how developments in eighteenth-century aesthetics, poetry and painting all in turn had their effect on the development of modern landscape gardening, and to show how these eighteenth-century poets transformed the principles of painting into a new landscape design based on irregularity. It is in this light that Walpole's work will be examined to determine his importance in the history of gardening. His reputation as the historian of the new style, his connection with fashionable trends of taste, as well as his close association with the others concerned, make him an especially good figure around which to study the evolution of the new style in English gardening.

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CHAPTER II

WALPOLE AND EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY AESTHETICS

Walpole has ususally been considered the best contemporary historian of the changes in gardening which took place in the mid-eighteenth century, but it has not been generally noted by critics of today that he was also important as a theorist. Both Price,[1] now generally recognized as the

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1 Price, Essays on the Picturesque, vol. 1, p. 230, p. 329.

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one who developed to the highest extent a theory of beauty based on the irregular or picturesque in nature, and Repton, to whom most frequently is given the credit for being the founder of modern landscape architecture, fully admitted Walpole's part in developing a modern theory of landscape design. Repton wrote:

> "I scarcely need mention the late Horace Walpole, who in his lively and ingenious manner, has given both the history and the rules of the art better than any other theorist." [2]

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2 Repton, The Art of Landscape Gardening, p. 160.

It is true that his theoretical work was perhaps somewhat overshadowed by Mason's English Garden [3] which more specifically

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3 Advertisement ot 1782 edition. p. XIII. "Little is said here but historically of the art of gardening. Mr. Mason in his first beautiful canto on that subject has shown that Spenser and Addison ought not to have been omitted in the list of our authors who were not blind to the graces of natural taste. The public must wish with the author of this work, that Mr. Mason would complete his poem, and leave this essay as unnecessary as it is imperfect."

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dealt with that aspect of the subject. His admiration for Whately's Observations on Modern Gardening, which he regarded

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as the best of the theoretical treatises,[1] also prevented

[1] Walpole, The History, pp. 51-52.

Walpole in the essay on gardening from doing more than quote Whately's ideas wherever he spoke specifically of theory. It is indirectly in his essay and more directly in his letters and journals, as he describes his own experiments at Strawberry Hill, and as he comments on the gardens of others, that Walpole's views of design may be studied.

Another factor which may have prevented Walpole's importance in the development of eighteenth-century aesthetic theory from being recognized, is that his ideas are not for the most part especially original. At the same time the fact that many of his views are typical of the period makes him interesting to the student of eighteenth-century taste. In relation to aesthetics Walpole is peculiarly representative of a certain dualism in thinking apparent in the poets of the first half of the century. A combination of classicism and romanticism which has frequently been noted by critics of Pope[2] and Addison,[3] and especially J.W. Draper in his study

[2] George Sherburn, "'Timon's Villa' and Cannons," The Huntington Library Bulletin, p. 152. Phelps, The Beginnings of the English Romantic Movement, pp. 24-25.

[3] Phelps, pp. 116-117.

of William Mason,[4] is also to be found in Horace Walpole's

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[4] Draper, p. 316.

attitude toward gardening. Pope, whose poetry represents the epitome of neo-classic polish, yet claimed to be a romantic in his garden at Twickenham. Addison,[1] while a

[1] Addison, The Spectator, June 25, 1712.

classicist at heart, turned toward naturalism in gardening. Mason, although he wrote a didactic poem on landscape gardening according to true neo-classic convention, urged the gardener to be "various, wild and free as Nature's self."[2]

[2] Mason, The English Garden, p. 384, Bk.II.

It is difficult to reconcile the seeming incompatibility of these two attitudes, until one realizes that the romantic garden based on the beauty of irregularity, as opposed to the architectural regularity of the formal garden, was a natural outgrowth of the neo-classic definition of nature and of the neo-classic attitude toward the problem of the relation of art to nature. Warburton, in his notes to Pope's Epistle to Burlington,[3] gives us an explanation of Pope's point of view

[3] Pope, Works, vol. iii, p. 161.

which throws light on the whole problem. He is answering those of his contemporaries who have attacked Pope on the same charge of inconsistency which occurs to the modern

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student. He shows how the principles of taste expressed in Pope's criticism of the ostentatious display of wealth shown in the architecture of the house and the planning of the grounds at Timon's Villa are exactly the same as expressed in the Essay on Man,[1] and in the Essay on Criticism.[2]

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1 Published in 1733.

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2 Published in 1711.

Warburton writes:

> "As in the intellectual world, the business of the moralist is not to endeavour to eradicate the ruling passion or original natural disposition, but to subject it to the dominion of reason, and convert it to useful and beneficial purposes; so the improvement and decoration of external scenery can be only effected by adhering to nature, correcting her occasional deviations, and enhancing her beauties, by the medium of good sense; and thus the same principle extends through the whole of the author's works, and serves to render each portion of them the best commentary on the other."[3]

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3 Pope, op. cit., p. 161.

That Pope 's influence on Walpole was considerable cannot be doubted, since Walpole frequently quotes from him in the History of the Modern Taste in Gardening; he not only praises the design of the grounds of Twickenham,[4] but gives

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4 Walpole, The History, pp. 45 - 46.

Pope full credit for his part in the development of Kent's taste and Kent's subsequent fame as the originator of the new

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style.[1] An examination of Walpole's view on the relation

[1] Ibid., p. 45.

of art to nature will show how closely Warburton's statement may be applied to Walpole's theories on landscape design. Like most of the eighteenth-century garden reformers he believed in the beauty of natural irregularity and in the use of nature unadorned as the model to follow. He believed that the purpose of art was "to embellish nature,"[2] but that art should always

[2] Ibid., p. 24.

be kept subordinate. This view of the relation of art to nature comes out most clearly in his discussion of the origin of gardening and its evolution from the simple kitchen garden which was based on necessity to the artificial pleasure gardens of the wealthy.[3] His attitude represents a sort of eighteenth-

[3] Ibid., pp. 14–15.

century primitivism in which the natural man, instinctively guided by inherent good sense, knew how to mix nature and art in the proper proportions. But as wealth increased, man gradually departed from the "verdant and the rural" until interest centered chiefly upon the architectural attributes of the garden; the formal garden from the days of Pliny to those of seventeenth century England represent man's complete dominion over nature. Though false taste prevailed in England,

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as it did elsewhere, "good sense perceived the want of something at once more grand and more natural." [1]

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1 Ibid., p. 19.

As Pope wrote:

> "Something there is more needful than Expense,
> And something previous ev'n to Taste--'tis Sense:
> Good Sense, which only is the gift of Heav'n
> And though no Science, fairly worth the seven." [2]

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2 Epistle to Burlington, ll. 41-44.

The English love of sport and of walks and rides in the country caused large areas of land to be set aside for these purposes. It is upon this early development of the park with its spacious woods and long drives through the trees that Walpole bases his chief claim that the new taste originated with the English. He only laments the fact that, "having stumbled on the principle of modern gardening" [3] as early as the sixteenth

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3 Walpole, The History, p. 20

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century, it should have taken until the eighteenth century for the Englishman to see the possibilities inherent in natural landscape." To Milton he gives the credit for pointing the way by restoring art to its proper office, "the just improvement" of nature. Milton's description of the garden of Eden was for Walpole a better picture of Hagley or Stourhead, famous gardens in the new style, than even Claude Lorrain could have painted from the originals. [4]

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4 Ibid., p.22.

While Milton represented the poetic inspiration for a more natural style, Pope laid down definite rules that the experimenter might actually follow. The first part of Pope's Epistle and Walpole's essay are very similar: they both point out illustrations of false taste, and then lay down rules for its correction. Both show the folly of the unwise use of riches; for the character of Timon in Pope's Satire represents "thoughtless ostentation." While Pope specifically attacks the formal garden by describing the lay-out of a typical villa and grounds, Walpole's views are woven into a general history of gardening with special emphasis on the rise and development of the new taste. Each in his own way follows the principle that nature must never be forgotten, and particularly that since the nature of each individual property is entirely different, each one must be carefully studied in order to determine the type of design best suited to the surroundings. Pope sums up this question of natural topography in the line, "Consult the genius of the place in all."[1] Walpole describing

1 Epistle to Burlington, l. 57.

where this has been done, delights in the fact that, "when nature was taken into the plan,..every step that was made, pointed out new beauties and inspired new ideas."[2]

2 Walpole, The History, p.40.

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Following out the idea that nature should be corrected by good sense Walpole wrote of the new gardening: "The living landscape was chastened or polished not transformed."[1] In other

[1] Ibid., p. 43.

words man must not change nature which is essentially good, but improve it. Natural woods should be retained, although where they are too thick vistas may be cut to let in light and to provide for the intricacy of open prospects seen through the branches. The gentle stream if modified must be taught to "serpentize seemingly at its pleasure";[2] it must display

[2] Ibid., p. 42.

neither the tortuous windings of the more extravagant reformers, or the straight lines of the sixteenth century canal. The lovely natural forms of trees and shrubs must be allowed freedom to develop, although they may be planted in natural groups to break the uniformity of a lawn or to screen unsightly objects. Buildings must be used judiciously and always be kept subordinate to the landscape. Most important of all, art must always be concealed. Walpole's test of good landscape gardening was that the result be so close to nature, the casual eye could not perceive where art began and nature left off. The modern gardener must "rout professed art" to follow nature. Only the simple and natural elements must be used "to form a compendium of picturesque

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nature, improved by the chastity of art." [1]

[1] Ibid., p. 64.

Walpole sincerely believed that the new English garden had reached the point of perfection, and that his countrymen had given the model of true gardening to the world. They had discovered that a return to nature unadorned was all that was needed. The originality of the new style lay in its "elegant simplicity" as opposed to the extreme complication of the formal garden. Walpole was not astute enough to see where this primitivism would lead. For him all the problems of the art of landscape design were to be solved by a close imitation of an inherently good and beautiful nature. He was proud that in the new garden there was "no other art than that of softening nature's harshnesses and copying her graceful touch."[2] Although he saw that curves carried to an

[2] Ibid., p. 57.

excess became as artificial as straight lines, he was not able to see that the same danger was incurred if simplicity were over-emphasized. Instead he regarded it as the corrector of all excess; he did not realize that a determined simplicity which is not a natural outgrowth of the situation, becomes a form of affectation. Sir Joshua Reynolds warned his students against falling into this error in painting. Using as an illustration the paintings of Poussin, he wrote:

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> "I can fancy, that even Poussin, by abhorring that affectation and that want of simplicity, which he observed in his countrymen, has in certain particulars fallen into the contrary extreme, so far as to approach a kind of affectation."[1]

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[1] Reynold's, Discourses, p. 135.

Since the paintings of Poussin and others of his school were used as models for the new garden, it is interesting to note that Reynolds criticised the painter for the same faults that Uvedale Price found in the new garden. Price wrote:

> "What appears to me the great defect of modern gardening in the confined sense, is exactly what has given them their highest reputation; an affectation of simplicity, of mere nature; a desire of banishing all embellishments of art where art ought to be employed, and even in some degree displayed."[2]

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[2] Price, Essays on the Picturesque, vol. ii, p. 108.

Price regretted that Mason began his English Garden with an invocation to Simplicity. In discussing the problem of the relation of art to nature Price pointed out that in all the higher arts the most striking effects are produced "by heightening, and so far by deviating from common obvious nature; and by adding what is artificial, to what is strictly simple and natural."[3] He believed that gardening, if it is going

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[3] Price, vol. ii, p. 166-167.

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to be considered one of the arts, must to a certain extent follow the general rules of art, however its peculiar problems may call for variation. He wrote:

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> "Gardening must not pretend to differ from all the other fine arts, and reject all artificial ornaments, and pride herself upon simplicity alone, which (as Sir Joshua Reynolds well observes in speaking of painting) when it seems to avoid the difficulties of art is a very suspicious virtue," [1]

[1] Ibid.

Reynolds as well as Price, more technically versed in the problems of art than Walpole, realized that gardening must represent "a deviation from nature," for if every appearance of art were banished, if every trace of the footsteps of man were concealed, it would then no longer be a garden.[2] If

[2] Reynolds, p. 221.

landscape gardening was to continue to be regarded as a sister art to painting and poetry, a sharp line of demarcation between "what is art" and "what is nature" had to be drawn. Walpole represents a transitional stage of thinking upon the problem; Reynolds and Price represent the stage in which the problem was solved. Light may be thrown on Walpole's attitude, and upon the attitude of others in this early period of the development of the new taste in gardening, by a recent writer on the aesthetic appreciation of nature and its relation to problems of art. Tracing the course of his own development in aesthetic appreciation Hammerton[3] writes:

[3] George Philip Hammerton (1834-1894) English artist and writer.

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Art critic for the London Saturday Review, 1866-68.

> "First, there was a passionate but very confused love of both art and nature; then a predominant passion for nature with a disposition to sacrifice art to it entirely, making art wholly subordinate; finally (my present state), a clear perception that art and nature are far apart and must not be confounded." [1]

[1] Opdyke, Art and Nature Appreciation, pp. 41-42.

Walpole, Pope, and Mason represent this second stage described by Hammerton. They are carried away by their deification of untouched nature; they have not as yet gone far enough to see how "the garden of the idea" must be modified in the actual working out of problems on the ground.

Walpole carried the problem of selection no further than that one should imitate nature's best features. Any deviation from nature could be explained away on the grounds of correcting nature's few defects. He laughed at Kent for planting dead trees in Kensington because he felt that Kent had not known when to stop at "just limits." [2]

[2] Walpole, The History, p. 48.

Instead of choosing nature's beautiful irregularities, which he had already done with great success, he had tried to imitate even her defects. While Kent did this in an attempt to secure verisimilitude, Walpole and his contemporaries regarded his effort as an excess. Perhaps to place dead trees

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where nature did not intend them was considered a violation of that first principle "follow nature." At any rate, whether the dead tree in question had any aesthetic value or not, does not seem to have entered the discussion.

Walpole did not see the difficulties involved in his view of the relation of art to nature. He did not give sufficient importance to the action of the mind of the designer upon the raw materials of nature. The vast amount of selecting, arranging and combining of materials from nature's endless store of possibilities can only be achieved by a conscious art. Walpole was not alone in his failure to see the fallacy of attempting a photographic imitation of nature; most of the mid-eighteenth century garden reformers fell into the same error, with the resulting monotony of scene which Walpole himself condemned.[1] While he felt it in various gardens

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[1] See Chapter V.

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which he obeerved, he had only a partial view of the causes for the insipidity of scene which so often annoyed him. He pointed out specific errors, such as the frequent repetition of small clumps of trees, or a monotonously winding stream with the same sized curves and the same type of planting in every curve; but he did not grasp that the whole premise on which the earliest of the landscape designers worked was false. Opdyke in pointing out the difference between a photograph and beautiful painting makes a statement which

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can be applied to many of the eighteenth-century gardens. He says that a photograph represents "Nature with her infinite mass of details crowded in the picture, unsifted, unassimilated, and unarranged."[1] This was the result too often in Walpole's experiments at Strawberry Hill. A lack of connection between parts which grew out of considering a garden as a succession of pictures was also a contributing factor.

[1] Opdyke, Art and Nature Appreciation, p. 37.

For many reasons it was practically inevitable that Walpole should consider gardening as a branch of painting. Heritage, training, the trend of fashion and individual taste all led him in this direction. It is not surprising then, that when he began his horticultural experiments at Strawberry Hill, along with others of his contemporaries he should have carried over ideas of painting into the garden. It is significant, that while this attitude was not original with Walpole, he was not a mere imitator, but arrived at the study of gardening by means of painting, through his own experimentation. The pictorial quality of landscape had always been very important to him. His knowledge of painting made him prone to see likenesses out-of-doors to paintings of which he was fond. The recognition of a bit of nature as a Claude Lorrain landscape enhanced both his appreciation of the artist's skill and his own enjoyment in the scene before him. It was but a step from this to come to the idea

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that those who designed gardens could learn much from those who had learned to select and copy on canvas the best features of natural landscape. That he considered the two as but different aspects of the same art is apparent throughout his History of the Modern Taste in Gardening. The significance of his inclusion of the essay on gardening as the last chapter of the Anecdotes of Painting has already been noted;[1] as well

[1] Hussey, The Picturesque, p. 153.

as his use of the terms "picture" and "planting" synonomously. There are, however, other instances even more significant; for throughout the essay he consistently uses the language of the painter to describe the work of the landscape designer.

When describing the gardens of history he makes his imagery clearer to the eighteenth-century mind by likening scenes to pictures with which his readers were probably familiar. He does not confine his comparisons to a naturalistic type of garden which can well be compared to a scene in nature, but is equally apt at drawing analogies from Watteau and D'Urfey to represent the spirit of the formal garden.[2] Again

[2] Walpole, The History, p. 12.

Watteau occurs to his mind as he describes in one of his letters an entertainment given for the French ambassadorial party at Esher:

> "The day was delightful, the scene transporting, the trees, lawns, concaves, all in the perfection in

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> which the ghost of Kent would joy to see them...
> We walked to the belvedere on the summit of the hill, where a threatened storm only served to heighten the beauty of the landscape, a rainbow on a dark cloud falling precisely behind the tower and the building at Claremont...From thence we passed into the wood, and the ladies formed a circle on chairs before the mouth of the cave, which was overhung to a vast height with woodbines, lilacs, and laburnums, and dignified by those tall shapely cypresses. On the descent of the hill were placed the French horns; the abigails, servants, and neighbours wandering below by the river--in short, it was Parnassus, as Watteau would have painted it."[1]

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[1] To George Montagu, May 17, 1763.

Paradise Lost calls up to Walpole memories of both pictures and scenes in nature. The association of Hagley with scenes in Milton's Garden of Eden is especially frequent in his mind. His comments[2] illustrate to what extent the

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[2] On Paradise Lost, Bk.IV, ll. 233-240. See Walpole, The History, pp.22-23.

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fields of poetry, painting, and gardening were allied in his thinking. He writes: "Hagely seems pictured in what follows." Then--"What colouring, what freedom of pencil, what landscape in these lines!"[3] The critic of poetry

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[3] Ibid.

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is speaking both as artist and gardener. His imagery is the result of experience in all three fields, and he draws freely upon this background to create in the mind of the reader what he himself has seen. Much of the literary value

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of Walpole's essay lies in just this peculiarity of style. It was not merely an artificial device used only in the History of the Modern Taste in Gardening, but was a form of writing as natural to him as the gentle satire which adds so much to the charm of his letters. The essay represents in this respect the culmination of years of using this method of describing scenery. In letters written on his first trip to Italy he uses references to paintings to express his enthusiasm on first seeing the Alps.[1] This method of

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[1] See letter quoted in Chapter I on p. 103.

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description may seem rather forced, to a modern reader, especially if he is unfamiliar with the pictures named. It is a custom similar to the habit prevalent among eighteenth-century poets of quoting from the classics; and has its source in somewhat the same form of experience. As references to the Greek and Latin poets called up not only pleasurable recollections of the Odyssey or Aeneid, but many delightful associations with the past, perhaps memories of schooldays, of old friends long since forgotten, so references to paintings brought to mind a background shared by both reader and writer. Milton in Paradise Lost, continually calls up scenes and stories from the wealth of his reading. If we are familiar with his references, his imagery is doubly enriched for us, and we feel to some extent the joy in recollection (perhaps intensified by his blindness) which he had in referring, for

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example, to the Garden of Hesperides.[1] In much the same

[1] Milton, Paradise Lost, Bk. III, ll. 568-572.

way Walpole calls to mind pleasurable recollections of his travels and of his studies in painting; and by referring to pictures familiar to his readers adds to their enjoyment of his essay, The view through the arch erected by Lord Temple in honour of the Princess Amelia is described by Walpole in his characteristic manner:

> "It is placed on an eminence at the top of the Elysian fields, in a grove of orange-trees. You come to it on a sudden, and are startled with delight on looking through it: you at once see, through a glade, the river winding at the bottom; from which a thicket rises, arched over with trees, but opened, and discovering a hillock full of hay-cocks, beyond which in front is the Palladian bridge, and again over a larger hill crowned with the castle. It is a tall landscape framed by the arch and the over-bowering trees, and comprehending more beauties of light, shade, and buildings, than any picture of Albano I ever saw." [2]

[2] To George Montagu, July 7, 1770.

The prospect from his own windows as he watches the hay-carts transport his second crop of hay again calls to mind a painting, for he writes: "The setting sun and the long autumnal shades enriched the landscape to a Claude Lorrain."[3]

[3] To Miss Mary and Miss Agnes Berry, September 16, 1791.

Not only in describing scenes, but in explaining the work of the landscape designer does he use the language of the painter. This is well illustrated by his treatment

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of Kent's work. It is natural that the analogy between painting and gardening should come out most clearly here, because Kent himself had been a painter before he became a landscape gardener. The importance that Walpole gives to Kent as the inventor of the new style may be largely attributed to the fact that Walpole believed Kent's skill in painting, and his training in that field of art, had given him unusual insight into the possibilities of natural landscape; and that for this reason he had achieved such great success in "improving nature" in actuality. While others had made feeble attempts to break away from the formal tradition, while Bridgeman had even gone so far as to do away with boundaries--a great step in advance--it was Kent who was "painter enough to taste the charms of landscape" and to see what changes should follow the removal of walls and hedges.[1]

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[1] Walpole, The History, p. 40.

Throughout his discussion of Kent's improvements, Walpole's language is such that if one did not know the essay was on gardening, one could scarcely determine whether the author was referring to a gardener or a painter. Of Kent he writes: "Thus the pencil of his imagination bestowed all the arts of landscape on the scenes he handled." "The principles he worked on were perspective, light and shade."[2]

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[2] Ibid., p. 41.

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This sentence is especially singificant as an illustration of how the rules of painting were directly carried over into the field of gardening; for one of the most important contributions of the new aesthetic theories to garden design was the addition of the perspective of depth and breadth to the old linear perspective of the architectural garden.

Walpole believed that Kent "realized the composition of the greatest masters in painting"[1] by means of the two great rules--by selecting the best effects of nature and by correcting her deviations. He stressed the fact that Kent dealt in "none but the colours of nature."[2] He carried the analogy with painting even to the point of saying that "a return of some particular thoughts was common to him with other painters, and made his hand known."[3] Just as the peculiar quality of the treatment of the masses of dark and light is characteristic of Rembrandt, or the delicacy of the foliage of trees is characteristic of a Corot, so Kent's treatment of the curves of an artificial lake, his placement of features along a serpentine walk or to terminate a vista; his way of handling other problems of landscape design were marked by

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[1] Ibid., p.41.

[2] Ibid., p.43.

[3] Walpole, The History, pp.47.

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a certain individuality which became familiar to an acute observer such as Walpole.

Walpole was extremely sensitive in his perception of the details of nature. His training in the analysis of paintings undoubtedly added to a tendency toward observation which was noticeable in him at an early date. He showed an interest in the beauties of the individual plant which is comparable to the nature ovservation of the early romantic poets. He delighted in the "clean straight stem" of the white pine, "the lightness of its hairy green" and its habit of being "feathered quite to the ground" with branches. [1]

[1] To George Montagu , November 8, 1755.

He felt that one of the chief charms of the new garden was the emphasis laid upon the mixture of various greens and the contrast of forms which had been brought about by the introduction of foreign plants into England.[2] He realized

[2] Walpole, The History, pp. 44.

that the possibilities latent in the "lovely wildness of form" of plants had only been touched upon as yet in the new gardens, and foresaw that this development would become more and more important in plant design.[3] He was also very

[3] Ibid., pp. 44-45.

much alive to the possibilities of colour and texture in

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giving variety to the garden design, and had a painter's eye for the beauty of shadows in nature.

Because of the extremes of certain garden reformers, and because of Repton's and Price's criticism of the "gardening as a branch of painting" theory as impractical in the long run,[1] it has been customary to regard the whole trend

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1 Repton, Letter to Uvedale Price, July 1, 1794. "An enthusiasm for the picturesque, had originally led me to fancy greater affinity betwixt Painting and Gardening, than I found to exist after more mature consideration, and more practical experience."

Price, vol. i, pp. 3-5. "But, however highly I may think of the art of painting, compared with that of improving, nothing can be farther from my intention (and I wish to impress it in the strongest manner on the reader's mind) than to recommend the study of pictures in preference to that of nature, much less to the exclusion of it...The use, therefore of studying pictures, is not merely to make us acquainted with the combinations and effects that are contained in them, but to guide us, ..in our search of the numberless and untouched varieties and beauties of nature; for as he who studies art only will have a confined taste, so he who looks at nature only, will have a vague and unsettled one."

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as the result of visionary experiments by eighteenth-century poets which need not be taken very seriously. It must be admitted that a too-close adherence to this theory gave rise to many defects, the causes of which have been well analyzed by Repton and Price.[2] But too often the real benefits which

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2 Repton, The Art of Landscape Gardening, p. 149. "It is not from the colouring only but the general composition of landscapes that the painter and landscape gardener will feel the difference in their respective arts; and although each may occasionally assist the other, yet I should no more advise the latter, in laying out the scenery of a place, to copy the confined field of vision or affect the careless graces of Claude or Poussin than I should recommend, as a

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subject proper for a landscape painter, the formal rows or quincunx position of trees in geometric gardening."

Price, vol. i, pp. 233. "These general principles, not those peculiar to the practice of the art, are in my idea, unversally applicable to every kind of ornamental gardening."

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arose from this view of gardening have been lost sight of today, because of the derision aroused by its more unfortunate aspects. It is unquestionably true that the idea of creating pictures in the garden with living plants, as one creates a landscape on canvas with paints, led to a new interest in the close observation of the details of nature and to an understanding of the inherent possibilities of the landscape which could be acquired in no other way.

One of the defects of the extreme formal garden was that the individual plant had been completely forgotten; the architecture of symmetry and order as used in the house had been carried over into the garden to such a degree that the plant had become purely a minor element in the design to be molded according to the designer's will. Out of this conception of the use of plants came the extremes of topiary work and other artificial treatments of shrubs and trees. It was for this reason that the use of flowers lapsed during the Restoration period, because their freer habit of growth tended to spoil the design of the paths and borders. [1]

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[1] John Rea, Flora, Bk. I, p. 2.

A return to an appreciation of the "lovely wildness of form"

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undoubtedly originated with the new interest in external landscape and the wilder aspects of nature which, owing to the increase in travel, came at the turn of the century; but the interest in painting and the carrying over of the principles of painting into the garden were largely responsible for the emphasis laid on those elements which have become so important a part of present-day landscape design: form, perspective, texture, color, light, and shade. Walpole, because of his studies in painting, saw the possibilities inherent in these elements more than any of his contemporaries, and foreshadowed the later experiments of Repton and Price.

Before going on to a discussion of Walpole's development of a theory of the picturesque, which is closely associated with the relation of gardening to painting, it will be necessary to consider the meaning of the word in eighteenth-century taste, and to examine to what extent a general theory of the picturesque had been developed before Walpole's time. Pope is credited with the earliest use of the term in England. In 1713 he wrote in a letter to Caryll: "Mr. Philips has two lines; which seem to me what the French call very picturesque."[1] According to Pope this word was

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[1] Pope, To John Caryll, December 21, 1713.

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in common use in eighteenth-century France in the form pittoresque, meaning in the style of a painter, or in the style of a picture. Whether this is accurate or not, at

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least the term came to be in use in England as applied to scenery which was like a painting - that is, would make a good subject for a painter to choose. In 1717 Pope seemed to use the word in this sense, for in the Iliad he wrote, "The marshy spot of ground...the Tamarisk.., the Reeds that are heap'd together to mark the Place, are Circumstances the most Picturesque imaginable."[1] Walpole apparently first

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[1] Pope, Iliad, Bk. X, note 1.iv.

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used the word in this sense also. Speaking of the improvements made by the destruction of walls he writes: "In the meantime how rich, how gay, how picturesque the face of the country! Every journey is made through a succession of pictures."[2]

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[2] Walpole, The History, p.57.

While he commonly called a thing picturesque which seemed to him like a picture, at times he appeared to understand the term in its wider meaning. Price in his Essays on the Picturesque[3] gives us further information on the derivation

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[3] Price, vol. i, pp. 44-45.

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of the word which throws light on a possible expansion of the term as applied to garden design by Walpole. Price claims that the French word pittoresque (since the form pittoresque is unusual in the French tongue) came from the Italian word pittoresco, a word of a much earlier date than either the

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French or the English forms. The Italian word is not derived "from the thing painted, but from the painter," and has reference to the turn of mind common to painters. They, because of their "constant habit of examining all the peculiar effects and combination, as well as the general appearance of nature, are struck with the numberless circumstances, even where they are incapable of being represented, to which an unpractised eye pays little or no attention." It is on this analysis of two possible meanings of the word picturesque that Price bases his view of the defects of the modern taste, which have been caused by carrying the principles of painting into the field of gardening. He writes:

> "The English word naturally draws the reader's mind towards pictures; and from that partial and confined view of the subject, what is in truth only an illustration of picturesqueness, becomes the foundation of it."[1]

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1 Ibid.

Walpole was an early user of the term picturesque to express an effect in gardening. Like his contemporaries he first used the word to describe a scene in external nature which reminded him of a particular painting. He then carried this idea further to characterize gardens already completed. Of Stanstead, seat of the earl of Halifax, he writes: that it recalls "such exact pictures of Claude Lorrain, that it is difficult to conceive that he did not paint them from this very spot."[2] It is when he begins to create pictures in the

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[2] The History, p. 50.

garden that Walpole turns from the painting to the painter. He is seeing with the painter's eye when he writes: "Cypresses are, I think my chief passion; there is nothing so picturesque where they stand two or three in a clump, upon a little hillock rising above low shrubs, and particularly near buildings." [1]

[1] Walpole, To George Montagu, November 8, 1755.

He has not only noticed that they form a delightful picture, but has made an analysis of the elements which constitute its beauty--he has noted the contrast of the form of the cypresses with the roundness of the hillock or of the low shrubs, and the contrast of their feathery foliage with the plain masses of the building. If this seems to be an expansion of the implication of his words, note that he again notices the same type of contrast between roughness and smoothness in his use of the larch or spruce behind a willow. He writes: "There is another bit of picture, of which I am fond, and that is the larch or a spruce fir planted behind a weeping willow, and shooting upwards." [2] It is this capacity to see with the

[2] Ibid.

painter's eye that he finds so important in Kent's work. [3]

[3] Walpole, The History, pp. 40-48.

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His keen analysis of how Kent received inspiration from natural picturesque beauty shows Walpole's own capacity for seeing the beauties of nature; and the extent to which he believed this sense of the inherent quality of the landscape was necessary to the real garden designer. He has developed Pope's theory of "Consult the genius of the place in all" to an elaborate degree. He believed that the spirit of each locality is entirely different from every other, and it is this view which is back of his criticism of the extremes of the reformers. Brown, for instance, could not have understood the character of the old estates or he would not have ruthlessly destroyed the ancient oak and beech forests, as he did, to plant trivial clumps. He would not have torn up the land to place hills where valleys had been and to turn valleys into hills, if he had understood the "genius" of the place. What today the landscape architect prosaically calls "consulting local topography," in Walpole's mind became almost a personfication of the spirit of nature as she lurked in the woods and glades of Twickenham and Strawberry Hill. This emphasis upon a study of topography was in complete contrast to the view taken of the land by the advocates of the formal garden. Le Nôtre, designer of the grounds at Versailles,[1] whose influence was

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[1] Hubbard and Kimball, Landscape Design, p.44. Le Nôtre showed "a thorough appreciation of the grandeur which comes through sheer size, and ability to combine this effect with much local interest of detail, but also the courage to produce this effect even at the cost of some barrenness of extent of pasture and interminable stretch of vista." Le Nôtre's style was suited only to large areas of perfectly flat land. "In less skillful

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hands than Le Nôtre's, formality on too small a scale because stiffness, straight alleys on rolling topography were deprived of any meaning in design."

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paramount in the development of the extremes of formal gardening, is said to have considered a piece of ground as a bare space on which the mind of man might create a design. Even though the attempt to derive inspiration from the lay of the land may have been carried to extremes in Walpole's day, still, this idea is one of the most important contributions of the mid-eighteenth century poet-experimentors to the present-day landscape garden. Walpole's part in spreading this idea both in his writings and in his work at Strawberry Hill is of considerable importance.

While Walpole's approach to a theory of the picturesque was less philosphical than Uvedale Price's, yet to Walpole belongs the credit for developing a theory of landscape design on "the principles of natural picturesque beauty," [1] and for

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[1] Walpole, "Anecdotes of Painting," Works, vol. iii, p. 438.

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inventing a new term Gardenist [2] to distinguish this type of

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[2] To William Mason, February 10, 1783.

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garden designer from the ordinary gardener. He wrote:

> "I have not been able to please myself with a single term that will express ground laid out on principles of natural picturesque beauty, in contradistinction to symmetrical gardens-but I am very clear that the designer of modern improvements in Landscape-gardens (as I will call them for want of a happier appellation) ought by no means to be confounded with the domestic called a gardener, especially as a word presents itself which will

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> distinguish the different provinces of designing a garden, and of superintending it when laid out. The latter will remain the gardener, the projector I should propose to denominate a gardenist."

By natural picturesque beauty, as has been shown, Walpole meant a beauty based on the natural irregularity of external nature, as opposed to the beauty of symmetry to be found in the architectural garden. The imitation of nature in garden design, he believed, grew out of the Englishman's inherent love for the beautiful landscape of his own country; and out of the fact that his natural good sense caused him to become disatisfied with the extremes of the Restoration formal garden. He did not, as did Spence and others, admit that the idea of a beauty of irregularity and the belief that different types of natural landscape should be imitated by the garden designer first came from China; his original enthusiasm for the Chinese Sharawadgi (the beauty of careless or unorderly grace) and his later dislike of the Chinese taste which led him to take part in the "Chinese controversy" will be discussed in the next chapter. It is sufficient to say here that his bias against the extremes of Chinese innovations prevented him from seeing any connection between the beauty, of which he wrote so glowingly in 1750, and which he called "the Chinese want of symmetry in buildings, grounds and gardens,"[1]

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[1] Walpole, To Horace Mann, February 25, 1750.

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and that beauty which he writes of twenty years later as "ground laid out on principles of natural picturesque beauty,

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in contradistinction to symmetrical gardens."[1]

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[1] Walpole, "Anecdotes of Painting," Works, vol. iii, p. 438.

