

UNIVERSITY OF DERBY

The Meiji Legacy: Gardens and Parks of
Japan and Britain, 1850-1914

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Doctor of Philosophy

2020

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Contents

Introduction	5
Abstract	5
Acknowledgements	6
Historiography and Literature Review	7
Chapter 1: Plant Hunters and the Nursery Trade: from <i>sakoku</i> to Victorian Japan Gardens -	27
Introduction	28
1.1. Closing and opening Japan	31
1.2. Building the horticultural Trade: British and Japanese Nurseries	43
1.3. Differentiating a distinct Japanese style: Chinese and Oriental aesthetics	51
1.4. The Japan Garden: first representations of Japan in Britain	58
Conclusion	63
Chapter 2: European elements in the parks and gardens of Japan: Changing Japan and	
Changing Japanese Gardens	65
Introduction	66
2.1. Existing Park Spaces in Japan: the extent of foreign ‘borrowing’	68
2.2. The Settlements and Treaty Ports: Parks and gardens in Japan designed for or by Foreigners	
.....	73
2.3. The Meiji government’s promotion of Japan’s modernisation: National Industrial Exhibitions	
at new park sites	81
2.4. Incorporation of European ideas into Japanese parks and gardens: Significance	89
Conclusion	98
Chapter 3: Japanese Gardens in Public Spaces: Exhibitions, Villages and Parks	99
Introduction	100
3.1. Japanese Gardens at World Exhibitions	102
3.2. Japanese Villages and Japanese Themed Attractions	115
3.3. Gardens inspired by the Exhibitions and Japanese themed Attractions	121
3.4. Public Parks with Japanese Themed Gardens	127
Conclusion: In the Public Eye	143
Chapter 4: Japan Societies and Guides to make a Japanese garden	145
Introduction	146
4.1. Japan Societies: political motives and garden knowledge	148
4.2. Josiah Conder: an English <i>Niwashi</i>	156
4.3. Practical applications: Conder’s books as garden construction guides	164
4.4. Scholarly Impact: making Conder’s work accessible	169
Conclusion	176
Chapter 5: Gardens and Emissaries: Connections with Japan through Aristocrats and Landscape	
designers	178
Introduction	179
5.1. The Japan Garden as a Travel Souvenir	181
5.2. Creating a Souvenir Garden: Businesses, Garden Creators and their Connections	187
5.3. The Royal Connection: King Edward VII & Japanese Garden Style	199
5.4. Aristocratic links: Meiji Garden Parties	208
Conclusion	212
Chapter 6: In search of Authenticity: Japanese Gardeners in Britain and Hidden Gardens -	214
Introduction: Reactions against the ‘inauthentic’	215
6.1. When a Japanese garden, is not a Japanese garden	217

6.2. In search of Authenticity: Crediting native Japanese Gardeners -----	224
6.3. <i>Niwashi</i> in Britain: Japanese gardens created by Native Gardeners -----	231
6.4. Edo and Meiji era styles of garden -----	240
6.5. Hidden Gardens: When a Japanese garden, is not a Japanese garden - part 2 -----	248
Conclusion: New Japan gardens with added Japanese input -----	254
Chapter 7: Gardens at the Japan-British Exhibition 1910 and their legacy to garden design -----	256
Introduction -----	257
7.1. The Politics of Exhibition -----	259
7.2. The Exhibition Gardens and their creators -----	263
7.3. Critical reception and further evaluation of the exhibition gardens -----	273
7.4. Gardens inspired by the 1910 Exhibition -----	280
Conclusion: The legacy of the 1910 Exhibition and resulting evolution of Japan Gardens in Britain -----	286
Conclusion -----	289
Bibliography -----	302
Appendix -----	i - v

Figures and Tables

Figure 1 – Heian era garden example	7
Figure 2 – Shinto Temple Engraving	27
Figure 3 – Thunberg and von Siebold book covers	35
Figure 4 – List of attempted Contact with Japan by Europe and the US, 1543-1852.	39
Figure 5 – Maries posing with Mr Kosaburo and his family at their nursery in Yokohama ...	43
Figure 6 – Yokohama Nursery Co., Nursery catalogue and Testimonials inc. Ethel Webb ...	47
Figure 7 – Shugborough Hall Chinese-style Garden (laid out circa 1747).....	51
Figure 8 – Willow Plate Pattern: Typical features of arched bridge and pagoda	53
Figure 9 – Buildings at the 1903, Osaka National Industrial Exhibition.....	65
Figure 10 – View from the Kobuntei. Kairakuen, Mito: An Edo period Japanese Park	70
Figure 11 – Ritsurin-en, Takamatsu: re-designated as a public park in 1875.....	71
Figure 12 - Shinjuku Gardens, Tokyo: French Garden.....	72
Figure 13 – Yamate park, Yokohama	76
Figure 14 – The remains of Samuel Cocking’s gardens and the greenhouse’s brick foundations.....	79
Figure 15 – Renovated Pelican Fountain at Hibiya Park, Tokyo and Open Lawns	90
Figure 16 – European style, Brick building at Koishikawa Botanical Gardens, Tokyo, set within a Japanese garden	94
Figure 17 – Murin-an, Kyoto: lawns in a Japanese Garden and Shakkei – borrowed scenery of distant hills.....	96
Figure 18 – Vienna International Exposition 1873, Shinto Japanese garden	99
Figure 19 – Sketch of the Vienna Exposition 1873 Japanese Garden at Alexandra Park, London	106
Figure 20 – comparison: (left) Philadelphia Exposition 1876 Japanese Pavilion and (right) Chapelfield Pagoda circa 1895.	109
Figure 21 – Chicago World Exposition 1893 Japanese Gardens.....	110
Figure 22 – Tannaker’s Japanese Native Village Poster	115
Figure 23 – Otley ‘Japanese garden’	119
Figure 24 – Bromborough Hall and St. Louis International Exposition 1904 garden comparison.....	123
Figure 25 – Hesketh Park Postcard circa 1900 of a supposed Japanese area	128
Figure 26 – Kew Gardens, Southport: 1890 Engraving showing islands spanned by arched bridges.....	130
Figure 27 – Japanese style Garden at Abbey Park, Leicester	132
Figure 28 – Japanese style Garden at Glen Hall, Leicestershire.....	133
Figure 29 – Correspondence between Carters & Co. and Joseph Burton at Abbey Park.....	135
Figure 30 – Pittencrieff Park, Dunfermline Japanese style Garden.....	136
Figure 31 – Peasholm Park, Scarborough gardens inspired by the Japan-British Exhibition 1910 gardens	138
Figure 32 – Gardam & sons, Staines advert	140
Figure 33 – The Pleasaunce, Overstrand Japanese inspired garden	141
Figure 34 - First Journal of The Asiatic Society of Japan 1872 - 1873	145
Figure 35 - Portrait of Viscount Kawase, first President of the Japan Society.....	151
Figure 36 - Ernest Hart Portrait	154
Figure 37 - Josiah Conder Asiatic Society of Japan Article	156
Figure 38 – List of texts consulted by Conder for <i>Landscape Gardening in Japan</i>	160
Figure 39 - ‘Large Lake Garden’ plate which inspired Cowden Castle’s Japanese style Garden.....	164
Figure 40 - Charles Holme’s use of Chikusan Teizoden	169

