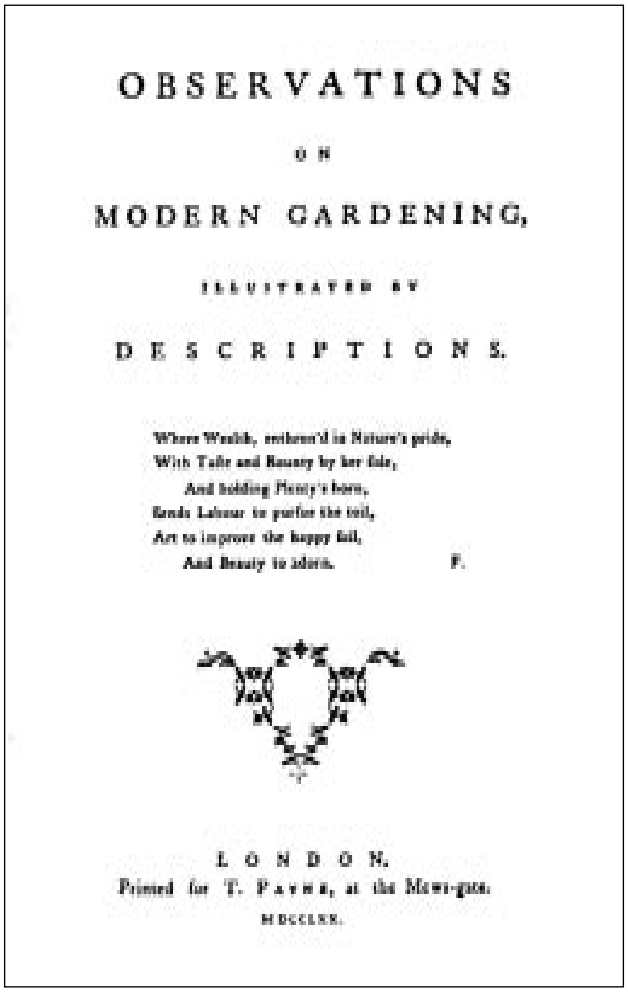


OBSERVATIONS

ON

MODERN GARDENING,

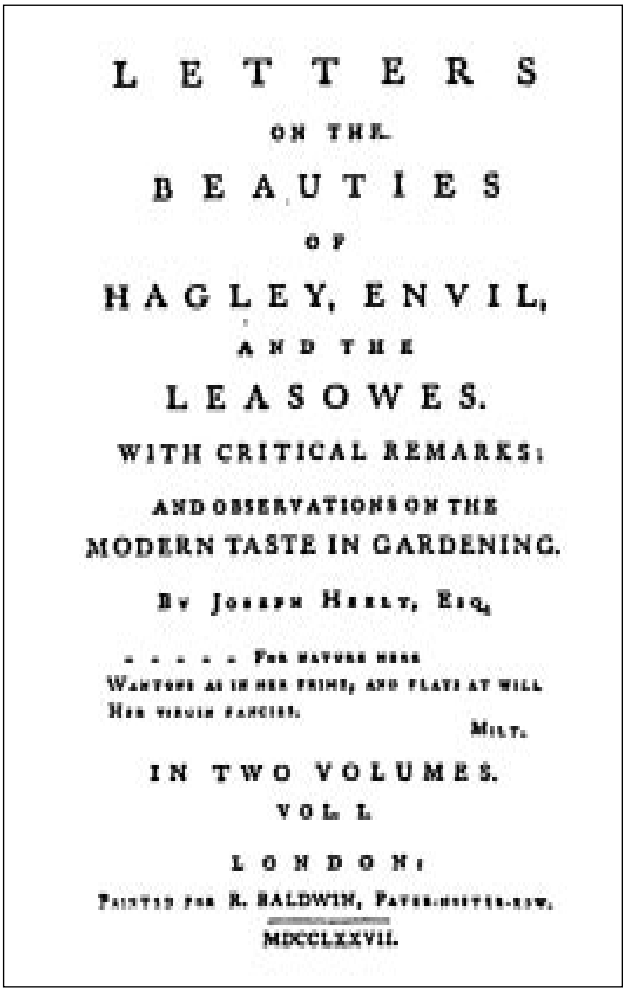
ILLUSTRATED BY

DESCRIPTIONS.

Where Wealth, reclaim'd in Nature's pride,
With Taste and Beauty by her side,
And holding Plenty's horn,
Ends Labour to purfue the toil,
Art to improve the happy foil,
And Beauty to adorn. F.

LONDON.
Printed for T. PAYNE, at the Mew-gate.
MDCCLXX.