While Walpole's theories of the picturesque were not as philosophically profound as Price's, he realized quite as well as Price in a practical way that in designing a garden with too many curves one had merely exchanged one type of artificiality for another. This was his chief criticism of the Chinese imitations in England.[2] He felt that the remedy

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[2] Walpole, The History, p.35.

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lay in a further study of nature herself whose curves were always modified by sharp angles. He would have agreed thoroughly with Price that "sudden protuberances, and lines are among the most fruitful causes of intricacy,"[3] for none

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[3] Price, vol. i, p. 50.

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laid more emphasis on the need for intricacy and variety in the garden than Walpole. He writes:

> "Situations are everywhere so various, that there never can be a sameness, while the disposition of the ground is studied and followed, and every incident of view turned to advantage."[4]

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[4] Walpole, The History, p.57.

It is Walpole's stress upon the development of the capacity of examining nature--which is common to painters and ought to be to gardeners--as a necessary basis for the training of the

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true gardenist which is his contribution to the general theory of the picturesque.

While Walpole was convinced that the new English garden was an invention which would bring the English fame in the history of art, he did not in his enthusiasm for the new style take a narrow view of its future development. As historian of both painting and gardening he was well aware of the vagaries of taste. He greatly feared that the extremes of the reformers would carry the romantic garden away from the simplicity of nature, just as the over-complication of design in the formal garden had destroyed the simplicity of grandeur. He writes of "an imminent danger that threatens the present, as it has ever done all taste. I mean the pursuit of variety."[1]

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[1] Walpole, The History, p.55.

He went on to review the history of the past where in other fields of art striving after novelty had resulted in a period of decadence directly following a period where the particular art had seemed to reach its height. He feared the new English garden would be subjected to the same extremes, and that "propriety of landscape" would be exchanged for the "fantastic sharawadgis of the Chinese."[2]

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[2] Ibid., p.56.

He further developed his thesis of the effect of the pursuit of novelty on taste by a discussion of the causes

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of this desire for the new and unaccustomned. He went back to his original argument that the first gardens were based on necessity. Then, as wealth was accumulated and living became easier, gardens became a source of emulation, and of amusement. Each man of taste tried to surpass the other by striving for "perfect perfection."[1] It was this search for

[1] Walpole, The History, p.37.

something new, after perfection had been achieved, which led to decadence. As the French put it, "l 'ennui de beau amène le goût singulier."[2] Just as the forced elevation of

[2] Ibid.,pp. 55-56.

cataracts represented the "last absurd magnificence of the Italian and French villas,"[3] so the mimics of Kent carried

[3] Ibid.,p.42.

his ruling principle that "nature loves nothing but the crooked."[4] This principle of Kent's, while he used it with

[4] Ibid.,p.48.

discretion and while his results were good, was in itself a distortion of Hogarth's view [5] that since most of the lines

[5] William Hogarth, "Analysis of Beauty," Works, vol. iii, p. 57.

of nature are wavy, the true line of beauty is a curved line.

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Walpole himself was able to keep a middle ground in regard to the relative beauty of curved and of straight lines; he appreciated the value of each in its proper place. For him inevitably the principles of good taste rested on good sense; it was this natural attribute of the man of taste which kept him from overstepping the bonds of "propriety in landscape" as well as in matters of conduct.

It is entirely reasonable that pseudo-Chinese imitations, especially of pagodas and curly-cue bridges completely unsuited to the English country-side, and out of keeping with the architecture of the houses, should have led Walpole to fear that those enthusiastic over the Chinese style would destroy the simplicity of the new English garden. He was supported in this view by others.

Goldsmith, in Letter XIV of the Citizen of the World, satirizes the pseudo-Chinese garden. The term pseudo-Chinese is purposely used in this connection, because although Walpole did not distinguish between the real Chinese and the English imitations of the Chinese, Goldsmith took great care to do so; in Letter XXXI specifically devoted to Chinese gardening, there is no hint of ridicule, but rather a sincere admiration for the beauty of irregularity to be found in Chinese gardens.[1]

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[1] Goldsmith, The Citizen of the World, Letter XXXI.

Goldsmith 's dislike of the Oriental vogue is based on the artificiality, inaccuracy and remotness from the real China of

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imitations which were the outcome of the fad. Sir William Chambers also makes a clear distinction between Chinese gardens and English imitations of them.[1] Whenever Goldsmith satirizes

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[1] Chambers, Designs of Chinese Buildings, p.a.

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the vogue it is the lack of truth to reality which he criticizes. Tales in the Eastern manner were not Eastern;[2] the eighteenth-

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[2] The Citizen of the World, Letter XXXIII: "Take, sir, the word of one who is professedly a Chinese,...that what is palmed upon you daily for an imitation of Eastern writing no way resembles their manner, either in sentiment or diction."

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century Chinese garden could just as easily have been called Egyptian;[3] and to surround oneself with utterly useless

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[3] Ibid., Letter XIV: "Where I stand I see nothing, madam, at the end of the garden, that may not as well be called an Egyptian pyramid as a Chinese temple; for that little building in view is as like one as t'other."

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bric-a-brac was to Goldsmith the height of folly. Using the Chinese philosopher, Lien Chi Altangi as a mouth-piece, Goldsmith criticised the same extremes in regard to Chinese imitations that Walpole did in his essay, and for the same reasons: that they had utterly disregarded good sense. Walpole, however, claimed that these extremes had come from the Chinese; while Goldsmith attributed them to English distortions of a Chinese taste which in reality was based on utility and good sense. The contrast between the conflicting views of the two men, in their efforts to cure the same evil,

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throws an interesting light on the situation as a whole in regard to the Chinese vogue.

It is not surprising then, that Walpole's failure to distinguish between the real and the pseudo-Chinese, and his dislike of Chinese imitations led him to associate the evils of a pursuit of novelty with the increase in popularity of this trend of taste; and that he should have attempted to attack the extremes in gardening by striking directly at those who were in favor of Oriental innovations..

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CHAPTER III

WALPOLE AND THE CHINESE VOGUE

It is not surprising that Walpole's failure to distinguish between the real and the pseudo-Chinese, and his dislike of Chinese imitations, led him to associate the evils of a pursuit of novelty with the rising popularity of this trend of taste. Before discussing his efforts to combat the Chinese vogue, which culminated in his collaboration with Mason in writing The Heroic Epistle, it will be necessary to show something of his connection with the fad in general, and to examine the causes which transformed his original enthusiasm for "things Chinese" into a hatred of them. In view of his interest in gardening and architecture, and his professed romantic inclinations, it was inevitable that he shoudl become involved in the Chinese vogue as well as the Gothic revival. His interest in the Gothic taste, as has been mentioned before, has been adequately dealt with elsewhere; but little has been done to evaluate his connection with the Chinese vogue. His early letters show an enthusiasm for Chinese innovations equal to his interest in the Gothic style. In his Letter to Xo Ho[1] and in two essays written for The World, Walpole fell

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[1] A political satire published in 1757.

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in with the current genre to comment on English foibles through a Chinese medium. Among the Hieroglyphic Tales we find "Mi Li,"[2] a Chinese fairy tale or romance, as the

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[2] Hieroglyphic Tales, No. V, first published at Strawberry Hill, 1785.

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Castle of Otranto is a Gothic romance. Much of the scene of this fairy story is laid in an English romantic garden, a garden so beautiful that the hero, son of the Chinese emperor, has never seen anything more lovely, even in the palace grounds of his father. The Prince's comments may be taken as a playful indication of Walpole's more serious efforts both in The History of the Modern Taste in Gardening, and in his Notes to Mason's Satirical Poems,[1] to determine

[1] Written May 1779, but remained in manuscript until edited by Paget Toynbee and published in London, 1926.

correctly the influence of Chinese garden theory upon English gardens. That his original delight in Chinese imitations did not keep pace with his interest in the Gothic taste is shown by later letters. His part in the planning of The Heroic Epistle,[2] a satirical attack on Sir William Chambers'

[2] First published in 1773.

Dissertation on Oriental Gardening,[3] demonstrates his change

[3] First published in 1772.

from an enthusiastic support of the Chinese vogue to a veiled assault upon it. His History of the Modern Taste in Gardening and his Notes to Mason's Satirical Poems give us the clue to his reversal of position; for in those two works he expresses a disapproval of the growing belief, especially fostered by the French, that the English imitated their new style of

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gardening entirely from the Chinese. In the essay he attempts to show that the English owe practically none of their new ideas to the Chinese. In his Notes to Mason's Satirical Poems, Walpole even goes so far as to assert that English gardening is a product of the English constitution and therefore could not have developed elsewhere! It becomes his patriotic duty to prove the new style of gardening an English invention. It is the purpose of this chapter to trace the history of Walpole's connection with the Chinese vogue and to attempt to estimate the extent of the influence of this dictator of fashions upon the decline in popularity of Chinese imitations.

Walpole's interest in Chinese innovations was first aroused while searching for a type of architecture suited to the "romantic garden." He felt that classic architecture while most suitable for public buildings and for city houses did not harmonize with the picturesque beauty of natural landscape. In a letter to Horace Mann in 1750 he writes that "the Grecian is only proper for magnificent and public buildings." To him "the columns and all their beautiful ornaments look ridiculous when crowded into a closet or a cheese-cake house."[1] As a "cheese-cake house" was the

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[1] To Horace Mann, February 25, 1750.

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eighteenth-century name for a summer or garden tea-house, we may assume that Walpole was trying to find an architecture which would be suitable for small buildings about the grounds

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of an estate. It is apparent from the discussion in the letter that Mann failed to appreciate the charms of Gothic architecture. Walpole hoped that the Chinese innovations which had sprung up during Mann's absence abroad might appeal to him; since for Walpole they embodied the same principles of irregularity to be found in the Gothic, and therefore were equally suited to the "romantic garden". He writes:

> "I am almost as fond of the Sharawadgi, or Chinese want of symmetry, in buildings as in grounds or gardens. I am sure whenever you come to England, you will be pleased with the liberty of taste into which we are struck, and of which you can have no idea."[1]

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[1] Ibid.

The earliest use of the word "sharawadgi," of which we have a record, is in Sir William Temple's essay, Upon the Gardens of Epicurus, written in 1685. Temple's discussion of Chinese garden theory[2] was the first attempt to include the new idea

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[2] Walpole, The History, pp. 26-29.

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in a treatise on English gardening. While he admitted that he did not understand the effects achieved by the Chinese in their gardens, he endeavored to make himself clear by contrasting the English garden with the Chinese. His selection and expression of differences was merely an attempt to grasp the essence which eluded him. He could only sum up the matter by borrowing the Chinese term "sharawadgi," which represented to him what he could not otherwise state. His fumbling efforts

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to describe a beauty achieved by irregularity rather than regularity, constitute the first really influential expression of a new ideal of garden design, and the first early formulation of a general aesthetic conception of beauty based on irregularity.[1]

1 Y.Z. Chang, "A Note on Sharawadgi," in M.L.N. (1930) vol. 45, p. 222. A.O. Lovejoy, "A Chinese Origin of a Romanticism" in J.E.G.P. (January, 1933) vol. XXXII, pp. 1-20.

The term sharawadgi seems to have been used by Temple as though he had heard it from travelers. The popularity of the term caused it to become temporarily incorporated into the English language, and recent dictionary writers found it a stumbling block when Chinese scholars refused to own it as a Chinese word. Y.Z. Chang has explained the probable origin of the word. He considers it to be very likely of Chinese derivation and to be a phrase (consisting of more than one character rather than a word) meaning "the quality of being impressive or surprising through carelessness or unorderly grace." The term thus conveys the idea of the type of beauty described by Temple, a beauty whose design can hardly be detected. Though a new expression to Temple, by Horace Walpole's time "Sharawadgi" had become a word familiar to the eighteenth-century connoisseurs. Indeed, it became a favorite term of both Walpole and Pope. Pope used it in a letter to Digby, August 12, 1724. It was this same "unorderly grace" that Walpole and Mason endeavored to achieve in their gardens long after they had discarded any allegiance to the Chinese taste.

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In another letter to Horace Mann, Walpole criticized, a second time, the regularity of classic architecture and praised the irregularity of both Gothic and Chinese innovations. He seemed to be equally in favor of the two new styles, even though this was the same year that he made known his intention to "build a little Gothic Castle at Strawberry Hill."[1] Again

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[1] To Horace Mann, January 10, 1750.

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he stressed the unsuitability of classic buildings when placed amidst romantic scenery and praised the charm of assymetrical architecture, such as Gothic or Chinese, in a like situation. To some extent he seemed to be converting Mann to his own point of view, for he wrote:

> "I don't wonder that Marquis Accianoli's villa did not answer to you: by what I saw in Tuscany and by the prints their villas are strangely out of taste, and laboured by their unatural regularity and art to destroy the romanticness of situations. I wish you could see the villas and seats here! The country wears a new face; everybody is improving their places, and as they don't fortify their plantations with entrenchments of walls and high hedges, one has the benefit of them even in passing by. The dispersed buildings--I mean temples, bridges, etc.--are generally Gothic or Chinese, and give a whimsical air of novelty that is very pleasing."[2]

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[2] To Horace Mann, August 2, 1750.

This letter also illustrates the way in which the two styles were used side by side, and were even at times confused with each other.

Walpole's interest in China as well as his interest

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in gardening began as early as the Cambridge period. In 1735, we find him reading Chinese history.[1] From these readings

[1] Lord Hervey, To Walpole, Kensington, October 21, 1735. "I return you many thanks for the favour of the letter I received from you yesterday, and am extreamly glad to hear the History of China has so strong an effect upon you."

undoubtedly came impressions later used in his satirical writings and in "Mi Li, A Chinese Fairy Tale." In two papers planned for The World and in the Letter to Xo Ho Walpole used the idea of a Chinese philosopher commenting on English weaknesses. These two papers,[2] later included by Walpole in

[2] See W.S. Lewis, "Walpole's Xo Ho," T.L.S., August 30, 1928. Although the last World appeared December 23, 1756 before Walpole's two final contributions could be printed, an undated edition known as The World Extraordinary containing Walpole's two papers, was published a few days later.

his Fugitive Pieces,[3] are interesting because they show the

[3] Published in 1758.

development of Walpole's "Chinese Philosopher." In the first paper Walpole spoke in his own person but imagined what a Chinese might write home while visiting in England; in the second, Walpole claimed himself to be descended from the Chinese Emperor, Chi Hoang Ti; and finally in the Letter to Xo Ho, the Chinese philosopher who informed his Eastern friend of Occidental vagaries, appeared in person. Even in the Letter to Xo Ho Walpole cannot keep entirely away from the subject of gardening, for what may be a hint of criticism of

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the formal treatment of drives and walks seems to creep into his humorous account of the king's journey to the summer palace at Kensington:

> "Alas! Alas dear Lien Chi, England is not China.-Hear, and I will tell thee briefly. The English have no sun, no summer as we have, at least their sun does not scorch like ours. They content themselves with names: at a certain time of the year they leave their capital, and that makes summer; they go out of the city, and that makes the country. Their monarch when he goes into the country, passes in his calash by a row of high trees, goes along a gravel walk, crosses one of the chief streets, is driven by the side of a canal between two rows of lamps, at the end of which he has a small house, and there he is supposed to be in the country." [1]

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[1] Walpole, Works, vol. I, p. 308.

Beside his essays written for The World, and the Letter to Xo Ho, there is one more of Walpole's writings directly connected with both the Chinese Vogue and with his interest in gardening, that is "Mi Li," already mentioned. Although Walpole was not the originator of the Eastern tale, as he was of the Gothic tale, he did try his hand at this form of literature so popular amongst his contemporaries. With Addison, Johnson and Goldsmith, as well as many lesser lights, indulging in this form of imaginative play, it is not surprising that Walpole should have included a Chinese fairy tale in his group of Hieroglyphic Tales. It is a charming romance somewhat similar to the sentimental tale of Nervina and Alcander in William Mason's English Garden; and as the fourth book of Mason's poem was not published until 1781, it is possible to

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conjecture that the two friends may both have been amusing themselves by writing love stories in which the English romantic garden played a large part.[1] In Mason's poem, however,

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[1] Spence, Anecdotes, p. 140. Spence gives this extract from one of Pope's letters: "I have long had an inclination to tell a fairy tale, the more wild and exotic the better; therefore a vision, which is confined to no rules of probability, will take in all the variety and luxuriancy of description you will; provided there be an apparent moral to it. I think one or two Persian Tales would give one hints for such an invention: and perhaps if the scenes were taken from real places that are known, in order to compliment particular gardens and buildings of a fine taste, (as I believe several of Chaucer's descriptions do, though it is what nobody has observed) it would add great beauty to the whole."

Alcander laboriously builds a garden to please his love and we are led through the mazes of garden-structure to the detriment of the romance. Walpole more skillfully made his garden the setting for the love story, so that the charm of the heroine is enhanced by the beauty of the surrounding garden. Walpole did not attempt to teach garden design in a story, as Mason did, but he wove into his narrative many of the same elements of naturalistic gardening more obviously listed by Mason. Mason definitely aimed to teach, while the purpose of Walpole's tale was but to amuse. Although Walpole saved his garden theories for his essay on gardening, at the same time, he could not keep his views on landscape design entirely out of the story. His jealousy of the supposed superiority of the Chinese in gardening, and his zeal to praise English gardening for the English, even appeared in a playful manner in this romance.

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The plot of the story concerns a Chinese prince, son of the Emperor of China, who had been told in a dream that he would find his destined spouse:

> "In a place where there was a bridge over no water, a tomb where nobody ever was buried nor ever would be buried, ruins that were more than they had ever been, a subterraneous passage in which there were dogs with eyes of rubies and emeralds, and a more beautiful menagerie of Chinese pheasants than in his father's extensive gardens."[1]

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1 Walpole, Works, vol. iv pp. 344-345.

His future wife was further described as a "princess whose name was the same as her father's dominions," and "whose father had lost the dominions which never had been his dominions."[2] This prophecy of Walpole's shows more than a

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2 Ibid.

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little ingenuity, in that he has woven into it actual scenes, people and historical events. In his notes to the story he explained that the princess was "Miss Caroline Cambell, daughter of Lord William Cambell, his majesty's late governor of Carolina."[3] The romance was very probably written to amuse

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3 Ibid., p. 347.

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the girl who was also the niece of Lady Ailesbury, wife of his cousin, Henry Conway. The mystifying clause about the lost dominions referred to the fact that after Lord Cambell's appointment, before he could take over his new position, the

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Carolinas came into the hands of Spain.

The scene of the story shifts from China to England, as the denouement takes place at General Conway's seat at Henley, and all the elements of the prophecy are to be found on this estate.[1] The bridge over no water was "The rustic

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[1] See Chapter VI.

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bridge at Park Place built by General Conway, to carry the road from Henley, and to leave the communication free between his grounds on each side of the road."[2] The tomb where

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[2] Walpole, Works, vol. iv, p. 343, note 5.

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nobody was ever buried, or ever would be buried was "a fictitious tomb in a beautiful spot by the river, built for a point of view."[3] The "ruins that were more than they had ever been"[4]

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[3] Ibid., note 7.

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[4] Ibid., p. 345.

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referred to some artificial ruins which were designed to enhance the garden scene. The subterraneous passage and the dogs with eyes of rubies and emeralds, the most extraordinary features of the prophecy, also had a natural explanation at Park-place; for Walpole tells us that "there is such a passage cut through a chalk hill: when dogs are in the middle, the light from the mouth makes their eyes appear in the manner here described."[5]

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[5] Ibid., p. 348, note 3.

The dogs were Caroline Cambell's spaniels, while the menagerie belonged to Lady Ailesbury.

Other features of interest at Park-place are praised throughout the story. The prince was led through "a venerable wood of beeches" to a "menagerie commanding a more glorious prospect than anything in his father's dominions."[1] This was

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[1] Ibid., p. 345.

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high praise for an English garden, as well as to General Conway, since the prince's father was the Emperor of China! And knowing Walpole's feeling toward the influence of Chinese gardening in England, we can not but feel that he probably had more reasons than one for making his hero a Chinese prince. The menagerie of Chinese pheasants was also more beautiful than any in the extensive gardens of the emperor. It is not necessary to imply that the story is in any way a treatise on the superiority of English gardening over Chinese. But the fact remains that Walpole could not help including little touches of the subject which was so much in his mind.

The prince's journey through the English state in search of his princess is made with the gardener as guide. Walpole writes:

> "The sage gardener proceeded down a sloping valley between two mountains clothed to their summits with cedars, and pines, which he took care to tell

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> the prince were all of his honour the general's, own planting....The vale was terminated by a stupendous bridge, that seemed composed of the rocks which the giants threw at Jupiter's head, and had not a drop of water beneath it." [1]

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[1] Ibid., p. 348

The prince knowing that at last he was nearing his destined bride, "galloped wildly along insensible to such enchanting scenes," [2] until they neared "a lonely tomb surrounded by

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[2] Ibid.

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cypress, yew and willow, that seemed the monument of some adventurous youth who had been lost in tempting the current and might have suited the gallant and daring Leander;" [3] for

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[3] Ibid.

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the way had led along the banks of a river "which glittered through the opening sallows, while on the other hand a wilderness of shrubs climbed up the pendent cliffs of chalk, and contrasted with the verdant meads and fields of corn beyond the stream." [4]

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[4] Ibid.

One more feature of a romantic garden was described by Walpole in the tale, a cottage that stood on a precipice near the bridge and hung over the river, built by General Conway to command a glorious prospect. Woven into what purports to be a Chinese Fairy Tale we have all the elements of the new English

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garden: wild and natural scenery, the rural cottage, the ruined hermitage, the lonely tomb with its planting of cypress, yew and willow, and the inclusion of the surrounding landscape in the design by emphasizing whatever distant view the situation afforded. Undoubtedly written purely for entertainment, the story yet gives us as clear a picture of the romantic garden of Walpole's day, as Mason's English Garden. In this discussion, necessarily, there have been included only those passages which bear on Walpole's interest in landscape design. Although this romance does not depend for its charm upon such supernatural aids as sorcerers, genii, or other paraphernalia of Eastern fiction, it ranks high among Oriental tales.

Walpole's enthusiasm for the Chinese vogue seems to have been fairly restricted to the years between 1750 and 1754. Even as early as 1753, in a letter to John Chute, the mention of "several paltry Chinese buildings and bridges," at Wroxton, "which have the merit or demerit of being the progenitors of a very numerous race all over the kingdom,"[1] seems to indicate that his interest in the Chinese taste was already waning. By 1754 his letters began to show his dissatisfaction with many of the modern garden reforms. A letter to Richard Bentley, whose taste Walpole greatly admired, gives us a clue to the source of his dislike of recent "improvements" taking place on the estates of his friends.

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[1] To John Chute, August, 4, 1753.

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> "When I everyday see Greek, and Roman, and Italian and Chinese, and Gothic architecture embroidered and inlaid upon one another, or called by each other's names, I can't help thinking that the grace and simplicity and truth of your taste, in whichever you undertake is real taste."[1]

[1] To Richard Bentley, August 4, 1755.

At this time his criticism was chiefly directed at the inaccurate imitation of a miscellanious group of styles of architecture, rather than specifically at Chinese imitations. Mongrel designs which were half one thing and half another especially distressed him. To Richard Bentley who seemed to be his confidant on architectural problems he wrote concerning Latimers which now belonged to Mrs. Cavendish. He admitted the grounds had been somewhat improved since Mr. Conway owned the property, but continued:

> "Yet the river stops short at an hundred yards just under your eye, and the house has undergone Battey Langley[2] discipline: half the ornaments are

[2] Architect (1696-1751), and author of Gothic Architecture, London 1741. "His strange attempt to remodel Gothic architecture by the invention of five orders...in imitation of those of classical architecture has made Battey Langley's Gothic almost a by-word." D.N.B.

> of his bastard Gothic, and half of Hallet's[3]

[3] William Hallet, cabinet maker. A New York paper of 1771 contains an advertisement which mentions "the great and eminent cabinet maker, William Hallet Esq.; that bought the fine estate of the Duke of Shandos, called Cannon's in Middlesex." Singleton, The Furniture of our Forefathers, pp. 439-440.

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> mongrel Chinese. I want to write over the door of most modern edifices, 'Repaired and beautified. Langley and Hallet, churchwardens.' " [1]

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[1] To Richard Bentley, July 5, 1755.

In another letter to Bentley he made fun of a pyramid on the Mereworth estate of Lord Westmoreland: "a pyramid which by a most unnatural copulation is at once a grotto and greenhouse."[2]

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[2] Ibid., August 5, 1752.

This extraordinary structure reminded him of a foolish proposal made to Bentley that he should draw "a garden seat, Chinese on one side, Gothic on the other."[3] In 1760 he raged against

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[3] Ibid.

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the improvements made by Sir William Stanhope in Pope's garden at Twickenham. He felt that the new owner had carried his zeal for the reigning taste to excess. In the same letter he satirized the garden reformers by suggesting the modernization of Jerusalem:

> "Now I am talking of modern improvements, I have wondered, with the rage of taste which reigns, that nobody has laid a plan before the Society for the Reformation of Manners, with a proposal for altering and improving the New Jerusalem in the modern style, upon consideration that nobody one knows could bear to go into so old-fashioned a town. The walls should be thrown down, the river taught to serpentize, Gothic seats and Palmyrine porticoes should be erected here and there in proper points of view, and shrubberies planted of all kinds of exotics from the Chinese hyssop to the cedar of Lebanon, and the whole expense might be borne by what the old rubies and emeralds that composed the

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walls and gates would sell for." [1]

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[1] To Horace Mann, June 20, 1760.

Although the previously quoted passages illustrate chiefly Walpole's general objections to the excesses carried on by the garden reformers, by 1762 his letters show his efforts especially directed towards combatting the popularity of the Chinese vogue. To George Montagu he writes: "I did not doubt but you would approve Mr. Bateman's, since it has changed its religion. I converted it from Chinese to Gothic." [2] This

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[2] To George Montagu, September 24, 1762.

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conversion of Bateman from an advocate of the Chinese taste to a supporter of the Gothic taste was evidently a very great triumph, for in 1781 Walpole again wrote of the matter:

> "I am as proud of such a disciple, as of having converted Dicky Bateman from a Chinese to a Goth. Though he was the founder of the Sharawadgi taste in England, I preached so effectually that his every pagoda took the veil." [3]

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[3] To the Earl of Strafford, June 13, 1781.

While the above-quoted passages give evidence of Walpole's general dislike of the Chinese vogue, after the publication of Sir William Chambers' Dissertation on Oriental Gardening, Walpole centered particularly on Chambers as the leader of the Chinese style. In a letter to William Mason, Walpole wrote:

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> "I have read Chambers's book. It is more extravagant than the worst Chinese paper; and is written in wild revenge against Brown, the only surprising consequence is, that it is laughed at, and is not likely to be adopted, as I expected; for nothing is so tempting to fools, as advice to deprave taste." [1]

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[1] To William Mason, May 25, 1772.

He continued, "Chambers's book was advertised by the title Ornamental gardening, for it is very flowery, and not at all Eastern." That Mason and Walpole should have felt so strongly against Chambers' gardening theories is at first hard to understand, for a survey of The Dissertation on Oriental Gardening shows that the three men held many views in common. Their misunderstanding of Chambers' treatise is perhaps owing to the fact that it was of an entirely different type from either Mason's or Walpole's, both in purpose and treatment. Chambers' aim was to attack the excesses of the "back to nature movement" in English gardening. He was attempting to reform the same current evils which Walpole and Mason more mildly opposed; but especially did he wish to correct the insipidity and monotony of many of the new gardens. Disguising his purpose by pretending to write a treatise on Chinese gardening, he pointed out the faults of the new English garden by comparing it unfavorably to those of the Chinese. His theories in regard to garden-design were fundamentally the same as Walpole's and Mason's, though further developed because of his professional training. On two points only did

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Chambers differ radically from them. First, he believed that no one should try to be a landscape gardener without long and varied study. In the introduction to the Dissertation Chambers wrote:

> "Is it not singular then, that an Art with which a considerable part of our enjoyment is so universally connected, should have no regular professors in our quarter of the world? Upon the continent it is a collateral branch of the architect's employment, who immersed in the study and avocations of his own profession, finds no leisure for other disquisitions and, in this island, it is abandoned to kitchen gardeners, well-skilled in the culture of salads, but little acquainted with the principles of Oriental gardening. It cannot be expected that men uneducated and doomed by their condition to waste the vigor of life in hard labor, should ever go far in so refined, so difficult a pursuit." [1]

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1 Chambers, Dissertation, p. iii.

This passage is the one which gave rise to Walpole's statement that the Dissertation was "written in wild revenge against Brown." Evidence that there is some truth in this statement is given by Thomas Hardwick, a pupil and admirer of Chambers. In his "Memoir of Sir William Chambers," he writes:

> "Chambers considered Mr. Brown an intruder on an art in which neither his talents nor his education entitled him to any respect. In the introduction (to the Dissertation on Oriental Gardening) he severely critized the taste of Mr. Brown." [2]

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2 Chambers, A Treatise of the Decorative Part of Civil Architecture, vol, i, p. 10.

Lancelot Brown was a man of an entirely different caliber from Chambers. Though far more aggressive, he lacked both

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his balance and background of cultivation. His primary aim was to bring out the undulating lines of landscape; where he emphasized the natural irregularity of the land, the result was fortunate and provided a valuable impetus towards the study of local contours. He was also the first to give movement to a lake by cutting its banks into creeks and curves, which afforded an impetus towards the development of natural lakes and streams most important today.[1] In all his improvements,

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[1] Gothein, A History of Garden Art, vol. ii, - 385-86.

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however, he went too far. He became known as "Old Capability" Brown because at the first sight of property he would exclaim, "This place has capabilities!" He would then immediately set out to reorganize the land until it was almost unrecognizable. He rooted out many attractive old gardens to replace them by those in the new vogue; his destruction of beautiful old trees because they were planted in straight lines was notorious. He abolished terraces and overemphasized Hogarth's wavy line until he tied his paths into double bow-knots. He built hills where there had been none, and leveled the ground where hills had been until he became enchanted with his own mastery of the landscape, losing all sight of his original determination to imitate nature. In his zeal he forgot that local topography should give ideas for development and should be woven into the general scheme. Chambers, on the other hand, especially praised this aspect of the Chinese gardens.[2]

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2
See Chapter VII, pp.33/-36.

Brown's influence was therefore about equally good and bad. The conceit of the man seems almost unbelievable; he is said to have exclaimed in satisfaction over his own river banks at Blenheim: "the Thames will never forgive me this!" [1]

1
Walpole, Common Place Book, p.29.

Cowper, in The Task, gives us a mock heroic characterization of Brown at work:

> "Improvement too, the idol of the age,
> Is fed with many a victim. Lo he comes!
> The omnipotent magician, Brown, appears!
> Down falls the venerable pile, the abode
> of our forefathers.....
> .....
> He speaks - - The lake in front becomes a lawn:
> Woods vanish, hills subside, and valleys rise,
> And streams, as if created for his use
> Pursue the track of his directing wand." [2]

2
William Cowper, The Task, Bk. III, ll. 764-768, 774-777.

It is not surprising that the swaggering, overconfident Brown, a good efficient workman, it is true, but somewhat lacking in the finer sensibilities, should have aroused the ire of such men as Chambers and Mason. Brown may be characterized as the self-made man of the eighteenth century, justly proud of his practical accomplishments, though definitely lacking in both social background and education. He certainly could not have understood the great body of English tradition woven about the old gardens and ancient trees of hereditary estates,

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or he would not have so ruthlessly destroyed them. Brown's work represents the extreme development of the English reaction to formal gardens. Mason and Walpole, while not advocating Brown's extremes,[1] could not understand Chamber's

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[1] Price, pp. 328-329. "Mr. Mason's poem on modern gardening, is as real an attack on Mr. Brown's system as what I have written. He has as strangely guarded the reader against the insipid formality of clumps, etc. and has equally recommended the study of painting as the best guide to improvers; but the praise which he has bestowed on Mr. Brown himself however generally conveyed, has spoiled the effect of so powerful antidote.....That eulogium has been given from the most amiable motive — the fear of hurting those with whom he lived on the most friendly terms, and who had very much employed and admired Mr. Brown."

See Walpole, To George Montagu, July 4, 1760.

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more balanced improvements. They considered that Chambers advocated something as artificial as the Restoration garden, and as he favored the Chinese theories, they turned against him. The Heroic Epistle, ridiculing Chambers, is the culmination of the clash between the followers of Brown and those of Chambers.

Since the story of how William Mason came to write The Heroic Epistle, (a combined attack upon political conditions and upon Chamber's garden theories), and its sequel An Heroic Postcript has been fully dealt with elsewhere,[2] the discussion

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[2] a) For political significance of The Heroic Epistle and An Heroic Postcript, see John Draper, William Mason, pp. 240-256.
b) For the significance of The Heroic Epistle in the history of gardening see my "William Mason and Sir William Chambers' 'Dissertation on Oriental Gardening,'" J.E.G.P (October, 1936) vol. xxxv, p. 517-527.

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of it here will be limited to the part played by Horace Walpole in planning the satire. Walpole felt, as has been suggested before, that there was great danger that the English might fall into what he considered the faults of the Chinese.[1] His view

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[1] Mason, Satirical Poems, p. 41. "Sir William Chambers, who was far from wanting Taste in Architecture, fell into the mistake of the French, who supposed that the Chinese had discovered the true style in gardens long before Kent, and in order to deprive him and England of the honor of originality, the French call our style the Anglo-Chinois garden: whereas the Chinese wander as far from Nature as the French themselves, though in opposite extremes. Regularity, Uniformity, Formality and Sameness are the characteristics of all French gardens."

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was drawn almost entirely from the extremes of pseudo-Chinese that he saw all around him. The only evidence that we have that he had gone to Chinese sources in gardening at all, aside from Chamber's treatise, is his statement that he had dipped into Spence's translation of Attiret,[2] an Englishman's

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[2] Walpole, The History, p. 33. While we know he read Du Halde's History of China, the only reference in Du Halde to Chinese gardening is of little significance. See vol. ii, p. 148.