Figure 41 – Photo of an elaborate Japanese Garden; ‘Hotta no Niwa, Fukagawa’	170
Figure 42 - Prince Horita's Garden	172
Figure 43 – Garden in Japan image from Mary Fraser Article.....	175
Figure 44 - Japanese style garden at Buckhurst Park, Sussex	175
Figure 45 – Nikko image from Robert Charles Hope’s Guidebook	178
Figure 46 – Lowther Castle Japanese style Gardens	181
Figure 47 – Outline Tours of Japan	186
Figure 48 – Sedgwick Park, Sussex Japanese Stone Lantern	187
Figure 49 – Heale House, Wiltshire Japanese style Garden with imitation Nikko bridge	189
Figure 50 – Alfred Parsons sketch of Temple at Nikko.....	192
Figure 51 – Carters & Co. Japanese Garden at the Temple Flower Show 1909	194
Figure 52 – ‘Kameido House’ inspired by the Kameido Shrine in Japan	195
Figure 53 - Brentwood Pergola Inspired by a Japanese model.....	196
Figure 54 – Maple & Co, Anglo-Japanese Portable Garden House 1908. The Japanese aesthetic saw many creative translations.	198
Figure 55 –Japanese style Garden at Rufford Abbey, Nottinghamshire, with basic layout of rustic bridge and teahouse.....	201
Figure 56 – The Earl of Sandwich’s Japanese style Garden at Hinchingsbrooke House.....	203
Figure 57 – Carters & Co. Japanese Garden at Ascot as ordered by King Edward VII	205
Figure 58 – Queen Alexandra in Carters & Co. catalogue	206
Figure 59 – Okuma garden, Tokyo: A Western Hybrid Garden.....	209
Figure 60 – Japan Society Garden Party in the Botanical Gardens, Regents Park, London .	210
Figure 61 –Emperor Meiji and King Edward VII (and the Queen and Empress)	213
Figure 62 – Batsford Park, Gloucestershire garden with Buddha and Bronze deer statues ..	214
Figure 63 – Gunnersbury House Japanese style Garden	221
Figure 64 – Holland House, London Japanese style Garden	224
Figure 65 – Dundarach, Pitlochry Japanese style Garden with oversized Japanese stone lantern	233
Figure 66 – Saboru Eida advert as a ‘Japanese Landscape Gardener’	234
Figure 67 –Cowden Castle Japanese style Garden	237
Figure 68 – ‘Sharakuen’ entrance Gateway to Cowden Castle Japanese style Garden.....	238
Figure 69 – Kenkichi Okubo article on fixing trees in a Japanese Garden.....	243
Figure 70 – Mr Saigo’s garden with numerous ornamental bronze cranes	245
Figure 71 – Japanese and English Rock and pool garden comparison from The Garden	246
Figure 72 – Mawson’s Lakeland Nursery Japanese Garden.....	249
Figure 73 – Hayward rock garden at Holland House, Southcliffe.....	250
Figure 74 – Mitsubishi Season gardens, ‘Spring’	256
Figure 75 - Kinkichiro Honda Modern styles of Japanese Garden.....	263
Figure 76 – Karesansui abstract gardens: Ryoan-ji Temple, Kyoto	266
Figure 77 – The Garden of Peace	267
Figure 78 – Garden of the Floating Isle	269
Figure 79 – Bois De Boulogne similar to the ‘Garden of Floating Isle’	277
Figure 80 - Ewell Castle 'Garden of Peace' Replica	281
Figure 81 – Roynton Cottage, ‘Garden of the Floating Isle’ Replica	282
Figure 82 – Shinto temple at Tatton Park, Cheshire	285
Figure 83 - Model Garden at the Japan-British Exhibition 1910: Later displayed at Hammersmith Park, London.....	289
Figure 84 - Table of Japan Garden Categories	294

Introduction

Declaration: The research and writing in this thesis are the candidate's own work.

Abstract

Meiji era (1868-1912) politics cast a legacy which extended beyond the Far Eastern nation. This thesis explores the relationship between Japan and Britain during this period, in relation to the cultural exchange of ideas around garden and park design. In contrast to previous studies which have emphasised Japanese style as consumed in Britain, it compares both Japanese and British appropriations of their respective native garden styles underlining the considerable interdependent factors in their developments that have been previously under-emphasised. Furthermore, it includes analysis of public Japanese gardens which have been under-represented in previous work that has tended to focus excessively on aristocratic gardens. The thesis research has utilised published works, archive collections and the large amount of digital material now available in order to systematically identify and examine park and garden sites in both nations which had foreign garden elements infused within them. By analysing such sources, the gardens, people and motivating factors in their creation are revealed.

This study argues that there was a significant process of cultural exchange between Japan and Europe during the closed era or *sakoku*. The Asiatic Society of Japan and Japan Society of London were crucial in the transmission of elements of Japanese-style gardening to Britain as analysis of their members, their activities and publications demonstrates. In addition, the Edo/Meiji era gardening knowledge of self-styled experts in Japan known as *niwashis* strongly informed influential works on the subject such as Josiah Conder's *Landscape Gardening in Japan* (1893), which in turn shaped how these gardens were understood in Britain. Another key finding was that King Edward VII played an important part in encouraging the adoption of Japanese gardening ideas amongst the British aristocracy and forging a strong relationship with Japanese royalty. This was cemented by the Anglo-Japanese Alliance of 1902 with political motivation also crucial in shaping the design of gardens at the Japan-British Exhibition 1910. This thesis argues that in all British-Japanese style gardens, authenticity was ultimately unachievable despite a variety of steps taken by their creators such as employing Japanese gardeners. Furthermore, the study concludes that the extent of European elements in Japanese parks and gardens has been exaggerated in previous analyses.