Frontispiece for Thomas Whately's Observations...



LETTERS

ON THE

BEAUTIES

OF

HAGLEY, ENVIL,

AND THE

LEASOWES.

WITH CRITICAL REMARKS:

AND OBSERVATIONS ON THE

MODERN TASTE IN GARDENING.

By Joseph Heely, Esq.

. . . . . For nature here
Wantons as in her prime, and plays at will
Her virgin fancies.
Milt.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

Printed for R. BALDWIN, Paternoster-row.

MDCCLXXVII.

Frontispiece for Joseph Heely's Letters...

Re-Writing Landscape
Description as theory in the eighteenth century landscape garden

Katja Grillner

The art of landscape gardening evolved during the eighteenth century into a paradigmatic art-form in its bringing together of all other arts – from poetry and painting to architecture – and in its capacity to impress the mind with a multiplicity of sensations and the most sublime and beautiful ideas. Formally new principles of design were developed as attention shifted away from the representation of nature in idealised forms to its pure presentation – the "natural" as such, entered the garden scene through the aesthetics of the landscape garden. Along with the landscape garden, a new spatial and formal language was introduced, an alternative to the architectural principles that had up until then dominated the layout of gardens. This development radically challenged traditional modes of representation in gardening theory and practice. Focusing on the uses of verbal representations in two theoretical garden treatises of the eighteenth century, Thomas Whately's Observations on Modern Gardening (1770) and Joseph Heely's Letters on the beauties of Hagley, Envil and the Leasowes (1777), this paper aims at investigating this particular challenge to inherited "architectural" orders and hierarchies of garden art.[1]

Landscape garden theory in Eighteenth Century England

> I shall no longer resist the passion growing in me for things of a natural kind, where neither art nor the conceit or caprice of man has spoiled their genuine order.[2]
>
> Shaftesbury, The Moralists, 1705

The idea of a "natural style" in gardening surfaced in the early years of the eighteenth century with philosophers and writers such as Shaftesbury inThe Moralists of 1705, Addison referring to "making a pretty land-skip of the gentleman's grounds" in the imagination papers of 1712, and Alexander Pope advising Lord Burlington "to consult the genius of the place in all" in his Epistle to Lord Burlington of 1731. When Shaftesbury in 1705 revealed his passion for "things of a natural kind" he could not, however, as many writers on gardens have assumed, have had a proper landscape garden in mind.[3] The English "natural style" of gardening did not receive its mature expression until the

realisation of gardens such as Rousham, Stourhead and Stowe. The earliest examples, such as demonstrated in the treatises of Stephen Switzer and Batty Langley, owe much of their formal ideas to French classical models. The "natural" element consists in their designs of winding paths that remain enclosed within an overall formal composition.[4]

The term "landscape gardening" was not introduced until more than half a century later by the poet William Shenstone in his Unconnected Thoughts on Gardening, published posthumously in 1764.[5] While the landscape gardening practice was philosophically driven since its early days and surrounded by an aesthetic discourse emanating from John Locke, with Addison and Burke as key-references, more systematic theoretical garden treatises did not appear until the 1760s and 70s. Since the 1750s the lack of an updated treatise on gardening was discussed. Isaac Ware's A Complete Body of Architecture (1756) and Henry Home's (Lord Kames) Elements of Criticism (1762) both contained chapters on the principles of gardening, but observed the want of a general treatise on modern gardening. William Chambers described in 1757 the "art of laying out gardens among the Chinese" in his Designs of Chinese buildings, which under the cover of presenting the gardening methods of a distant culture, introduced his own ideals. William Shenstone's Unconnected thoughts on gardening present, in the form of advisory notes, for the first time important key-principles of the art: the principal objective of pleasing the imagination, the importance and distinction between prospects and home-views, the carefully measured relationship between art and nature, as well as rules for conducting the winding paths. It was widely read and the principles Shenstone confirms are on a general level those built upon by subsequent writers of the 1770s.

The first who claimed to have written a more comprehensive work in garden theory was George Mason, a Member of Parliament and a land-owner in Hertfordshire, where he had landscaped his own estate, Porters. In 1768 he published his Essay on Design in Gardening, which seems to have passed quite unnoticed.[6] Thomas Whately's Observations on Modern Gardening was not published until 1770, but the text was spread as early as 1765.[7] In spite of George Mason's claim to notice for his earlier publication date, Whately gives the most complete and systematic account of the design principles of the landscape garden at this time. He does not support his theory on an historical narrative (as did Mason and later Horace Walpole in The History of the Modern Taste in Gardening) or a cultural precedent (as Chambers did with his accounts of oriental gardening).[8] Whately presents the principles of modern gardening as if released from historical and cultural context, and ground them in descriptions of existing gardens and natural scenery. The rules are derived from studying how desirable effects have been attained, either by nature, or by a garden designer's aid.