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interpretation of a French missionary's report of what he saw in China. We cannot feel that he grasped the essence of Chinese gardening even as much as did William Temple, who admitted the imperfections of his understanding. Walpole saw only the details of Chinese gardening and failed to comprehend the spirit, just as in building Strawberry Hill he gathered together a jumble of Gothic ornamentation and plastered it over a frame that was not the least Gothic in

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character. Through lack of knowledge he missed the illusive quality which dominated both the Gothic and Chinese styles. That Walpole for some reason failed to read Chambers' treatise intelligently is obvious; because if he had, he could hardly have condemned so wholeheartedly the garden theories of a man whose ideas were so close to his own. We can only assume that his intense feeling of dislike toward anything which belittled the English as originators of a new type of garden, coupled with his political opposition to the Tory Government, and to Chambers' popularity with the king, blinded him to the soundness of Chambers' garden theories in general and in particular to his knowledge of Chinese gardens. Walpole explains the purpose of The Heroic Epistle in his Preface to the author's preface to the poem. He writes:

> "It was to deride corruption of true Taste, that the Heroic Epistle was written. To send us, when possessed of the models established by Kent, Hamilton and Brown, to the vagaries of the Chinese, was exactly that passion for Pantomime that has been a reproach to our theatre." [1]

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[1] Mason, Satirical Poems, p. 42.

As has been mentioned before, these notes from which the above-quoted passage was taken were not published until recently. The last entry, however, for the year 1779 in Horace Walpole's unfinished Short Notes of My Life [2] provides

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[2] Walpole, Letters, edited by Peter Cunningham, vol. 1, lxxxiii.

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the information that they were written while the authorship

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of the Epistle was still unknown. It is possible that Walpole and Mason intended to admit their authorship after the political danger was over, and to publish an edition from Strawberry Hill of the poems in which they had collaborated; but this was never done. Whatever may have been Walpole's purpose in writing the Notes, they are valuable for the light they throw upon Walpole's reasons for joining in the attack on Chambers. In the passage quoted on the purpose of The Heroic Epistle, Walpole sarcastically remarked that even though his "Majesty or the Mob" might be delighted with the sight of bears, monkeys, and elephants at Kew or Drury Lane, the "idea is barbarous, and never to be admitted into our beautiful real landscapes."[1] This idea, also stressed by

[1] Mason, Satirical Poems, p. 42.

Mason in his satire,[2] is drawn directly from a passage in

[2] Mason, The Heroic Epistle, ll. 71-86.

Chambers' essay describing the elaborate gardens of the Emperor of China at Peking.[3] The account of the imperial

[3] Chambers, Dissertation, pp. 29-31.

gardens is not in any sense of the word an integral part of William Chambers' garden theories. It was probably added to lighten the instruction of the essay, much as Mason added the romantic story of Alcander and Nerissa to his English Garden.

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It is somewhat difficult to believe that the practical architect who built Somerset House would actually advocate the inclusion of elephants and monkeys in the gardens of England. Further evidence that Sir William did not intend that English gardeners should attempt to imitate the Emperor's Gardens is given by an earlier essay of his, Of the Art of Laying out Gardens among the Chinese.[1] This essay is a brief discussion of Chinese garden theory as he learned it when visiting China. It contains no satire on English gardens and no elaborate descriptions of the Emperor's gardens. That Sir William rewrote his first essay in order to strike at the excesses of the naturalistic garden reformers is apparent from the passage satirized by Mason:

> "For what is Nature? Ring her changes round,
> Her three flat notes are water, plants, and ground.
> Prolong the peal, yet spite of all your clatter
> The tedious chime is still ground, plants, and water."[2]

Sir Chambers wrote:

> "Such is the favorite plan of all our smaller gardens: and our larger works are only a repetition of the smaller ones; more green fields, more shrubberies, more serpentine walks, and more seats: like the honest bachelors' feast; which consisted in nothing but a multiplication of his own dinner; three legs of mutton and turnips, three roasted geese, and three buttered apple pies. It is I think obvious that neither the artful nor the simple style mentioned is right: the one being too extravagant a deviation

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1 Published in Percy, Miscellaneous Pieces Relating to the Chinese, 1762.

2 Mason, The Heroic Epistle, ll. 45-48.

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> from nature, the other too scrupulous an adherence to it. One manner is absurd: the other insipid and vulgar: a judicious mixture of both would certainly be more perfect than either." [1]

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[1] Chambers, Dissertation, pp. vi-vii.

Since he at no time specifically suggested that the English gardener should imitate the extravagances of the Chinese ruler, it seems only necessary to consider that he added this descriptive passage as local color to appeal to popular taste. Mason, Walpole, and Chambers were all attacking the same problem from different angles. All three objected to the extremes to which modern garden reforms had been carried. Mason quite sanely blames the excesses upon the inexperience of those working in a new medium,[3] while Chambers blames them

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[2] Mason, The English Garden Bk. ii, p. 383.

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upon the average home owner's ignorance of garden technique.[3]

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[3] Chambers, Dissertation, pp. vi-vii.

Walpole, however, while criticizing the same faults in English gardening as the others, allowed his emotion of patriotism to carry him away to such a point, that he blamed everything upon the vagaries of the Chinese as presented by their upholder, Sir William Chambers.

Although each of the three men was attempting a reform of current evils in garden tendencies, each used a different vehicle to convey his ideas. Mason, a Neo-Classicist,

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wrote a didactic poem on landscape gardening; following the pastoral convention he included a romantic story to lighten the instruction. Chambers, who had visited China in his youth, and who never quite lost his love of Chinese art, mindful of the vogue still raging in England, used his knowledge as a means to point out the faults of the English garden. Walpole, interested in the history of his country in fields of art as well as in its politics, combines a criticism of modern horticultural reforms with a survey of the history of English gardening, which he regards as a logical outgrowth of the English Constitution, owing nothing to the gardens of China.

Walpole's references to Kew and Drury Lane are a direct attack upon the King and his favorite, Chambers. It is interesting to recall that Walpole's analogy between the extremes of gardening and the extremes of the stage is a further development of the digression on gardening[1] in his

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[1] The World, No. VI, February 8, 1753. Walpole, Works, vol. i, pp. 146-150.

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early essay on naturalistic innovations in stage scenery written for The World. Walpole felt that the King was advocating more and more extravagant tendencies both on the stage and in the royal gardens for his own self-glorification and that of the royal family, and that Chambers was abetting him in this. Evidence of this attitude appears in Walpole's description of Kew, the enlargement of which was largely under

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the direction of Chambers. Walpole wrote:

> "Frederic, Prince of Wales, enlarged and ornamented the House, and began great works in the garden. The Princess Dowager continued the improvements, and Lord Bute had the disposition of the ground.... ....There is little invention or taste shown. Being on a flat, Lord Bute raised hillocs to diversify the ground, and carried Chambers the Architect thither, who built some temples, but they are all of wood and very small. Of his design was the round Temple in the middle, with a circular portico, called the Temple of Victory or the battle of Minden; another with a Doric portico; the Corinthian semi-circular arcade, a little round temple in a recess on the left hand, the Roman ruin, the Aviary and a Chinese building in the Menagerie. The bridge and the round Temple were each erected in a night's time to surprize the Princess - This was in imitation of a parallel stroke of flattery to Louis XIV. I have observed more of this pedantic imitation in that Court..... ..... In 1761 the Princess began a very high tower in the garden at Kew built after the model of the towers of Nankin, Pekin, etc." [1]

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[1] Walpole, Journals of Visits to Country Seats, p. 33.

This work at Kew and the Designs of Gardens and Buildings at Kew [2] which Chambers drew up to please the King were the cause

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[2] Plans, Elevations etc. of the Gardens and Buidings at Kew, published in 1763.

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of the Order of the Polar Star being conferred upon him. Mason addressed Chambers as the "Knight of the Polar Star" and the opening lines of the satire are also indicative of hostility toward the king's schemes for imperial glorification.

> "Knight of the Polar Star! by Fortune plac'd
> To shine the Cynosure of British taste;
> Whose orb collects, in one refulgent view,
> The scattered glories of Chinese Virtu.
> And spread their luster in so broad a blaze,
> That Kings themselves are dazzled while they gaze." [3]

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3
The Heroic Epistle, ll. 1-6.

Just after the publication of Chambers' essay, letters between Strawberry Hill and Aston became more and more frequent. During the planning of the Heroic Epistle and An Heroic Postcript the correspondence was at its height. Letters showing Walpole's displeasure with Chambers' work have already been quoted. Mason's letters though not so strongly expressed also indicated dissatisfaction with Chambers' ideas. In a letter written to Walpole,[1] Mason told of "a ramble of ten days with Mr. Stonhewer around the Westmoreland lakes." He wrote:

> "We carried a journal of Mr. Gray's with us and therefore seemed to see them with his eyes, yet when I saw them with my own I was sometimes a little disappointed. The great devastations which have been made about Keswick with regard to wood, and the dry season which had taken the principal feature from its cascades, or at least reduced it to a scanty rill, took away more than half the beauties of the scene. And I am not yet so confirmed a pupil of Sir William as to be pleased with the frightful and surprising only."

In the same letter Mason also comments on the King's garden plans, likening the king to Henry VIII instead of Louis XIV, for he wrote:

> "As for gardens etc. I leave them to the Knight of the Polish Star, and his modern Henry."

Both men were increasingly dissatisfied with the Tory government and with Chambers' popularity. It may seem a far cry from

[1] William Mason, To Walpole, September 12, 1772.

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gardening to politics, but Chambers' unique position both as the King's favorite and as the innovator of the Chinese taste, caused this curious mingling of two seemingly unrelated subjects in Mason's satire. Thus, it is not surprising that the two ardent supporters of the Whig party conceived the idea of veiling their more dangerous political attack upon the King and Tory party, in what purported to be a satire on the prevailing vogue for Chinese gardening. That they succeeded all too well is apparent from Walpole's humorous account in The Last Journals for the year 1773. We can imagine the relish with which (still concealing his part in the satire) he wrote:

> "At this time was published an admirable poem, equal in wit and poetry to the Dunciad, though short. It was called An Heroic Epistle to Sir William Chambers on his Book of Gardening; and though ridiculing him, was a severe satire on the King and his chief tools. The King expecting only an attack on Chambers, bought it to tease, and began reading it to him, but finding it more bitter on himself, flung it down on the floor in a passion and would read no more." [1]

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[1] Walpole, The Last Journals, 1771-83.

For a long time both Walpole and Mason made every effort to prevent the discovery of the joint authorship of The Heroic Epistle; wherever suspicion was directed toward either one of them, efforts were made to throw the suspicion on someone else. Mason's authorship, however, was pretty definitely established by 1798, for this statement appeared in the St. James Chronicle:

> "Mr. Mason, it is now known, was the author of

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> the 'Heroic Epistle', as we have always suspected. He in great measure betrayed himself once at Sir Joshua Reynolds' by saying to his next neighbor, 'Don't you think it very odd Sir Joshua should invite me to meet Sir William Chambers?' Sir W. Chambers sat opposite to him." [1]

1
Tuesday, February 20, 1798.

It is to be assumed that by 1798 the political scandal had subsided, and that Mason rather wanted to receive openly the praise due him for the cleverness of The Heroic Epistle and An Heroic Postcript. To Walpole, the political danger if he were discovered to be joint author of the Epistle, was more serious, for he feared his niece, the Duchess of Gloucester, might become involved. He did not want his part known until after his death. In a letter to Mason he wrote:

> "Keep my letter and print it in the Gazette either before or after my death, if I deceive you. Tell, show here, under my hand, that I exhorted you publish both the Heroic Epistle and the Postcript. [2] I glory in having done so, but I own

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2
An Heroic Postcript to the Epistle to Sir William Chambers, London, 1774.

> I would not have.....my niece, who is ignorant and innocent, suffer for the participation of her uncle."[3]

3
To William Mason, January 14, 1774.

This letter of Walpole's seems to indicate that the satire was to him of more importance politically than as a criticism of gardening. Further evidence to this effect appears in his

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introduction to Mason's Satires, for he wrote:

> "Sir William Chambers was a harmless innovater on taste; but Shebbeare, Sir John Dalyrymple, Macpherson and Dr. Johnson were assassins pensioned to asperse the Champions and martyrs of Freedom, and to recommend the chains and massacres prepared for America."[1]

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[1] Mason, Satirical Poems, p. 32.

Nevertheless, the popularity of The Heroic Epistle did much to discredit the Chinese vogue. It is true that Chambers used a Chinese setting too late to make a wide appeal, but in spite of the decline of the Chinese vogue, Chambers might possibly have been given the credit due him, for his sound criticism of extremes and his formulation of excellent landscape theory, if it had not been for the unfortunate circumstances surrounding the publication of the Dissertation. If it had not been for Walpole and Mason's political prejudice it is unlikely that disproportionate attention would have been directed toward passages of fantastic imagery put in solely for embellishment.

Walpole's part in the planning of The Heroic Epistle was not his sole effort to combat the Chinese vogue. His dislike of English imitations of the Chinese also accounts for his prejudiced treatment of certain portions of The History of the Modern Taste in Gardening.[2] In all fairness

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[2] Walpole, The History, pp. 32-36.

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to him, it must be stated that he did not entirely disregard

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Temple's early mention of the beauty of irregularity to be found in Chinese gardens. He even disagreed with Temple's advice that the English should not attempt this sort of garden by saying that "fortunately Kent and a few others were not so timid." [1] As though he feared this statement might indicate that he believed naturalistic gardening originated with the Chinese, Walpole hastened to dispel any such mistaken conception of his views. While admitting that Chinese gardens were "whimsically irregular," [2] he claimed that they were in no sense of the word anything like nature. To prove this contention he noted passages from Spence's translation of Attiret's account of the Emperor of China's gardens, near Pekin. [3]

1 Ibid., p.31.

2 Ibid., p.32.

3 "A Particular Account of the Emperor of China's Gardens near Pekin: in a letter from F. Attiret," translated from the French by Joseph Spence, in Robert Dodsley, Fugitive Pieces, London, 1761.

An examination of Spence's translation shows that Walpole's criticism of Chinese gardening as described by Spence, followed the same plan as Mason's attack on Chamber's garden theories in The Heroic Epistle. Just as Mason chose from Chambers' Dissertation, passages describing the elaborate Halls of the Moon and other pleasure-palaces, or scenes

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especially designated as "enchanted," holding up to ridicule either the extravagances of a Chinese emperor, or scenes admittedly artificial,[1] as Chambers' suggestions for garden

[1] Chambers, Dissertation, pp. 43-44.

reforms in England, so Walpole in his essay only quoted from Spence the same type of passage. He does not mention or quote any of those passages which describe the beauties of irregularity, passages which probably inspired Spence to make the translation, and which seemed to him to express principles of gardening resembling the new English garden.

Walpole, paraphrasing Spence, wrote of one of the gardens of the Emperor of China:

> "It is of vast circumference, and contains 200 palaces, besides as many contiguous for the ennuchs, all gilt, painted and varnished. There are raised hills from 30 to 60 feet high, streams and lakes, and one of the latter five miles round. These waters are passed by bridges - but even then bridges must not be straight - they serpentize as much as the rivulets, and are sometimes so long as to be furnished with resting places, and begin and end with triumphal arches. Methinks a straight canal is as rational at least as a meandering bridge. The colonnades undulate in the same manner. In short this pretty gaudy scene is the work of caprice and whim."[2]

[2] Walpole, The History, pp. 33-34.

In what is apparently the passage referred to by Walpole, Spence wrote:

> "As for the Pleasure-houses, they are really charming. They stand in a vast Compass of Ground.

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> They have raised Hills from Twenty to Sixty feet high; which form a great number of little Valleys between them. The Bottoms of these Valleys are watered with clear Streams; which run on until they join together, and form larger Pieces of Water and Lakes....In each of these Valleys, there are Houses about the Banks of the Water, very well disposed; with their different Courts, open and close Porticos, Parterres, Gardens, and Cascades; which, when viewed all together, have an admirable Effect upon the Eye....They go from one of the Valleys to another, not by formal straight Walks as in Europe; but by various Turnings and Windings, adorned on the Sides with littel Pavillions and charming Grottos, and each of these Valleys is diversified from all the rest, both by their manner of laying out the Ground, and in the Structure and Disposition of its Buildings.....All the Risings and Hills are sprinkled with Trees and Particularly with Flowering Trees, which are here very common. The sides of the Canals, or lesser Streams, are not faced (as they are with us) with smooth Stone, and in a straight Line; but look rude and rustic, with different pieces of rock, some of which jut out and others recede inwards, and are placed with so much Art, that you would take it to be the Work of Nature. In some parts the Water is wide, in others narrow; here it serpentizes, and there spreads away, as if it was really pushed off by the Hills and Rocks. The Banks are sprinkled with Flowers, which rise up even through the Hollows in the Rock Work, as if they had been produced there naturally. They have a great Variety of them, for every Season of the Year." [1]

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[1] Spence, Account of the Emperor of China's Gardens, pp. 68-69.

In opposition to Walpole's "pretty gaudy scene" which was "the work of caprice and whim," we have Spence's "placed with so much Art, that you would take it to be the work of Nature." To Walpole's statement that he could find nothing in Spence's account that gave him "any idea of attention being paid to nature" may be contrasted Spence's description of water which "spreads away as if really pushed off by the hills and rocks,"

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"flowers which rise up even through the hollows in the rockwork, as if they had been produced there naturally," "natural terraces with winding steps at each end," and other similar expressions. Walpole spoke slightingly of "meandering bridges" and "undulating colonnades"[1] while Spence enthusiastically

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[1] Walpole, The History, p.33-34.

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described colonnades which "seldom run on straight lines, but make an hundred turns and windings: sometimes by the side of a grove, at others, behind a rock, and at others again along the banks of their rivers and lakes. Nothing can be conceived more delightful; they have such a rural air, as is quite ravishing and enchanting."[2] Walpole described the group of

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[2] Spence, Op. cit., pp. 85.

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pleasure-palaces as a "fantastic paradise" in which the buildings, when reflected on, present "no image but that of unsubstantial tawdriness," a place built for "the childish solace and repose of grandeur, not a retirement from affairs to the delights of rural life."[3] Spence's description of the

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[3] Walpole, The History, p.34.

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pleasure-palaces reads:

> "But in their Pleasure-houses, they rather choose a beautiful Disorder, and a wandering as far as possible from all the Rules of Art. They are so entirely on this Principle, that what they are to represent there, is a natural and wild View of the Country; a rural Retirement, and not a Palace

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> formed according to all the rules of Art. Agreeably to which I have not yet observed any two of the Palaces in all the grand Inclosure which are alike, though some of them are placed at such considerable distances from one another. You would think that they were formed upon the Ideas of so many different foreign Countries; or that they were all built at random, and made up of parts not meant for one another. When you read this, you will be apt to imagine such Works very ridiculous; and they must have a very bad Effect on the Eye; but was you to see them you would find it quite otherwise; and would admire the Art with which all this Irregularity is conducted. All is in good taste; and so managed, that its beauties appear gradually one after another. To enjoy them as one ought, you should view every Piece by itself; and you would find enough to amuse you for a long while, and to satisfy all your Curiosity." [1]

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[1] Spence, p. 33.

These parallel passages from Spence and Walpole have been included to show that, just as Chambers' views were distorted in The Heroic Epistle by Mason and Walpole, so Walpole in the essay on gardening deliberately twisted Spence's words to achieve the effect he desired. That he found it necessary to do this, indicates a weakness in his argument. His fear that the English would be considered only as imitators, led him to be distinctly unfair to his opponents.[2] That the

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[2] Price, p. 331. "It seems to me that there is something of patriotism in the praises which Mr. Walpole and Mr. Mason have bestowed on English gardening; and that zeal for the honour of their country has made them in the general view of the subject, overlook defects, which they have themselves condemned."

English were mere imitators is of course untrue, but at the same time Walpole refused to admit that the Chinese influence

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was of any importance at all. He totally disregarded the value of the Chinese as an impetus which encouraged new ideas in an era of neo-classicism unfavorable to such departures from tradition. As the movement became established, it naturally grew independent and added characteristics peculiarly English, which can in no way be traced back to the Chinese. After, however, making due allowance for these modifications, there is still much to be attributed to Chinese gardening. Walpole's essay, while on the whole the best contemporary history, does lose a certain objectivity because of his failure to give any place to the influence of Chinese gardening on English taste. Both Whately and George Mason, whose treatises are in the main inferior to Walpole's as historical records, allow the influence of Chinese garden theories a reasonable place in their accounts of the development of the new taste. [1]

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[1] See Chapter VII.

An attempt has been made here to estimate Walpole's influence on the course of the Chinese vogue in England. His ridicule of pseudo-Chinese extravagances, and Mason's attack upon Chambers came as the culmination of a series of letters and essays illustrating a growing tendency towards revolt against Chinese imitations. The vogue had had its day and was soon to be replaced by another equally capricious one. Walpole, as a well known figure and as an admitted arbiter of fashion, probably did more to turn the trend away from the

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Chinese vogue than even Mason with his direct attack upon Chambers, its chief supporter. Even though Walpole did not achieve the success for which he had hoped in combating the Chinese mode, he placed the stamp of disfavor upon it in England; for one whose opinions on all matters of taste were considered so important could not be ignored.

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CHAPTER IV

WALPOLE'S PRACTICAL WORK IN LANDSCAPE GARDENING

While much has been written concerning Walpole's development of a Gothic castle at Strawberry Hill, little attention has been paid to his development of an estate in "the new manner" on the fourteen acres of land which he possessed. This is especially surprising because of the fame of his castle, and because of his writings on the history of gardening. A comparison of his practical work with his theory is of interest not only to students of landscape architecture, but to students of eighteenth-century taste. It is probable, however, that his importance in spreading a new appreciation of Gothic architecture overshadowed his work in gardening. His modesty in using the gardens of others, rather than his own, to illustrate certain portions of his essay, may also have something to do with the fact that Strawberry Hill is practically forgotten in most accounts of eighteenth-century gardening. Actually, an examination of the plan of his grounds and of watercolor drawings of various portions of his estate, shows that the planting, while simple, is as illustrative of the new style as the grounds of Shenstone or Pope, about which so much has been written.

Since critics of today consider the change from the formal to the naturalistic garden important as an earlier phase of the romantic trend, which appeared both in poetry and painting, it is time that Walpole's improvements at Strawberry Hill, and on the estates of his friends should be taken into consideration. His letters from 1747-1770 are as

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full of experiments in planting as they are of experiments in architecture, and his enthusiasm for both seems to have been equal. It is significant of his interest in gardening that he increased the original acreage of five to fourteen that he might have more room for his landscape schemes. There has recently been written an admirable account of Walpole's Gothic alterations entitled, The Genesis of Strawberry Hill.[1] It seems fitting that an attempt should

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1 Willmarth S. Lewis, The Genesis of Strawberry Hill, Metropolitan Museum Studies Vol. V, Part I, June, 1934. The author is greatly indebted to Mr. Lewis for the opportunity to examine the original of the plan of the estate, and both for the opportunity to examine the originals of the water-color drawings, and for permission to use the reproductions of the drawings included in this volume.

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made here to write a similar account of the development of the grounds at Strawberry Hill.

Walpole's interest in garden design was not merely a temporary fad aroused by the acquiring of a new house. As early as July 1736, we have his first expression of the romantic view of gardening which he held throughout life. At the age of nineteen he wrote from Cambridge of a visit to his father's seat at Houghton: "I spent my time at Houghton for the first week almost alone, we have a charming garden all wilderness, much adapted to my romantic inclinations."[2] Just as his

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2 To Charles Lyttelton, July 27, 1736. In the essay on gardening he uses this same garden to illustrate the transition from the formal to the naturalistic style.

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father's collection of paintings at Houghton first stimulated his interest in painting, so his father's garden which appealed to his youthful imagination started his observations on garden design. These two interests continued to develop simultaneously during his first trip to Italy. The situation of a ruined temple outside of Rome suggested to him possibilities for a garden. In a letter to Richard West, we see him indulging in a form of intellectual play which later became customary with him, and which undoubtedly trained him in that analysis of landscape which he exhibits both in his writings and in his practical work. He wrote:

> "You have seen prints of the ruins of the temple of Minerva Medica; you shall only hear of its situation, and then figure what a villa might be laid out there. 'Tis in the middle of a garden: at a little distance are two subterraneous grottos, which were the burial-place of the liberti of Augustus. There are all the niches and covers of the urns with the inscriptions remaining; and in one, very considerable remains of an ancient stucco ceiling with paintings in grotesque. Some of the walks[in the proposed garden] would terminate upon the Castellum Aquae Martiae, St. John Lateran, and St. Maria Maggiore, besides other churches; the walls of the garden would be two aqueducts, and the entrance through one of the old gates of Rome. This glorious spot is neglected, and only serves for a small vineyard and kitchen-garden." [1]

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[1] To Richard West, April 18, 1740.

In this bit of fanciful speculation certain principles are indicated which later became basic in Walpole's theory of landscape design. The use of local topography to give suggestions for the plan as a whole, the use of prospect

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as an important feature of the design and the use of historical buildings associated with the location as points of accents were recurring elements in the new eighteenth-century garden. This tendency to manipulate in the imagination a piece of property illustrates exactly that analysis of the inherent quality of the landscape on which Walpole laid so much emphasis as part of the training of the gardenist; and is significant as proof that Walpole's theories grew out of his practical experience. Wherever he visited an estate he examined the land critically and made some comment on the situation, either to show how an especially charming effect had been gained, or to suggest how an improvement might be made. It is this quality which makes his letters and journals valuable records of eighteenth-century gardening.

Although we find comments on the gardens of his friends from 1736 on, it is not until 1747 that Walpole begins an estate of his own. At this time his father died, leaving him a considerable inheritance which made possible the investment. In a letter to Horace Mann he writes of the "little new farm" he has taken just outside of Twickenham:

> "The house is so small, that I can send it you in a letter to look at: the prospect is as delightful as possible, commanding the river, the town, and Richmond Park; and being situated on a hill descends to the Thames through two or three little meadows, where I have some Turkish sheep and two cows, all studied in their colours for becoming the view." [1]

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[1] To Horace Mann, June 5, 1747.

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This was to Walpole's way of thinking, an ideal situation rich not only in fortunate points of view but possessing a river as well. " Animated prospect," which seems to have been more important to the eighteenth-century gentleman than to us of the automobile age, was provided by the boats, and postchaises, and by the livestock especially chosen to set off the otherwise "insipid expanse of green lawn."

By June eighth of the same year he was established in his new home and more enthusiastic than ever about its possibilities. He had not yet begun to think of Gothic alterations, but was chiefly concerned with the beauties of the out-of-door surroundings. He wrote:

> "You perceive by my date that I am got into a new camp, and have left my tub at Windsor. It is a little plaything-house that I got out of Mrs. Chenevix's shop, and is the prettiest bauble you ever saw. It is set in enamelled meadows, with filigree hedges:
>
> A small Euphrates through the piece is roll'd
> And little finches wave their wings in gold.
>
> Two delightful roads, that you would call dusty, supply me continually with coaches and chaises: barges as solemn as Barons of the Exchequer move under my window; Richmond Hill and Ham Walks bound my prospect; but, thank God! the Thames is between me and the Duchess of Queensberry. Dowagers as plenty as flounders inhabit all around, and Pope's ghost is just now skimming under my window by a most poetical moonlight. I have about land enough to keep such a farm as Noah's, when he set up in the ark with a pair of each kind; but my cottage is rather cleaner than I believe his was after they had been cooped up together forty days." [1]

---

1 To Henry Seymour Conway, June 8, 1747.

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In the following year we find Walpole so obsessed by this new toy, that he chose a lonely Christmas at Strawberry in order to get the planting started on four new acres which he had just added to his property:

> "Did you ever know a more absolute country-gentleman? Here am I come down to what you call keep my Christmas! indeed it is not in all the forms; I have stuck no laurel and holly in my windows, I eat no turkey and chine, I have no tenants to invite, I have not brought a single soul with me. The weather is excessively stormy, but has been so warm, and so entirely free from frosts the whole winter, that not only several of my honeysuckles are come out, but I have literally a blossom upon a nectarine-tree, which I believe was never seen in this climate before on the 26th of December. I am extremely busy here planting; I have got four more acres, which makes my territory prodigious in a situation where land is so scarce, and villas as abundant as formerly at Tivoli and Baiae. I have now about fourteen acres, and am making a terrace the whole breadth of my garden on the brow of a natural hill, with meadows at the foot, and commanding the river, the village, Richmond Hill, and the Park, and part of Kingston-but I hope never to show it you." [1]

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[1] To Horace Mann, December 26, 1748.

By June 1749 the improvements on the grounds were well under way, even though the Gothic destiny of Strawberry Hill was not even hinted at until September of the same year.[2] Walpole

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[2] To George Montagu, September 28, 1749.

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wrote to Horace Mann of a visit paid him by Mann's brother Ned:

> "He has not seen Strawberry Hill since my great improvements; he was astonished; it is pretty; you never saw so tranquil a scene, without the least air of melancholy: I should hate it, if it was dashed with that." [3]

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[3] To Horace Mann, June 4, 1749.

We know from various comments in Walpole's essay and in his letters that he did not care for the idea of creating an artificial melancholy in the garden; he was entirely unsympathetic to this phase of romantic gardening. Of the hermitage or scene adapted to contemplation he wrote: "It is almost comic to set aside a quarter of one's garden to be melancholy in." [1] To a friend who took it for granted

[1] Walpole, The History, p.54.

that because the house was Gothic, the garden must be Gothic also, Walpole wrote:

> "Indeed, my dear Sir, kind as you are about it, I perceive you have no idea what Gothic is; you have lived too long amidst true taste, to understand venerable barbarism. You say, 'You suppose my garden is to be Gothic too.' That can't be; Gothic is merely architecture; and as one has a satisfaction in imprinting the gloomth of abbeys and cathedrals on one's house, so one's garden, on the contrary, is to be nothing but riant, and the gaiety of nature." [2]

[2] To Horace Mann, April 27, 1753.

Again in a later passage he tells that he has planned the garden to contrast with the gloom of Gothic architecture:

> "As there is a solemnity if the house of which the cuts will give you an idea, they cannot add the gay variety of the scene without, which is very different from every side, and almost from every chamber, and makes a most agreeable contrast; the

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> house being placed almost in an elbow of the Thames, which surrounds half, and consequently beautifies three of the aspects. Then my little hill, and diminutive enough it is, gazes up to royal Richmond; and Twickenham on the left, and Kingston Wick on the right, are seen across bends of the river, which on each hand appears like a Lilliputian seaport. Swans, cows, sheep, coaches, post-chaises, carts, horsemen, and foot-passengers are continually in view. The fourth scene is a large common field, a constant prospect of harvest and its stages, traversed under my windows by the great road to Hampton Court; in short, an animated view of the country. These moving pictures compensate the conventual gloom of the inside; which, however, when the sun shines, is gorgeous, as he appears all crimson and gold and azure through the painted glass. Now, to be quite fair, you must turn the perspective, and look at this vision through the diminishing end of the telescope; for nothing is so small as the whole, and even Mount Richmond would not reach up to Fiesole's shoe-buckle." [1]

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[1] To Horace Mann, September 30, 1784.

It is true that the actual extent of Strawberry Hill was very small. Land near London was not only expensive but scarce; and those who preferred country life within easy access of the city had to be content with learning to make the most of small spaces. Walpole praised Pope's garden for the remarkable variety of scene included in but five acres. Much of his enthusiasm for the alpine garden designed by Charles Hamilton at Painshill was owing to his excellent treatment of a small area. This need to do much with a little land influenced the course of development of the new taste. Intricacy and surprise became increasingly important; variety and interest were created by means of vistas; winding paths were planted so that what was around the curve could not be seen at once.

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The creating of the illusion of distance by these means became an important aspect of the new landscape design.

The number of flowers at Strawberry Hill must have added considerably to that "gay variety of scene" which Walpole considered a necessary contrast to the sombre atmosphere of his Gothic castle, for a letter written after his plantations had had opportunity to mature, gives an impression of luxuriance in both color and odor. Walpole wrote:

> "I am just come out of the garden in the most oriental of all evenings, and from breathing odours beyond those of Araby. The acacias, which the Arabians have the sense to worship, are covered with blossoms, the honeysuckles dangle from every tree in festoons, the seringas are thickets of sweets, and the new-cut hay of the field in the garden tempers the balmy gales with simple freshness, while a thousand sky-rockets launched into the air at Ranelagh or Marybone illuminate the scene, and give it an air of Haroun Alraschid's paradise--I was not quite so content by day-light: some foreigners dined here, and, though they admired our verdure, it mortified me by its brownness; we have not had a drop of rain this month to cool the tip of our daisies." [1]

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[1] To George Montagu, June 10, 1765.

In an earlier letter also he comments on the beauty of acacias "powdered with flowers" and mentions that his hay is now at its "most picturesque moment." [2]

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[2] To the Countess of Ailesbury, June 13, 1761.

That Walpole thoroughly enjoyed his bucolic pleasures is apparent from his frequent references to syllabub making,

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the joys of tasting his own strawberries and cream, and other events of endless interest to one who plays at farming. He writes of sheep-shearing, haymaking and the trials of raising rare varieties of fruit in England's uncertain climate.[1]

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[1] To George Montagu, June 6, 1752. Ibid., May 6, 1770.

Before going on to an examination of the planting of Strawberry Hill from the point of view of landscape design, one more passage will be quoted to illustrate a typical gala occasion at Walpole's country house,--an account of the day on which he entertained the French and Spanish ambassadors. To George Montagu he wrote:

> "Strawberry, whose glories perhaps verge towards their setting, has been more sumptuous today than ordinary, and bunqueted their representative majesties of France and Spain. I had Monsieur and Madame de Guerchy, Mademoiselle de Nangis their daughter, two other French gentlemen, the Prince of Masserano, his brother and secretary, Lord March, George Selwyn, Mrs. Anne Pitt, and my niece Waldegrave. The refectory never was so crowded: nor have any foreigners been here before that comprehended Strawberry. Indeed, everything succeeded to hair. A violent shower in the morning laid the dust, brightened the green, refreshed the roses, pinks, orange-flowers, and the blossoms with which the acacias are covered. A rich storm of thunder and lightning gave a dignity of colouring to the heavens; and the sun appeared enough to illuminate the landscape, without basking himself over it at his length. During dinner there were French horns and clarionets in the cloister, and after coffee I treated them with an English and to them a very new collation, a syllabub milked under the cows that were brought to the printing house, and saw a new fashionable French song printed. They drank tea in the gallery, and at eight went away to Vauxhall.
>
> They really seemed quite pleased with the place and the day; but I must tell you, the treasury of

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> the abbey will feel it, for without magnificence, all was handsomely done." [1]

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[1] To George Montagu, June 18, 1764.