This thesis demonstrates how Meiji politics affected garden styles inside and outside of Japan stemming from sustained interaction with foreign nations, modernisation and a reaction against European imperialism. A rich study of the Meiji legacy to garden design, this thesis suggests that Japanese imperialism was successful in counteracting European advances and changing initial European perceptions of Japan as Oriental. This has significantly added ground-breaking new knowledge to the subject. This interdisciplinary research draws from a range of ideas and methods from fields including history, geography, horticulture, politics, cultural and Japanese studies providing a rich and interwoven examination of the factors involved in the formation of the relationship between Japan and Britain from its beginnings in the sixteenth century.

Acknowledgments

Firstly, I would like to thank my two supervisors Professor Paul Elliott and Dr Thomas Neuhaus. Your guidance and advice over the last four and a half years has been invaluable to this project coming together into this vast entity. This also extends to the History department at the University of Derby and fellow postgraduates at the University.

Over the course of this research I have much thanks to give to numerous individuals in both Britain and Japan who have aided me. Particular thanks must be extended to Dr Setsu Tachibana for showing me around Osaka and discussing all things Japan and Japanese gardens. Your hospitality and generosity both with your time and welcoming me into your home to meet your family with delicious Japanese food went above and beyond expectations.

I would also like to thank Kate White and the gardeners at Cowden Castle who allowed me to look around the Japanese garden during its process of restoration (and after heavy snowfall!). Your knowledge of the gardens and the extra information you provided me was invaluable.

Many thanks must be given to all archivists and librarians who have helped me at numerous locations including; the Nottinghamshire archives, Leicester County Records Office, Cheshire County Records Office, Historic England Archive, British Library London and Boston Spa and Lindley Library; in addition to University libraries at; the University of Sheffield, University of Nottingham, University of York and University of Leicester.

Many Thanks are extended to the Japanese Garden Society and Japan Foundation, London for all the work you do promoting Japanese culture and organising informative events which allowed me the opportunity to meet and network with many interesting people.

My family have supported me throughout the PhD offering advice and encouragement, especially when things got tough. Huge thanks go to my Mum & Allan and Sophie & Phil, your contributions and support helped get this project over the line. And of course, many thanks to, Becky, Susie, Dan & Mike and also to Lynn, Nigel & Rachel (and all my nieces and nephews) for all your help outside of the PhD.

To my two daughters, Isobel – who has been as interested in my studies as I am! – and Lucy who is too young to be interested but makes me laugh daily, love to you both.

Lastly, but most importantly, immeasurable thanks and love go to my wife Helen, who has endured this four-and-a-half-year PhD ride with me, being supportive, encouraging and even looking around many Japanese gardens with me! (you are almost an expert yourself now!) Thank you.

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Figure 1 – Heian era garden example

Source – *Kitano Tenjin Engi Emaki*, from; Takei, J. & Keane, M.P. 2001, *Sakuteiki: Visions of the Japanese garden*, Boston: Tuttle Publishing, pp. 178-179.

The national and political reforms of the Meiji era (1868-1912) cast a legacy which reached beyond the shores of the Far Eastern nation to Western Europe and the United States. This thesis will explore the symbiotic relationship between Japan and Britain during this period, in relation to the cultural exchange of ideas around garden and park design. Challenging dominant discourse regarding Japan as a ‘closed-nation’, it argues that there was considerable cultural and horticultural exchange during *sakoku* (closed era 1633-1854).¹ This fed directly into Meiji era politics which affected horticultural trade that preceded Japanese style gardens being constructed abroad.

Societies such as the Asiatic Society of Japan and Japan Society, London were crucial in the spread of Meiji era cultural exchanges to Britain through Japanese studies conducted by their members. Self-styled garden experts from the Edo and Meiji era or *niwashi* were also central to how Japanese gardening was understood and transmitted abroad, chiefly through works such as British architect Josiah Conder’s *Landscape Gardening in Japan* (1893).² Conder was an unwitting English *niwashi* who further extended the reach of their so-called secret texts, but his work was limited to scholarly rather than widespread practical applications.

¹ Beasley, W.G. 1995, *Japan Encounters the Barbarian*, Yale: Yale University Press.

² Harada, J. 1956, *Japanese Gardens*, London and Boston: The Studio Limited, c1920.

The numerous ways in which authenticity was strived for in British-Japanese gardens will also be established through a range of sources from archival collections, literature, newspapers and magazines. Japanese gardeners were hired in Britain to achieve authentic results, but they were another manifestation of the Edo and Meiji era *niwashi*, self-styled garden experts. In addition, the fact that there were never more than a few *niwashi* in Britain was masked by numerous attributions of gardens created by 'a native firm' or 'gardener from Japan' as reported in press and estate accounts. These accreditations were bestowed upon British-Japanese style gardens to create a veneer of authenticity, which was however unachievable in practice. These were British interpretations which differed from the authentic native models from which they derived.

Just as Japanese style was being interpreted in Britain the Meiji government's focus on learning from Europe and the US created new forms of park and garden in Japan.³ The ways in which native gardening was changing during this period of foreign interaction demonstrates how foreign visitors were exposed to modern and partially European forms of Japanese garden. These were functional features integrated into existing temple grounds or former aristocratic garden spaces. Analysis of Japanese parks and gardens with European elements in them demonstrates that there was concerted cultural exchange on both sides. This international alliance created a positive relationship between the monarchies of both countries as Edward VII's role in fostering the adoption of Japanese garden styles in Britain demonstrates.⁴ Western/European style buildings and lawns incorporated into private estates in Japan exemplify the influence of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance and the active political role in creating these gardens.⁵

The Japanese garden craze has been hitherto painted as a primarily aristocratic preoccupation.⁶ However, there were gardens that claimed to be in the Japanese style in British parks, spa resorts and seaside towns such as Southport, where all social classes therefore experienced some form of Japan Garden. In addition, national and international exhibitions were forums for Meiji Japan to showcase garden art which directly encouraged some British people to create their own

³ Finn, D. 1995, *Meiji revisited: The sites of Victorian Japan*, New York: Weatherhill inc.

⁴ *See Chapter 5 for discussion*

⁵ Havens, T. R. 2011, *Parkscapes: Green Spaces in Modern Japan*, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

⁶ Conway, J. 1988, *Japanese Influences on English Gardens* (2 Volumes), *Architectural Association*; Pearse, B. & McCooey, C. 1991, *Companion to Japanese Britain and Ireland*, Brighton: In Print Publishing Ltd.