The key-sources for this paper, Thomas Whately's Observations on Modern gardening (1770) and Joseph Heely's Letters on the beauties of Hagley, Envil and the Leasowes (1777) have very different positions in this narrative of the development of a theoretical discourse concerning the landscape garden. While Whately holds the undisputed position as the author of the most complete and systematic treatise, the culmination, or peak, of the movement, Heely's letters are published too late to play more than a marginal role in this narrative. His Letters are however of particular interest to us, developed as it was out of a descriptive genre into a forceful didactic mode of writing the landscape garden. Description may be thought of, as we shall see, as a crucial tool for the training of a competent garden designer.

How to become a landscape gardener

> [T]he business of a gardener is to select and to apply whatever that is great, elegant, or characteristic in any of them; to discover and to shew all the advantages of the place upon which he is employed; to supply its defects, to correct its faults, and to improve its beauties.[9]
>
> Thomas Whately Observations on Modern Gardening, 1770

> [M]y friend, if this art is really to be learnt, nature only is the proper school for it – it depends not on the rules that comprehend science of any other kind; /…/ its rules depend on other powers — on good sense, on an inven-

> tive genius, a flowery imagination, and a delicate fancy — it is these only that can produce perfection— that can teach you to slide from one beauty to another, to characterise, combine, and give every scene a pleasing effect, from whatever point it is viewed.[10]
>
> Joseph Heely Letters on the Beauties of Hagley, Envil, and the Leasowes, 1777

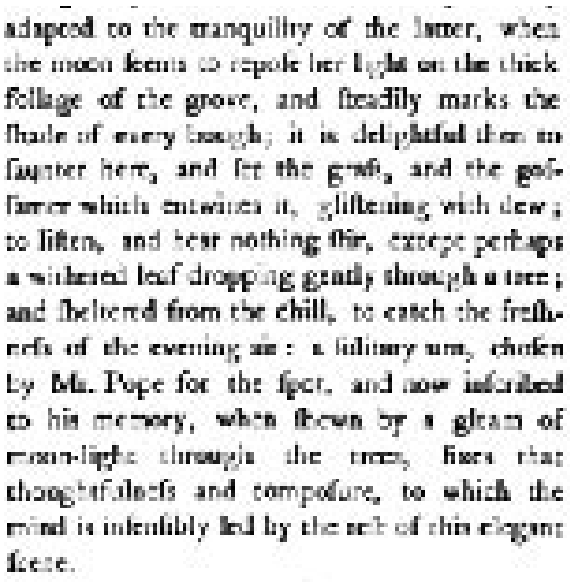
How does one learn to become a landscape gardener? Many different objectives and interests converge in the publication of essays and treatises such as George Mason's, William Chamber's, Thomas Whately's and Joseph Heely's. The need experienced in the 1750s for a more complete theoretical base for the practice of landscape gardening, and these writers' attempt to answer to that need, is one among many aspects to take into account in critical studies of these sources. But it is a very challenging one. Was there really a need for theory? And of what use could that be for the designer?

The role of the designer was taken on in different situations by landowners, painters, poets, scholars, gentlemen, (gentle)ladies, architects or professional gardeners. When arguing for the status of gardening among the liberal arts the absence of a professional designer-figure ought to have been a difficulty. The other arts – painting, poetry, architecture – all had a professional figure behind them – the painter, the poet, the architect. But anyone around seemed to be a potential garden designer. Walpole solved the problem by construing a heroic historical narrative focusing entirely on selected key-figures, such as Milton, Kent and Brown.[11] Chambers, being an architect himself, argued for the need of a distinct profession,[12] while George Mason on the contrary thought the landowner the best designer.

Thomas Whately does not argue either way. Instead his treatise rather constructs an authoritative designer figure by claiming to systematically outline and convey the body of knowledge that this art requires and his treatise aims at conveying to his reader. When applying these rules, whoever did it rightly took on him to be a modern garden designer, a true artist. Joseph Heely's Letters have a similar effect on the reader but through less authoritative means. The reader is simply lured to take for granted the superiority of the art that offers such remarkable experiences as those so vividly described by Heely.[13]

Landscape gardens were primarily designed in close relation to existing sites. Even if dramatic alterations were to be pursued, the aim was that these changes should only enhance the 'natural' beauty and character of the existing situation. It demanded a designer to act without the support of the specific formal and proportional rules provided for example in architectural theory. Whately and Heely, as quoted above, both underline the importance of a trained judgement that may, in Whately's words, "select", "discover", "shew", "correct" and "improve", and in Heely's "slide", "characterise", "combine" and "produce perfection". This judgement is always applied to what happen to stand before the designer, the site. The garden designer thus had to learn to read and then re-write the landscape using his developed aesthetic sensitivity and judgement. On existing grounds, through subtle changes, a new, fictional, reality should come into place. How was the necessary aesthetic judgement demanded for this operation to be trained? If this was the key element for the art of landscape gardening how was it to be conveyed through and expressed in a theoretical discourse?