These passages show to some extent the charm of the place. The rather poor engravings with which Walpole illustrated The Description of Strawberry Hill give a completely inadequate idea of the planting; owing to the stiffness of the medium the trees and shrubs have an artificial look totally out of keeping with any idea of naturalistic gardening. The original water colors, on the other hand, from which the engravings were made give an entirely different impression of the planting. Here the softness of the medium produces an effect of naturalness and grace; these paintings are undoubtedly much closer to the reality. The water color drawings also illustrate Walpole's love of animated prospect, for every scene which he has chosen show either a view of the road or the Thames, or else is taken with sheep, cows or figures to relieve the wide expanse of lawn.

By 1753, feeling that the elements of his design are at least marked out, Walpole attempts to give Horace Mann, who is abroad, some idea of his estate:

> "The enclosed enchanted little landscape, then, is Strawberry Hill; and I will try to explain so much of it to you as will help to let you know whereabouts we are when we are talking to you; for it is uncomfortable in so intimate a correspondence as ours not to be exactly master of every spot where one another is writing, or reading, or sauntering. This view of the castle is what I have just finished, and is the only side that will be at

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all regular. Directly before it is an open grove, through which you see a field, which is bounded by a serpentine wood of all kind of trees, and flowering shrubs, and flowers. The lawn before the house is situated on the top of a small hill, from whence to the left you see the town and church of Twickenham encircling a turn of the river, that looks exactly like a seaport in miniature. The opposite shore is a most delicious meadow, bounded by Richmond Hill, which loses itself in the noble woods of the Park to the end of the prospect on the right, where is another turn of the river, and the suburbs of Kingston as luckily placed as Twickenham is on the left; and a natural terrace on the brow of my hill, with meadows of my own down to the river, commands both extremities. Is not this a tolerable prospect? You must figure that all this is perpetually enlivened by a navigation of boats and barges, and by a road below my terrace, with coaches, post-chaises, waggons, and horsemen constantly in motion, and the fields speckled with cows, horses, and sheep.

The Chinese summer-house, which you may distinguish in the distant landscape, belongs to my Lord Radnor. We pique ourselves upon nothing but simplicity, and have no carvings, gildings, paintings, inlayings, or tawdry businesses." [1]

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[1] To Horace Mann, June 12, 1753.

This description of the planting on the south side of the house is illustrative of the general tone of the landscape work at Strawberry Hill. Other views of the estate show the planting to have been informal in character. "The natural terrace on the brow of the hill" was the main terrace on the east side of the house, where an open expanse of lawn dotted by clumps of trees merged with rolling meadows to the river. It was here that Walpole's decorative cows and sheep performed the double duty of being ornamental, while keeping the lawn clipped.

The ground-plan of Strawberry Hill represents that

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type of property arrangement which Walpole designated in his essay as "the garden that connects itself with a park," True to his description of this class of design there are no boundaries which separate the neat from the rude. While the treatment about the house is formal to a degree, the natural grouping of trees scattered over the wide lawn forms a gradual link between the house and the serpentine wood which runs along the south and west side of the property. Walpole was somewhat conservative in regard to the planting about the buildings. He did not approve of the "total banishment of all particular neatness about the house." He did not like to see a house "left gazing by itself in the middle of a park." [1]

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[1] Walpole, The History, p.49.

Walpole was rather unique in holding this position, for of all the engravings in Watt's Seats of the Nobility and Gentry, 1779-86, there is only one house which shows any foundation planting at all, and that scene is dated well at the end of the period. [2] This may indicate that Walpole's treatment of

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[2] William Watt , Seats of the Nobility and Gentry, 1779-86.

---

the planting about the house, represents the beginning of modern foundation planting, which now plays an important part in connecting the house with grounds. It is true that the shrubbery about the buildings is not indicated in the plan, but it can be seen freely in the accompanying water-color drawings. Walpole considered a somewhat formal treatment as

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proper for the narrow spaces close to the house. Thus we find a simple though architectural plan in the Prior's garden which lies on the north side of the house and which extends to the edge of the road to Teddington. While Walpole approved of the banishment of walls and fences, for the most part, he was not averse to a high wall where real privacy was needed. An embattled wall[1] in keeping with the Gothic

[1] Walpole, "Description of Strawberry Hill," Works, vol. ii, p. 400. The embattled wall was completed in 1761 and was taken "from a print of Astonhouse in Warwickshire, in Dugdale's history of that county."

Castle, along which were plantings of vines and shrubs separated the north and west fronts of the house from the road to Hampton Court, and formed one side of the Prior' garden. An interesting Gothic screen[2] erected in 1763

[2] Ibid. This was an open screen taken "from the tomb of Roger Niger bishop of London in old St. Paul's."

divided the "little garden" as it was called from the paved terrace which led up to the main entrance. Except that most of the garden features are Gothic in design, there is no further connection between the house and either the outlying buildings, or the property itself. In this Walpole exhibits a weakness in the groundplan common to most of the new gardens of the mid-eighteenth century. Having despensed with boundaries between the contiguous parts of the design, having done away with straight paths on axis with important

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doors and windows of the house, there was no way left for the new gardeners to relate the house to the grounds; no way of making it the keynote of the design with the other parts subordinate to it. At Strawberry Hill the arches of the great cloister on the south side of the house looked out to a pleasant view across the lawn. Walpole, however, missed a fine opportunity to unify building and grounds. He might have planned a vista through his serpentine wood, terminated by some garden feature, which would have provided a focal point of interest from the cloister. Perhaps no one ever sat in the cloister; certainly the chairs designed for it, were ornamental rather than comfortable. In the eighteenth-century less attention seems to have been paid to the outlook from windows or porches, than there is in landscape gardening at the present time; there was much more emphasis laid on planning points of interest to be come upon unexpectedly while walking about the property. This was one result of the idea of creating a series of pictures, and accounts for the fact that Walpole's garden, as well as other gardens of the period, lacked connection between its several parts. This failing Price finds especially noticeable in the new gardens; he attributes it to adherence to the theory of gardening as a branch of painting. He points out that the painter's art is for the most part three dimensional; whereas the landscape gardener must look at his picture not only from many angles, but must consider its relation to other pictures in the

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garden.[1] Walpole, succeeded to some extent in unifying his

[1] Price, Essays on the Picturesque, vol. i, pp. 8-9.

design where others failed, by keeping to a certain uniformity in the matter of architecture. His most important features, the chapel, the gate and the cottage, as well as the bridges over the running stream were Gothic in design. Other ornaments such as the Roman altar-piece (an antique sarcophogus in marble), a statue of Bernini's Apollo and Daphne in bronze, and a plaster statue of the Sleeping Morpheus [2] were well hidden

[2] Walpole, Description of Strawberry Hill, p. 510.

from the design as a whole by heavy shrubbery plantings; placed in unexpected situations at the turn of a path or in the woods, they added variety and intricacy to the whole. By the use of concealment and surprise Walpole avoided such effects as appear in Woollet's drawing of Stowe, where a Roman temple, a Gothic tower and a Chinese pogoda are to be seen at the same moment.

The first really important element of the garden design to be executed was the planting of the serpentine wood. This Walpole must have done soon after moving to Strawberry, for by 1753 the planting seems to have been well under way. The path through the wood is serpentine to be sure, but the curves are broad and graceful; there is no impression of the unnecessarily "tortuous winding" which

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Walpole objected to in the more extreme gardens of his day. The plantations were a mixture of deciduous and evergreen plants; while his specimen trees and shrubs were usually well related to the masses as a whole. If one walked down the west side of the property through the wood, the first feature of importance was an iron gate on the right hand side. This opened into the drive which led through Bush Park to Hampton Court. It was Gothic in style and of ornamental iron. The piers were copied by Walpole from the "tomb of Bishop de Luda in Ely Cathedral and were executed by Essex in artificial stone."[1] It served to connect the house with the most

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[1] To William Cole, July 15, 1769.

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important garden building, the chapel. This was placed at the junction of the woodland path with the path along the west side, and formed a focal point of interest for either path. It was concealed from view by the heavy planting of the bays and recesses of the walk, so that only occasional glimpses could be seen from a distance. The chapel was flanked by two large weeping willows. This tree which had been recently introduced from China was very popular with the romantic gardeners, because its weeping habit appealed to their interest in creating moods of melancholy in the garden. The color and gaiety of two rare Indian flower tubs which stood on pedestals on either side of the door relieved the scene. This treatment of the entrance illustrates the

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juxtaposition of the Gothic and Eastern styles, frequently found during the mid-eighteenth century. There are, however, no Chinese garden features at Strawberry Hill; although it has been suggested that at one time Walpole thought of building a Chinese temple where the chapel was eventually placed.[1] Since Walpole spoke slightingly of Lord Radnor's

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[1] Proposed Chinese Building drawn by Bentley. See Lewis, The Genesis of Strawberry Hill, p. 68, p. 72.

Chinese summer-house, as early as 1753, and did not wish it to be mistaken for a part of Strawberry, we may assume that his dislike of Chinese extremes led him to abandon his original plan. The Gothic chapel was of course much more in keeping with the grounds as a whole; it is quite probable that good sense triumphed over a passing fancy for novelty.

The next feature of interest along the serpentine path was the Roman altar-tomb placed in a small recess in the wood. Here instead of designing a setting for a given ornament, a certain curve in the planting suggested to Walpole the need of a particular type of emphasis. This must have been one of the first garden ornaments at Strawberry Hill, for in 1753 Walpole wrote:

> "You may have heard that I am always piddling about ornaments and improvements for Strawberry Hill-I am now doing a great deal to the house-stay, I don't want Genoa damask! What I shall trouble you to buy is for the garden: There is a small recess, for which I should be glad to have an antique Roman sepulcharal altar, of the kind of the pedestal to my eagle; but as it will stand out of doors, I should not desire to have it a fine one:

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> a moderate one, I imagine, might be picked up easily at Rome at a moderate price: if you could order anybody to buy such an one, I should be much obliged to you." [1]

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[1] To Horace Mann, July 27, 1752.

Mann seems to have been able to execute Walpole's commission satisfactorily, because a year later Walpole wrote:

> "Though I have long had a letter of yours unanswered, yet I verily think it would have remained so a little longer, if the pretty altar-tomb which you have sent me had not roused my gratitude. It arrived here--I mean the tomb, not my gratitude--yesterday, and this morning church-yarded itself in the corner of my wood, where I hope it will remain till some future virtuoso shall dig it up, and publish it in a Collection of Roman Antiquities in Britain." [2]

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[2] To Horace Mann, July 21, 1753.

After the altar-tomb there were no further features of interest in the serpentine wood until Bentley's shell bench which terminated the walk. This was in the form of scallop shell; and was said to have been carved out of one piece of wood. There is a drawing of it by Muntz dated 1755, so it must have been placed soon after the Roman "antiquity." According to the picture, which is considerably off scale, the bench appears as tall as some of the trees; and quite overshadows the planting. Certainly it must have been curious rather than beautiful, and of great size, since two duchesses and a countess were able to sit in it at one time. [3] The bench was set off by a

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[3] To George Montagu, June 3, 1759.

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background planting of deciduous trees and shrubs with an occasional pyramid-shaped evergreen as a note of accent. To the left of the shell was a Gothic bridge over a "sunk fence," and a pathway leading to a Gothic gate which led into the next property. True to his conviction of the importance of the sunk fence, Walpole arranged that the south side of the property and that side of the natural wood should be bounded by fosses of this type. On the west side the wood was terminated by a fence along which trees were planted; this continued until the office buildings began; here a wall which joined with the wall along the front of the castle united the service buildings to to the rest of the house.

Back at the house again, if we imagine ourselves strolling across the lawn over the meadows to the river, we find the lawn broken by two gently curving paths. These coming from two different sides of the house lead us through the trees, where more open prospects may be enjoyed, to the shell bench again. By 1754 the planting though slow at first had matured. To Bentley Walpole writes: "The verdure of this year is beyond what I have ever seen it: the grove nearest the house comes on much; you know I had almost despaired of its ever making a figure." [1] Apparently he needn't have worried, for in 1771 he

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[1] To Richard Bentley, May 18, 1754.

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writes: "My trees flourish so exuberantly that I am every day clearing away:

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and every bough that is lopped lets in new verdure, gaiety and prospect." [1]

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[1] To Horace Mann, June 19, 1771.

Concerning the actual planting we can only conjecture from what appears in the pictures, and from certain letters in which Walpole writes of the plants which he grew in his nursery. We know that for courts about a house he considered "almond trees mixed with evergreen particularly with Scotch firs" [2] the ideal combination. He liked Virginia cedars when

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[2] To George Montagu, November 8, 1755.

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used as specimen plants to allow full development of their shapeliness, and he was especially fond of cypresses and Weymouth pines, and of contrasting their feather foliage with more coarse-leaved shrubs. We cannot doubt that the "venerable oak, the romantic beech and useful elm" all found their rightful places on the grounds of Strawberry Hill.

Perhaps the most interesting planting at Strawberry Hill is that in connection with the development of the property on the other side of the road to Teddington. Walpole had controlled this property for some time, and had used a portion of it for his kitchen garden. In February 1768 he wrote of his new plans:

> "I have lately had an accession to my territory here, by the death of good old Frankland, to whom I had given for his life the lease of the cottage and garden 'cross the road. Besides a little

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> pleasure in planting and in crowding it with flowers, I intend to make, what I am sure you are antiquarian enough to approve, a bower, though your friends the abbots did not indulge in such retreats, at least not under that appellation; but though we love the same ages, you must excuse worldly me for preferring the romantic scenes of antiquity." [1]

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1 To William Cole, February 28, 1765.

By February he had definitely decided to build a bower, but could not make up his mind as to what sort it should be. To Cole he wrote:

> "My bower is determined, but not at all what it is to be. Though I write romances I cannot tell how to build all that belongs to them. Madame Danois, in the Fairy Tales, used to tapestry them with jonquils; but as that furniture will not last above a fortnight in the year, I shall prefer something more huckaback. I have decided that the outside shall be of treillage, which, however, I shall not commence, till I have again seen some of old Louis's oldfashioned galanteries at Versailles. Rosamond's bower, you, and I, and Tom Hearne know, was a labyrinth, but as my territory will admit of a very short clew, I lay aside all thoughts of a mazy habitation; though a bower is very different from an arbour, and must have more chambers than one. In short, I both know, and don'd know, what it should be. I am almost afraid I must go and read Spenser, and wade through his allegories, and drawling stanzas, to get at a picture..... well! it may be trifling, yet it is such trifling as Ambition never is happy enough to know! Ambition orders palaces, but it is Content that chats for a page or two over a bower." [2]

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2 To William Cole, March 9, 1765.

Even this half-humorous discussion of plans for a bower contained a note of practicality, for he rejected the romantic convention of a maze as the proper form of bower, because the

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proposed site was limited in extent. While jonquils accorded with romance, he wished to plant for permanent rather than for immediate effect. He did not intend to attempt an imitation of French treillage until he had examined the original again. Whether he succeeded or not, it is interesting to note that Walpole always tried to make his imitations authentic; and where he failed it was because of insufficient knowledge, rather than lack of care.

The pool was fed by a natural meandering stream which made its way out of the garden across a field, until it dissappeared under the road to Twickenham to reappear again and join with the Thames. This stream was about seventeen feet wide and spanned by a couple of Gothic bridges, one of which was designed by Essex in 1792.[1] The garden itself

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[1] Lewis, The Genesis of Strawberry Hill, p. 86.

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was shut off from the kitchen by a high wall which ran straight across the property along the east end of the vegetable garden. The plain surface of the wall was varied by plantations of flowering shrubs and herbaceous plants, while an opening in the wall led from the flower garden into the kitchen garden. The cottage which was intended originally "to have nothing Gothic about it,"[2] was, except for the

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[2] To George Montagu, August 23, 1765.

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chapel, the most elaborate structure on the grounds. It was

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built of brick and completed in 1765. Eleven years later Walpole added a porch, which in spite of his earlier resolution had Gothic ornamentation.[1] The cottage containing

[1] Lewis, The Genesis of Strawberry Hill, p. 87.

two rooms, the "Tea-Room" and the "Little Library," was set in the center of a thick wood in which the trees were planted in natural clumps. The graceful foundation planting added to the secluded and romantic air of this modern bower. The northwest side of the cottage faced the cottage garden, one of the most charming bits of landscape design at Strawberry Hill. In shape it was circular; the central feature was the round pool, Poyang, frequently mentioned in Walpole's letters. It was here that he bred his goldfish, and many are the amusing accounts of his adventures at fishing with a tea-strainer to keep his friends supplied.[2] On the side toward the cottage

[2] To George Montagu, August 16, 1753.

On the side toward the cottage a stone bench was set in a frame of shrubs and trees; what, from the picture, appears to be either a cypress or a cedar forms a note of accent to contrast with the bench. On either side of the seat were beds of flowers. Where the wall ended on the other side a loose hedge continued to provide necessary seclusion. There was no planting about the pool which was finished with a simple edge of stone; only the enamelled green of the well-kept

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lawn set off its beauty of shape. The reflections on the trees in the water and their shadows on the grass added greatly to the charm of the scene. The whole tone of the garden was "cheerful and trim," the profusion of many colored flowers, and the quiet, restful treatment of the background plantations, contrasted with the smooth expanse of the lawn. Here were no fountains and statues, nothing that was not in keeping with the simplicity of natural landscape in one of its gentle moods.

To enter the kitchen garden from the flower garden was to pass into an entirely different scene. Here everything was designed for utility. Straight-line beds, with broad paths between, allowed for easy access. The design of the kitchen garden does not show on the plan in any detail, so we can only conjecture whether the plan for a proposed kitchen garden sketched in Walpole's own hand[1] was ever carried into

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[1] Now in the possession of W.S. Lewis.

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effect. This contained space for a "rosarium" as well as beds allotted to vegetables and cut flowers. It is probable that a portion of the kitchen garden was used for his nursery originally, and that here he performed his first experiments in raising plants introduced from America and China. Later he used the land beyond the serpentine wood, marked Mr. Ash's house and nursery grounds on the plan, for his growing experiments.

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Walpole's contributions in the field of horticulture are important as well as his contributions in the field of landscape design. In The History of the Modern Taste in Gardening, he comments on the fact that "the richness and colouring so peculiar to our modern landscape"[1] are largely

[1] Walpole, The History, p.44.

due to the introduction of foreign trees and plants. New varieties from China, and later from America, did much to arouse interest in the shape and foliage of plants in general. Walpole specifically mentions the use of "the mixture of greens, the contrast of forms between our forest-tree and the northern and West-Indian firs and pines,"[2] as but a recent development

[2] Ibid.

in gardening. A new note appears in the increased emphasis placed upon the beauty of individual trees. As more and more foreign trees became acclimated, interest was stimulated in the study of the possibilities of both old and new plants in a hitherto untried way. Horticultural problems growing out of the difficulty of raising strange plants in a new environment increased the interest in the plant as an individuality and as a living thing to be understood and cooperated with, rather than controlled. This became a contributing factor to two allied phases of romanticism. For not only in gardening, but also in poetry a new interest

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in the details of nature and a new regard for the individuality of plants, became more and more apparent. That many poets were also gardeners may account for the development of the same trend in the two fields. Interest in the wilder aspects of nature in poetry, in turn produced a delight in the more irregular forms of certain plants in gardening. The shaggy, pointed pine, the gnarled and twisted oak, and graceful weeping willow assumed more and more importance in the garden. Variety and contrast no longer depended on artificial features, but were acquired by mingling picturesque-shaped plants with the more symmetrically-shaped round-topped trees. This was even developed to a high degree in relation to the architecture of the house; many were the arguments written for and against the use of pointed evergreens with pointed Gothic architecture. Some preferred to contrast the roughness of Gothic buildings with the smoother type of tree and to set off the simplicity of classic design with the more rugged spruce; while another school argued that irregular plants went with irregular architecture and the more symmetrical plant with the buildings of classic simplicity.[1] Many

[1] Repton, The Art of Landscape Gardening, pp. 19-20.

eighteenth-century garden essays devoted certain sections to a discussion of the proper use of this new type of tree; Walpole's essay also contains a comment on this subject.[2]

[2] Walpole, The History, p. 53.

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It is not surprising then that Walpole as well as Pope, Shenstone, and Mason tried his hand at horticultural experiments. Indeed almost as soon as he had settled at Strawberry Hill, he started the small nursery which he later expanded and maintained not only for his own use, but most generously, for the use of his friends. On August 29, 1748 he wrote:

> "My present and sole occupation is planting, in which I have made great progress, and talk very learnedly with the nursery men, except that now and then a lettuce run to seed overturns all my botany, as I have more than once taken it for a curious West Indian flowering shrub. Then the deliberation with which trees grow, is extremely inconvenient to my natural impatience. I lament living in so barbarous an age when we are come to so little perfection in gardening. I am persuaded that a hundred and fifty years hence it will be as common to remove oaks a hundred and fifty years old, as it is now to transplant tulip roots." [1]

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1 To Henry Seymour Conway, August 29, 1748.

While he displayed the natural irritation of the novice gardener at the incalculability of the actions of plants, and at the slowness with which some of them grew, his forecast of modern developments in the transplantation of large trees gives evidence of a mind keenly alive to the possibilities latent in garden planning.

Walpole's horticultural schemes expanded considerably in the next seven years. While he still jestingly spoke of the experimental plot as his "little parsley bed," it would appear that a nursery able to provide one of his friends with

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fifty plants of a kind, and as many as a hundred and twenty [illegible], at one time, must have undergone a transformation similar to that of the lettuce plant which upset all Walpole's botany at an earlier date. He wrote of his experiments:

> "Well, out of this little parsley-bed of mine, I can furnish you with a few plants, particularly three Chinese arbor-vitaes, a dozen of the New England or Lord Weymouth's pine... they should stand in a moist soil, and care must be taken every year to clear away all plants and trees around them, that they may have free air and room to expand themselves. Besides these I shall send you twelve Stone or Italian pines, twelve pineasters, twelve black spruce firs, two Caroline cherries, thirty evergreen cytisus, a pretty shrub that grows very fast and may be cut down as you please, fifty Spanish brooms and six acacias, the genteelest tree of all, but you must take care to plant them in a first row, and where they will be well sheltered, for the least wind tears and breaks them to pieces. All these are ready, whenever you will give me directions how and where to send them. They are exceedingly small as I have but lately taken to propagate myself; but then they will travel more safely, will be more sure of living, and will grow faster than larger. Other sorts of evergreens that you must have, are silver and Scotch firs; Virginia cedars, which should stand forwards and have nothing touch them; and above all cypresses." [1]

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[1] To George Montagu, November 8, 1755..

In November of 1754 he thanked Bentley for a box of Guernsey lilies and sent plants in return:

> "I have been packing up a few seeds, which have little merit but the merit they will have with you, that they come from the Vine and Strawberry. My chief employ in this part of the world, except surveying my library, which has scarce anything but the painting to finish, is planting at Mrs. Clive's, whither I remove all my superabundancies. I have lately planted the green lane, that leads from her garden to the common: 'Well,' said she,

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'when it is done, what shall we call it?'--'Why,' said I, 'what would you call it but Drury Lane?'" [1]

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[1] To Richard Bentley, November 3, 1754.

A few months later he sent Bentley a box of "exotics" which had been raised at his nursery:

> "By Tuesday's coach there will go to Southampton two orange-trees, two Arabian jasmines, some tuberose roots, and plenty of cypress seeds, which last I send you in lieu of the olive-trees, none of which are yet come over." [2]

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[2] Ibid., March 2, 1754.

Throughout the years the exchange of plants went on busily between these gentleman estate-owners, much as it does between neighbors today. Walpole sent Montagu a collection of baby pine and fir:

> "I am very much pleased that you are content with what are to be trees a thousand years hence; though they were the best my Libanus afforded, I was afraid you would think I had sent you a bundle of picktooths, instead of pines and firs; may you live to chat under their shade!" [3]

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[3] To George Montagu, December 20, 1755.

It is interesting to note that Walpole was experimenting at this time with plants imported from China and America. His directions to Montague for the care of the plants to be sent to him, were concise and practical. He not only told how to grow the plants but explained in what situations the individual plant would be most effective. Many of Walpole's

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letters contain specific directions for planting; and varied are the "garden-questions" put to him by his friends. In 1755 he wrote to Montagu of the fruits of his experience:

> "I differ with the doctors about planting evergreens in the spring; if it happens to be wet weather, it may be better than exposing them to a first winter; but the cold dry winds that generally prevail in spring, are ten times more pernicious. In my own opinion, the end of September is the best season, for then they shoot before the hard weather comes. But the plants I send you are so very small, that they are equally secure in any season, and would bear removing in the middle of summer; a handful of dung will clothe them all for the whole winter." [1]

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[1] To George Montagu, November 25, 1755.

In another letter to Montagu he recommends a certain nurseryman at Fulham:

> "You oblige me extremely by giving me this commission; and though I am exceedingly unlike Solomon in everything else, I will at least resemble him in remembering you to the Hiram from whom I obtained my cedars of Libanus. He is by men called Christopher Gray, nurseryman at Fulham. I mention cedars first, because they are the most beautiful of the evergreen race, and because they are the dearest; half a guinea apiece in baskets. The arbutus are scarce, and a crown apiece, but they are very beautiful. The lignum vitae I would not recommend to you; they stick abominably if you touch them, and never make a handsome tree: the Chinese arbor vitae is very beautiful." [2]

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[2] Ibid., November 8, 1755.

Later he begged General Conway to send him some poplar pines. This according to Miss Berry meant Lombardy poplars. The first Lombardy poplar to be raised in England was supposed to

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have been at Park Place, and was brought from Turin as a cutting by the Earl of Rocheford and planted by General Conway. [1]

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[1] Walpole, Letters, ed. by Paget Toynbee, vol. xviii, p. 293. Note.

Walpole was anxious to try everything new, and it is evident that their quickgrowing habit appealed to one who had mourned the slowness of his groves.

Walpole's advice to his friends was not restricted to the care of plants; there is plenty of evidence to show that he took part in the actual planning of the grounds of their estates. In 1749 he wrote to George Montagu:

> "Mr. Rigby makes you a thousand compliments, and wished you would ever think his Roe worth seeing: You can't imagine how he has improved it! You have always heard me extravagant in the praises of the situation. He has demolished all his paternal intrenchments of walls and square gardens, opened lawns, swelled out a bow-window, erected a portico, planted groves, stifled ponds, and you may imagine that I have a little hand in all this. Since I came hither, I have projected a colonnade to join his mansion to the offices, have been the death of a tree that intercepted the view of a bridge, for which, too, I have drawn a new white rail, and shall be an absolute travelling Jupiter or Baucis and Philemon's, for I have persuaded him to transform a cottage into a church, by exalting a spire upon the end of it, as Talbot has done." [2]

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[2] To George Montagu, July 3, 1749.

In 1750 he was disappointed that Mr. Whithed's seat at Southwick in Hampshire had largely been destroyed by fire; he had hoped to go "thither gothicising." [3]

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[3] To Horace Mann, September 1, 1750.

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In 1754 he wrote to Mann:

> "I am going with Mr. Chute in a day or two to his Vine, where I shall try to draw him into amusing himself a little with building and planting; hitherto he had done nothing with his estate-but good." [1]

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[1] Ibid., October 6, 1754.

A year later Walpole was busy estimating the cost of proposed alterations at The Vine, and at his sister's seat at Chaffont.[2]

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[2] To Richard Bentley, July 5, 1755.

In 1763 Walpole helped General Conway with plans for a greenhouse:

> "I have been consulting my neighbour, young Mr. Thomas Pitt, my present architect; we have all books of that sort here, but cannot think of one which will help you to a cottage or a greenhouse. For the former you should send me your idea, your dimensions; for the latter, don't you rebuild your old one, though in another place? A pretty greenhouse I never saw; nor without immoderate expense can it well be an agreeable object. Mr. Pitt thinks a mere portico without a pediment, and windows removable in summer, would be the best plan you could have. If so, don't you remember something of that kind, which you liked, at Sir Charles Cottrel's at Rousham? But a fine greenhouse must be on a more exalted plan. In short, you must be more particular, before I can be at all so." [3]

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[3] To Henry Seymour Conway, May 1, 1763.

Within a few years of his death, and although he walked with increasing difficulty, he was still interested in planning improvements in the small garden for his "Berries" at Little Strawberry:

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> "I went to Bushy this morning, and, not finding Lady Guilford, returned by Cliveden to look after your new plant shed, and took Mr. Richardson into the garden with me. It is quite finished except glazing, and the garden is as trim as that in Milton's Allegro, and much prettier, though not so immortal." [1]

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[1] To Miss Mary Berry, October 1, 1794.

These quotations should be sufficient to show the extent of Walpole's practical experiments; it is only fitting that when he speaks highly of the contributions of gentleman estate-owners to modern landscape gardening, his own work should be remembered.

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CHAPTER V

WALPOLE'S CRITICAL WORK IN LANDSCAPE GARDENING

Walpole's practical work in landscape gardening at Strawberry Hill represents that transitional stage in the progress of the new taste when the principles of landscape painting were slowly being transformed into the principles of naturalistic gardening. Walpole's critical work on landscape design in his letters and journals provides illustrative material through which the growing dissatisfaction with the extremes of the early reformers and the emergence of these new ideals of landscape gardening may be traced. His critical work in his essays promoted in his own day a better understanding both in England and on the continent of the principles of the new English garden; and a recognition of landscape gardening as a distinct art on a par with painting and poetry, as well as an art invented by the English. Before examining Walpole's letters both in praise and blame of certain aspects of the "modern taste," it will be necessary to consider the general progress of naturalistic gardening from 1712-1770; for since the first attempts of Kent and Brown, and since Pope's early experiments at Twickenham, many new ideas had been added to the original cry of "imitate nature."

When the eighteenth-century landed-estate owners of this transitional period described by Walpole first began to design their own gardens along naturalistic lines, they had little or nothing in the way of traditional experience to draw upon. They were working in an unfamiliar medium; and as Mason observed: "What marvel if they strayed, as yet

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unskilled to mark the form of that peculiar curve into false extremes."[1] While they made observations on their own

[1] Mason, The English Garden, p.383.

gardens, and on the gardens of their friends, all were working under the same handicap of using plant materials that they knew little or nothing about. Where some succeeded better than others, it was largely owing to chance, to the beauty of the locality, and to the amount of natural artistic ability which each possessed; rather than that any definite rules for irregular garden-design had as yet been evolved. As Walpole remarked: "It is surprising how much beauty has been struck out and with how few absurdities."[2] His accounts of gardens

[2] Walpole, The History, p.49.

in his letters are not all given to praise, however; he felt the defects later remedied by Repton and Price. He could express dissatisfaction without being able to formulate a cure. Since the planting was all too new, the results could not be determined until a later time. The problems of the gardener are far more complicated than those of the painter. Because the artist is dealing with living material, a scene which looks when first planted as it was created in the mind of the artist, may a few months later resemble Pope's Adam and Eve in box: "a little overgrown because of the wet weather."[3] The power of visualizing a scene so that it reaches

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[3] Pope, The Guardian, November 17, 1713.

perfection when the plants have grown to maturity requires a nicety of calculation impossible to those gentleman experimenters who had had neither training nor experience in plant growth. Bryan Lathrop [1] discussing the difficulties

[1] Patron of landscape architecture in America, to whom O.C. Simonds dedicates his book, Landscape Gardening.

facing a landscape gardener wrote:

> "Landscape-gardening is not only one of the noblest of the fine arts, but in its perfection it is one of the most difficult. When the architect, the painter, and the sculptor have done their work it is as complete and perfect as the artist can make it. Not so with the landscape-gardener. He must plant with the eye of a prophet, for it requires many years to bring to perfection the picture which he has imagined. He must know the character of every tree and shrub, the size, shape, and color which it will have at maturity.
>
> If he has designed his landscape with prophetic skill, it will grow in beauty year by year, intensifying the varieties of surface, creating vistas in which imagination delights; the masses of trees and shrubs will have assumed pyramidal form, contrasting or harmonizing each with the other; and the mature foliage will have acquired that exquisite blending of tones which is the despair of the painter." [2]

[2] Simonds, p. 324.

This power of visualizing the landscape as it will look after a period of years is even yet only imperfectly realized. Examine any residential section of ten years or more growth. Foundation planting, which was beautiful at first, is now

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overcrowded. Shrubs have lost their graceful shapes because they were not given room to develop, and so it goes. It is not necessary to say that the gardeners of the eighteenth-century landscape school made no mistakes, or to maintain that everything they planned was beautiful. In spite of the fact that the clumps and belts of the English landscape school have been laughed at for a hundred years, those men visualized and were working toward an ideal landscape which represents what we have in the best of our park landscapes and the informal garden of the present. In the development of this new art, theory came first; then practice revised the older theories into the more workable ones of today. Taking theories from painting, Walpole and the two Masons, Shenstone, Whately and others experimented with the materials of nature. Drawing upon their experiences each formulated a body of theory, imperfect to be sure, which represented what they had learned. While still adhering closely to the principles of painting, each one modified some principle to fit the needs of gardening, thus adding to a growing body of knowledge. Walpole saw that the visualization of a scene in the imagination is the first step toward the creation of an artificial landscape which will seem to be natural. William Mason placed as much importance on visualization as Walpole did, but was more aware of the difficulties entailed by working with living materials. George Mason began the work toward the development of coherence in irregular garden design with his discussion of "keeping under

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in painting" as applied to gardening. Shenstone carried over from the field of painting the idea of balance in irregular design as opposed to the balance of symmetry in formal design. Whately added to the unity within the particular scene already achieved by the others, a detailed working out of the possibilities of connection between the parts, so that the unity of the general design might be accomplished. Thus we see that there was a necessary transition period in gardening which may be paralleled by the pre-romantic period in poetry. Just as romantic poetry did not spring into being, full grown, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, but had its beginnings back in the midst of the classicism of the eighteenth century, so modern landscape gardening did not spring full grown as a new art with Repton. Valuable as his work was in putting the new taste on a firm practical basis, he should no longer be considered entirely as the founder of modern landscape architecture. The groundwork for a true art of landscape gardening was laid by these fore-runners of Repton and Price. The estates of Walpole and his friends were laboratories of experiment for a new style; as our experimental farms are for the agriculture of today. Walpole's letters provide a record of these developments; his delightful accounts of gardens no longer in existence preserve for us something of their charm; his criticism of the defects of the gardens which he visited forshadows the later criticism given by Repton and Price.