Japanese style gardens. In particular, the Japan-British Exhibition of 1910 contained two large specially created landscape gardens designed to promote the Anglo-Japanese Alliance which helped to foster the spread of such a style in other British gardens.⁷

This thesis argues that Victorian and Edwardian Japanese-style gardens were representations of perceptions of Japan rather than the authentic depictions of its gardening as desired by their creators. Distinct forms of these garden will be assessed and categorised to determine the wide-ranging sources of inspiration that drove their creation. This will establish that there was not one fixed image of Japan in Britain as has often been put across in historical literature. The political and horticultural developments in Meiji Japan provided a dynamic and multi-faceted context for viewing how both nations' interactions developed appropriation of their respective garden styles.

While focussing largely on the Meiji era, the preceding Edo/Tokugawa era will also be critically examined as it was highly significant in shaping horticultural and political developments. Japan's period of isolation known as *sakoku* (1633 – 1854) has been generally held in both recent and older historical narratives to have been a time of cut-off from world affairs.⁸ While the contact afforded the Dutch East India Company and likewise continued trade with China has been well studied and accounted for, the dominant assessment reflected a one-sided view of Europeans obtaining resources from Japan.⁹ This however neglected the active cultural exchanges taking place during this supposed 'closed' era. By re-examining literary sources written by Dutch East India Company employees and botanists such as Engelbert Kaempfer who entered Japan during *sakoku*, new evidence of these interactions become apparent. Most recent accounts of these works focussed on how plant specimens were obtained and overlooked the active interest exhibited by the Japanese Shoguns in outside affairs and foreign commodities including European

⁷ Kuitert, W. 2002, Japonaiserie in London and the Hague: A History of the Japanese Gardens at Shepherd's Bush (1910) and Clingendael (c. 1915), *Garden History*, Vol. 30 (2) (Winter), pp. 221-238.

⁸ Lu, D.J. 1974, *Sources of Japanese History (Volume 1&2)*, New York: McGraw-Hill.

⁹ Ayers, J. Mallet, J. & Impey, O. 1990, *Porcelain For Palaces: The Fashion For Japan In Europe 1650-1750: An Exhibition Organised Jointly With The British Museum In The New Japanese Galleries, 6Th July To 4Th November 1990*, London: Oriental Ceramic Society; Beasley, W.G. 1995, *Japan Encounters the Barbarian*, Yale: Yale University Press.

horticulture.¹⁰ This thesis will argue that *sakoku* was merely a front for political control rather than a disinterest in global affairs, a view supported by John Hobson and Tsunenari Tokugawa who have emphasised that Japan was far more active and aware of foreign technological and horticultural developments in this period than commonly portrayed.¹¹

However, *sakoku* left Japan as a mostly unknown entity in Europe (before the opening), often seen as an extension of China or the Orient which accords with Edward Said's concept of Orientalism – a backwards place in need of rescue by the 'West'.¹² This was reflected in how Japanese style was consumed in the period with porcelain displaying Oriental, Chinese or Japanese motifs in fashion in Europe and given vogue in Britain by Queen Mary II. However, generally it was imitations or interpretations of East Asian style which were displayed on European shaped porcelain as created in British potteries such as Chelsea and Bow.¹³ With Japan officially *sakoku* there were only limited supplies of the genuine article through the Dutch East India Company. This led to imitation articles which dominated the market and meant that after the opening in 1854 Japan was perceived more as an Oriental nation undifferentiated from China.

This view did not last however, and while early-modern European perceptions of Japan support Said's arguments concerning Orientalism, the active and controlled approach taken by the Japanese government brought greater differentiation from China from the later-eighteenth and nineteenth centuries onwards.¹⁴ This was at first achieved by severely limiting the movement of foreigners to designated treaty ports which dictated what foreign visitors saw of Japan and in part shape how it was perceived. As Japanese politics and industry developed over the decades these restrictions were relaxed, so by the 1890s, there was little constraint on foreign

¹⁰ Conway, J. 1988, *Japanese Influences on English Gardens* (2 Volumes), *Architectural Association*; Herries, A. 2001, *Japanese Gardens in Britain*, Buckinghamshire: Shire Publications Ltd; Raggett, J. 2002, *The Japanese-Style Garden in the British Isles: 1850-1950* (2 Volumes), Imprint: York, PhD Thesis, *University of York Thesis Collection: Department of Archaeology*.

¹¹ Hobson, J.M. 2004, *The Eastern Origins of Western Civilization*, Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press; Tokugawa, T. 2009, *The Edo Inheritance*, Tokyo: International House of Japan.

¹² Said, E.W. 2003, *Orientalism*, London: Penguin, pp. 205-209.

¹³ Ayers, J., Mallet, J., & Impey, O. 1990, *Porcelain for Palaces: The Fashion for Japan in Europe 1650-1750: An Exhibition Organised Jointly with The British Museum In The New Japanese Galleries, 6Th July To 4Th November 1990*, London: Oriental Ceramic Society.

¹⁴ Said, E.W. 2003, *Orientalism*, London: Penguin; Macfie, A.L. 2000, *Orientalism: a reader*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press; Nishihara, D. 2005, Said, Orientalism, and Japan, *Alif: Journal of Comparative Poetics*, Vol. 25, pp. 241-254.

movement around Japan. While in some places Oriental stereotyping did persevere, over time the Japanese governmental approach succeeded in altering these European cast images of their nation as quaint or backwards. This was aided greatly by successful military campaigns against China in 1895 and Russia in 1905 which showcased Japanese imperial power.¹⁵ Here we can see how Japanese imperialism helped to dispel Orientalism and fend off European Colonialism.

For imperial Europe the prospect of obtaining new economic resources, in addition to the lure of new plants and botanical specimens on offer in exotic regions of the world significantly drove the creation of colonies.¹⁶ The importance of plants for empire and colonialism helps in part to explain the desire to open Japan up for trade and exploration. Being denied access to Japan, European botanists, nursery companies and physicians could only imagine the new flora and fauna that could be possessed if it were to be 'opened'. For their part, the Shogunate were not oblivious to the European imperial threat. Even during *sakoku*, the Japanese government were fully aware of the developments in China regarding British imperialism and the Opium War of 1839-1841. Through the Dutch and Chinese annual reports to the Shogun, the alarming news that Japan's supposed powerful neighbour had fallen victim to a foreign army hit home, which increased internal worries regarding Japan's security against hostile foreign threats.¹⁷ The events in China also affirmed the long-held notion of the potential risk if Japan were to deal with European nations. By 1852 and Commodore Perry's visit, Japan had long been preparing for the strong possibility that *sakoku* was under real threat of no longer being a viable national policy and so was reacting against the danger of becoming another Asian casualty of European imperialism.