In Whately and Heely's respective works a literary descriptive method to train the garden designer's aesthetic judgement is applied. Thomas Whately closely connects conceptual discourse with examples from garden scenes. He describes these examples in such a poetic way as to make the selected scenes "live" in the reader's imagination. In this way the designer's faculty of judgement is trained in "real" (virtual) situations and simultaneously furnished with concepts through which the site may be read carefully, and productively. Heely constructs a narrative under the pretence of writing twenty letters to a friend. In his dramatic account of his own visits to Hagley, Envil and the Leasowes, he introduces a rare kind of theoretical discourse where he expresses, more clearly than any of the above writers, the imagined capacity of the landscape garden to dramatically affect its visitors. A literary mode of representation is thus actively developed to complement the "model" reality that in architecture traditionally had been supplied by



adapted to the tranquility of the hour, when the moon seems to repose her light on the thick foliage of the grove, and steadily marks the shade of every bough; it is delightful then to saunter here, and let the gaze, and the gossamer which entwines it, glittering with dew; to listen, and hear nothing stir, except perhaps a withered leaf dropping gently through a tree; and sheltered from the chill, to catch the freshness of the evening air: a solitary urn, chosen by Mr. Pope for the spot, and now inscribed to his memory, when flown by a gleam of moon-light through the trees, fixes that thoughtfulness and composure, to which the mind is insensibly led by the seat of this elegant genius.

From Whately's description of Tinian's lawn at Hagley park.

drawings, perspectives, and models.

Touring the garden – description as theory

> I am very hard on all imitations of nature, and I prefer if there are no imitations rather than that there are mediocre ones. The most beautiful perspectives in nature are almost always very uninteresting in a painting. Furthermore, our gardens present such numerous and varied scenery, that I know not how to procure even mediocre engravings without very much trouble and expense.[14]

Thomas Whately gave his treatise the provoking subtitle Illustrated by descriptions. Provoking since the publication contains no visual illustrations whatsoever, only verbal descriptions. The French translator complained over this lack, particularly since his readers would not often have had the chance to see these gardens or landscapes in reality, but would be greatly assisted by proper engravings. Whately's reply, as quoted above, reveals his suspicious attitude towards visual representations. It is confirmed in the chapter on "picturesque beauty" where he addresses the relationship and differences between landscape painting and gardening:

> Even when painting exactly imitates the appearances of nature, it is often weak in conveying the ideas which they excite, and on which much of their effect sometimes depends.

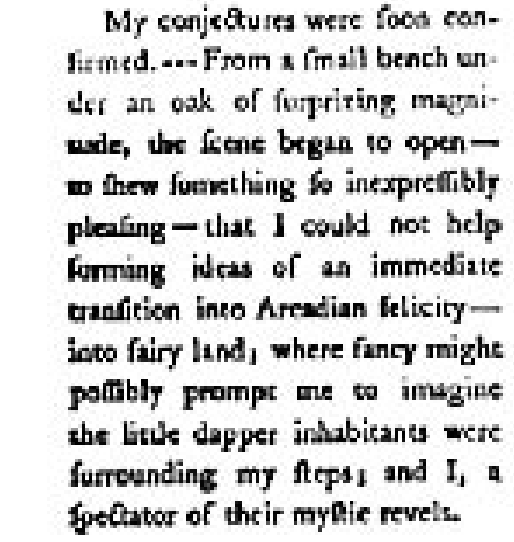
Whately trusts the word more than the image and illustrates his treatise with descriptions of fourteen examples of gardens and natural landscape scenery.

Observations on modern gardening follow a classical treatise format in its systematic disposition and objective ambitions. Its explicit aim is to position gardening among the liberal arts by supplying a consistent body of theory. It starts out with four chapters on the principles of the materials which nature employs "in the composition of her scenes: Ground, Wood, Water and Rocks." Halfway into the treatise, after a fifth chapter on the material of Building, Whately addresses the notions of Art, Picturesque beauty and Character. He then enters the different "subjects" of garden composition (Farm, Garden, Park, Riding), and finally the effects of time (Seasons). The structure of Whately's treatise appears clear and systematic. There is a movement from the particulars, the material facts, to a higher conceptual complexity. Neither writer, nor reader, is directly visible in the text. The author appears to speak from an ideal, objective, position. The fourteen "illustrations" are woven into this rational scheme, positioned at critical points. Certain scenes stand out in the text with a remarkable presence seemingly nailing down the abstract principles to real experiences.