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It is not known just why Walpole made so many notes on the gardens which he saw. While the passages in his letters may have been written merely because of a desire to share with his friends his pleasurable experiences, the material in his journals indicates that he may have planned to write a book from these notes. A letter to Rev. Henry Zouch at least indicates that Walpole played with the idea of writing what he called "topography."

> "I don't know so contemptible a class of writers as topographers, not from the study itself, but from their wretched execution. Often I have had an inclination to show how topography should be writ, by pointing out the curious particulars of places, with descriptions of principal houses, the pictures, portraits, and curiosities they contain."[1]

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[1] To Henry Zouch, January 13, 1759.

A letter to Bentley shows that some account of the scenery surrounding famous houses was included in his plan.[2] It is

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[2] To Richard Bentley, September, 1753.

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to be regretted that this project remained visionary; but an attempt will be made here to include much of the material on gardening which he perhaps had collected for this purpose. Walpole always viewed the landscape critically; if an effect pleased him he analyzed the causes of his pleasure. Where he felt an inadequate treatment had been made he suggested what might bring better results. His description of Hagley is charming in its enthusiasm, and expressive of the close

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association of scenes in nature with recollections of loved paintings:

> "You might draw, but I can't describe, the enchanting scenes of the park: it is a hill of three miles, but broke into all manner of beauty; such lawns, such wood, rills, cascades, and thickness of verdure quite to the summit of the hill, and commanding such a vale of towns, and meadows, and woods extending quite to the Black Mountain in Wales, that I quite forgot my favourite Thames! Indeed, I prefer nothing to Hagley but Mount Edgecumbe. There is extreme taste in the park: the seats are not the best, but there is not one absurdity. There is a ruined castle, built by Miller, that would get him his freedom even of Strawberry: it has the true rust of the Baron's Wars. Then there is a scene of a small lake, with cascades falling down such a Parnassus! with a circular temple on the distant eminence; and there is such a fairy dale, with more cascades gushing out of rocks! and there is a hermitage, so exactly like those in Sadeler's prints, on the brow of a shady mountain, stealing peeps into the glorious world below! and there is such a pretty well under a wood, like the Samaritan woman's in a picture of Nicolo Poussin! and there is such a wood without the park, enjoying such a prospect! and there is such a mountain on t'other side of the park commanding all prospects, that I wore out my eyes with gazing, my feet with climbing, and my tongue and my vocabulary with commending." [1]

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[1] To Richard Bentley, September 1753.

Here we see his fondness for prospect, his appreciation of variety of scene. It is the succession of pictures, the exuberance of detail, the variety in muliplicity which he loves. This passage reminds one of an illustration given by Burke to explain the feeling of magnificence which he claims is achieved by just this "profusion of objects in apparent disorder." Burke believed that disorder produces a sense of

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infinity, one of the chief causes of magnificence. He cited as an illustration the beauty of the richness and profusion of imagery in certain poetry. This explanation may also be applied to that richness and variety of scene in landscape, which so delighted the eighteenth-century gardeners and especially Walpole. Burke wrote:

> "There are also many descriptions in the poets and orators, which owe their sublimity to a richness and profusion of images, in which the mind is so dazzled as to make it impossible to attend to that exact coherence and agreement of the allusions, which we should require on every other occasion." [1]

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[1] Burke, Philosophical Inquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful, p. 69.

This joy in multiplicity, a quality characteristic of the romantic movement, may be the cause of the slow emergence of unity and coherence in irregular garden design. Delight such as Walpole expressed in the richness and variety of the scenes was sufficient for a time; it was not until later that a feeling of the need of connection between the several parts emerged. It was necessary for the small unit to be worked out first, and the appreciation of many contrasting things to be felt, before a sense of harmony of the whole appeared.

Walpole more than any other writer perceived the possibilities inherent in the use of prospect - "that chief beauty of all gardens." In a letter to Montagu he wrote enthusiastically of the new house of Captain John Miller, the charm of which was based upon the way in which the views were

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woven into the general plan of the property. This phase of gardening was part of the new interest in external nature, and was something unthought of in the old formal garden which was usually surrounded by walls. While there were occasional high places built so that the lover of scenery could look over the wall, or perhaps walk along the top of it, there had been no attempt to design a garden with the view in mind or to include it in any way in the design, until Walpole's time. Of John Miller's garden he wrote:

> "They have a small new-built house, with a bow-window, directly opposite to which the Avon falls in a wide cascade, a church behind it in a vale, into which two mountains descend, leaving an opening into the distant country. A large village, with houses of gentry, is on one of the hills to the left. Their garden is little, but pretty, and watered with several small rivulets among the bushes. Meadows fall down to the road; and above, the garden is terminated by another view of the river, the city, and mountains. 'Tis a very diminutive principality, with large pretensions." [1]

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1 To George Montagu, October 22, 1766.

Wherever there is a lack of prospect, Walpole either bewails the fact or suggests how to acquire it. He is particularly annoyed with the groundplan of Ham, in which the designer failed to make use of the possibilities provided by its location on the Thames. He wrote:

> "I went yesterday to see my niece in her new principality of Ham. It delighted me and made me peevish. Close to the Thames, in the centre of all rich and verdant beauty, it is so blocked up and barricaded with walls, vast trees, and gates, that you think yourself an hundred miles off and an hundred years back.

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He seems as much afraid of water as a cat, for though you might enjoy the Thames from every window of three sides of the house, you may tumble into it before you would guess it is there. In short, our ancestors had so little idea of taste and beauty, that I should not have been surprised if they had hung their pictures with the painted sides to the wall.

Twickenham, with a domain from the foot of Richmond Hill to Kingston Bridge, and then imagine its being dismal and prospectless as if it stood

On Stanmore's wintry wild!

I don't see why a man should not be divorced from his prospect as well as his wife, for not being able to enjoy it." [1]

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[1] To George Montagu, June 11, 1770.

Later when a storm blows down some of the elms and opens up a vista to the river, Walpole is delighted that nature has performed the task neglected by the mistaken owner.[2] He

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[2] To the Countess of Upper Osory, January 3, 1779.

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has the same criticism to make of Thornbury Castle, that the situation was fine, but that the "prospect was left to the servants," [3] for the windows of the great apartment all

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[3] To William Cole, August 15, 1774.

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looked into an inner court. At Horton, the seat of the Earl of Halifax, the expensive improvements do not please him, because "there is no prospect and the scene is much confined." [4]

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[4] Walpole, Journals of Visits to Country Seats, p. 57.

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At the Ryhdd, in Worcester, Walpole again bewails the lack of prospect:

> "A little farther on the banks is Mr. Lechmere's house; but as he has given strict charge to a troop of willows never to let him see the river: to his right hand extends the fairest meadow covered with cattle that ever you saw: at the end of it is the town of Upton, with a church half ruined, and a bridge of six arches, which I believe, with a little trouble, he might see from his garden." [1]

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1 To Richard Bentley, Spetember 1753.

That he was well aware of the intelligent thought which is necessary in the planning of vistas to make use of available prospects and at the same time retain the harmony of the design is apparent in an amusing little epigram which reflects the the style of the Heroic Epistle. While written by Walpole some thirty years earlier, it contains the incident of the gibbet appearing at the end of a walk, which is also used in Mason's satire.[2] To Horace Mann Walpole wrote:

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2 The Heroic Epistle, ll. 81-86.

> "Here is an epigram, which I believe will divert you: it is on Lord Islay's garden upon Houndslow Heath.
>
> Old Islay, to show his fine and delicate taste
> In improving his gardens purloin'd from the waste,
> Bade his gard'ner one day to open his views,
> By cutting a couple of grand avenues:
> No particular prospect his lordship intended,
> But left it to chance how his walks should be ended.
>
> With transport and joy he beheld his first view end
> In a favourite prospect--a church that was ruin'd--
> But alas! what a sight did the next cut exhibit!

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> At the end of the walk hung a rogue on a gibbet!
> He beheld it and wept, for it caus'd him to muse on
> Full many a Campbell that died with his shoes on.
> All amaz'd and aghast at the ominous scene,
> He order'd it quick to be clos'd up again
> With a clump of Scotch firs, that serv'd for a Screen." [1]

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[1] To Horace Mann, June 3, 1742.

Walpole was not only alive to the possibilities of prospect in the garden design, but he believed that all existing features within the property as well as without, should be woven in to the design of an estate. He did not approve of tearing down old buildings (if good of their kind) or of tearing down old plantations to put in new improvements. He felt that out of ancient things rich with the associations of the past came the peculiar individuality of the property. To Montagu he wrote:

> "The chapel is charming. The great jet d'eau I like, nor would I remove it--whatever is magnificent of the kind in the time it was done, I would retain--else all gardens and houses wear a tiresome resemblance." [2]

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[2] To George Montagu, September 1, 1760.

He also believed in keeping the garden features of a type suitable to the surrounding landscape. Of Chatsworth he wrote:

> "I never was more disappointed than at Chatsworth, which, ever since I was born, I have condemned--it is a glorious situation; the vale rich in corn and verdure, vast woods hang down the hills, which are green to the top, and the immense rocks only serve to dignify the prospect. The river runs before the door, and serpentizes more that you can conceive in the next vale. The Duke is widening it, and will

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> make it the middle of his park; but I don't approve an idea they are going to execute, of a fine bridge with statues under a noble cliff--if they will have a bridge (which by the way will crowd the scene), it should be composed of rude fragments, such as the giant of the Peak would place to step upon, that he might not be wet-shod." [1]

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[1] Ibid.

Walpole did not allow his love for variety to blind him to the necessity of having some order within profusion and disorder; we see some feeling of the need for connection between parts emerging in his writings. At Castle Howard the estate is unified by a wall with towers which harmonizes with the other buildings on the property.[2] Walpole followed

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[2] Walpole, Journals, pp. 73-74.

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out this scheme for unification at Strawberry Hill. At Longleate the treatment of water does not accord with Walpole's idea of connection between parts.[3] In another

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[3] Ibid., p. 44.

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letter he writes again of the coherence of design to be found at Castle Howard.[4] Here the successive pictures are

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[4] To George Augustus Selwyn, August 12, 1772.

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united sometimes by hills linking one scene to another, and sometimes by woods and vales. At Netley Walpole is charmed both by the choice of situation and by the variety of the scene:

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What's begun?

> "I can only by telling you, that it is the spot in the world for which Mr. Chute and I wish. The ruins are vast, and retain fragments of beautiful fretted roofs pendent in the air, with all variety of Gothic patterns of windows wrapped round and round with ivy-mantled trees are sprouted up amongst the walls, and only want to be increased with cypresses! A hill rises above the Abbey, encircled with wood: the fort, in which we would build a tower for habitation, remains with two small platforms. This little castle is buried from the Abbey in a wood, in the very centre, of the edge of the hill: on each side breaks in the view of the Southampton sea, deep blue, glistening with silver and vessels; on one side terminated by Southampton, on the other by Calshot Castle; and the Isle of Wight rising above the opposite hills. In short, they are not the ruins of Netley, but of Paradise.--Oh! purple abbots, what a spot had they chosen to slumber in! The scene is so beautifully tranquil, yet so lively, that they seem only to have retired into the world." [1]

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[1] To Richard Bentley, September 18, 1755.

Walpole was always especially fond of water views, either of the sea, or of rivers; any property which did not have water as part of the design seemed to him lacking in charm. Of Woburn he wrote: "It is what I rather admire than like - I fear that is what I am a little apt to do at the finest places in the world where there is not a navigable river." [2] Whiteknights [3] cannot be compared to Southcote's

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[2] To George Montagu, October 8, 1751.

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[3] To John Chute, August 4, 1753.

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estate because it lacks the river. Walpole believed that water when produced artificially should appear natural. "A

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stiff cascade at the back of the house" spoils the artificial lake at Thoresby.[1] He had only scorn for

[1] Walpole, Journals, p. 19.

> "your home-brewed rivers that people make with a drain, half a bridge, and a clump of evergreens, and then overlay with the model of a ship." [2]

[2] To Thomas Walpole the Younger, September 6, 1782.

Walpole was far from being an enthusiastic advocate of everything in the new style. He felt that the reformers had gone to extremes in their attempts to follow nature, so that the results were as artificial as the formal garden. While he praises some of Brown's work, his comments on More Park are illustrative of the elements in the new style which he condemns:

> "We went to see More Park, but I was not much struck with it, after all the miracles I had heard that Brown had performed there. He has undulated the horizon in so many artificial mole-hills, that it is full as unnatural as if it was drawn with a rule and compasses." [3]

[3] To George Montagu, July 4, 1760.

Mr. Rigby's estate though admirably located is ugly to Walpole because the possibilities inherent in the situation have not been woven into the general scheme. In other words the "character" of the place has not been studied and the result is a purely arbitrary design not only unsuited to the

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country, but actually concealing the natural beauties of the place. To Walpole who felt that the spirit of the place should give inspiration for the design, this was the height of bad taste:

> "I have been near three weeks in Essex, at Mr. Rigby's, and had left your direction behind me, and could not write to you. It is the charmingest place by nature, and the most trumpery by art, that ever I saw. The house stands on a high hill, on an arm of the sea, which winds itself before two sides of the house. On the right and left, at the very foot of this hill, lie two towns; the one of market quality, and the other with wharf where ships come up. This last was to have a church, but by a lucky want of religion in the inhabitants, who would not contribute to building a steeple, it remains an absolute antique temple with a portico, on the very strand. Cross this arm of the sea, you see six churches and charming woody hills in Suffolk. All this parent Nature did for this place; but its godfathers and godmothers, I believe, promised it should renounce all the pomps and vanities of this world, for they have patched up a square house, full of windows, low rooms, and thin walls; piled up walls wherever there was a glimpse of prospect; planted avenues that go nowhere, and dug fishponds where there should be avenues." [1]

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[1] Ibid., June 25, 1745.

For him as well as for Chambers, design is something far more subtle than the possession of a few trees, a view of the river and a weeping willow, which was all that many of the new gardens contained. He has only adverse comments to make upon the improvements at Thorndon Hall near Brentwood, Essex, which was supposed to be a show place in the new style:

> "He carried us to see the famous platations and buildings of the last Lord Petre. They are the Brobdingnag of bad taste. The unfinished house is

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> execrable, massive, and split through and through: it stands on the brow of a hill, rather to see for a prospect than to see one, and turns its back upon an outrageous avenue, which is closed with a screen of tall trees, because he would not be at the expense of beautifying the back front of his house. The clumps are gigantic, and very ill placed." [1]

[1] To Richard Bentley, November 3, 1754.

He is especially incensed at the work of "refined taste" in attempting to improve Pope's garden at Twickenham.[2] In another

[2] To Horace Mann, August 23, 1781.

letter writing of the extremes to which the new style has been carried he laments that bad taste which had once been driven out, should only return again a little later in another form.[3]

[3] To the Earl of Strafford, July 28, 1787.

These illustrations should be sufficient to show that Walpole's estimates of work in the new style were in the main both conservative and sound. He based his criticisms on the degree of success with which the natural advantages of a property had been woven into the design; yet allowing always for convenience and use. He did not care for too many curves and felt that the beauty of the old avenues should on the whole be kept; although he did not like their use where they intercepted views. He contended that abhorrence of the straight line had been carried to excess and that

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much of the beauty in the old style of gardening had been too hastily discarded. Formality he approved of in its place. Areas close to the house demanded an architectural treatment in keeping with the building. Palace gardens and the grounds of large public buildings he believed should also be kept formal in spirit. Here water should be used in fountains and in other ways which require an architectural treatment since a "palace demands its external graces and attributes." [1]

[1] Walpole, The History, p. 51.

Nor did he neglect the practical aspects of landscape gardening. He continually asserted the necessity of allowing for the rigors of the climate and for the convenience and use of the owner. One of his arguments for the landed-estate owner as the best designer of his own property is based on the idea that the owner best knows his own needs. In many places he comments on the fact that certain ideas of gardening taken over from the French and Italian gardens are impractical in England's moist damp climate. The grotto he maintains is especially out of place as its original use was to provide a cool refuge from the intensity of the Italian sun.

In his estimation of the work of Kent and Brown he again keeps a middle ground; he praises some of their work but makes adverse comments wherever he is not in sympathy with their plans. He admits that Kent's ideas were rarely great, but considers that this was to some extent due to

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" the novelty of his art." That he did not find it necessary to praise all Kent's work, even though he considered him the inventor of the new style, is indicative of Walpole's sincerety in wishing to put the new landscape garden on a sound basis. He objected to Kent's planting for immediate rather than for future effect. He feared that what was beautiful in a young state might not be so at maturity. If he had developed this idea a little further, he would have initiated what is now one of the essentials of modern landscape art. Walpole objected to "Mr. Kent's passion, clumps," which was the practice of "sticking a dozen trees here and there, till a lawn looks like the ten of spades." [1] Comparing new

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[1] To Horace Mann, June 20, 1743.

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plantations to ancient woods Walpole wrote: "Clumps have their beauty; but in a great extent of country, how trifling to scatter arbors, where you should spread forests!" [2] A

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[2] Ibid.

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pretty hunting lodge belonging to the Duke of Grafton was Kent's design, "but as was his manner too heavy." [3] For Sir

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[3] To George Montagu, July 23, 1751.

Charles Cotterell's seat at Rousham, however, he has only praise:

> "It has reinstated Kent with me; he has nowhere shown so much taste. The house is old, and was bad.



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> He has improved it, stuck as close as he could to the Gothic, has made a delightful library, and the whole is comfortable--the garden is Daphne in little; the sweetest little groves, streams, glades, porticoes, cascades, and river, imaginable; all the scenes are perfectly classic.--Well, if I had such a house, such a library, so pretty a place, and so pretty a wife, I think I should let King George send to Herenhousen for a Master of the Ceremonies."[1]

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1 Ibid., July 19, 1760

He also mentions Rousham in the essay on gardening, as Kent's best work.[2]

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2 Walpole, The History, p. 46.

He has little to say of Brown's work in the essay, but letters show that he did not always approve of Brown's improvements. He criticised Brown for not planting any large woods and for using small clumps of shrubbery too frequently, especially in the bends of serpentine rivers. Walpole's first comment on Brown's work is favorable. On his return from a visit to Warwick he wrote:

> "The Castle is enchanting; the view pleased me more than I can express; the river Avon tumbles down a cascade at the foot of it. It is well laid out by one Brown, who has set up on a few ideas of Kent and Mr. Southcote."[3]

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3 To George Montagu, July 22, 1751.

Later comments, however, indicate that his praise of Brown was rarely wholehearted. Of More Park, on which Lord Anson spent six-thousand pounds "improving the ground, under the

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Direction of Brown" Walpole said, "Few places have had so much laid out on them, and yet there is little real beauty in it."[1] At Burleigh, Walpole objected to the Gothic Greenhouse and stables which were built by Brown in connection with his ornamentation of the park, because they did not conform to the architecture of the house.[2] His comment on the garden at Hawnes was that it had been"something mended by Brown."[3] At Ragely, Brown had improved both the ground and the water, "but not quite to perfection." In the house, wrote Walpole, there are "no striking faults, but it wants a few Chute - or Bentley - touches."[4] This comment undoubtedly displays a bias in favor of his friends; at the same time, however, it illustrates the fact that most of Walpole's comments on Brown are marked by a measure of reserve.

1 Walpole, Journals, p. 24.

2 Ibid.,p. 63.

3 To Henry Seymour Conway, June 17, 1771.

4 To William Mason, August 20, 1758.

Walpole's criticism of the extremes of the new style may be summarized as follows: he condemned especially the fact that the topography of the land was not studied sufficiently, and was not given the importance which it should have been given

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in determining the design. It is interesting to note that his emphasis on the "character" peculiar to each place as a guide to planting is the keynote to modern landscape design in the natural style. For while distinctions between the beautiful and picturesque no longer hold the place that they did in the eighteenth century, study of the character of a locality has increased in importance. With modern advancement in the then unheard of Botanical science of ecology, planting in the natural manner has progressed from the use of clumps to the use of masses, according to the way in which nature plants her fields and woods, an idea attributed to our own Frederick Law Olmstead, Sr.[1] The idea was, however, hinted

[1] Frank Waugh, pp. 49-50.

at by Chambers when he warned against using too many varieties in one plantation because nature was accustomed to have whole forests of a single type of tree.[2] The mass plantation of

[2] Chambers, Dissertation, p. 88.

one variety of tree or shrub suggested by Chambers and further developed by English and American landscape gardeners has been expanded to include the planting of trees and shrubs according to ecological associations, based on soil and drainage conditions, a method first attempted in gardening by Drs. Engler and Peters respectively curator, and planting foreman of the new Botannic garden of Berlin.[3] This view of

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3
Waugh, p. 50.

planting followed the discovery that certain shrubs and trees liked to live together in friendly societies, and that this idea could be carried over into artificial planting of the naturalistic type to secure the best effects. While this is far beyond anything which either Walpole or Chambers imagined, their interest in the study of local topography, and their study of the way in which nature handled her plantations was the start of these later developments. After the emphasis placed on a study of the character of a specific piece of property, Walpole's next most important contribution was the idea of planting for future rather than immediate effect. That he wished to use either the formal or the naturalistic styles according to the type of property under consideration, and to retain the best of both styles anticipates the reforms of Sir Walter Scott, who begged that the old should be preserved, and that a more balanced attitude toward both the old and the new would put English gardening on a firmer basis.[1]

1
Scott, "On Landscape Gardening," Prose Works, vol. xxi, p. 82.

Walpole's published critical writings in The World, in his notes to Mason's Satirical Poems, and in his essay on gardening were all directed toward preventing excess. In his first written work on gardening, an essay for The World, he wrote:

> "In gardening, the same love of nature prevails. clipt hedges, avenues, regular platforms, straight

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> canals, have been for some time very properly exploded. There is not a citizen who does not take more pains to torture his acre and half into irregularities, than he formerly would have employed to make it as formal as his cravat. Kent, the friend of nature, was the Calvin of this reformation; but, like the other champion of truth, after having routed tinsel and trumpery, with the true zeal of a founder of a sect he pushed his discipline to the deformity of holiness: not content with banishing symmetry and regularity he imitated nature even in her blemishes, and planted dead trees and mole-hills, in opposition to parterres and quincunxes." [1]

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[1] Walpole, Works, vol. i, p. 148.

As has already been stated in the chapter on his connection with the Chinese vogue, Walpole's next critical writings were directed against the excesses which he believed were caused by attempting to imitate Chinese garden-design on English properties. In the essay on gardening his last efforts to combat the supporters of the Chinese vogue were directed toward the credence given in France to the belief that the English derived their new style of gardening entirely from the Chinese. A letter to Mason from Paris in 1775 indicates that he was already planning to make certain additions to the essay. He called the French experiments in the art of informality:

> "Our Anglo-France gardens, which by the way, they call Anglo-Chinese gardens, as they say that by the help of Sir William Chambers lunettes they have detected us for having stolen our gardens from the Chinese. I shall tell them another tale when I publish my last volume." [2]

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[2] To William Mason, September 6, 1775.

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Walpole's dislike of French attempts to imitate English naturalistic gardening was based upon knowledge of French gardens which he visited during trips to France, between 1765 and 1775, at a time when the enthusiasm for gardens of assymmetrical design was just beginning on the continent. He believed that the faults of these imitations were due to a total misconception by the French of the principles of the English style.

Walpole's letters from Paris give a good account of the beginning of the new English garden in France. In 1771 he wrote to John Chute:

> "Yet English gardening gains ground here prodigiously--not much at a time, indeed--I have literally seen one that is exactly like a tailor's paper of patterns. There is a Monsieur Boutin, who has tacked a piece of what he calls an English garden to a set of stone terraces, with steps of turf. There are three or four very high hills, almost as high as, and exactly in the shape of, a tansy pudding. You squeeze between these and a river, that is conducted at obtuse angles in a stone channel, and supplied by a pump; and when walnuts come in, I suppose it will be navigable. In a corner enclosed by a chalk wall as the samples I mentioned; there is a stripe of grass, another of corn, and third en friche exactly in the order of beds in a nursery. They have translated Mr. Whately's book, and the Lord knows what barbarism is going to be laid at our door. This new Anglomanie will literally be mad English." [1]

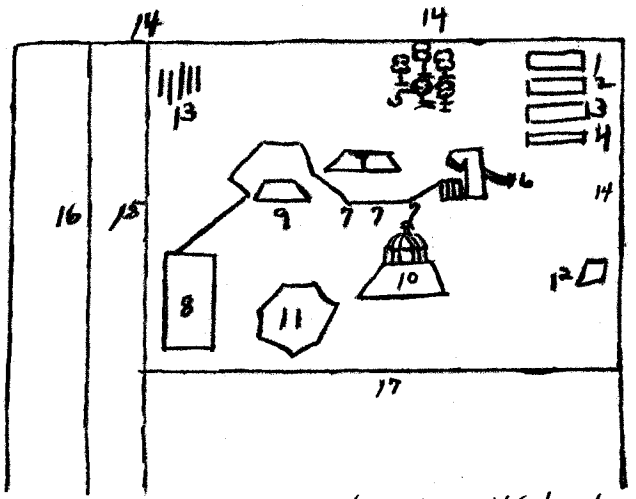
[1] To John Chute, August 5, 1771.

A few days later he sent the Countess of Upper Ossory a plan of the same garden. [2] Apparently the French had no

[2] To the Countess of Upper Ossory, August 11, 1771.

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A Specimen of L' Anglomanie



Copy of a Sketch by Walpole

1.Slip of Corn. 2.Do. of grass. 3.Do. of weeds, very rural. 4.Do. of oats. 5.Irregular grove. 6.A well and a pump that furnishes the river. 7,7,7.A serpentine river in a stone channel, four feet wide. 8.A canal. 9,9.Two mountains, twelve feet high, in the shape of a tansy pudding, but not so green as the river. 10.Mount Olympus with a temple on it. 11.An irregular piece of turf. 12.A fairy with an Italian front. 13.Slips of grass. 14,14,14.The wall. 15.Terrace commanding a superb view over the hot-houses and dunghill. 16.Kitchen-garden with melon frames. 17.French garden.

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conception of the size of English gardens; for Walpole jokingly wrote: "There is something so sociable in being able to shake hands across the river from the tops of the two mountains, that nothing but so amiable a nation could have imagined it." [1]

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[1] Ibid.

In 1775 he wrote to Mason of a proposed visit to "Monsr. Watelet's garden that he has curled and powdered à l anglоise." [2] His report shows that while this garden was

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[2] To William Mason, August 7, 1775.

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on a larger scale, it also lacked the true English spirit:

> "I have made very little progress yet towards the account I am to give you of the propagation of the faith in this kingdom. But stay, this is a little too metaphoric; and lest I should be taken for an ex-Jesuit or a spy, I declare, like the writer of an Opera, that I neither believe in the gods of old Rome nor new, excepting Vertumnus, Flora, and Pomona, and that I am going to write to you my Provincial, on the conversion of the French to English gardening. I have begun my observation as methodically as if I was to draw up an article for the Encyclopedia. I have laid the axe to the root of the tree, for I have begun by visiting M. Watelet's isle, called le Moulin Joli. If he has laid the axe to the root, and even to the branches, he has used it nowhere else. Instead of finding, as I expected, a windmill made of ivory and inlaid with false stones; instead of Dryads and Hamadryads gathering acorns in baskets of gauze, Mr. Watelet has jumped back into nature, when she was not above five hundred years old: in one word, his island differs in nothing from a French garden into which no mortal has set his foot for the last century. It is an ate (I don't know whether I spell well) joined to his terra firma by two bridges, one of which he calls Dutch and the other Chinese, and which are as unlike as two peas, and which is pierced and divided into straight narrow walks (en berceau) and surrounded

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by a rude path quite round. To give this étoile an air champêtre, a plenary indulgence has been granted to every nettle, thistle, and bramble that grew in the garden, 'and they seem good in his sight.' The receipt is as follows:--take an ate full of willows, cram it full of small elms and poplar pines, strip them into cradles, and cut them into paths, and leave all the rest as rough as you found it, and you will have a Moulin Joli.

You must know this effort of genius is the more provoking, as the situation is charming. Besides that the isle is an the middle of the Seine, every peephole (though so small that you seem to look through the diminishing end of a spying-glass, besides terminating on one real windmill) is bounded by a Chateau, a clocher, a village, a convent, a villa where Henrietta Maria was educated, or hermitage to which Bossuet retired,--not to mortify himself, but Fénelon. It is true, you catch these points of view over wide fields of chalk, which would produce frankincense as soon as grass, and which (if they had symptoms of verdure) were waving ranks of fennel. I always perceive here, when I am out of Paris; but I never can think myself in the country. I shall next week see some more English Essays." [1]

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[1] Ibid., September 6, 1775.

Walpole found that the French completely misunderstood the English idea of developing the inherent beauties of a scene by the improvement of nature. The French, instead, set out to build something artificial which had no connection with the surrounding landscape. The lack of verdure and of water also prevented them from copying the chief beauties of the English garden. As Walpole remarked: "They can never have as beautiful landscapes as ours, till they have as bad a climate." [2]

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[2] To William Mason, September 6, 1775.

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Walpole also examined the French treatises which were supposed to give directions for building English gardens. In all he found the same lack of understanding of the basic principles of naturalistic garden design. Of Le Manie des Jardins Anglois written by A.M. Watelet, the owner of the garden satirized in his letter to Mason, he wrote:

> "The Manie des Jardins Anglois is very silly, and unpoetic even for French verse. T'other author has stolen all his ideas from us, and is ungrateful, is very French too, absurd and superficial, meaning to be philosophic; has no idea of situation, but thinks it can be made; and in reality does not conceive helping or improving nature, but would make puppet-shows for different ranks. He puts me in mind of one of his countrymen, who seeing some of ours hang up their hats on a row of pegs at a tavern, said, 'On voit bien que c'est une nation qui pense.' I think they are ten times more foolish since they took to thinking." [1]

[a]

[1] To William Mason, June 12, 1775.

Monsieur Girardin's essay he criticised for its impracticality:

> "For example, I have lately seen as essay on gardening written by Mons. Girardin, Rousseau's grave-digger. There are some sensible ideas in it, but as the French write by the laws of fashion more than by those of common sense, his rules are far from being all practicable. As it is the ton too to talk agriculture, his book concludes with it, as Bishop Berkeley's tar-water ended with the Trinity. Two passages are very delightful. Mons. Girardin, being a rigid classic, will tolerate nothing but Grecian temples and domes. Spires, those most graceful and picturesque of all elevations, he has exploded them for ever by this Brobdingnagian puerility: Ils assassinent les nuages.
>
> His receipt for making rocks in your garden is not less admirable: 'Take a mountain, break it into pieces with a hammer, number the fragments and observe their antecedent positions: place them in their original order, cover the junctures with mould:

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> plant ivy and grass and weeds, which will hide the fractures, and so you may have a cartload of Snowdon or Penmenmaur in the middle of your bowling-green, and no soul will suspect that it did not grow there.'
>
> Like the Abbé de Lisle he is fond to of the cenotaphs to heroes and patriots, which with the French rage imitating whatever is the vogue of the hour would convert their enclosures into churchyards, and Vestris would have a statue as well as Turenne."[1]

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[1] To William Mason, December 7, 1782.

The Abbé de Lille's poem was but "a poor affair" containing "some lean ideas which he repeats over and over, and tries to embellish with modern philosophy."[2] Walpole seems to feel

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[2] To William Mason, August 4, 1782.

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that the French have done little more than to pick up a smattering of English ideas without knowing how to apply them in any sense of the word.

While some of Walpole's comments on Le Goût Anglo-chinois may seem prejudiced at first, after reading his descriptions of the French attempts at English gardening, we can understand why Walpole should have been so annoyed at those who not only misunderstood English ideals, but wanted to give the credit for their invention to the Chinese. His work in spreading a truer conception of English gardening on the continent was similar in purpose to his work in the field of the history of painting. He wished above all things to have the new English art properly understood for what it was, and for the English to be given full credit for developing an

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indigenous art of landscape gardening.

In 1782, a second edition with additions of the Anecdotes of Painting in England was printed by Dodsley, in which Walpole had added to the essay on gardening a long note protesting against the French for having adopted the English "stile in gardens" and for having ascribed "the discovery to the Chinese."[1] Although Walpole's suggestion in this note

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[1] Walpole, The History, p.35.

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that the French wished to imitate more remote rivals "than the English" is possible, the fact that the English received most of their information on Chinese gardening through the medium of French writers may also have something to do with the persistence of the French attitude. Attiret, a French Jesuit priest, described the gardens of the Chinese emperor at Pekin. His account was translated by both Spence and Percy. The writings of Père du Halde,[2] and Père Le Comte[3]

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[2] See Chapter III.

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[3] Le Comte, Nouveaux mémoires sur t'état présent de la China. 3 vol. Paris, 1696-1701.

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were also widely read in eighteenth-century England. It is possible to assume that the French thus wished to claim some part in the introduction of the new style. Also, the great respect which such writers as Voltaire and Montesquieu had for the art and philosophy of China, the popularity on the

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continent of the Chinese taste in general, which reached its height at a time when the vogue in England was already declining, undoubtedly added greatly to the readiness with which the French attributed the discovery of the new style of gardening to the Chinese. As a last stand against the spread of gardens au goût Anglo-Chinois, in 1785, Walpole published for the first time an edition of the Essay on Modern Gardening, separate from the Anecdotes of Painting in England, containing a French translation written by the Duc de Nivernois. This translation of his essay into French was a source of great satisfaction to Walpole; and it is probable that the essay did much to promote a better understanding of the English style on the continent, as well as to combat the influence of the Chinese vogue.

The culmination of his critical writings comes in that portion of the essay on gardening where he pleads that "the propriety of landscape" [1] in English gardens be maintained

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[1] Walpole, The History, p. 66.

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at all costs. His efforts to preserve a landscape art based on an imitation of the natural English landscape, suited to English ideals and needs did much to divest the new style from the caprices of fashion, and to help emerge from the welter of conflicting theories the true school of English landscape, a natural outgrowth of the Englishman's love of his native country. This attitude toward gardening, which is present in

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the best naturalistic gardening of today whether in England or America, is as natural to the people as any other indiginous art, and is completely removed from any artificial imitation of either Italian landscape paintings, or Chinese gardens.