It was the reinstating of imperial power to the Emperor away from the Shogun which signified an internal recognition of the need to challenge European and American imperialism, by Japan becoming an imperial nation itself. The ascension to the throne of fourteen-year-old prince Mutsuhito made it easier for reformers to make their case than it had been under his outspoken and anti-foreign minded father,

¹⁵ *See discussions in Chapters 5 and 7*

¹⁶ Schiebinger, L.L. 2007, *Plants and Empire: Colonial Bioprospecting in the Atlantic World*, Cambridge, London: Harvard University Press, p. 14.

¹⁷ Akamatsu, P. & Kochan, M. 1972, *Meiji 1868: Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Japan*, London: Allen and Unwin.

Emperor Komei.¹⁸ Mutsuhito's very capable government directed Japan's modernisation, with figures such as Aritomo Yamagata amongst other high-ranking officials chiefly responsible, with General Saigo and Count Okuma central protagonists in the overthrow of the Shogunate and Meiji restoration.¹⁹ Mutsuhito's coronation marked the start of the Meiji (enlightened rule) era which ushered in Japan's period of imperialism and modernisation.²⁰

This was led by Japan's constant presence at world exhibitions in the Meiji era, exposing its arts internationally to public attention. Japanese gardens were no exceptions to the politics of exhibition and this research aims to demonstrate the impact of Meiji policy in shaping how they were transmitted to foreign countries. The gardens presented at these exhibitions developed as part of the strategy of political opposition to imperial Europe and Oriental stereotyping. The Meiji political legacy cast an indelible effect on how Japanese culture was presented and understood by foreigners. Japan also imitated the displays of imperial assets at international exhibitions such as the Great Exhibition in London, which saw other imperial nations such as France and Germany showcasing their economic and cultural achievements.²¹

In the wake of military successes against China, Russia and expansion in Korea, Manchuria and Taiwan, Japan achieved a level of imperial parity to rival European empires.²² These new acquisitions of empire were showcased at the 1910 Japan-British Exhibition in the London, where Japan displayed an exhibit of its imperial army. This altered the British perception of Japan markedly with the displays of military prowess. The British had to quickly adjust their previous assessments of the Japanese, as exemplified by writings from before the 1910 exhibition, claiming a kind

¹⁸ *There was controversy surrounding Emperor Komei's death, particularly the timing and circumstances that led to a malleable fourteen-year-old ascending the throne. Fortuitous for those seeking the reform of Japanese governmental policy. Lord Redesdale mused that of emperor Komei; "His successor, the famous Emperor Mutsu Hito, was then a boy of fifteen. Those who knew him had great faith in his ability and predicted great things for him if he should be properly trained. Their forecast was well justified. Had the Emperor Komei, who was a deadly foe to all foreign intercourse, lived the events of the next few months must have been very different." From: Redesdale, L. 1915, *Memories: Volume 1*, New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., p. 387*

¹⁹ Beasley, W.G. 2000, *The Rise of Modern Japan*, London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, p. 47.

²⁰ Mochizuki, K. 1914, *The Late Emperor of Japan as a World Monarch*, Tokyo: The Liberal News Agency.

²¹ Greenhalgh, P. 1988, *Ephemeral Vistas: The Expositions Universelles, Great Exhibitions and World's Fairs, 1851-1939*, Manchester: Manchester University Press.

²² Hotta-Lister, A. 2011, Japan Seeks an Image as an Emerging Colonial Empire: The Japan-British Exhibition of 1910 in London, *Questioning Oriental Aesthetics and Thinking: Conflicting Visions of "Asia" under the Colonial Empires*, Vol. 38, pp. 115-133.

of kinship and intelligent parity between the two nations; a cover for the realisation of Japan as a military and imperial power.²³ This was no accident on Japan's part, it was linked with the long process of modernisation and designs on maintaining a position of autonomous political control.

The Japanese government also employed Europeans and Americans to train its students in foreign practices and designs.²⁴ Thereby they learned to integrate the new knowledge without a conqueror's force, keeping many Japanese customs intact. These foreign specialists invited to Japan, became known as *oyatoi* – official employees of the government. Many *oyatoi* were British which reflected the Japanese view of Britain as the most advanced nation in the world.²⁵ Key examples include Thomas James Waters and Josiah Conder – architects with a preference for colonial style influences (and ironically, Oriental details) – meaning that the European style buildings were actually hybrids incorporating Asian and Middle-Eastern designs.

It was advice from *oyatoi* set within the backdrop of Meiji political reforms that park and garden spaces in Japan were developed from 1868. Names which have strong associations with British Japanese-style gardens such as Josiah Conder and Keijiro Ozawa appear frequently in historical literature showing their influence in both countries. Additionally, British born Richard Henry Brunton helped to design part of Yokohama Park in 1877 which was one of the first European styled parks and demonstrates some of the difficulties involved for the Japanese government working with foreign employees in the early stages of the Meiji era.²⁶ Many sites such as *Ueno* and *Hibiya* parks in Tokyo were planned with Western/European design influences and the settlement park at Yokohama was both designed and used by foreigners.²⁷ The first public parks in Japan at Yokohama and Hibiya consciously incorporated European park design principles in their planning and construction and

²³ Greenhalgh, P. 1988, *Ephemeral Vistas: The Expositions Universelles, Great Exhibitions and World's Fairs, 1851-1939*, Manchester: Manchester University Press.

²⁴ Coaldrake, W.H. 1996, *Architecture and Authority in Japan*, London: Routledge.

²⁵ Sato, T. & Watanabe, T. 1991, *Japan And Britain: An Aesthetic Dialogue 1850-1930*, London: Lund Humphries, pp. 32-34.

²⁶ Shirahata, Y. 1994, An Encounter of European and Japanese Concepts in the Field of Urban Planning History, with the Urban Park as a Symbolic Example, *The Transfer of Science and Technology between Europe and Asia, 1780-1880*, Vol. 7, pp. 163-181.

²⁷ Finn, D. 1995, *Meiji revisited: The sites of Victorian Japan*, New York: Weatherhill Inc.; Havens, T. R. 2011, *Parkscapes: Green Spaces in Modern Japan*, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

rejected overly Japanese style designs.²⁸ With their combination of Japanese and European features, these parks represented fundamentally new forms of park in Japan.