We can look closer at Whately's descriptive mode in his account of Hagley Park in chapter 57 and observe how it fluctuates between general and specific observations. He begins with mapping out the hills (Witchberry and Clent), the important prospects, and the surrounding towns and distant mountains. Then, suddenly, he plunges into a scene: "In one of these hollows is built a neat cottage, under a deep descent, sheltered besides by plantations." As readers we are now there, down by the cottage, for a brief moment. Then we are brought up again to the general perspective. Whately informs us "though the wood appears to be entire, it in reality opens frequently into lawns, which occupy much of the space within it." And he speaks generally

of the different kinds of openings at Hagley. Then he makes us dive down at an octagon seat, sacred to the memory of the poet Thomson. "It stands on the brow of a steep; a mead winds along the valley beneath, till it is lost on either hand behind some trees." He leaves us there to observe the "dusky antique tower," and a Doric portico, called the Pope's building. Then we find ourselves appearing at the Rotunda. Whately does not describe the readers' walk to get there, but simply puts us down at the spot where he describes and characterises the scene. He then takes us through the woods, to a Gothic seat, and then we appear before the tower, which, Whately writes, is "everywhere an interesting object". Then, again, the reader is automatically transported to the hermitage. Whately observes details: "A little rill trickles through it". Then he lifts our eyes and informs us that we have reached the extremity of the park. But the peak of Whately's description of Hagley is still to come at Tinian's lawn:[15]

> It is encompassed with the stateliest trees, all fresh and vigorous, and so full of leaf that not a stem, not a branch, appears, but large masses of foliage only describe an undulating outline: the effect however is not produced by the boughs feathering down to the bottom; they in appearance shoot out horizontally a few feet above the ground to a surprising distance, and form underneath an edging of shade, into which the retreat is immediate at every hour of the day; the verdure of the turf is as luxuriant there as in the open space; the ground gently waves in both over easy swells and little dips, just varying, not breaking the surface; no strong lines are drawn; no striking objects are admitted; but all is of an even temper, all mild, placid, and serene, in the gayest season of the day not more than cheerful, in the stillest watch of night not gloomy; the scene is indeed peculiarly adapted to the tranquillity of the latter, when the moon seems to repose her light on the thick foliage of the grove, and steadily marks the shade of every bough; it is delightful then to saunter here, and see the grass, and the gossamer which entwines it, glistening to dew; to listen, and hear nothing stir, except perhaps a withered leaf dropping gently through a tree; and sheltered from the chill, to catch the freshness of the evening air: a solitary urn, chosen by Mr. Pope for the spot, and now inscribed to his memory, when shewn by a gleam of moon-light through the trees, fixes that thoughtfulness and composure, to which the mind is insensibly led by the rest of this elegant scene.[16]


My conjectures were ſoon confirmed. --- From a ſmall bench under an oak of ſurpriſing magnitude, the ſcene began to open — to ſhew ſomething ſo inexpreſſibly pleaſing — that I could not help forming ideas of an immediate tranſition into Arcadian felicity — into fairy land, where fancy might poſſibly prompt me to imagine the little dapper inhabitants were ſurrounding my ſteps; and I, a ſpectator of their myſtic revels.

From Heely's description of the Grotto at Hagley park

Reread the passage and look closely at the fluctuating tone of voice. Whately is simultaneously giving a very dry lecture to the prospective designer on the design of natural boundaries, and dreaming away, transporting us and himself to that very spot: "it is delightful then to saunter here..."

Joseph Heely published his first A Description of Hagley, Envil and the Leasowes, in Birmingham 1775. Two years later his Letters on the beauties of Hagley, Envil and the Leasowes were published in London. While many specific descriptions of scenes were transferred from the first to the second text, Heely does, as he claims himself "venture upon a more extensive plan" in the second work. Here Heely constructs a narrative under the pretence of writing twenty letters to a friend. The first four letters contain introductory observations

on the art of modern gardening. The letter-writer, the narrator, is both the knowledgeable author, and the experiencing subject of the garden tours, in contrast to his earlier Description, where the visitor, invoked as either "spectator" or "stranger", becomes the locus of experience (a "he"). Heely appears to draw his understanding of the history of gardening rather uncritically from Walpole, and to be familiar with gardening theories of association, as well as advocating the idea of teaching design through describing examples, which is also prevalent in Chambers, Mason, and Whately. In his dramatic account of his own experiences in visiting Hagley, Envil and the Leasowes, he demonstrates for the reader a way of seeing the garden, which, should it be apprehended, points the reader along the way to become, if endowed with genius, a competent garden designer. Here we find him "in the environs of the Grotto" at Hagley:

> A gate leads into this busy, fascinating recess, where, for some time I musingly walked within the umbrage of gloomy yews, and other evergreens, crouded, and in negligent confusion. I saw every part about me tended to give it a solemn opake cast, and concluded from thence, it was meant to contrast the more lively feature of some approaching effort of the designers genius.
>
> My conjectures were soon confirmed. — From a small bench under an oak of surprising magnitude, the scene began to open – to shew something so inexpressibly pleasing – that I could not help forming ideas of an immediate transition into Arcadian felicity – into fairy land; where fancy might possibly prompt me to imagine little dapper inhabitants were surrounding my steps and I, a spectator of their mystic revels.[17]

Heely lends his eye to the reader's imagination and does not primarily describe the scene as it "is" in some objective way, but in the order in which he, himself, takes it in, and the imaginations it provokes. As the narrator he organises the experience. Not only through walking along a certain path, but through guiding the eye along a determined itinerary even when studying a scene or a view from a fixed position. A very interesting example of his "guiding the eye" is found in his description of the boathouse at Envil:

> The chief object, as a building, is the boat-house, visible from hence, at the bottom of a deep glen, in the midst of a rural tract of woodland — to this graceful octagon the eye is led from the foot of the chapel, between the trunks of lofty well-grown trees, sprinkling a bushy area, from whence succeeds a close intermixture of alders, willows, and ashes, so strongly united as to form a long level base, over which begins to all appearance, a winding brook, straggling down the valley, and emptying itself into a broad extensive lake, but finely broken by a close grove, that seemingly divides it, and joins a fir plantation feathering along the bank, ending at the boat-house, which it half surrounds and shews in the most striking light— the background corresponds very happily with such entertaining subjects, being a diversified country, of alternate hill and valley, rising to a bold horizon at a great distance. — Thus the scene, that will claim your admiration, and oblige you to confess its superiority,[18]

The eye travels with the narrator in this scene that has a very filmic quality for a modern reader. By enforcing a way of experiencing and seeing these particular scenes of a landscape garden Heely teaches the reader a perceptive mode that may be transferred to other situations. In Whately's descriptions the reader never knows who is there to take in the prospect described. Whether it is possible at all to see all that he describes from one spot, or if it is the intellectual imagination of a writer having the overview the visitor can never obtain. While in Heely's text, it is clearly an experiencing individual in the garden, in Whately's text, the landscape is left on its own, imagined as if independent of its spectator. Both writers direct however the readers' experience of real examples, and allow us to understand and imagine both their general and their specific idea. In different ways they regulate the experience of the landscape garden and offer a vast vocabulary to the designer. This vocabulary could not have been presented in a site-less dictionary but each concept must be

A different version of this essay has been published in Hybrid Thought, edited by John Monk and Rolf Hughes, Milton Keynes, UK: The Open University, 2003.

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attached to a particular situation in order to be properly conceived.

The differences between Whately's and Heely's texts, and their implied uses of the landscape garden, corresponds with the emerging picturesque ideals which brings about an increasingly touristic behaviour towards the gardens.[19] That is, the "visit" re-places aristocratic life (from living in the garden to touring the garden). In the popularisation of landscape contemplation that the picturesque movement brought about, previous concerns with intellectual abstraction, were replaced with an increased interest for the details of landscape.[20] Heely seems more influenced by this transition than Whately. Yet he emphasises the importance of rambling, lingering, and gazing, that is to allow the garden time to be experienced, and he positions himself against those "lazy" visitors who only spare a quick glance.[21]

The absence of experiencing subject in Whately's descriptions is an effect of the generalising ideal that his treatise subscribes to. A divine eye surveys the art of landscape gardening. But as we have seen, Whately's descriptions nevertheless do enter our poetic imagination by momentarily diving down into the real. They leave us with memories of landscapes and scenes. While Heely's narrative is so coherent that we might actually be led to believe that we ourselves have been at Hagley, our memory of Whately's Hagley has the structure of a dream. Fluttering impressions momentarily form distinct sensations of imaginary presence. Heely's description is structured as a visit. Whately travels back among his own memories and bring forth recollections that characterise what he wants to explain. The path, the line, the progression is crucial to Heely's appreciation. Whately is more likely to doze off at the rotunda, to remain as long as he wishes in the prospect-room at the fictitious ruin. He imagines a life within the garden.