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CHAPTER VI

THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE LANDED ESTATE-OWNER TO LANDSCAPE GARDENING

Walpole considered the landed-estate owner to be the best designer of his home grounds, a view which grew naturally enough out of his own experiences and those of his friends. To support his assertions he cited the contributions of Conway, Southcote, Hamilton, and others to the modern taste in gardening. This question as to who was the best designer was a source of controversy during the second half of the eighteenth-century when the results of the new gardens began to show that "to imitate nature" was not as simple as it had at first seemed. When design in gardening became based on the irregularity of natural landscape instead of the regularity of artificial buildings, the very root of the profession was disturbed. The architect no longer understood the problems out-of-doors. With the new interest in the individuality of the plant the horticulturist came into his own, and he who could handle the difficulties of plant cultivation was regarded as the logical garden builder. When the lack of interest and variety became apparent in the earliest gardens in the new style, as well as the exaggeration of curves carried on by some of the reformers in their attempts to follow nature, those who had good sense or good taste revolted, and it was the gentleman gardener with his mild degree of cultivation in the arts and his natural good taste enhanced by study and observation of the great masters and of the beauties of natural picturesque landscape who was able to

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create the most successful gardens in the new style. Walpole and his circle of friends represent the best of this transitional stage, even though they did make many mistakes which were owing to their lack of practical training. Picturesqueness often obscured convenience. Mason's dairy that looked like a "moss-grown castle" was planned for its romantic appearance, rather than for the needs of livestock. Some compromise between utility and beauty had to be effected before modern landscape architecture could emerge as an independent art and not merely a branch of architecture, painting or horticulture. While the gentleman gardeners had neither knowledge nor experience enough to formulate complete principles of landscape gardening, they unquestionably played a very large part in the evolution of this art. Walpole recognized this and devoted a considerable portion of his essay to an account of what the new English garden owed to these "gentleman gardeners;" in this respect his treatise is more complete than any of the others.

Walpole classified the new style of gardening into three types: the garden that connects itself with a park, invented by Kent, the ornamented farm, invented by Southcote, and the forest or savage garden, invented by Hamilton.[1] A

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[1] Walpole, The History, p.52.

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description of General Conway's seat at Henley has been chosen to illustrate the first type, rather than some of the more familiar estates designed by Kent, because of the high praise

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given it by W alpole, and because of its connection with his Chinese fairy tale, "Mili." General Conway's property was unusually large for one in the neighborhood of London. Situated on the Thames, it consisted of some nine hundred acres. When purchased by the General in 1752 the ornamented ground occupied a very small portion of the property; but under his hand both the grounds and the park were developed into an estate which became one of the show places of the period. Of course, Conway's prominence in political affairs caused his efforts at gardening to be of more than a little interest to the public. When in 1787 the small Druidic Temple was discovered in the Isle of Jersey, it was "presented by those Islanders to General Conway, their Governor," to be transported and erected at Park Place.[1] This drew many people

[1] Walpole, Book of Materials, 1771, vol. ii, p. 130.

to visit the estate. Even earlier than this, however, a long description of Park-Place, which appeared in one of the periodicals of the day, indicated that considerable interest had already been aroused by Conway's Garden. It may seem very surprising that Walpole, while he praised Conway's work highly, left only very incomplete accounts of the place, and has written far fuller descriptions of places which he visited less frequently. We can only surmise that this was because most of his friends were as frequent visitors at Park-Place as he was. In his unpublished journals, however, he included cuttings

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from newspapers which were connected with painting, gardening and architecture. Among these appears this long excerpt [1]

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1 Ibid., p. 129-130.

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describing the improvements at Park-Place:

> "This is by far the finest Place upon the Thames.-Nature and Art have both worked well on it-and with a boldness, not elsewhere to be found in this neighborhood of London. The hills indeed rise as steep though they do not swell as high, as in landscape ground of the first character. The bridge at Henley, the prettiest on the river, offers not only a point of view, but an idea which is gratifying. The two faces on the center arch, are the sculpture of Mrs. Damer!--The planting, and all the arrangements of the ground, have been well done by General Conway." [2]

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2 Ibid., p. 129.

The ornamented ground covered two hundred and seventy five acres, the Park one hundred and thirty acres, and the farms in the surrounding territory five hundred acres. Until Conway bought the place the ornamented grounds had been neglected.

> "It ended with the wood;--All the shrubberies--the subterranean passage - the noble valley from it--the arch at the end of it--the cottage and yet, better than all, the terrace, through its whole length, three quarters of a mile, all were done by the General." 3

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3 Ibid.

The account gives details of the construction of the bridge admired by Walpole. The arch which measured forty-three feet

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across was faced with enormous stones which were brought from fourteen different counties. These stones were held in place by iron cramping, weighing two tons. The expense came to two thousand pounds. Concerning the subterranean passage which figured in the fulfilling of the prophecy in Walpole's Chinese fairy-tale, "Mili," the article reports:

> "The subterraneous passage, 275 yards long, is marked with much good sense.--On the entrance and conclusion of it, there is no silly waste of money --no grotto work--nor other childish bauble. Nothing but what is merely necessary, in arching, with a little masonry, where the rude flint could not be depended upon." [1]

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[1] Ibid.

The cutting adds to our knowledge of the cottage which Walpole describes so charmingly in "Mili," that the prospects were exquisite on three sides. On the one side could be seen a view of Henley church, on the second a view of the meandering river and from the front, glimpses of the river could be seen through the "foliage of a steep woody glen," almost equal to "Wales in its sweetest manner." [2] From various high points

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[2] Ibid.

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of the estate could be seen a bird's eye-view of Henley. The reporter writes: "The hills which are beautifully planted, ...complete the requisites of landscape inequality, wood and water." [3] Park-Place, as well as Strawberry Hill, contained

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[3] Ibid.

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all the elements of naturalistic gardening though on a considerably larger scale, The meandering river with its rustic bridges, the cottage in the wood, the planning of vistas to include views of the country-side, the building of a design out of contrasting types of picturesque landscape, opposing hill against valley, wooded country against the open plain, with stretches of water to vary the whole.

The cottage especially seemed to attract the public eye, because in July of 1766 there appeared a poem written in praise of it in the Public Advertiser and which was reprinted about sixteen years later in the Morning Chronicle.[1] The poem

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[1] Public Advertiser, July, 1766. Reprinted 1782-83 with the heading: "To the Right Honorable General Conway, Secretary of State. Written at the Cottage at Park Place in the year 1766, by the Reverend Mr. Powys."

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recalls Pope's Epistle to Burlington in its contrasting of the caprices of fashion brought about by wealth, with the simple beauty derived by combining nature with utility.

> The Works of Art let others praise,
> Where Pride her Waste of Wealth betrays,
> And Fashion, independent grown,
> Usurps her Parent Nature's Throne;
> Lays all her fair Dominions waste,
> And calls the Depredations - Taste.
> But I, who n'er, with servile Awe,
> Give Fashion's whims the Force of Law,
> Scorn all the glitter of Expense,
> When destitute of Use and Sense;
> More pleas'd to see the wanton Rill.
> Which trikles from some craggy Hill,
> Free thro' the Valley wind its Way,
> Than when immur'd in Walls of Clay,
> It strives in vain its Bonds to break,
> And stagnates in a crooked Lake.[2]

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2
Ibid.

Here the unknown author digresses to criticise the extremes of garden reform. He is no fonder of the destruction of trees than Walpole; nor does he care for a juxtaposition of Gothic and Chinese architecture. He comments on the frequency of statues in inappropriate settings. This indicates a change in taste, for the use of statuary had been carried to great excess. His criticism is interesting as a commentary on the cyclical quality of fashion. When architecture was first driven out of the garden by the cry "to follow nature unadorned," statues were eliminated along with trick fountains and the excessive use of garden buildings. When, however, "nature unadorned" proved somewhat insipid, and the hunt for intricacy, variety and contrast began, "where objects were wanting to animate the horizon" [1] a judicious use of seats,

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1
Walpole, The History, pp. 41-42

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temples, and statues was advised. Starting with a statue here and there, enhanced by shrubbery backgrounds to form a series of interesting pictures, the use was soon carried to excess. Worst of all, each picture was considered by itself without any sense of connection with the others. This worked out fairly well on large properties where the individual features were not too close to one another or were well concealed by plantations; but on a small place where

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several could be seen at once, the effect became confused and disjointed, spoiling any sense of unity which might otherwise be achieved. This is very noticeable in certain pictures in Watt's Seats of the Nobility and Gentry.

After this criticism of extremes the poet turns to compliment Conway as a true follower of nature:

"To Nature, in my earliest Youth,
I vow'd my Constancy and Truth,
When in her Hardwick's much lov'd Shade,
Enamour'd of her Charms, I stray'd;
And, as I rov'd the Woods among,
Her Praise in lisping Numbers sung.
Nor will I now resign my Heart
A captive to her Rival Art.-
Far from the pageant Scenes of Pride,
She still my careless Steps shall guide;
Whether, by Contemplation led,
The rich romantic Wild I tread,
Where Nature, for her Pupil Man,
Has Struck out many a noble Plan;
Or whether, form yon wood-crown'd Brow,
I view the lovely Vale below;
For when, with more than common Care,
Nature had stretch'd the Landscape there,
Her Conway caught the fair Design,
And soften'd ev'ry harsher Line;
In pleasing Lights each Object plac'd,
And heighten'd all the Piece with Taste." [1]

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[1] Public Advertiser, July, 1766.

This poem is a popular expression of the same trends with which Walpole and Pope were concerned, and shows to what extent gardening was a subject of interest in the periodicals of the day.

No account of Park-Place would be complete without some description of "little Master Stonehenge" as the Druid's temple was named by Walpole. In 1787 Walpole wrote to Conway:

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> "I shall be wonderful glad to see little Master Stonehenge at Park Place; it will look in character there: but your own bridge is so stupendous in comparison, that hereafter the latter will be thought to have been a work of the Romans. Dr. Stukeley will burst his cerements to offer mistletoe in your temple; and Mason, on the contrary, will die of vexation and spite that he cannot have Caractacus acted on the spot. 'Peace to all such!'
> ----But were there one whose fires
> True genius kindles, and fair fame inspires,
> he would immortalize you, for all you have been carrying on in Jersey, and for all you shall carry off.....
> Pray do not disappoint me, but transport the cathedral of your island to your domain on our continent. I figure unborn antiquaries making pilgrimages to visit your bridge, your daughter's bridge, and the Druidic temple; and if I were not too old to have any imagination left, I would add a sequel to Mi Li." [1]

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[1] To Henry Seymour Conway, November, 11, 1787.

There was evidently much discussion as to where the temple should be placed. Both Mrs. Damer, Conway's daughter who was something of a sculptress, and Walpole wished it to be placed within the home grounds, but Conway chose a hillside as a more fitting situation.

Finally in September Walpole's long-talked-of journey was taken, and he returned filled with enthusiasm not only over the temple but over its situation, even though he had originally opposed Conway's choice.[2] He wrote:

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[2] To the Earl of Strafford, September, 12, 1788. "Mr. Conway has placed it with so much judgement, that is has a lofty effect, and infinitely more than it could have if he had yielded to Mrs. Damer's and my opinion, who earnestly begged to have it placed within the enclosure of the house grounds."

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> "Nay, I have been to Park Place on a pilgrimage to little Master Stonehenge, alias the Druids' temple from Jersey, which is now erected on the back of an eminent hill, with two wings of fir-groves at small distances, and is seen from the garden over a long ridge of firs that shoot up from the side of beautiful descending valley. Every morsel of stone that formed the circle originally is placed to an inch in its primitive position; and though the whole is diminutive, yet being seen on the horizon, it looks very high-priestly, and in that broken country may easily be taken for respectable ruins of an ancient castle, or Caractacus's own summer residence. Park Place is now one of the spots the most deserving to be visited in our island; for, besides the variety of the ground, the diversity of the landscapes and prospects, all glittering with meanders of the Thames at a distance, or washed by it as it borders the shores, what singular objects are to be seen there! - the rocky bridge, the Druidic temple, Lady Aylesbury's worked pictures, and Henley Bridge, with Mrs. Damer's colossal heads of the Thames and Isis. In short, Park Place would not have been an unworthy codicil to Lady Anne's tour, though two of my favorites, the historic castle of Warwick, and the pretty appendix to history, Matson, were delightful ingredients of it." [1]

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[1] To the Countess of Upper Ossory, September 6, 1788.

Mrs. Damer's colossal heads, referred to by Walpole were the cause of considerable publicity. [2] Walpole has preserved in

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[2] Walpole, Advertisement to 1782 ed. pp. XII-XIII. "A third female genius is Mrs. Damer, daughter of General Conway, in a walk more difficult and far more uncommon than painting. The annuals of statuary record few artists of the fair sex, and not one that I recollect of any celebrity. Mrs. Damer's busts from the life are not inferior to the antique, and theirs we are sure were not more like. Her shock dog, large as life, and only not alive, has a looseness and softness in the curls that seemed impossible to terra-cotta: it rivals the marble one of Bernini in the royal collection."

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his journal a cutting from one of the periodicals concerning

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their placement on the bridge over the Thames at Henley:

> "The Mask or head of the Thame, designed and modeled by Mrs. Damer, and carved by her own hand in Stone, was places on one of the keystones of the new bridge at Henley, in April 1785. Its companion the Isis, is to be placed on the other side of the center arch as soon as She has finished it." [1]

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1 Walpole, Book of Materials, 1771, vol. ii, p. 111.

Another cutting also included by Walpole in his journal indicates that, after the arrival of the Druidic temple, Park-Place had more visitors than ever. It was even frequented "by foreigners of distinction" who spoke "with rapture of the beauty and sublimity of the scenes." [2]

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2 Morning Herald, September 27, 1788.

Park-Place should stand as one of the most interesting of eighteenth-century gardens, not only because of its connection with Walpole's Hieroglyphic Tales, but also because it was one of the most beautiful of the gardens laid out in the new style. It illustrates perhaps better than any of the others Walpole's claim that the landed-estate owner with taste could plan a garden better than any one else. It has been neglected in accounts of eighteenth-century gardening, because until very recently there was practically no material available on the subject. With the recent purchase of the last of Walpole's unpublished manuscripts, this descriptive material on Park-Place has come to light. These accounts combined with Walpole's own writings form a fairly complete record of one

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of the finest gardens of Walpole's day.

We now pass on to Walpole's second category of gardens, the ornamented farm, invented by Southcote. Since Walpole does not enlarge upon what he means by the ornamented farm but refers to Whateley's definition of it,[1] an examination

[1] Walpole, The History, p.53.

of Whateley's account is necessary. Whateley, as well as Walpole, believed that the doing away with boundaries was responsible for many of the new developments in gardening; and was especially connected with the trend to combine the useful and the beautiful which resulted in the ferme ornee. Whateley divided the ornamented farm into two types, the pastoral and the ornamented. The pastoral type he believed grew directly out of poetry and he cited Shenstone's property as the primary example of this form of rural elegance. He wrote:

> "The ideas of pastoral poetry seem now to be the standard of that simplicity; and a place conformable to them is deemed a farm in its utmost purity. An allusion to them evidently enters into the design of the Leasowes, where they appear so lovely as to endear the memory of their author; and justify the reputation of Mr. Shenstone, who inhabited, made elegant, and amiable; and will always suggest a doubt, whether the spot inspired his verse; or whether, in the scenes which he formed, he only realized the pastoral images which abound in his songs. The whole is in the same and natural. It is literally a grazing farm lying round the house; and a walk as unaffected and as unadorned as a common field path, is conducted through the several enclosures." [2]

[2] Whateley, Observations on Modern Gardening, p. 162.

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"A walk as unaffected and as unadorned as a common field path" suggests Chambers comment on the poverty of imagination displayed by some of the new gardeners in contriving a garden that is little more than a green field. The walk, however, was not only considerably varied by a meandering stream with a series of natural cascades which were the chief beauty of the property, but contained many features of interest planned by the poet's hand which lent intricacy and variety to the scene. Fortunately an account of The Leasowes, as the place was called, was written by Robert Dodsley and preserved for the benefit of posterity in the last volume of Shenstone's works along with a plan of the estate, and nine poems written by visitors who were inspired by the beauties of the scene, to commit something of their impressions to verse.

Of Shenstone's theories of gardening Dodsley wrote:

> "Far from violating it's natural beauties, Mr. Shenstone's only study was to give them their full effect. And although the form in which things now appear, be indeed the consequence of much thought and labor, yet the hand of art is no way visible either in the shape of ground, the disposition of trees, or (which are here so numerous and striking) the romantic fall of his cascades." [1]

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[1] Dodsley, "A Description of the Leasowes," in Shenstone's Works, vol. 2, p. 334.

It is significant that, whoever wrote of eighteenth-century gardening whether poet, horticulturist, or popular writer in the periodical of the day, - all reiterated the same principles: the following of nature and the concealment of art.

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From Dodsley's account of the property, which is unusually complete, a few passages will be quoted to show how Shenstone carried out the principles of the new style in gardening. Of the view from the root-house to the first cascade Dodsley wrote:

> "The eye is presented with a fairy vision, consisting of an irregular and romantic fall of water, very unusual, one hundred and fifty yards in continuity, and a very striking scene it affords. Other cascades may possibly have the advantage of a greater descent, and a larger torrent, but a more wild and romantic appearance of water, and at the same time strictly natural, is what I never saw in any place whatever. This scene, though comparatively small, is yet aggrandized with so much art, that we forget the quantity of water which flows through this close and overshaded valley; and are so much transported with the intricacy of scene, and the concealed height from whence it flows, that we without reflection, add the idea of magnificence to that of beauty. In short, it is not but upon reflection that we find the stream is not a Niagara, but rather a waterfall in miniature; and that the same artifice, upon a larger scale, were there large trees instead of small ones, and a river instead of a rill, it would be capable of forming a scene that would exceed the utmost of our ideas." [1]

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[1] Dodsley, p. 341.

Here again is beauty based on irregularity, interest in the wilder aspects of natural landscape, and the notion of the quality of the "romantic" as connected with it. The usual emphasis is also placed upon the concealment of art, while skill in the treatment of small spaces to seem of larger extent is especially praised. In short this was a typical successful eighteenth-century "improvement" upon nature.

Like Hamilton, Shenstone had something of a savage scene as an element of his property design. The view from a

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seat on the right hand path is thus described:

> "The next seat affords a scene of what Mr. Shenstone used to call his forest ground, consisting of wild green slopes peeping through a dingle, or irregular groups of trees, a confused mixture of savage and cultivated ground held up to the eye and forming a landskip fit for the pencil of Salvator Rosa"...From another seat in a small open grove there is a "picturesque view, through trees, of a clump of oaks at a distance, over-shadowing a little cottage upon a green hill."[1]

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[1] Ibid. p. 342.

Shenstone also wove scenes of enchantment and scenes of surprise[2] into his garden design:

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[2] See Chambers, Dissertation, pp. 35-44.

> "The scene in this place is that of water stealing along through a rude sequestered vale, the ground on each side covered with weeds and field flowers, as that before is kept close-shaven. Farther on we lose sight of water, and only hear the noise, without having the appearance; a kind of effect which the Chinese are fond of producing in what they call their scenes of enchantment."[3]

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[3] Dodsley, p. 367.

Of surprise in the garden Dodsley wrote:

> "This terminates the scene upon the right, and after these objects have for sometime amused the spectator, his eye rambles to the left, where one of the most beautiful cascades imaginable is seen by way of incident, through a kind of vista, or glade, falling down a precipice over-arched with trees, and strikes us with surprise. It is impossible to express the pleasure which one feels on this occasion, for though surprise alone is not excellence, it may serve to quicken the effect or what is beautiful."[4]

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Dodsley, p. 365.

While Shenstone's farm represented the pastoral type, both Walpole and Whately considered Southcote to have invented the true ornamented farm. Shenstone's scenes were rural, but hardly useful. His property was to walk about in, and to enjoy; not a farm in any real sense of the word. Southcote, however, made an attempt to combine raising of cattle and produce with the designing of a beautiful property. Far from keeping the pleasure garden separate from the kitchen garden, he decorated his cornfields with flowers, placed sheep on his lawns and poultry on his serpentine river. As Whately writes:

> "But if the parterre has been rifled for the embellishment of the fields, the country has on the other hand been searched for plants new in a garden; and the shrubs and flowers which used to be deemed peculiar to the one, have been liberally transferred to the other; while their number seems multiplied by their arrangement in so many and such different dispositions." [1]

1
Whately, pp. 179-180.

Southcote owned about a hundred and fifty acres and of these thirty-five were "adorned to the highest degree." The rest were divided into pasturage and tillage. The useful was, however, in every case combined with the beautiful, for Whately wrote:

> "The decorations are, however, communicated to every part; for they are disposed along the sides of a walk, which, with its appendages, forms a broad

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> belt round the grazing grounds; and is continued, though on a more contracted scale, through the arable. This walk is properly garden; all within it is farm; the whole lies on the two sides of a hill, and on a flat at the foot of it: The flat is divided into corn-fields; the pastures occupy the hill; they are surrounded by the walk, and crossed by a communication carried along the brow, which is also richly dressed, and which divides them into two lawns, each completely encompassed with garden." [1]

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[1] Ibid. pp. 177-178.

The chief element in the design of the property as a whole was the serpentine path; but as Whately described it, many differences from the usual meandering walk are apparent.

> "A path, generally of sand or gravel, is conducted in a waving line, sometimes close under the hedge, sometimes at a little distance from it; and the turf on either hand is diversified with little groups of shrubs, of firs, or the smallest trees, and often with beds of flowers; these are rather to profusely strewed, and hurt the eye by their littleness; but then they replenish the air with their perfumes, and every gale is full of fragrancy." [2]

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[2] Whately, p. 179.

Southcote's property is unusual in the emphasis placed on color and odor, and recalls Addison's imaginary garden in The Spectator:

> "My flowers grow up in several parts of the garden in the greatest luxuriency and profusion. I am so far from being fond of any particular one, by reason of its rarity, that if I meet with any one in a field which pleases me, I give it a place in my garden. By this means, when a stranger walks with me, he is surprised to see several large spots of ground covered with ten thousand different

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> colors, and has often singled out flowers that he might have met with under a common hedge, in a field, or in a meadow, as some of the greatest beauties of the place. The only method I observe in this particular, is to range in the same quarter products of the same season, that they may make their appearance together, and compose a picture of the greatest variety. There is the same irregularity in my plantations, which run into as great a wilderness as their natures will permit. I take in none that do not naturally rejoice in the soil, and am pleased when I am walking in a labyrinth of my own raising, not to know whether the next tree I shall meet is an apple or an oak, an elm or a pear tree...
>
> I must not omit that there is a fountain rising in the upper part of my garden which forms a little wandering rill, and administers to the pleasure as well as the plenty of the place, I have so conducted it, that it visits most of my plantations; and have taken particular care to let it run in the same manner as it would do in an open field, so that it generally passes through the banks of violets and primroses, plats of willows, or other plants, that seem to be of its own producing." [1]

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[1] No. 477, September 6, 1712.

In another part of the grounds a woodland path was "enriched with woodbine, jessamine, and every odoriferous plant, whose tendrils will entwine with the thicket." [2] Walpole too wrote

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[2] Whately, p. 180.

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of the pleasure he derived from the smell of acacias or the fragrance of lilacs at Strawberry Hill.[3] Few garden designs

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[3] See Chapter IV, p.227.

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in the new style, however, were planned with color or perfume as important elements. Walpole's contemporaries were chiefly concerned with larger effects; they were far more interested

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in the distant prospect, as seen through the trees, than in the immediate foreground. Southcote perhaps represents an early indication of that new interest in flowers, which did not fully develop until the garden of the early nineteenth century. In Southcote's garden Whately seems somewhat doubtful of the advisability of this profusion of flowers, for he wrote: "A more moderate use of them would, however, have been better, and the variety more pleasing, had it been less licentious." [1] This emphasis upon flowers seems to be the

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[1] Whately, p. 180.

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reason Whately preferred the simplicity of Shenstone's pastoral farm where the elements were chiefly trees, grass and water, to Southcote's more ornate treatment; and is perhaps the reason that he divided the garden which included the farm into two categories, where Walpole who seems to have admired Southcote was content to name only the one type. Whately especially speaks of "a peculiar cheerfulness" which overspreads the lawns and which arises from the buildings, the inequalities of the ground, and the varieties of the plantations. It is probably this air of cheerfulness which especially appealed to Walpole.

One more passage from Whately will be quoted to illustrate how beauty was combined with utility:

> "With the beauties which enliven a garden, are everywhere intermixed many properties of a farm; both the lawns are fed; and the lowing of the herds, the bleating of the sheep, and the tinklings of the

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> bell-whether, resound thro' all the plantations; even the clucking of poultry is not omitted; for a menagerie of a very simple design is placed near the Gothic building; a small serpentine river is provided for the water-fowl; while the others stray among the flowering shrubs on the banks, or straggle about the neighboring lawn: and the corn-fields are the subjects of every rural employment, which arable land, from feed-time to harvest, can furnish." [1]

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[1] Ibid., p. 181.

As the passage on the planting of flowers is like an embodiment in reality of Addison's suggested garden, so Southcote's ornamented farm seems like a coming to life of the farm imagined by Mason in his English Garden. It would be interesting to conjecture to what extent poetry was the inspiration for the carrying out of these ideas in the garden. Whately has already raised the point in his comment on Shenstone's garden when he admits he is unable to decide "whether the spot inspired his verse; or whether, in the scenes which he formed, he only realized the pastoral images which abound in his songs." [2] Addison too, compared gardening

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[2] Whately, p. 162.

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to poetry.[3] Whether Southcote's ornamented farm was inspired

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[3] The Spectator, No. 477, September 6, 1712. "I thing there are as many kinds of gardening as of poetry: your makers of Parterres and flower-gardens are epigrammists and sonneteers in this art;contrivers of bowers and grottos, treillages and cascades, are romance writers."

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by either Addison or Mason or both we can of course only

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conjecture, but undoubtedly the human need for withdrawal from the artificiality of an urban civilization inspired the same trend in both poetry and gardening. As Marie Antoinette played at being a milkmaid in the gardens of the Tuileries, as the lords and ladies of sixteenth-century France played at being shepherds and shepherdesses in the paintings of Watteau, so these eighteenth-century gentlemen who were tired of the political life of London retired to the country to build "palaces and bowers," and to play at country life in the manner of Claude Lorrain and Salvatore Rosa. It was in both an artificial seeking after simplicity; and because a sophisticated civilization can never return to the primitive entirely, no matter how great the desire, there was an inherent falseness in the situation. As Whately put it in regard to the ornamented farm:

> "But though so many of the circumstances occur, the simplicity of the farm is wanting." [1]

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[1] Ibid., p. 181.

The idea of rural simplicity is lost in the profusion of ornament: "A rusticity of character cannot be preserved amidst all the elegant decorations which may be lavished on a garden."[2] Earlier in his essay Whately defined the essential

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[2] Ibid., p. 182.

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quality of each type of garden design. "Elegance," he wrote, "is the peculiar excellence of a garden; greatness of a park;

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simplicity of a farm; and pleasantness of a riding."[1] Thus

[1] Ibid., p. 157.

in the attempt to keep simplicity, and to add to it the qualities of the garden, the design became something other than it set out to be. Walpole not only sensed the same artificiality which annoyed Whately, but he was able to analyse, and to give reasons for it, which were deeper than the mere surface consideration of a profusion of ornament. He wrote:

> "The Profusion of flowers and the delicacy of keeping betray more wealthy expense than is consistent with the economy of a Farmer, or the rusticity of labour. Wooburn farm near Weybridge in Surry where Mr. Southcote displayed his peculiar Style with happiness and Taste, is the habitation of such Nymphs and Shepherds as are represented in landscapes and novels, but do not exist in real life." [2]

[2] Walpole, Notes to Mason's Satirical Poems, p. 38.

While accepting Whately's definition of the garden connected with a park and the ornamented farm, he does not think that Whately has clearly distinguished the savage garden. Hamilton's property as a whole represented another ferme ornée, and Whately seems to have been interested in it chiefly from this point of view. While he described the savage garden he included it only as one among many interesting scenes, and does not seem to have considered it as an especial type of design. Walpole is chiefly taken with the way the savage scenery contrasts with the trim neatness of the farm

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and thus characterizes Hamilton's style as a bolder one than either Kent's or Southcote's. Whately in describing the property as a whole is chiefly struck with the unity of the several parts. Since this element of unity is the one in which the eighteenth-century gardens as a whole were weak, it is interesting to see how Hamilton achieved connection between the several parts of his property. Whately wrote:

> "Throughout the illustrious scene consistency is preserved in the midst of variety; all the parts unite easily; the plantations in the bottom join to the wood which hangs on the hill; those on the upper grounds of the park, break into groves, which afterwards divide into clumps, and in the end taper into single trees. The ground is very various, but it points from all sides towards the lake, and slackening its descent as it approaches, slides at last gently into the water. The groves and the lawns on the declivities are elegant and rich; the fine expanse of the lake, enlivened by the gay plantations on the banks, and the reflections of the bridge upon the surface, animates the landscape; and the extent and the height of the hanging wood gives an air of grandeur to the whole." [1]

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[1] Whately, p. 188.

In regard to the use of garden buildings Hamilton again achieved a skill not usual among his contemporaries. A winding path which leads through a secluded wood was embellished with three bridges, a ruined arch, a grotto and a Gothic building. Unlike others of his contemporaries who used many styles of architecture all close enough together to be seen at one view and to create a picture of confusion and disorder, Hamilton took care that each feature should be concealed by plantations so that they were only to be seen separately:

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> "These objects are never visible all together; they appear in succession as the walk proceeds; and their number does not crowd the scene which is enriched by their frequency." [1]

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[1] Ibid.

From Walpole's Journals we derive another idea of the Gothic building and the Roman ruin which Whately felt were so admirably situated. Architecturally speaking Walpole apparently did not care for them in design, nor did he consider them appropriately chosen for the spots which they were supposed to decorate:

> "Went again to Mr. Charles Hamilton's at Payne's hill near Cobham, to see the Gothic building and the Roman ruin. The former is taken from Battey Langley's book (which does not contain a single design of true or good Gothic) and is made worse by pendent ornaments in the arches, and by being closed on two sides at bottom, with cheeks that have no relation to Gothic. The whole is an unmeaning edifice. In all Gothic designs, they should be made to imitate something that was of that time, a part of a church, a castle, a convent, or a mansion. The Goths never built summer-houses or temples in a garden. This at Mr. Hamilton's stands on the brow of a hill--there an imitation of a fort or watch-tower had been proper. The Ruin much better imagined, but has great faults. It represents a triumphal Arch, and yet never could have had a column which would certainly have accompanied so rich a Soffite." [2]

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[2] Walpole, Journals of Visits to Country Seats, pp. 36-37.

Of the savage garden which Walpole classified as a new and distinct type of design Whately wrote:

> "The transition is very sudden, almost immediate from this polished spot, to another of the most uncultivated nature; not dreary, not romantic, but

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> rude; it is a wood, which overspreads a large tract of very uneven ground; the glades through it are just cleared of the bushes and plants, which are natural to the soil; sometimes they are closed on both sides with thickets; at other times they are only cut though the fern in the openings; and even the larches, and the firs, which are mixed with beech on the side of the principal glade, are left in such a state of apparent neglect, that they seem to be the product of the wild, not decorations of the walk: this is the hanging wood, which before was so noble an object, and is no such a distant retreat; near the tower it is then; but about the hermitage it is thickened with trees of the darkest greens." [1]

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1 Whately, pp. 189-190.

One more account of Painshill is to be found in Uvedale Price's Essays on the Picturesque. Hamilton's work is used by Price as an illustration of the successful carrying over into the garden of ideas from the field of painting. Price as well as well as Walpole and Whately praised Hamilton for having achieved natural looking results, and for concealing the hand of art. Price wrote:

> " I have always understood, that Mr. Hamilton who created Painshill, not only had studied pictures, but had studied them for the express prupose of improving real landscape. The place he created (a task of quite another difficulty from correcting, or from adding to natural scenery) fully proves the use of such a study. Among many circumstances of more striking effect, I was highly pleased with a walk, which leads through a bottom skirted with wood; and I was pleased with it, not merely from what had, but from what had not been done; it had no edges, no borders, no distinct lines of separation; nothing was done, except keeping the ground properly neat, and the communication free from any obstruction. The eye and the footsteps were equally unconfined; and if it be a high commendation to a writer or a painter, that he knows when to leave off, it is not less so to an improver." [2]

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[2] Price, Essays on the Picturesque, vol. 1, p. 333.

Before the extent of the contributions of the landed-estate owners to the new English garden can be estimated, some mention should be made of the work of Lord Stafford which was highly praised by Walpole in his essay. In a letter to Bentley he again expounds on Lord Stafford's taste. He writes:

> "This place is one of the very few that I really like; the situation, woods, views, and the improvements, are perfect in their kinds; nobody has truer taste than Lord Stafford. The house is a pompous front screening an old house...I shall bring you a ground-plot for a Gothic building, which I have proposed that you should draw for a little wood, there is a beautiful (artificial) river, with a fine semicircular wood overlooking it, and the temple of Tivoli placed happily on a rising towards the end. There are obelisks, columns, and other buildings, and, above all, a handsome castle-yard, a statue of the late lord who built it. Without the park is a lake on each side buried in a noble woods." [1]

[1] To Richard Bentley, August 1756.

Walpole attributed the rise of the new taste in gardening to the landed-estate owner, because he realized that a certain amount of wealth which would provide land and leisure-time was necessary for its development: "The composition of our gardens depends on wealth, on extended possession, on the beauties of animation, agriculture, farming and navigation. Walls are thrown down to admit the prospects of inclosures, villages, great roads and moving Life."[2] He contended that

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2 Walpole, Notes to Mason's Satirical Poems, p. 44.

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the new garden was invented because the time was politically favorable. He wrote:

> "The reason why the present Taste in gardening was never discovered before the beginning of the present century, is, that it was the result of all the happy combinations of an Empire of Freeman, an Empire formed by Trade, not by military and conquering spirit, maintained by the valour of independent property, enjoying long tranquillity after virtuous struggles, and employing its opulence and good sense in the refinement of national Pleasure." 1

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1 Ibid., p. 45.

It is undoubtedly true that the landed estate owners, possessing time and money, taste and an interest in gardening produced some of the finest of the eighteenth-century gardens and aided in the formulating of the principles which are now the basis of modern landscape gardening.