This thesis however supports the view that European or Western elements present in examples of Japanese parks and gardens has been over-stated.²⁹ By evaluating numerous public park and private garden spaces with alleged foreign designs the evidence suggests that while there was a great deal of focus on European designs at the planning phase, the physical appearance of many parks and gardens retained a Japanese aesthetic while infusing functional elements drawn from foreign models of design. These typically included sporting facilities and lawn areas for recreation.³⁰ This represents a function versus form approach which was the opposite of the British assimilation which took the stance of form over function, with the aim being to create a garden that looked aesthetically Japanese. This fits within the British imperial acquisition of foreign trophies or trinkets which acted as physical displays of aristocratic wealth and worldliness and a form of soft power over foreign nations. The imperial British had claimed these treasures and brought them back for display in their private estates.³¹ In Japan it was more a case of how new park spaces were used rather than appearing outwardly European.

The British assimilation was also heavily guided by Josiah Conder who was a key proponent of how Japanese gardens were understood and translated into British sites, mainly through *Landscape Gardening in Japan* (1893).³² Tachibana and Raggett argued that Conder's work was influential in the spread of Japanese gardening knowledge outside of Japan.³³ His work was of limited use in practice,

²⁸ Sakai, A. 2011, The hybridization of ideas on public parks: introduction of Western thought and practice into nineteenth-century Japan, *Planning perspectives*, Vol. 26 (3), pp. 355-357.

²⁹ Muraoka, K. 2011, Influence of English Landscape Gardens on Japanese Gardens in the Meiji Era, *Nippon Teien Gakkaishi*, Vol. 25, pp. 31-39.

³⁰ Shirahata, Y. 1994, An Encounter of European and Japanese Concepts in the Field of Urban Planning History, with the Urban Park as a Symbolic Example, *The Transfer of Science and Technology between Europe and Asia, 1780-1880*, Vol. 7, pp.163-181; Sakai, A. 2011, The hybridization of ideas on public parks: introduction of Western thought and practice into nineteenth-century Japan, *Planning perspectives*, Vol. 26 (3), pp. 347-371.

³¹ Sato, T. & Watanabe, T. 1991, *Japan And Britain: An Aesthetic Dialogue 1850-1930*, London: Lund Humphries, p. 65; Barczewski, S.L. 2014, *Country Houses and The British Empire, 1700-1930*, Manchester: Manchester University Press.

³² Herries, A. 2001, *Japanese Gardens in Britain*, Buckinghamshire: Shire Publications Ltd.

³³ Tachibana, S. 2000, Travel, Plants and Cross-cultural Landscapes: British Representation of Japan, 1860-1914, PhD Thesis, *University of Nottingham Thesis Collection: School of Geography*; Raggett, J. 2002, The Japanese-Style Garden in the British Isles: 1850-1950 (2 Volumes), Imprint: York, PhD Thesis, *University of York Thesis Collection: Department of Archaeology*.

because although he was the acknowledged Western/European expert on Japanese gardens and often cited by other writers, the book was not a practical design manual but more focussed around descriptions of history and general principles. It was a combination of the modern garden styles encountered by foreign visitors to Japan from 1854 onwards and *niwashi* garden guides mostly from the 1800s which informed Conder's work. This affected how he and by extension British gardeners understood Japanese gardens.

By discerning what features developed or changed over time in Japan, we can begin to dissect which features adopted in British-Japanese style gardens were based on traditional, versus modern ideals. Prior to the Meiji era, garden styles in Japan largely remained free of foreign stylistic intrusions except for some borrowings of Chinese and Korean features.³⁴ The eleventh century landscape gardening manuscript the *Sakuteiki* provides glimpses of the principles and taboos of Japanese garden construction and design after several centuries of development. The handwritten scrolls of the *Sakuteiki* were a secret master's guide to the principles of Japanese gardening demonstrate the early forms of the Japanese art. The modern translation by Takei and Keane also includes additional information about the early Heian era lifestyles as well as listing plants, shrubs and trees traditionally used in the appendices.³⁵ Japanese gardens were traditionally associated with the wealthy aristocracy and featured huge landscaped gardens of ponds, bridges and stones (see Fig 1). These spaces played host to social gatherings and were designed to be an extension of the dwelling houses. Many of the guidelines and design principles underpinning these still form the basis of Japanese gardening practice.

However, several distinct deviations of Japanese garden style developed over the centuries such as the *Roji* tea-gardens designed to host the tea ceremony, with tranquil wooded walks and hidden views. The stripped back and minimalist movement of '*wabi*' went through developments from its simplest early form circa 1500, to the tea-ceremony classical period of the seventeenth century. From here *wabi* entered a classical period, resulting in dramatic creations like the *Katsura* Detached Palace, where villas and tea pavilions stretch over acres of artificial hills

³⁴ Kuck, L. 1968, *The World of The Japanese Garden: From Chinese Origins to Modern Landscape Art*, New York; Tokyo: John Weatherhill.

³⁵ Takei, J. & Keane, M.P. 2001, *Sakuteiki: Visions of the Japanese garden*, Boston: Tuttle Publishing.

and ponds.³⁶ In the eighteenth century this went a step further still resulting in 'suki' style: distorted and elaborate. Gardens of Buddhist temples and shrines also developed new styles such as *Karesansui* or dry-water landscape gardens of stones and sand. In fact, it was Buddhist principles and connotations which guided the placement, naming and number of stones in a Japanese garden. The Buddhist geomantic principles of directional taboos also played a part in the direction of stream water flow direction ensuring a harmonious garden setting.³⁷

Significant evolution of Japanese gardens has been perceived to have halted from the seventeenth century Edo or Tokugawa era which preceded Japan's opening.³⁸ Edo gardens mainly imitated stereotypical forms of earlier eras and some critics such as Gunter Nitschke have asserted that the Tokugawa era enforced a kind of stagnation in garden design.³⁹ They contained far less reverence for spiritual and religious imagery than earlier gardens with fashion becoming the key guiding principle of design. Showy garden designs containing an over-abundance of features such as stone lanterns became the norm by the mid-nineteenth century. British and foreign imitations of Japanese style gardens were therefore based upon contemporary fashions of Edo and Meiji Japan, rather than traditional Japanese designs. In addition to this, many Meiji era gardens began to incorporate Western/European features alongside many traditional garden practices.⁴⁰ These modern styles had a direct effect on how Japanese gardens were perceived by the majority of *Gaijin* (foreign) visitors to the Far East.