Notes

1. This study forms part of a collaborative research project based at the KTH School of Architecture in Stockholm, Architecture and its Mythologies –Authorship, Judgement and Representation. Our project is funded by the Swedish National Research Council. It examines authorship, judgement and representation as three critical concepts in the formation and transformation of the discipline of architecture as it relates to other artistic and professional disciplines and aims at providing a deeper understanding of the different features that make up our contemporary idea of the architect. It involves the researchers Katja Grillner, PhD, Timothy Anstey, PhD, and Rolf Gullström-Hughes, PhD. This paper builds upon my PhD-thesis Ramble, linger, and gaze dialogues from the landscape garden (KTH 2000) that examines the garden theories and literary garden representations of Thomas Whately, (Observations on Modern Gardening Illustrated by Descriptions, London: T. Payne, 1770) and Joseph Heely (Letters on the Beauties of Hagley, Envil, and the Leasowes. With critical remarks : and observations on the modern taste in gardening, London: R. Baldwin, 1777) and explores a method of architectural research based on narrative dialogue.
2. Anthony the Third Earl of Shaftesbury, from "The Moralists", in Characteristics of Men, Morals, Opinions and Times, John M. Robertson (Ed.), Indianapolis and New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1974, p. 125.
3. David Leatherbarrow has argued that the "natural" referred to here by Shaftesbury should not be understood literally in the 18th century sense, but should rather be connected to a 17th century neoplatonic idea in which "nature" has a much more metaphysical and abstract significance as the "unity of all forms". David Leatherbarrow

"Character, Geometry and Perspective: the Third Earl of Shaftesbury's Principles of Garden Design", Journal of Garden History, Vol 4, No 4, 1984, pp 332–358.

4. Stephen Switzer Ichnographia Rustica or, The Nobleman, Gentleman, and Gardener's Recreation : containing directions for the general distribution of a country seat into rural and extensive gardens, parks, paddocks, &c., and a general system of agriculture, London: D. Browne, 1718, Batty Langley, New principles of gardening, or, The laying out and planting parterres, groves, wildernesses, labyrinths, avenues, parks, &c. after a more grand and rural manner, than has been done before : with experimental directions for raising the several kinds of fruit-trees, forest-trees, ever-greens and flowering-shrubs with which gardens are adorn'd, to which is added, the various names, descriptions, temperatures, medicinal virtues, uses and cultivations of several roots, pulse, herbs, &c. of the kitchen and physick gardens, that are absolutely necessary for the service of families in general ... (London: A. Bettesworth and J. Batley, 1728).
5. Two very useful anthologies for English garden writings are Michael Charlesworth (Ed) The English Garden – Literary sources and documents, Vol I–III, Mountfield: Helm Information, 1993; and John Dixon Hunt and Peter Willis (Eds.), The Genius of a Place – The English Landscape garden 1620–1820, London: Elek Books, 1975. William Shenstone's Unconnected thoughts are reprinted in Charlesworth's anthology, Vol II. Shenstone's letters are also reprinted here, which offers a very interesting reading.
6. In a second expanded edition in 1795 George Mason comments the gardening books that have been published since the first edition of his own work, and complains of not having received due respect for his early achievement in the theory of gardening.
7. Isabel Wakelin in Horace Walpole – Gardenist, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1943, p. 71, states that a manuscript version of Observations on Modern Gardening, was circulating already in 1765. The first edition was printed in 1770, in Dublin (by James Williams, and John Exshaw) and London (by T. Payne). It was translated into French and German the following year. In 1798 an altered edition was published with footnotes from Horace Walpole's On Modern Gardening, and en-gravings of the described examples; together with "An Essay on the Different Natural Situations of Gardens" by Sir John Dalrymple (reproduced with introduction by Robert Williams in Journal of Garden History, Vol 3, No 2, 1983, pp. 144–156). Though frequently related in garden historical studies, no complete critical study of Thomas Whately, and his writings, has yet been published.
8. The infected gardening debate of the 1770's divided Horace Walpole and William Chambers into two camps. Walpole greatly supported Whately's treatise, while he ridiculed Chambers' criticism of the all-too-natural Brownian garden. Walpole's The History of the Modern Taste in Gardening, New York, Ursus Press, 1995, and this debate, effected an artificial division of gardening practices into a natural, and an emblematic style, which, even though questioned, remains influential even today). But this large controversy did not primarily concern different opinions on how to design a proper garden, even if that was brought to the surface. Rather it was Chambers' love for the exotic Chinese, as well as for the French and Italian extravagancies, that disturbed Walpole's ambition to present the history of landscape gardening as truly English. The English garden represented a liberal constitution and a rational nation, and it ought to be incompatible with any totalitarian system. Walpole's History… constructs a historical narrative that serves to prove his chauvinistic argument. (For further references see below, note 11). Chambers in his turn constructs an exotistic narrative as a package for his own gardening ideals, based on current sensationalist philosophy in England and France. He had visited China in his travels with the Swedish East-India Company before he was trained as an architect. "On the Art of Laying out Gardens" was published as an appendix to his Designs of Chinese Buildings already in 1757 (Designs of Chinese buildings, furniture, dresses, machines, and utensils. Engraved by the best hands from the originals drawn in China by Mr. Chambers, to which is annexed a description of their temples, houses, gardens, &c., Published for the author, London: 1757), and the much more extensive work, A Dissertation on Oriental Gardening was first published in 1772 and in a second extended edition in 1773 (A dissertation on oriental gardening; by Sr. William Chambers. The second edition, with additions. to which is annexed, an explanatory discourse by Tan Chetqua, of Quang-chew-fu, gent.., London: W. Griffin, 1773). His treatises claim to describe Chinese gardening, but they are very strongly influenced by his own preferences. The "chinese" is used to authorise his position as contrary to the prevailing trend in England.
9. Thomas Whately, Observations on Modern Gardening, Introduction, p 1. All quotations are from the 1770 London edition (reprinted in facsimile by Garland Publishing 1982)
10. Joseph Heely, Letters on the beauties of Hagley, Envil, and the Leasowes, London: 1777, Vol I, p. 37.
11. In spite of William Kent being initially a trained history painter, he becomes in Walpole's rhetoric the man "who leapt the fence and made all England become a garden." A position that he still maintains in popular historiography in