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CHAPTER VII

WALPOLE'S "HISTORY OF THE MODERN TASTE IN GARDENING" AND OTHER EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ESSAYS ON GARDENING

Walpole's History of the Modern Taste in Gardening is an attractive brief account of the change in gardening in the eighteenth century designed principally to counteract the belief that the new English garden was imitated from the Chinese. He attemped to show that the "imitation of Nature in Gardens, or rather in laying out ground, still called gardening for want of a specific term to distinguish an Art totally new, is original, and indisputably English." [1]

[1] Walpole, Notes to Mason's Satirical Poems, p. 42.

While there were many other essays on gardening in the eighteenth century, the patriotic purpose of this essay is peculiar to Walpole, and in this lies its particular interest. In writing a history of gardens, Walpole was merely taking part in a current fashion. Ever since the publication of Bacon's essay Of Gardens, and Temple's Upon the Gardens of Epicurus, and their subsequent popularity, it had become the custom for the gentleman of culture to try his hand at this form of art. Walpole who wrote an Eastern Tale and a Gothic novel, of course experimented in garden literature also. J.W. Draper in his bibliography of Eighteenth-Century English Aesthetics [2] includes in the neighborhood of one hundred and

[2] Draper, Eighteenth-Century English Aesthetics, Heidelberg, 1931.

twenty essays on gardening as influential in a study of

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eighteenth-century taste. That such names as Aiken, Darwin, Fielding, Goldsmith, Mason, Pope, Rousseau, and Shenstone appear on the list, shows to what an extent gardening became associated with literature. Draper also reports more than sixty books and essays on gardening, as well as reviews of these publications in the periodicals of the day, a further indication of its appeal to popular taste. Since no study of eighteenth-century taste is complete without some consideration of the subject of garden literature, an attempt will be made here to compare Walpole's essay with other essays on gardening, which were published within the same decade as his own. Five essays have been chosen because each one is in some way connected with Walpole's; and because each concerns gardening as based on the principles of natural picturesque beauty. This comparison is designed to show in what manner Walpole's essay is similar to the others, and to determine what were his original contributions to the history of modern landscape gardening.

George Mason's Essay on Design in Gardening [1] is

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[1] Published in 1768.

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perhaps closest to Walpole's in its method of treatment. He too combines history with theory, though his purpose is primarily to write an essay on design. William Mason in The English Garden [2] combines history with theory in a

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[2] Published in 1772-1781.

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neo-classic poem. His theories are essentially the same as Walpole's; but both his method of treatment and his purpose are different. He wished to give, in a palatable form, rules for the designing of naturalistic gardens. Chambers, in his Dissertation on Oriental Gardening,[1] which has already been

[1] Published in 1772.

discussed in connection with Walpole and the Chinese Vogue, [2]

[2] See Chapter III.

combined a criticism of the faults of the new English garden with an essay on Chinese garden theory. Shenstone's Unconnected Thoughts on Gardening[3] and Whately's Observations

[3] Published in 1764.

on Modern Gardening [4] are purely theoretical. They represent,

[4] Written in 1765, published in 1770.

however, an attempt to formulate principles of landscape gardening based on natural picturesque beauty, and hence may usefully be compared with Walpole's essay. Walpole's method of treatment was to trace the evolution of the desire to imitate nature from its first indications in sixteenth-century England, down to his own day which, he believed, saw the "point of perfection in gardening." In this he was original

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in so far as he saw the first indications of the new style in the English park. Along with others of his contemporaries he noticed that there were touches of naturalistic gardening even at the height of the popularity of the architectural garden. Although he did not comment on the fact that Bacon, in his essay on gardening, suggested setting aside a portion of the ground for a "wilderness," he did quote Temple, who after describing the main gardens at Moor Park, where the plants were entirely subordinate to the design, continues to describe on the other side of the house a garden which is "very wild, shady, and adorned with rough-rock-work and fountains." [1]

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[1] Walpole, The History, p. 29.

While George Mason and William Mason noted both these indications of an inherent love of nature, it was Walpole who grasped the import of the difference between the English Park and those on the continent. His attention was struck by the fact that Hentzner who was especially taken by the English park, with its wide expanse of green lawns and its beautiful old trees, commented on it as something new and strange, which he had not seen abroad. Walpole went to considerable lengths to prove this feature of the landscape peculiar to England; and a result of the climate which was especially favorable to grass, and of the English love of long walks. In France and Italy the difficulties of climate limited the expanse of lawn.

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After citing the English park as the start of naturalistic gardening he went on to criticise Temple's view of Moor Park, as the "most perfect and beautiful he had ever seen." Walpole contrasted the beauty of Milton's garden of Eden with Moor Park, greatly to the disadvantage of the latter. In making this comparison between a seventeenth-century formal garden and Paradise, a comparison which seems extraordinary to us today, Walpole was only doing what others of his time had done;[1] for, by many, Milton was considered the father of

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1) Walpole noted a comparison between Milton and Temple in The Rise and Progress of the Present Taste in Planting, an anonymous poem printed in 1767. See The History, p. 2)"Milton's idea of gardening from Walpole's Anecdotes of Painting" was printed in the Lady's Magazine in 1781 and again in 1789. 3) J. Aikin, Letters from a Father to his Son on various Topics, vol. ii, Letter VI. considers the question "On Milton's Garden of Eden as a supposed prototype of modern gardening."

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modern gardening. The controversy which arose in this connection was an attempt to prove modern gardening superior to that of the ancients and was a remote phase of the quarrel between the ancients and the moderns. Walpole went so far as to consider that Milton had conceived and foreseen modern gardening. It is true that Milton could have seen no gardens such as he imagined. As to just what extent Milton's influence surpassed other contributing factors, it is hard to say, and one is tempted to feel that those who came after him were inclined to interpret his lines to suit themselves. This though indirect does constitute an important form of

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influence. Certainly there are many romantic qualities in Milton's Paradise, which undoubtedly gave suggestion to those interested in following nature. There is variety, contrast and picturesqueness in the garden of Eden; each of these, qualities which appealed to those tired of the formality of the architectural garden ~~and~~ are in turn, qualities which became important elements in the new garden, of half a century later. As Walpole shows by his quotations from Milton there were certain spots dedicated to brightness and gaiety, others to melancholy. Descriptions of Hagley [1] bear out his contention

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[1] Walpole, The History, Footnote 60.

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that Hagley seems to be a representation in actuality of Milton's Paradise.

While Walpole was struck by the similarity between certain lines of Paradise Lost and various places which he had seen, just as he noticed that scenes in nature might resemble a Salvator Rosa or a Claude Lorrain painting, it is unlikely that he meant to imply any direct influence. In his search for indications of the growing interest in the imitation of natural landscape, Walpole's literary genius seized upon the poet's Eden as a symbolic expression of that ideal of picturesque beauty which he wished to impress upon the reader's mind. As science has had its visionaries who saw first in the mind what later was put into effect, so the art of landscape had its prophet, who saw in the imagination what the horticulturists

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came to realize in living materials. It is this aspect of Milton's influence which Walpole wishes to stress.

Both George and William Mason believed that Milton provided modern landscape architecture with a model in his garden of Eden; but neither of them lay as much emphasis on his influence as Walpole. George Mason agreed with Walpole that Milton had no models from which to draw his conception of the most perfect of all gardens.[1] William Mason, in

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[1] Essay on Design in Gardening, p. 44.

The English Garden, also stated that Milton gave an example in poetry to be followed in actuality.[2] Sir Walter Scott, a

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[2] Mason The English Garden, Bk. I, p. 380.

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little later, gives us a more balanced estimate of Milton's importance in paving the way for a romantic movement in gardening; for Milton did not advocate an absolute return to nature. He was enough of an artist to realize the problem of selectivity, that art must always work hand in hand with nature. Scott quotes those lines so often used to prove Milton the father of modern landscape gardening and interprets them in a sane and logical manner:

> "Flours worthy of Paradise which not nice Art
> In Beds and curious Knots, but Nature boon
> Pour'd forth profuse on Hill and Dale and Plaine,
> Both where the morning Sun first warmly smote
> The open field, and where, the unpierc't shade
> Imbround the noontide Bowr's: Thus was this place,
> A happy rural seat of various view:"

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> "This passage expresses exquisitely what park scenery ought to be, and what it has, in some cases, actually become; but, we think, the quotation has been used to authorize conclusions which the author never intended.. Milton nobly conceived that Eden, emanating directly from the Creator, must possess that majestic freedom which characterizes even the less perfect improvers. But we think it extremely dubious, that he either meant to recommend landscape gardening on an extensive scale, or to censure those "trim gardens," which he has elsewhere mentioned so affectionately."[1]

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[1] Scott, On Landscape Gardening, p. 82.

While Walpole's account of Milton's influence is more extravagant than Scott's, on the whole Walpole probably held much the same view of Milton's importance. When he stated that Milton "judged that the mistaken and fantastic ornaments he had seen in gardens, were unworthy of the almighty hand that planted the delights of Paradise," [2] he was merely

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[2] Walpole, The History, p. 21.

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putting into poetic language his own feeling that a return to the beauty of nature unadorned was becoming more and more necessary, if English gardening was to survive the ridiculous excesses of the architectural gardens of the Restoration era.

Not only was Walpole alone in finding the germ of the new style in the English park, but also was he original in his analysis of the "sunk fence" as the "capital stroke" which brought about the new English garden. While the banishment of hedges or walls probably did not cause the reforms as suddenly as Walpole's words would seem to imply, he has

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touched upon the crucial point of difference between the formal and the new informal treatment of landscape. In the old formal garden, each part surrounded by a boundary was considered a distinct unit; each was unrelated to the others except by connecting paths; within the separate units the treatment might vary tremendously. But, as Walpole maintained, once the entire property became "included in a kind of general design,"[1] each part necessarily had to become subordinate

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[1] Walpole, The History, p. 40.

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to the unity of the whole; unseparated by any form of enclosure, each part had to be planted in harmony with the general scheme. How this harmony was achieved by applying the principles of painting to the field of gardening and Walpole's connection with these developments has already been considered in Chapter II. If Walpole had but admitted that the idea of "a beauty of irregularity," and the belief, that the different types of natural landscape should be imitated by the garden artists, were introduced from China, his history would have been complete. Although his bias toward England blinded him to the importance of Chinese gardening, it did cause him to unearth two important facts which might have been forgotten, the connection between the English park and the broad expanse of lawn and extensive prospects used in the new garden, and the great changes brought about by the banishment of walls, hedges and fences.

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Walpole was more than ordinarily astute in prophesying a great future for the new gardening on the continent, and wanted England to have the credit for its introduction. He was correct in believing that Germany would be the greatest imitator of the naturalistic style.[1] His conjecture that it would be most popular in Germany is linked with his view of English gardening as an outgrowth of the constitution.[2] His forecast of the fate of the new taste in England, and its great future in America is also closely connected with his view of the relationship between the course of government and the history of gardening. As he feared for the political future of his country, so he feared for the future of landscape design. If taxation and tyranny should once more hold sway, the living landscapes of Kent, Hamilton and Brown would only be preserved in Mason's poem, The English Garden; their groves would be felled, their lawns restored to the ploughshares, or desolated by tyranny and taxgatherers. If the English Constitution should perish, the English Taste in gardening would perish with it and Mason's Georgic would alone remain to tell of a second Paradise Lost.[3] Peculiar as

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1 See Christian Hirschfeld, History and Theory of Horticulture, 1779.

2 See Chapter VI, p. 311-12.

3 Walpole, Notes to Mason's Satirical Poems, p. 43.

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this juxtaposition of gardening and politics may seem, it is undoubtedly true that the two subjects were continually associated in Walpole's mind. This idea of the relation of gardening to the state of the government is closely linked, too, with Walpole's attitude toward the development of art in cycles, which was brought out in an earlier chapter in connection with the pursuit of novelty.[1] He feared that the

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[1] Chapter II.

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great lords would once more bring back the formal garden, and that the English garden would again lose what had just been achieved through a return to simplicity. Of Mason's poem he writes:

> "I hope your garden, which is not exposed to wayward seasons, but
>
> will always flourish in immortal youth
>
> advances a great pace; consider, you are to record what it was when fashion and great lords shall have brought back square enclosures, walls, terraces, and labyrinths, and shall be told by the Le Nautre of the day, that their Lordships have invented a new taste; and will never know to the contrary; for though beautiful poems preserve themselves, it is not by being read and known." [2]

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[2] To William Mason, May 9, 1772.

A few years later after prophesying that England would fall, he imagined the rediscovery of true taste in gardening. In 1775 he again writes to Mason:

> "I approve your printing in manuscript, that is, not for the public, for who knows how long the

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> public will be permitted to read? Bury a few copies against this island is rediscovered. Some American versed in the old English language will translate it, and reivie the true taste in gardening; though he will smile at the diminutive scenes on the little Thames when he is planting a forest on the banks of the Oronoko. I love to skip into futurity and imagine what will be done on the giant scale of a new hemisphere; but I am in little London, and must go and dress for a dinner with some of the inhabitants of that ancient metropolis, now in ruins, which was really for a moment the capital of a large empire, but the poor man who made it so outlived himself and the duration of the empire." [1]

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[1] To William Mason, November 27, 1775.

Strangely enough Walpole's prophecy in respect to gardening came true. In England a great reaction to the destruction of the old formal gardens set in. Led by Sir Walter Scott, a considerable controversy arose. Many of the old gardens were restored; new formal gardens were built; and the spirit of the English landscape school was submerged for the time-being. Informal plant arrangement was replaced by the notorious "bedding-out system" of the early nineteenth century. It was not until the latter half of the nineteenth century that, under William Robinson,[2] the development of the

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[2] Robinson, The English Flower Garden, 1883.

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present-day naturalistic herbaceous borders and rock gardens began. The spirit of the English landscape school, however, was carried directly to America even before the Revolution; and later in the gardens of Washington and Jefferson one may see unbroken the continuation of the ideals of Walpole, Repton,

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and Price.[1]

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[1] Fiske Kimball, "The Beginnings of Landscape Gardening in America," Landscape Architecture, vol. vii (July 1917) pp.181-187.

William Mason's English Garden, of all the eighteenth-century treatises on gardening, is the most closely associated with Walpole's essay. Both men held essentially the same theories of gardening on the principles of natural picturesque beauty; and both men turned from a study of painting to an interest in gardening. Because of their close friendship Walpole was not only critic but encourager throughout the writing of the poem. As each book of the poem was finished, it was sent to Walpole for criticism. In May, 1776, Walpole wrote:

> "Tonight I have received (here in town) from Mr. Stonhewer your second Garden; it has my fullest imprimatur. I thought the beginning a little cold, but it soon rises into charming poetry, and from the 210th line is more beautiful than the first book. I like the 'sheep devouring the lawn into verdure,' and from thence all is quite to my taste. 'the dusty Sabbath' is admirable, but above all I am touched with the scene of cottage children, which is equal to anything you ever wrote; so are the lines on their sorrow and smiles. The story of Abdolonimus finishes the whole noble. Write away, write away, and if you will not come to town --write away; yet I do wish now and then to see such a priest of Apollo." [2]

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[2] To William Mason, May 20, 1776.

The English Garden has already been discussed in connection with the eighteenth-century treatises on painting.[3] It will

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3 See Chapter I, pp. 126 – 142.

be further considered here for Mason's contribution to landscape gardening. The English Garden is largely based upon the work of Kent and Brown with much drawn from Rousseau, who had become greatly interested in English naturalistic gardening; it represents a poetical embodiment of sentimental romanticism. The poem a curious and somewhat long-drawn-out confusion of neo-classic and romantic elements, though theoretical and full of inconsistencies, is not as impractical as one might expect, for Mason was a good Horticulturist.

Book I of The English Garden contains vague directions for gardening. Procedure according to Mason should be based on first-hand imitation of nature, supplemented by nature as she is seen through the great masters of painting. He cites Kent as an example of one who believed in the close relationship between painting and gardening. After a general discussion of landscape gardening in the first book it becomes of less and less importance, and the last three books are filled with digressive material. In Book IV the inclusion of the sentimental tale of Alcander and Nerina turns the poem into a narrative with gardening as a somewhat clumsy side-issue. Alcander woos his lady whom fate cast up by the sea on his father's land, with a strange combination of love-making and garden building. Like a knight of old he

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performs tasks for his lady; instead of storming Gothic castles he improves his father's estate by introducing pseudo-Gothic garden features. Mason evidently intended the story as a device to increase interest in the poem. Perhaps the earlier books had not been as popular as he had hoped; for he said:

> "But precepts tire and this fastidious age
> Rejects the strain didactic: try we then
> In livelier manner the truths to veil
> We dare not dictate." [1]

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[1] Mason, The English Garden, Bk. IV, p. 392.

The poem with its neo-classic diction, its extreme sentimentalism, yet timid naturalism, will always remain a curiosity to delight the student of the mid-eighteenth century as a perfect illustration of its characteristic dualism and inconsistency of thought.

While Mason considered gardening as a branch of painting, he was not, however, unaware of the dangers of carrying the analogy too far. He realized that while the painter deals with static material, the landscape gardener must keep in mind the fact that his picture will change from year to year. He fully understood that the gardener's problem is a more difficult one since he must consider the future development of the plant. He wrote:

> "Happier far
> Are you, ye sons of Claude! Who from the mine,
> The earth, or juice of herb, or flower concrete,
> Mingle the mass whence your Arcadias Spring:
> The beauteous outline of your pictured shades

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Still keeps the bounds you gave it; time that pales
Your vivid hues, respects your pleasing forms.
Not so our landscapes: though we paint like you,
We paint with growing coloures; ev'ry year
O'erpassing that which gives the breadth of shade
We sought, by rude addition mars our scene." [1]

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[1] Ibid., p. 390, Bk. III.

One thing hinders a planter's lasting fame - Mason continues:

" 'Tis vegetation!
Gradual to his groves
She gives their wish'd effect; and, that display'd
Oh! that her power would pause! but active still,
She swells each stem, prolongs each vagrant bough,
And darts with unremitting vigour bold
From grace to wild luxuriance." [2]

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[2] Ibid.

Mason did not, however, go so far as to consider planting for permanent effect. Like Walpole he realized the danger of overcrowding plants, but he could not solve the problem. Thinning out while saplings are still young, and the pruning of overtangled plantations seemed to him to be the only possibilities. Neither Walpole nor Mason were sufficiently trained in the study of the habits of individual plants to be able to visualize what a plantation would look like when mature, and to allow ahead of time necessary space for future growth. Like Walpole, Mason had a keen sense of the beauties of different types of foliage. He considered size, shape, color of leaves, as well as of the individual tree or shrub, to be of great importance in designing a plantation. Mason,

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too, appreciated the beauties of the larch with its branches reaching to the ground and of the smooth stately trunk of the beech. For in the English Garden he contrasted the charm of concealment, due to a thick planting of cedar or larch, with the pleasures of viewing an open prospect between the trunks of a grove of beech.[1] Mason's garden theories in

[1] Ibid., p. 380, Bk. I.

general were built about the belief that one should follow nature and that "nature abhors a straight line," but he did not think it should be carried to extremes. He displayed the same conservatism that Walpole did concerning that irregularity, which becomes as unnatural in its curves, as regularity does in its straight lines. He did not, however, as did Walpole, blame the extremes of the new gardening upon the Chinese, but rather upon the ignorance of those attempting a new form of art, the problems of which they did not as yet fully understand. Mason, while delighting in the beauties of disorder, at the same time showed a surprising sense of fitness in regard to matters of a more practical nature. He pointed out that topography must be carefully considered in a choice of plants. Another fault of many of the extremists which Mason condemned was the use of exotic material in unsuitable situations, merely because of the effectiveness of the plant in appearance.[2] Perhaps Walpole's experiments in growing

[2] Ibid., p. 389, Bk. III.

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foreign material brought this problem particularly before Mason's eyes. He urged the use of hardy English material suitable to the soil and climate. He added if one must conform to fashion, a special place for foreign material should be built, protected from the climate and apart from the rest of the garden so that the harmony of its design would not be disturbed. Mason at all times seemed to have felt very strongly the necessity of designing the garden in relation to the natural topography. While urging the imitation of painting, he was not in favor of building artificial scenes unsuited to the surrounding country.[1] This feeling for

[1] Ibid.

maintaining the harmony of the surroundings appeared again in Mason's choice of architecture for use in the garden. He held the same opinion that Walpole held of garden features half Chinese, half Gothic in form. He also agreed with Walpole that classic architecture was unsuited to romantic situations. His choice of architecture for garden scenes was either Norman or Saxon, the fitting choice for British ground.[2] There is a note of patriotism in the discussion of

[2] Ibid., p. 392, Bk. IV.

architecture in Book IV of the English Garden reminiscent of Walpole's eulogy of English gardening for the English. In his poem Mason showed the same patriotic feeling, though not

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as intensely as Walpole toward English gardening. The title, The English Garden, is in itself significant. The poem is adressed to the youths of Albion, and they are frequently exhorted to improve their skill in gardening, that all "Albion smile one ample theatre of sylvan grace."[1] In his

[1] Ibid., p. 383, Bk. I.

attitude toward the Chinese vogue Mason's views again are also essentially the same as Walpole's. In the English Garden he barely mentioned Chinese garden influence,[2] which

[2] Ibid., p. 386, Bk. III.

would indicate, that, like Walpole, he considered the imitation of Chinese gardens practically negligible in the history of English gardening. Mason reserves his criticism of Chambers' "Chinese Fancies" for The Heroic Epistle and did not combine it with his work on garden theory, as Walpole did in his essay on modern gardening.

While Chambers' essay has already been discussed in connection with the Chinese vogue, his theories of landscape design deserve further consideration. Chambers believed in general that nature should be followed and that the gardener should strive for beauty of irregularity in his plantations.. He did not believe in a slavish imitation of untouched nature, but he felt that a study of local topography should be the first consideration.[3] Although he did not mention

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[3] Chambers, Dissertation, p. 12.

any connection between painting and gardening, he believed with Mason and Walpole that the garden artist should select and emphasize the best features of the landscape. It is true that he considered the average naturalistic garden of his day to be a monotonous repetition[1] of green fields, shrubbery,

[1] Chambers, Ibid., p. vi-vii.

serpentine walks and seats, and that he stressed the need for further variety by the use of concealment and surprise. Chambers did not specifically mention picturesque beauty in his essay; but his emphasis on the monotony of too many curves would indicate that, like Price, he realized that though a certain amount of smoothness might be appealing, it is most attractive when contrasted with roughness. For this reason, intricacy and surprise were perhaps to him the most important elements in the garden design. He did not attempt to define just what he meant by these qualities in any philosophical manner, but confined himself to the more pragmatic method of giving examples from Chinese gardens of what he considered successful efforts at reproducing the wilder aspects of natural landscape. In regard to contrast he writes:

> "The Chinese artists, knowing how powerfully contrast operates on the mind, constantly practice sudden transitions, and a striking opposition of forms, colors, and shades. Thus they conduct you from limited prospects to extensive views; from objects of horror to scenes of delight." [2]

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2 Chambers, Dissertation, p. 35.

Chambers gives illustrations of the various artifices employed by the Chinese to create surprise:

> "Sometimes they lead you through caverns and gloomy passages, at the issue of which you are, on a sudden struck with the view of delicious landscape, enriched with everything that luxuriant nature affords most beautiful. At other times you are conducted through avenues and walks, that gradually diminish and grow rugged till the passage is at length entirely intercepted, and rendered impracticable by bushes, briars, and stones; when unexpectedly a rich and extensive prospect opens to view, so much more pleasing, as it was less looked for." [1]

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1 Ibid., p. 37.

Chambers' descriptions of the Chinese scenes of horror approximate closely English attempts to create the rugged mountain scenes of Salvator Rosa in their gardens. Chambers writes:

> "In their scenes of horror, the Chinese introduce impending rocks, dark caverns, and impetuous cataracts rushing down the mountains from all sides; the trees are ill-formed, and seemingly torn to pieces by the violence of tempests; some are thrown down, and intercept the course of the torrents, appearing as if they had been brought down by the fury of the waters..... They make a rapid stream, or torrent, pass under the ground, the turbulent noise of which strikes the ear of the newcomer, who is at a loss to know from whence it proceeds. At other times they dispose the rocks, buildings, and other objects that form the composition in such a manner, as that the wind passing through the different interstices and cavities, made in them for that purpose, causes strange and uncommon sounds. They introduce into these scenes all kinds of extraordinary trees, plants and flowers, form artificial and complicated echoes and let loose different sorts of monstrous birds and animals.... These scenes are generally succeeded by pleasing ones." [2]

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[2] Ibid., p. 44.

Undoubtedly some of his descriptions were a little extreme for English gardens. It is very unlikely, however, that he meant them to be imitated; but rather like Mason who veiled his precepts in romantic story, Chambers hoped to startle those content with mere trees and grass out of a routine of monotony. Walpole and Mason could have had little quarrel with this attitude since they both put a great deal of emphasis on the need for variety.

Chambers did not confine his criticism to the lack of variety in the naturalistic garden but also attacked the extremes of certain of the reformers.[1] Both he and Walpole

[1] Chambers, p. 76.

were indignant with the wholesale destruction of ancient beauties carried on by Brown and his followers. Mason, though much more timid, was also doubtful of Brown's ruthless "improvements." Chambers felt that all such landmarks as fully grown trees and historically important buildings or gardens should be woven into the complete design regardless of the style followed.

Owing to his architectural training, Chambers stressed the need for underlying design in the garden no matter how irregular or informal in type. In his handling of the problem of the transition from house to grounds[2] he

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Chambers, p. 76.

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urged that areas close to buildings, or other artificial structures, should have a treatment in keeping with the formality of the architecture; and that land adjoining fields and woods requires a more naturalistic type of design than that near the house. Mason did not consider this problem at all, but Walpole as has been mentioned before was equally conservative in desiring a certain amount of formality close to the house.

When emphasizing the need for variety and contrast in a garden, Chambers especially warned against losing the essential unity of the garden-design. He showed how the Chinese achieve coherence of plan by having a focal point of interest to which everything else is related or subordinated.[1]

1
Chambers, p. 20.

Both Walpole and Mason felt the need of harmony and unity in the garden but did not have enough technical training to discuss the problem more than vaguely. Chambers, as well as Mason, warned against the use of exotics and urged the use of native and hardy plants. His knowledge of plant life enabled him to solve the problem of how to deal with growing material, a problem which baffled both Mason and Walpole. He realized that plants must be chosen for both immediate and future effect; that beside a thorough knowledge of the size and shape of the individual plant at maturity, the seasonal changes of a plant

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must also be taken into consideration.[1] He maintained that the

[1] Chambers, pp. 78-79.

effect should depend upon mass planting rather than the individual specimens in plantations, using as his example the fact that whole forests are frequently of the same kind of trees.[2] His

[2] Ibid., p. 88.

theories are fundamentally the same as Walpole's and Mason's though further developed because of his professional training. Throughout, Chambers' Dissertation reflects a wide understanding of the defects of the English garden of his day and of the problems of landscape gardening.

George Mason's essay while purporting to be a discussion on design in gardening is, beside Walpole's essay, the only attempt at a history of the new style. He begins by limiting his field to "that sort of gardening more peculiarly denoted by the epithet Picturesque:"[3] he does not enter into

[3] Mason, Essay on Design in Gardening, p. 4.

any discussion of the meaning of the term. Mason, as well as Walpole, considers good taste as a matter of good sense,although he carries his analysis a little further to distinguish between the ordinary mind and the "attentive mind," whose"approbation is the truest criterion of beauty."[4] Good taste is inherent

[4] Ibid., p. 3.

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in man; but "fashion, custom, and many adventitious circumstances may prevail upon mankind to leave virtue for vice."[1] Walpole,

[1] Ibid., p. 4.

in his discussion of the part played by good sense in garden reform, did not question whether all were equally endowed or not with the capacity to select the best in nature; yet his emphasis on training for the garden designer would indicate that he realized a discrepancy between theory and practice. Mason's "perversion of natural principles" by fashion and custom is paralleled by Walpole's "danger of the pursuit of novelty," although less detailed in analysis of causes and effects.

Mason's historical account begins with a treatment of gardening in the East; and it is in the gardens of Semiramis that he finds the first attempts at natural design, or "internal disposition."[2] This oriental queen is said to have

[2] Ibid., p. 6.

amused herself by experimenting in the remote corners of her kingdom with garden design based on an imitation of nature. Mason also noted, as Walpole did not, that the Hanging Gardens of Babylon, while the result was highly artificial, were actually an effort to imitate nature. They were built by Nebuchadnezzar to console his Median queen who "frequently

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regretted each rising hill, and scatter'd forest" [1] of her

[1] Ibid., p. 9.

native land. These gardens constituted the earliest definite attempt to create on a flat plain the landscape of another type of scenery. Walpole was correct in placing this Babylonian work of art in his category of sumptuous gardens, but in principle it was basically the same as the gardens of the English landscape school. Walpole, who was looking at the result rather than the idea behind the creation, missed this point. Again in the gardens of the Medes and the Persians, Mason finds some traces of naturalistic style of gardening, for he writes that their Paradises or pleasure gardens were "enlarged into the similitude of forests." [2]

[2] Ibid., p. 7.

Mason is in accord with Walpole in his treatment of the effect of wealth upon the course of garden development. The effect of the gardens of Babylon was "to mislead the judgement of mankind." The acquisition of wealth was responsible for false taste:

> "Splendour intoxicates the mind, and often robs us of our more agreeable sensations: when once the dazzling glare of it possesses the fancy, every soft and delicate impression loses its effect."[3]

[3] Ibid., p. 11.

The vanity of wealth caused the Romans to "invert the order of

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nature." He cannot believe that the "Romans were incapable of distinguishing real beauty in landscape; but mistaken notions of power and grandeur perpetually intervened, and misguided the style of their improvements."[1] Mason, as well as Walpole,

[1] Ibid., p. 12.

regarded Pliny's gardens as a further example of "formality and unnatural conceit." He did not mention, however, Pliny's attempt to contrive a rural view at his summer villa.

From Roman gardens Mason turns to a discussion of the gardens of England the embellishment of which "unhappily consisted of every innovation upon nature."[2] Bacon represents

[2] Ibid., p. 15.

the earliest indications of the new style in England, because he first pointed out the folly of knots, topiary work and the use of figures built of "divers colour'd earths"[3] instead of

[3] Ibid.

flowers. Milton, Mason regards as the poetic inspiration for modern gardening: "his model of Eden remains unimpeachable."[4]

[4] Ibid., p. 44.

He agrees with Walpole that the landscape garden was invented by the English; but has an original explanation as to what brought this change in taste. He attributes it to the English

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spirit of liberty. Modern gardening is a direct outgrowth of experimentation and observation:

> "In this country the spirit of liberty extends itself to the very fancies of individuals: independence has been strongly asserted in matters of taste, as in religion and government: it has produced more motley appearances, than perhaps a whole series of ages can parallel. Yet to this whimsical excercise of caprice the modern improvements in gardening can chiefly be attributed." [1]

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[1] Ibid., pp. 26-27.

In a discussion of the progress of the new taste Mason pointed out both the good and the bad results of this freedom of experimentation:

> "Though numberless absurd plans have been actually carried into execution, they have not prevented our Profiting by good ones: for, however erroneous in their designs, the public are much less mistaken in their approbation of what is beautiful; let various specimens offer themselves to view, the difference of choice will seldom be material." [2]

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[2] Ibid., pp. 27-28.

He then continued by connecting this idea with his view of natural good taste as inherent in man. He wrote: "Whatever rules may be prescribed, after all the best instructor is example; the force of which first rectified our taste and must continue to improve it."[3] In other words, for Mason the

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[3] Ibid., p. 49.

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example of the good is the corrector of excess in contrast with Walpole's idea of simplicity as the guide to good taste.

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In regard to theory, Mason's principles of picturesque gardening were essentially the same as Walpole's. He believed in the imitation of nature and in the concealment of art. He felt that "the beauty of illusion depends on its being perfectly natural, and that artificial scenes will bear a poetical description."[1] He did not place as much importance on local topography as Walpole. He felt that "the species of design should generally conform to the nature of the place;"[2] but that this idea may be discarded in creating a scene which is different from the original situation, if one, keeps "all the elements of the new landscape and its surrounding objects in correspondence."[3] This is of course very difficult to do successfully, and was the cause of the failure of many of the attempts to imitate nature. There is no sense of deriving real inspiration form the "genius of the place" in Mason's treatment of the problem, as there is so strongly in both Pope and Walpole. Mason gives more importance to the element of contrast in the garden than to anything else. He writes:

> "The elegance and propriety of rural design seems to depend on a nice distinction between contrast and incongruity." [4]

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1 Ibid., p. 17.

2 Ibid., p. 30.

3 Ibid.

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4 Ibid., p. 29.

He warns against crowding together in one scene what would be "infinitely more pleasing in two."[1] He emphasizes variety

1 Ibid.

and feels that it may chiefly be gained by contrasting woodland scenes with open glades, light with shade, and by the frequent use of vistas.

Mason connects gardening with painting: "there is an art in the management of grounds" which is "analogous to what is called keeping under in painting."[2] This effect is

2 Ibid., p. 43.

produced in gardening by some parts of the landscape being seemingly neglected so that the "succeeding are more strikingly beautiful." This is an attempt, though only partial, to solve the problem of emphasis and subordination in garden design. Mason suggested that just as it is necessary in a painting to have a focal point to which the rest of the picture is subordinated, so in a landscape it is equally necessary and may be achieved in the same manner.

As far as either a history of the new taste was intended, or an essay on theory, his work is on the whole superficial. The history is not continued beyond the point of his comment on Temple's suggestion that the Chinese had

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a superior sort of beauty based on irregularity. He considered Temple to be too bigoted in the cause of custom and fashion to dare to recommend any experimentation. This introduces his digression on experimentation, referred to earlier. After this digression he makes no further attempt to follow the course of the new taste, but turns to a discussion of landscape theory. He admits that he has but a few observations to add to the theories of Pope and Shenstone.[1] Neither his

[1] Ibid., p. 29.

history or his theory is organized into any definite body of ideas. There is little of value in his criticism of the writings of others. He praised Chambers' dissertation for being clear and comprehensive,[2] but did not sense that

[2] Ibid., p. 26.

criticism of the defects of the new taste was Chambers' purpose. Mason's essay on the whole displays little originality except for his belief that the English garden could not have developed as it did without the freedom of taste peculiar to English society, and for his contribution to the problem of emphasis and subordination. The solution of this problem was another step toward the establishment of the principles of modern landscape architecture.