The Japanese garden's introduction into Britain was encouraged by the political influence of its reforming Meiji government. The 'backwards Japan' label was used by political figures such as Yukichi Fukuzawa to justify the country's surge towards modernity with many traditions becoming displaced.⁴¹ Writers of Japanese garden history such as Jiro Harada suggested a transitory progression of the art form across the centuries, culminating in slightly altered styles and trends by the end of the Victorian era.⁴² The fashion in the Meiji era was for a more aesthetics over

³⁶ Kerr, A. 2015, *Lost Japan: Last Glimpse of Beautiful Japan*, UK: Penguin, Random House, p. 170.

³⁷ Nitschke, G. 2007, *Japanese Gardens*, Köln & London: Taschen, pp. 22-24.

³⁸ Harada, J. 1956, *Japanese Gardens*, London and Boston: The Studio Limited, c1920.

³⁹ Nitschke, G. 2007, *Japanese Gardens*, Köln & London: Taschen, p. 203.

⁴⁰ Harada, J. 1956, *Japanese Gardens*, London and Boston: The Studio Limited, c1920.

⁴¹ Sato, T, & Watanabe, T. 1991, *Japan and Britain: An Aesthetic Dialogue 1850-1930*, London: Lund Humphries.

⁴² Harada, J. 1956, *Japanese Gardens*, London and Boston: The Studio Limited, c1920.

substance approach to gardening, with hybridised design forms and over use of decorative features. These forms of Japanese garden were those copied most consistently by the Edwardian British gardeners which reflected this modern approach.

Garden developments in Victorian Britain also helped provide fertile ground for Japanese style gardens to become popular. The formal gardens in Britain of the preceding seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were beginning to lose their appeal and by the time of the beginning of the Meiji era (1868) in Japan, gardening was perceived by many as stuck in the dirge of formalism.⁴³ Writing in 1902, Rose Standish-Nicholls despaired that English gardens of the Victorian era had degenerated into “meaningless repetitions of French and Dutch fashions”, mimicking and repeating their continental models.⁴⁴ This suggests a similar stagnation of garden design concepts comparable to those in Japan’s Edo era with a perceived lack of new ideas. This was one reason for the development and enthusiasm for Oriental and Japanese gardens by the end of the nineteenth century, as Britain’s empire expanded so too did the desire to project British grandeur with new exotic garden styles. In both Japan and Britain this was reflected by the willingness of both nations to rapidly incorporate features from each other’s garden styles.⁴⁵

There were also clear synergies between emerging gardening fashions in Victorian Britain which facilitated the widespread infusion of Japanese style in British gardens with Japanese gardening ideas. There was a trend towards blending British gardens with a notion of nature, a key facet of Japanese gardening. Rock and Water gardens also gained popularity roughly in line with Japanese garden style in Britain.⁴⁶ The stone arrangements, streams, ponds and waterfalls in Japanese landscape gardening could easily be translated across to British gardens in these styles. Victorian/Edwardian garden designers such as Gertrude Jekyll similarly saw potential crossovers between Japanese and English designs.⁴⁷ She asserted that a Gloucestershire garden she visited was designed in the Japanese fashion, but superior; “it aims at simple beauty of rock and water and vegetation unhampered by traditional laws that give the gardens of Japan a certain stiffness, and suggest a

⁴³ Nicholls, R.S. 1902, *English Pleasure Gardens*, pp. 249-252.

⁴⁴ Nicholls, R.S. 1902, *English Pleasure Gardens*, pp. 249-252.

⁴⁵ Elliott, B. 1990, *Victorian Gardens*, London: Batsford, 1986, pp. 21-24.

⁴⁶ Thonger, C. 1907, *The Book of Rock & Water Gardens*, London and New York: John Lane.

⁴⁷ Jekyll, G. 1904, *Some English Gardens*, London, New York and Bombay: Longmans, Green and Co.

certain whimsicality to the Western eye”.⁴⁸ Many British-style Japanese gardens merely featured indicative emblems such as stone lanterns or arched bridges placed in existing rock or water gardens rather than being new systematic creations.

Additional British gardening trends existed which possessed synergies with Japanese ideas. Nicholls observed the then contemporary trend of “placing picturesque pieces of architecture and other features designed to give the scene a more sensational appearance” around a garden.⁴⁹ This Victorian/Edwardian preference for ornamentation equated well with the showy Edo and Meiji era Japanese gardens which placed equally great emphasis on the impressive effects rather than subtle design.⁵⁰ Another striking synthesis between emerging British garden trends and some Japanese garden fundamentals was the return to integrated house and garden unity in the Edwardian era.⁵¹ This was a reaction against the Victorian separation of garden and house designs, and paved the way for the trend of Japanese garden styles to be introduced which were traditionally based on this integrated design. It is important to note however that the vast majority of British-Japanese style gardens were still placed as a separated garden area, detached from any dwelling house. Here, the Japanese design principles such as unity of house and garden were subordinate to the aesthetic visual elements such as stone lanterns.

The so-called Japanese garden craze has often been regarded as a whimsical fashion fad of the British aristocracy, seen as lacking careful thought regarding authentic Japanese designs, horticultural techniques and seen as ‘mystic fairy’ or ‘flowery’ lands.⁵² John Dixon Hunt has argued that Japanese gardens were not easily understood by foreigners as they were “self-consciously and deliberately complex”.⁵³ This implies that British attempts lacked the necessary careful study and understanding of materials for making an authentic Japanese-style garden including such concepts as observing how entities like rivers behaved to recreate a natural essence. However, these attributions overlook the more nuanced role of Meiji era

⁴⁸ Jekyll, G. 1904, *Some English Gardens*, London, New York and Bombay: Longmans, Green and Co., pp. 125-126.

⁴⁹ Nicholls, R.S. 1902, *English Pleasure Gardens*, p. 288.

⁵⁰ Harada, J. 1956, *Japanese Gardens*, London and Boston: The Studio Limited, c1920.

⁵¹ Ottewill, D. 1989, *The Edwardian Garden*, New Haven & London: Yale University Press.

⁵² Raggett, J. 2002, *The Japanese-Style Garden in the British Isles: 1850-1950 (2 Volumes)*, Imprint: York, PhD Thesis, *University of York Thesis Collection: Department of Archaeology*.

⁵³ Hunt, J.D. 2012, *A World of Gardens*, London: Reaktion, p. 280.

trends, promotion of Japan and the far-reaching influence of *niwashi* garden ideas which guided British-Japanese garden attempts. This was a much more complex and multifaceted trend rather than a total lack of gardening knowledge or whimsy.