spite of substantial efforts by critical garden historical scholars to modify that view. For critical studies concerning the impact of Walpole's "History" on our contemporary understanding of the English landscape garden see Michael Leslie's "History and Historiography in the English Landscape Garden" in Michel Conan (Ed.), Perspectives on Garden History, Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1999, pp. 91–106; and Stephen Bending's "Horace Walpole and Eighteenth Century Garden History" in Journal of the Courtauld and Warburg Institutes, Vol 57, 1994. John Dixon Hunt's Garden and Grove – The Italian Renaissance Garden in the English Imagination 1600–1750, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986, makes a very important contribution to the deconstruction of the mythological historiography concerning the pure englishness of the landscape garden.

12. In China, wrote Chambers, the garden designers "are not only Botanists, but also painters and philo-sophers; having a thorough knowledge of the human mind, and of the arts by which its strongest feelings are excited." William Chambers, A dissertation, op.cit.
13. In our research project Architecture and its Mythologies – Authorship, judgement and representation we will look closer into this question of how the figure of the architect or designer gains authority through the identity constructed through its theoretical discourse (see above note 1).
14. Whately's reply to his French translator's, F. De Latapie, complaint over the lack of illustrations published in the introduction to the French edition. (L'art de former les jardins modernes ou L'Art des jardins anglois, Paris: Charles Antoine Jombert, 1771, Introduction, pp.lii–liii). Translated into English by the author: "Je desirois cependant de tout mon coeur pouvoir vous satisfaire sur cet article: mais je vous avoue que je sui s très-difficile sur toutes les imitations de la nature, & que j'aime mieux qu'il n'y en ait point du tout que si elles étoient médiocres. Les plus belles perspectives naturelles sont presques toujours très-peu intéressantes dans un tableau. D'ailleurs, nos jardins présentent des scènes si nombreuses & si variées qu'on ne sauroit s'en procurer des gravures même médiocres, sans beaucoup de soin & de dépense."
15. Whately, 1770, op.cit. Description of Hagley, Ch. 57 pp.200–201.
16. Ibid.
17. Heely, 1777, op.cit.,Vol I, pp.142–143.
18. Heely, 1777, op.cit.,Vol II, p.52.
19. See Ann Bermingham, Landscape and Ideology – The English Rustic Tradition 1740–1860, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986, pp.83–85; and Stephen Copley, "William Gilpin and the lead-mine", in Copley and Garside (Eds.), The Politics of the Picturesque, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994, pp.42–61.
20. Ann Bermingham, "The Picturesque and ready-to-wear femininity", in Copley and Garside, The Politics of the Picturesque, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994, pp.81–119 (pp.82–90).
21. When Heely criticises an abundance of paths he writes: "When I walk in the gardens of pleasure, I don't think myself a journeying — I walk there to enjoy, and to admire their variety — to linger at every scene, and trace the pencil in all it's touches." (Heely, 1777, op.cit., Vol I, pp.67–68).