Shenstone's Unconnected Thoughts on Gardening is the written expression of the principles of gardening which

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its author worked out in practice at The Leasowes over a period of years. Shenstone came into possession of his property in 1745 and devoted considerable time and attention to its development. How well he succeeded may be summarized in Johnson's eulogy.[1] As The Leasowes has been considered

[1] Boswell, Life of Johnson, vol. v, p. 457.

in detail in Chapter VI, the discussion here will be limited to the theory which grew out of Shenstone's garden experiments.

Shenstone divided gardening into three categories: "kitchen-gardening, parterre-gardening--and the landskip, or picturesque-gardening."[2] He is credited as being the first

[2] Shenstone, Works, vol. ii, p. 125.

to use the term landscape as applied to garden design. Picturesque gardening is the particular subject of his essay. He further defines this type of gardening as that which "consists in pleasing the imagination by scenes of grandeur, beauty, or variety." Convenience is of only relative importance in picturesque beauty and is to be considered only in connection with pleasing the imagination. Garden scenes he divided into three types: the sublime, the beautiful, and the melancholy or pensive. He based his division on the theory of agreeable sensations as characterized by Burke, Hutchinson[3] and Gerard;[4]

[3] Francis Hutcheson, Inquiry into the Original of our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue, 1725.

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4 Alexander Gerard, Essay on Taste, 1759.

he had, however, some difficulty in fitting the melancholy or pensive into their categories. He finally placed it somewhere between the sublime and the beautiful, " as being in some sort composed of both."[1] As an illustration of the

1 Shenstone, p. 125, note.

pensive he described the effect of a ruin on the imagination:

> "A ruin, for instance, may be neither new to us, nor majestic, nor beautiful, yet afford that pleasing melancholy which proceeds from a reflexion on decayed magnificence. For this reason an able gardener should avail himself of objects, perhaps, not very striking; if that serve to connect ideas, that convey reflexions of the pleasing kind." [2]

2 Ibid., p. 126.

He enlarged his theory of the beautiful to include the aesthetic appeal of pleasurable associations characterized by Alison as the chief source of aesthetic pleasure, in contrast to the theories of Burke and others that the qualities of beauty are inherent in the objects themselves.

Shenstone, unlike Walpole, laid great emphasis on the grace of novelty. Considering it as the chief source of that variety so necessary a characteristic of picturesque beauty, he did not visualize the dangers of a pursuit of novelty as Walpole did. He wrote:

> "Variety appears to me to derive a good part of its effect from novelty; as the eye, passing

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> from one form or color, to a form or color of a different kind, finds a degree of novelty in its present object which affords immediate satisfaction."[1]

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1 Ibid., p. 127.

He did, however, warn against the use of variety to excess and pointed out that "a sufficient quantity of undecorated space is necessary to exhibit such decorations to advantage." In regard to inspiration from topography he wrote:

> "Ground should first be considered with an eye to it's peculiar character: whether it be the grand, the savage, the sprightly, the melancholy, the horrid, or the beautiful." [2]

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2 Ibid.

Whichever one of these characters prevails, should be heightened in intensity by the means of art. Art should work hand in hand with nature, but should be concealed in dealing with landscape. In regard to gardens: "the shape of the ground, the disposition of trees, and the figure of water, must be sacred to nature; and no forms must be allowed that make a discovery of art."[3] Apparent art and apparent nature

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3 Ibid., p. 134.

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each have their proper province, but must be kept distinct.

Shenstone developed perhaps more than any of his contemporaries a theory of desigh which was assymetrical in contrast to the perfect symmetry of the formal garden. It is interesting to note in this connection a statement of Hussey's

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in regard to the absence of form in designs based on a picturesque theory of beauty. He writes:

> "According to the latter (the picturesque) vagueness, irregularity, and an absence of form had become ends in themselves, with a significance corresponding to that which we find in form, decisiveness, and pattern." [1]

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[1] Hussey, The Picturesque, p. 17.

While this was undoubtedly true of many of the works of art which were the outgrowth of this theory of the beautiful; at the same time a theory of design based on irregularity was emerging from these experiments. Temple was conscious of a certain coherence of plan in the Chinese gardens, although they could not be said to have form in the sense that the architectural garden did. While the discarding of boundaries and of paths on axis such as were used in the formal garden seemed to produce a complete absence of form, a new sort of form, though at first imperfectly understood, began to arise. Even where there seemed to be absence of form, the need for an underlying design was felt; and it is here that the principles of painting again supplied something that the new gardeners were looking for. To return to the eighteenth-century belief in the imitation of an essentially beautiful nature: Shaftesbury and others believed in the orderliness of nature according to the plan of a beneficent god; but an order so vast that it could not possibly be comprehended as a whole by man; but only imperfectly in part. While there might be order in nature,

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order in garden design was essentially artificial, because as we observe nature, we see only the irregularity of fragments of the whole. Shenstone writes:

> "We form our notions from what we have seen; and though, could we comprehend the universe, we might perhaps find it uniformly regular; yet the portions that we see of it, habituate our fancy to the contrary." [1]

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[1] Shenstone, p. 129.

A theory of garden design, based on an imitation of nature which is seen as irregular by man must therefore be irregular, and yet the eye feels the need of some sort of balance to secure that repose which is essential to aesthetic appreciation. Shenstone realized this and felt that the problem had been solved by the landscape painter. It is in this connection that he felt a close link between gardening and painting. He wrote:

> "Landskip should contain variety enough to form a picture upon canvas; and this is no bad test, as I think the landscape painter is the gardener's best designer. The eye requires a sort of balance here; but not so as to encroach upon probable nature. A wood, or hill, may balance a house or obelisk; for exactness would be displeasing." [2]

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[2] Ibid.

Shenstone uses the term landskip to denote home scenes or the foreground of the landscape design, and prospect to denote the distant images or the background of the design. He believed in the importance of prospect but did not realize,

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as Walpole did, the extent of its possibilities for further development in garden design. In a later passage he again suggested that a study of painting would enable one to create this quality of balance in the landskip: "a building for instance on one side, contrasted by a group of trees, a large oak, or a rising hill on the other." [1] It is apparent

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[1] Ibid., p. 133.

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that Shenstone is attempting to analyze that form of balance which H.H. Brown in Applied Drawing calls occult or obscure balance in contradistinction to the obvious balance of designs based on symmetry. Brown defines it as follows:

> "Occult or obscure balance is seen in those groups of forms of unlike size or shape which by their arrangement do not follow a law of symmetry, yet obey in their related positions a hidden law which gives to the composition a satisfying sense of repose." [2]

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[2] Opdyke, Art and Nature Appreciation, p. 544.

Shenstone, though imperfectly, was attempting to understand what were the causes of pleasure in irregularity, and to find out how this might be consciously achieved by the garden designer. Temple in discussing the "disorderly grace" of the Chinese wrote that it must be due to "some extraordinary dispositions of nature in the seat, or to some great race of fancy or judgement in the contrivance which may reduce many disagreeing parts into some figure." [3] He did not know whether

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3 Walpole, The History, p. 30.

the result was due to the peculiar character of the land or to some skill in the handling of the plant materials; he could only suggest both possibilities. Most of the eighteenth-century garden experimenters left the problem to the accidents of natural topography. Where this balance appeared spontaneously in nature, or where the result was achieved by some happy mistake, they were at least able to sense it and to make an effort to repeat a similar effect. Although Walpole made no attempt to discuss the question of balance in his essay, that he felt it in certain gardens is evident from comments in his letters. In this transitional period of which he is representative, the desire to create a succession of pictures in the garden was the first step toward the emergence of a theory of assymmetrical design. Within each little picture we have an attempt to balance the masses according to their form and texture; light contrasting with dark, heaviness with grace as the gardener had learned of the painter; but the pictures were unrelated to each other. This lack of connection between the several parts of the design was one of the chief defects of the gardens of the English landscape school, and a defect which had to be overcome before modern landscape architecture as it is today could be achieved.

To some extent the emphasis placed upon variety

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and contrast prevented the attainment of a unity of parts. In Shenstone's garden, for instance, a pleasing scene is followed by a pensive one, or a gentle scene by a savage one. The idea was that strong contrasts produced pleasure through variety and novelty; that the beauty of one type of scenery brought out the beauty in a dissimilar type. Each scene in its way was as important as the other. This gave rise to the same defect in gardening that Reynolds found in the composition of certain paintings. He wrote:

> "In a composition, when all the objects are scattered and divided into many equal parts, the eye is perplexed and fatigued from not knowing where to find the principal interest, or which is the principal figure; for where all are making equal pretensions to notice, all are in equal danger of neglect." [1]

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1 Reynolds, Discourses, p. 143.

Each one of these scenes in the gardens of Shenstone, or at Strawberry Hill was as important as the other. This same criticism was made by Macaulay [2] of Byron's poetry: that it

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2 Macaulay, "Moore's Life of Byron," Critical and Historical Essays, vol. 1, pp. 601-603.

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was a succession of pictures rather than a unified whole, that any one of these pictures might be removed from the whole and stand alone as a unit. While this was praise for specific parts, it indicated that the parts did not form an integral whole. This was characteristic of much of the poetry of Walpole's time. Dyer's Grongar Hill has been called a

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"series of landscapes drawn from the picturesque aspects of Claude's and Salvator's pictures."[1] The same comment could

[1] Hussey, The Picturesque, p. 36.

be applied equally well to the gardens of Shenstone and others. Perhaps this defect found in both the poetry and gardening of the transition period can be laid to the association of the two with their sister art. As in the case of certain other aspects of gardening which have been considered defects, because the principles of painting have been followed without due regard for the peculiar problems of gardening, it is necessary to understand that unity within a single picture was the first step toward a unity of the whole in the development of assymetrical design. Starting with an almost photographic ennumeration of parts in an attempt to imitate nature exactly, the experimenter, within the specific picture created, developed the idea of drawing attention to a focal point of interest by keeping the other parts subordinate to it. Thus, as Mason added somewhat to the solution of the problem of emphasis, so Shenstone contributed to the solving of the problem of balance in assymmetrical design. Both of these principles of balance and emphasis were carried over from the field of painting to be modified by later experimenters into principles for the new art of landscape gardening. It was left for Whately to solve the problem of connection between the parts.

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Whately's Observations on Modern Gardening is the most comprehensive presentation of ideas on the theory of landscape design based on principles of picturesque beauty which was developed before Repton. The general principles which he set forth in his introduction indicate more than a little advancement over the earlier essays. Gardening is now "entitled to a place of considerable rank among the liberal arts."[1] No longer is landscape design a mere branch

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[1] Whately, Introduction, p.1.

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of painting; but has become "as superior to landskip painting, as a reality to a representation."[2] The scope of gardening

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[2] Ibid.

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has now been enlarged beyond the purposes of domestic conveniences, "to include not only the pleasure and the kitchen garden"but to also "the disposition and embellishment of a park, a farm, or a riding."[3] These categories set up by

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[3] Ibid.

Whately are used by Walpole in his essay with some modifications. Working with but the materials of nature: ground, wood, water and rocks, the gardener must study the natural topography in order "to select and apply whatever is great, elegant, or characteristic" of the place.[4] His use of the term character

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[4] Ibid.

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to express the essential quality of a scene in nature is significant. Whately has developed the idea which was first suggested by Pope in the phrase "Consult the genius of the place in all;" and which Walpole further developed into a definite theory in his conception of "taking all nature into the plan," that a unity of design may be achieved through the subordination of parts to the whole to retain the essential quality, or character of a particular scene. To Walpole's materials of nature Whately added a new type, rocks. He saw the aesthetic possibilities inherent in a treatment of rocks, as Walpole did not, and is perhaps the first to foresee the modern rock garden which is one of the greatest beauties of English gardens today. Like Walpole he believed a careful study of natural landscape to be a most important part of the training of a garden designer; after a study of the topography of a given piece of property the gardener must "supply its defects correct its faults and improve its beauties."[1] Whately did

[1] Ibid. p.2.

not have the spirit of veneration toward the beauties of abstract nature which is expressed by Walpole; indeed Walpole objects to Whately's discussion of Matelockebath, in which he criticised nature for having bestowed too many cascades on the "rapid river Derwent."[2] To Walpole nature is not to be

[2] Walpole, The History, p. 52.

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criticised, but to be regarded as the great inspiration of man's artistic endeavors. Whately's discussions rarely consider nature in the abstract; he is getting down to more practical considerations as to what one should do with a particular scene or property to make the most of its possibilities. There is none of the poetic quality in his directions for a study of nature characteristic of Walpole's essay; and for this reason, while Whately gives many directions which may be actually followed, his treatise lacks the charm and literary value of Walpole's writings.

In regard to a study of natural landscape Whately wrote:

> "His first inquiry, therefore, must be into the means by which those effects are attained in nature, which he is to produce; and into those properties in the object of nature, which should determine him in the choice and arrangement of them." [1]

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[1] Whately, p. 2.

Whately has lost Walpole's spirit of veneration for nature; he has expanded his definition of the imitation of nature beyond Walpole's to include the idea of creating an "idealized landscape." In this, his attitude is similar to Reynolds' conception of the imitation of nature in art:

> "All the objects which are exhibited to our view by nature upon close examination will be found to have their blemishes and defects. The most beautiful forms have something about them like weakness, minuteness, or imperfection. But it is not every eye that perceives these blemishes. It must be an eye long used to the contemplation

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> and comparison of these forms; and which, by a long habit of observing what any set of objects of the same kind have in common, has acquired the power of discerning what each wants in particular. This long laborious comparison should be the first study of the painter who aims at the greatest style. By this means, he acquires a just idea of beautiful forms; he corrects nature by herself, her imperfect state by her more perfect."[1]

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[1] Reynolds, Discourses, p. 30.

Carrying out the idea that a painter should work toward an ideal nature rather than a detailed representation of her several parts, Reynolds pointed out that the general effect of the whole is more important than an enumeration of detail. This creation of a unified whole is acquired by skill in leaving out rather than by trying to imitate nature in a photographic sense. Reynolds contrasted the truth of a scene represented by the camera obscura with the greater truth of a scene represented by a great artist. So Whately in writing of the possibilities of gardening as a fine art, says; "the art of gardening aspires to more than imitation; it can create original characters, and give expressions to the several scenes superior to any they can receive from allusions."[2] Just as Reynolds extended his definition of

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[2] Whately, p. 153.

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nature to include not only what the eye sees but what the mind naturally delights in,[3] so the garden designer according

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[3] Reynolds, Discourses, p. 110.

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to Whately aspires to the creation of an ideal landscape which not only appeals through its visual beauty but through effect on our sensibility. Each created landscape should express according to Whately a certain character; to this end the general effect must be designed. The component parts therefore must all be directed toward achieving a unity of the whole. He wrote:

> "Certain properties, and certain dispositions, of the objects of nature, are adapted to excite particular ideas and sensations:....Beauty alone is not so engaging as this species of character; the impressions it makes are more transient and less interesting; for it aims only at delighting the eye, but the other affects our sensibility. An assemblage of the most elegant forms in the happiest situations is to a degree indiscriminate, if they have not been selected and arranged with a design to produce certain expressions; an air of magnificense, general character, ought to pervade the whole; and objects pleasing in themselves, if they contradict that character, should therefore be excluded." [1]

[1] Whately, p. 153-154.

While to attach an emotion to a garden may seem to us a purely arbitrary attitude, and while this idea was indeed carried to ridiculous extremes in the sentimentalism of the late eighteenth-century garden, at the same time the principle which lay behind it was essentially sound: that the character of the scene should be decided upon and that each detail in the garden design should correspond to the general effect of the whole. Reynolds, writing of what he calls the characteristical

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school of painting described a scene of Salvator Rosa:

> "He gives us a peculiar cast of nature, which, though void of all grace, elegance, and simplicity, though it has nothing of that elevation and dignity which belongs to the grand style, yet has that sort of dignity which belongs to savage and uncultivated nature: but what is most to be admired in him is the perfect correspondence which he observed between the subjects which he chose and his manner of treating them. Everything is of a piece: his rocks, trees, sky, even to his handling, have the same rude wild character which animates his figures." [1]

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1 Reynolds, Discourses, pp. 68-69.

Whately in the same manner examined the landscape to determine its peculiar character, and then planned his design according ot the same principles:

> "The style also of every part must be accommodated to the character of the whole; for every piece of ground is distinguished by certain properties: it is either tame or bold; gentle or rude continued or broken; and if any variety, inconsistent with those properties, be obtruded, it has no other effect than to weaken one idea, without raising another....A thousand instances might be adduced to show, that the prevailing idea ought to pervade every part, so far at least indispensably as to exclude whatever distracts it; and as much further as possible to accommodate the character of the ground to that of the scene it belongs to." [2]

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2 Whately, p. 13.

Both Walpole and Shenstone developed to some degree the idea of unity within each separate scene; Whately not only developed this idea considerably further, but he laid great emphasis upon the connection between the several parts. While Walpole realized that the doing away with boundaries necessitated that

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the whole property be unified into a kind of general design, and while he felt the lack of this in certain gardens, he did not formulate any principles as to just how the desired unity could be achieved. Whately, however, writes that in dealing with made ground, "connection is, perhaps, the principle consideration." He believed that connection between the several parts is far more important in the garden than in nature:

> "On the great scale of nature indeed, either may be so considerable in itself, as to make its relation to any other almost a matter of indifference; but on the smaller scale of a garden if the parts are disjointed, the effect of the whole is lost; and the union of all is not more than sufficient to preserve an idea of greatness and importance, to spots which must be varied, and cannot be spacious."[1]

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[1] Whately, p. 8.

This argument perhaps explains why certain of the transitional gardens which were merely a succession of pictures appeared beautiful, where others did not. If the property were small, a succession of scenes all of equal importance was distracting; on a larger property where the scenes were further apart and led up to perhaps by restful stretches of meadow or woods the disturbing effect of contrasting scenes was mitigated to some extent, and the essential repose was achieved. In this connection, it may again be observed, that although many defects resulted from the association of gardening with painting, this very application of one art to another was necessary before landscape design could emerge as a separate

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art. Reynolds has justly observed:

"It is by the analogy that one art bears to another, that many things are ascertained, which either were but faintly seen or, perhaps, would not have been discovered at all, if the inventor had not received the first hints from the practices of a sister art on a similar occasion."[1] At the same time Reynolds realized the dangers of applying the rules of one art too closely to another, for he wrote:

> "No art can be engrafted with success on another art. For though they all profess the same origin, and to proceed from the stock, yet each has its own peculiar modes both of imitating nature, and of deviating from it, each for the accomplishment of its own particular purpose. These deviations, more especially, will not bear transplantation to another soil."[2]

1 Reynolds, Discourses, pp. 117-118.

2 Ibid. p. 220.

Much credit has been given to Repton and Price for freeing gardening from the handicap of being considered but a branch of painting, and for this they are justly praised. Too little consideration has been given to the part played by those earlier experimenters in the new style, who found in the sister art of painting suggestions which they modified in practice on their estates. Whately, studying the unity and coherence produced by the landscape painter, touched upon the essential quality of unity in a garden scene: its character must be determined and

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each element of the design must be in keeping with the tone of the whole.

Whately further developed each part of his theory with his main interest, the idea of unity, in mind. Variety which is essential to retain interest he used to illustrate the relation of the part to the whole. He wrote:

> "But ground is seldom beautiful or natural without variety, or even without contrast; and the precautions which have been given, extend no further than to prevent variety from degenerating into inconsistency, and contrast into contradiction within the extremes, nature supplies an inexhaustible fund; and variety thus limited, so far from destroying, improves the general effect. Each distinguished part makes a separate impression; and all bearing the same stamp, all concurring to the same end, everyone is an additional support to the prevailing idea: that is multiplied; it is extended; it appears in different shapes, it is shown in several lights; and the variety illustrates the relation." [1]

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[1] Whately, pp. 15-16.

Can anyone after reading this passage from Whately feel that picturesqueness in gardening means absence of form or loss of design? It means the emergence of a new form, based on an entirely different set of rules, which were then in the process of being established. Irregular design in gardening does not fit into any of the old rules of formal gardening, anymore than the romantic epic could be fitted into the rules of the classical epic. Just as after the epics of Ariosto and Tasso had emerged, it was necessary for the Italian critics to erect a new set of standards by which to judge this new type of poetry (instead of trying to make it conform to ancient models),

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so the same thing was taking place in the revolt in gardening. The romantic epic seemed formless to those who compared it to Homer and Virgil. The new gardens seemed formless judged by the standards of the gardens of Versailles. If vagueness and lack of form seems a quality of the picturesque, so it is in a sense; but the underlying design must be there, however illusive. It is this quality which the Chinese in their term sharawadgi, characterize as the "carelessness of disorderly grace," that the Englishman is feeling for in his continued reiteration that art should be concealed, that it should deceive the casual eye. The new type of design emerging was a subtle thing, not easily grasped and hence utterly lacking in many of the early gardens of the new style.

Whately is sensible of the fact that the analogy between painting and gardening cannot be carried too far. As an aid to the study of landscape he considered a knowledge of painting to be indispensible:

> "The works therefore, of a great master, are fine exhibitions of nature, and an excellent school wherein to form a taste for beauties; but still their authority is not absolute; they must be used only as studies, not as models; for a picture and a scene in nature though they agree in many, yet differ in some particulars." [1]

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[1] Whately, pp. 146-147.

He goes on to characterise the chief distinction between gardening and painting as one of dimension, for he says that while a multiplicity of objects is pleasing in nature,

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on a canvas the space is too limited: on the other hand there may be more diversity of detail in the principal objects of a picture than there can be in a scene of nature. He bases his definition of the picturesque in landscape upon the differences rather than the similarities between gardening and painting:

> "Some which are agreeable in reality, lost their effect in the imitation; and others, at the best, have less merit in a scene than in a picture. The term picturesque is therefore applicable only to such objects in nature, as, after allowing for the differences between the arts of painting and of gardening, are fit to be formed into groups, or to enter into a composition, where the several parts have a relation to each other; and in opposition to those which may be spread abroad in detail, and have no merit but as individuals." 1

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1 Whately, pp. 149-150.

The picturesque in gardening, as landscape design begins to stand by itself distinct from landscape painting, comes to represent in Whately's mind the quality of composition: the relating of parts to form a consistent work of art, as the painter does on the canvas, but within the limitations and also including the greater possibilities of working within a larger field: that is living materials, distant prospects, changing seasons and all that designing out of doors implies. Throughout his essay composition is the keynote of all his theories: the need to select from the beauties of nature, to arrange, combine, and recombine until a coherent whole is achieved. He writes that the whole range of nature is open

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to the gardener, "from the parterre to the forest;" and "whatever is agreeable to the senses or the imagination, he may appropriate to the spot he is to improve: it is a part of his business to collect into one place, the delights which are generally dispersed through different species of country."[1] He does not believe that one should attempt to produce artificially a scene unrelated to the local topography:

> "The beauties peculiar to one character, cannot be transferred to its opposite; even where the characters are the same, it is difficult to copy directly from the one into the other; and by endeavoring to produce a resemblance of a scene which is justly admired, the proper advantages of the place, are often neglected for an imitation much inferior to the original."[2]

[1] Ibid., p. 256.

[2] Ibid.

Whately adds to Walpole's conception of the importance of a study of natural landscape, that this should be supplemented by a study of existing gardens. Now that the new art had advanced far enough to have existing models, the study of gardens in the new style to analyze their beauties and to correct their defects became a new department in the training of the landscape architect. Whately wrote:

> "Improved places are of singular use to direct judgment and choice and the combinations of the beauties of nature: an extensive knowledge of them is to be acquired in the country where they casually occur; discernment of their excellencies, and a taste for the disposition of them is to be formed in places where they have been selected, and arranged

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with design." [1]

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[1] Ibid., p. 257.

He guarded against limiting oneself to a study of existing places; as the painter must supplement a study of the great masters in painting by a return to a study of nature, so the gardener, after studying what has been accomplished in the new style, must return again and again to nature to store his mind with new ideas. Whately wrote:

> "The art of gardening therefore is not to be studied in those spots only where it has been exercised; though they are in this country very numerous, and very various; yet all together they contain but a small proportion of the beauties which nature exhibits; and unless the gardener has stored his mind with ideas, from the infinite variety of the country at large, he will feel the want of that number, which is necessary for choice; he will have none ready to apply to the subject immediately before him; and will be reduced to copy an imitation." [2]

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[2] Ibid.

Thus Whately warned against what actually happened in the new gardens, that in many cases each copied from the other until that insipidity and monotony arrived which both Walpole and Chambers condemned. Walpole and Whately had essentially the same solution to the problem, that if continual inspiration were drawn from the infinite variety of natural landscape there would be no danger of monotony. In Whately and Walpole's theories we again see the emergence of new principles of landscape gardening: The idea of imitating nature photographically

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has been expanded to include the "idealizing imitation of given reality," [1] to be accomplished by studying the great

[1] Bosanquet, History of Aesthetics, p. 61. Aristotle's conception of fine art in relation to nature: "idealizing imitation of given reality."

landscape paintings and by composing the elements of a scene in living materials as the painter does in a landscape. The art next comes to the stage of imitating existing models, and the garden artist loses sight of nature as he studies those who have now become the "masters" in garden scenery. The final step is that of returning again to nature for inspiration and the development of a broader view which supplements the study of nature by a study of gardens and then a return again to nature, to refresh the mind and restore it with new images to be woven into the garden design. It is therefore in the theoretical writings of Walpole, the two Masons, Chambers, Shenstone and Whately that the rules of the art of landscape emerge distinct from either painting of architecture.

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CONCLUSION

Wordsworth in 1805 summarized the contributions of the English landscape school in the following words, "Painters and poets have had the credit of being reckoned the fathers of English gardening: they will also have, hereafter, the better praise of being the fathers of a better taste."[1] Wordsworth's prophecy has unfortunately not as yet

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1 Wordsworth, To Sir George Beaumont, 1805.

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proved true; owing to certain excesses of the eighteenth-century garden reformers, and to the destruction of old formal gardens, the real importance of the English landscape school has too often been lost sight of. A recent English writer on the history of gardening states:

> "Had this school confined their energies to establishing new gardens their vagaries would have been harmless enough. But what must fill the least imaginative with horror is to think of the wanton destruction of fine old gardens, many of them established for centuries and full of interesting plants, the cutting down of trees and magnificent avenues, the wholesale destruction of orchards and so forth, perpetrated by the new school." [2]

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2 Eleanour Rohde, The Story of the Garden, p. 199.

The picture which she paints is indeed black and also entirely justified. Yet was there ever a reform which did not swing too far? While much of value was undoubtedly destroyed, at the same time there was produced something new, which when incorporated into what was already known, added immeasurably to the future. E. Rohde completes her discussion of the

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efforts of the English landscape gardeners and their continental imitators by saying that "there has never been a time when fashion in garden architecture was less characteristically English."[1] She feels that at its best

[1] Ibid., p. 207.

this type of gardening was "but an imitation of pictures by such an artist as Claude; at its worst it was ludicrous and deplorable."[2] She reflects the attitude of many writers on

[2] Ibid., p. 200.

English gardening. The historians of gardening have quite naturally laid most emphasis on the actual gardens produced by eighteenth-century designers; it has already been conceded that many of these were far from beautiful. Writers in the field of English literature have usually stressed the importance of the imitation of pictures in eighteenth-century garden design, owing to the close association of poetry, painting, and gardening in the contemporary mind. The full importance of the theoretical essays on gardening of the same period has not been estimated on either side. M.L. Gothein,[3]

[3] Gothein, A History of Garden Art, translated from the German by Amy Archer Hind, London, 1928.

whose history of gardening is regarded as the authoritative work both in Europe and in America, has given the most reasonable evaluation of the contributions of the English landscape

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school to modern gardening. The value of much of her criticism is owing to the fact that she alone approached her study of English gardening by way of historical researches in the field of English literature.[1] In the same manner, in this

[1] Katherine McNamara, "Marie Luise Gothein, Her Life and Work," Landscape Architecture (1931-32) p. 248.

attempt to study Walpole's essay, not only as an outgrowth of the English landscape movement, but also as a piece of English literature, it has proved both helpful and necessary to draw freely upon material from the two fields.

Although E.S. Rohde does not consider the effects of the English landscape school to have been far-reaching, the chapter on American Gardens[2] included in the last part of her

[2] Mrs. Francis King, "American Gardens," The Story of the Garden, pp. 244-245.

book affords ample evidence that the ideals of Walpole, Pope, Repton and others were carried to America where they formed the background of modern landscape architecture. Mrs. King begins her account of landscape gardening in America with Andrew Jackson Downing (1825-1855) the first professional landscape architect; there are evidences, however, of the influence of the English school even before the Revolution among famous amateur gardeners.[3] George Washington's

[3] Fiske Kimball, "The Beginnings of Landscape Gardening in America," pp. 181-187.

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grounds at Mt. Vernon, begun in 1752, contained a serpentine walk surrounding the bowling-green, which was planted with natural groups of native trees and shrubs well arranged to allow delightful vistas to the hills and river beyond. [1]

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1 Bradford Williams, "The Colonial Garden: its History and Meaning," Colonial Gardens, pp. 3-4.

Thomas Jefferson, when Minister to France, took a three weeks tour of English gardens. In his diary he mentions especially the gardens of Pope, Southcote and Hamilton. In 1786 he wrote:

> "I always walked over the gardens with Whately's book in my hand, examined with attention the particular spots he described, found them so justly characterized by him as to be easily recognized, and saw with wonder that his fine imagination had never been able to seduce him from the truth." [2]

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2 Kimball, p. 183.

On his return to America he remodeled Monticello along the lines indicated by Whately's Observations on Modern Gardening.

Richard Stockton of Princeton wrote from London in 1766:

> "I design to ride to Twickenham the latter end of next month, principally to view Mr. Pope's gardens and grotto, which I am told remain nearly as he left them, and...I shall take with me a gentleman who draws well, to lay down the exact plan of the whole," [3]

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3 Kimball, p. 181.

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Later, a portion of his estate, Morven, was set aside for a garden in imitation of Twickenham, in which the highway from Philadelphia to New York took the place of the river Thames.

Professional landscape gardening began in America early in the nineteenth century; beautiful gardens were planned and built on the banks of the Hudson river by Downing, disciple of Repton.[1] Many of these are still in existence and are famous.

[1] King, "American Gardens," p. 244.

. How closely Downing followed the eighteenth-century garden ideals is apparent in his theory that gardens should be designed according to the character of the locality, which he designated as either the beautiful or the picturesque. He defined the first type of beauty as that "characterised by simple and flowing lines," the second as that "expressed by striking, irregular or spirited forms."[2] The landscapes

[2] Downing, Landscape Gardening, p. 28.

of Claude Lorrain and of Salvator Rosa were given as "striking examples of expressions in natural scenery" but were not to be used as "exact models for imitation in Landscape Gardening."[3]

[3] Downing, p. 31.

He also aimed at producing an ideal landscape which would be an "expressive, harmonious and refined imitation" more beautiful than untouched nature.[4]

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[4] Ibid., p. 32.

Next in the development of American gardens came Frederick Law Olmstead, who followed the traditions of Downing. Designer of Central Park and of many other parks and well-known private estates, Olmstead attributes his interest in landscape gardening to the stimulation received as a boy from reading Gilpin and Price.[1]

[1] Frederick Law Olmstead, Landscape Architect (1822-1903) Early Years and Experiences, pp. 70-71.

Charles W. Eliot wrote of his son, designer of many estates in Boston and in other parts of New England:

> "Nobody was better aware than Charles that the founders of modern landscape art from Thomas Whately to Hermann von Puckler-Muskau had in the course of two generations (1770-1834) laid down all its fundamental principles. He knew that his own function could only be to make intelligent application of their principles under the new and various American conditions and to persuade some of his countrymen of the significance and value of these principles.[2]

[2] Eliot, Charles Eliot, Landscape Architect, p. 219.

Eliot mentions Walpole, Shenstone, Whately, Knight, and Price as those who developed these principles on their estates.[3]

[3] Ibid., p. 221.

Finally in Frank W. Waugh,[4] recent writer on the

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4 Waugh, The Natural Style in Landscape Gardening, Boston, 1917.

theory of gardening and landscape architect of note, we have the full development of Pope's "consult the genius of the place," and Walpole's conception of the "spirit of the landscape" in his definition of the natural style of landscape gardening. He divides gardening into two distinct types each of equal value in its place: the formal garden animated by the architectural spirit, and the informal garden animated by the spirit of the landscape. He writes:

> "The natural style of landscape gardening endeavors to present its pictures in forms typical of the natural landscape and made vital by the landscape spirit...It might be more accurately described as intelligently letting alone a natural landscape...The landscape gardener must, first and foremost, endeavor to understand the spirit of his landscapes. Then his work will be to simplify and and accentuate the characteristic natural forms (chiefly topography and flora), and to clarify and interpret the spirit of the place. This clarification and interpretation of spiritual values is the real work of the real artist.[1]

1 Waugh, p. 24.

In his edition of Downing's book Mr. Waugh adds: "Modern Landscape architecture does not pay much attention to distinction between the beautiful and the picturesque but emphasizes study of topography and use of native material in natural plant groups."[2]

2 Downing, p. 41, Footnote.

It is significant in this connection that, while much has been

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written of the contributions of the beautiful and the picturesque to general aesthetic theory, it has not been generally noted by writers in the field of English literature that it was the eighteenth-century gardenists who first developed the idea of a study of local topography. Indeed, Pope's "Consult the genius of the place in all" has even been regarded as a mere superficial personification of nature, such as is to be found in the usual neo-classic poem.[1] That emphasis

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[1] Hussey, The Picturesque, pp. 30-31.

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upon the analysis of the landscape is the dominating character of Walpole's essay, should add to its present-day interest.

This brief summary of landscape development in our own country should be sufficient to show that the ideals of the eighteenth-century landscape school are as alive today as they were two centuries ago, and that while many of the gardens are no longer in existence, what has remained as an inspiration for all time are the essays on gardening written when the art of landscape was in its infancy. So Walpole's essay, as the most comprehensive survey of the progress of the new school of gardening in its combination of history and theory, and because of its literary charm is worthy of yet another edition which will bring it up to date in the light of modern historical researches and will link more closely than before with present trends in landscape architecture. As Olmstead and Eliot found inspiration in the writings of

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Walpole, and other garden essayists of the period, so the student of eighteenth-century taste today may find something fresh and vital in Walpole's History of the Modern Taste in Gardening

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