The Victorian and Edwardian eras saw Britain's empire grown exponentially. Internally there were class divisions and a flamboyant aristocracy who delighted in displaying their worldliness through exotic curios including plants and gardens of foreign origins or inspiration.⁵⁴ To these ends Japanese wares marked further exotic, Oriental additions to the collections of the wealthy. It was the affluent members of British society who could afford to create lavish Japanese style areas and ship garden ornaments back from Japan. However the desire to meet this fashion was felt in other classes of society, although more commonly in the form of porcelain or ornaments which were more affordable.⁵⁵ The poorest in society experienced Japanese culture through entertainment and business ventures, including those laid out at public parks.⁵⁶ Public parks were constructed across Victorian Britain in response to country to city migration and the industrial revolution as places to go for recreation and the pursuit of betterment.⁵⁷ Personal British-Japanese style gardens however were reserved for the wealthy, whereas the poorer classes could only experience second hand images of the horticulture of Japan.

To explore this nuanced and multi-layered process of cultural exchange between Japan and Britain relating to park and garden design, a wide range of sources of evidence have been interrogated. British horticultural magazines, newspapers and periodicals from 1800 to 1920 offered numerous in-depth articles, often with accompanying photographs which detailed Japanese style garden sites and the people involved in their creation. Similarly, these sources regularly featured the views of British and European visitors to Japan, who were encountering Japanese gardens and horticulture for the first time. This makes them valuable sources evidencing the perceptions and views of Japan held by foreign visitors. Magazines and newspapers are however limited in their scope and often speculative of the

⁵⁴ Barczewski, S.L. 2014, *Country Houses and The British Empire, 1700-1930*, Manchester: Manchester University Press.

⁵⁵ Ayers, J. Mallet, J. & Impey, O. 1990, *Porcelain For Palaces: The Fashion For Japan In Europe 1650-1750: An Exhibition Organised Jointly With The British Museum In The New Japanese Galleries, 6Th July To 4Th November 1990*, London: Oriental Ceramic Society.

⁵⁶ *See chapter 3 for discussion*

⁵⁷ Veblen, T. & Banta, M. 2009, *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

intent of a garden's creator in order to sell a better story. Despite this, the dates, names, descriptions and photographs were invaluable in discerning how authentic a garden was intended to be and how they were designed.

Local and national archives hold additional plans, and information which shed light on how and why Japanese style gardens were created at particular sites. Council meeting notes relating to public parks were particularly useful for investigating gardens in the public domain, as in contrast many private estate records have been lost or destroyed. These limitations were addressed by sourcing biographies of estate owners which often detailed trips to Japan or the gardens themselves. The owner's personal views of Japan helped to explain their appropriation of Japanese garden style on their estate. Pictorial evidence from postcards and estate photo albums held in archives also helped to piece together how Japan was represented in British gardens. While they offer only limited snapshots of certain areas of a garden, when accompanied together with written sources, these images provided a visual representation to better understand and interpret the finished design.

In cases where there was limited evidence available to ascertain when a Japanese style garden was created, Ordnance Survey maps were useful for establishing when landscaped areas were integrated on to estate or park lands. While they often lack the labelling of areas as 'Japanese', comparisons of maps from differing eras could indicate when the area was significantly altered. This helped in linking particular Japanese style gardens to persons or events such as world exhibitions which guided their conception. In addition to the sources detailed previously, work by other historians, geographers and local historians were useful guides for identifying places and people of interest for further research in this thesis. Field trips to existing or partially remaining sites were also highly useful for understanding how gardens were laid out as well as obtaining additional information from individuals at the estates.

As this research is also concerned with developments in the parks and gardens of Japan, sources outside of British collections were obtained either from online databases or gained during physical visits to locations in Japan. Online sources included English language editions of Japanese newspapers written by those living in the foreign communities such as Yokohama. Despite carrying the bias of European's viewing Japanese culture, these articles provided crucial information around the conception of particular park or garden sites. Journal articles from

Japanese authors were also highly useful to investigate the perception of 'Western' areas in Japan's parks and gardens. Many had English language translations and their native views of Meiji era Japan helped to combat the European bias that could pervade when relying solely on European accounts and evaluations. Field trips in Japan included site visits, in addition to trips local archives, libraries and museums to gain additional information and sources such as images, maps and plans to better understand how park and garden sites evolved. Seeing these parks and gardens in their real-world setting helped to understand the extent of European influence in their design and place them within the context of the Japanese culture and the cities in which they reside.

The first chapter will examine and argue that much cultural exchange between Japan and Europe was taking place prior to the opening in the preceding Edo era (1603-1868), which directly affected Meiji era garden developments and politics too. Dutch East India Company employees such as Englebert Kaempfer and Carl Thunberg and critiques of these first writers on Japanese horticulture such as Johann Justus Rein will be critically examined to highlight a prevalence of these cultural exchanges. The writings and excursions by plant hunters, many of which were focussed on individual plants, worked as tantalising glimpses of the isolated country of Japan for European readers and informed the early forms of British-Japanese gardens.

A 'Japan Garden' planted c1820 at Whiteknights, Reading comprised solely of Japanese plants was an early attempt to differentiate from Chinese or Oriental style and this with other examples of Japanese-themed gardens demonstrate how this designation was understood. After 1854, horticultural trade established by both British and Japanese firms fostered growing cultural and plant exchanges that supplanted the Chinese style gardens and led to Japanese themed areas on some British estates. It significantly altered how Japanese gardens and plants were used and understood in Britain.

Chapter two focuses on the Meiji era, a time of great and lasting change to Japan. The Japanese government took more concerted efforts towards modernisation and industrialisation by displaying new European and American technologies, architecture and horticulture at national exhibitions. These were designed to serve the governments modernisation agenda and showcase what had been learned from

outside nations through legations abroad such as the *Iwakura* mission. Just as Britain and Europe were learning about Japan and its gardens, Japan was setting up park spaces based on European models. Japanese infusion of European styles in its parks will be critically evaluated, in addition to the political motivations behind incorporating foreign styles into private gardens such as Murin-an in Kyoto.

European parks and garden spaces were also created in the treaty ports such as Yokohama to serve the growing foreign diplomatic and merchant communities. These parks and gardens contrast with those within existing shrine or former aristocratic garden grounds. As will be seen from the example of Samuel Cocking's procuring of former Buddhist temple land for a European garden, the new Meiji policies were impacting the Japanese landscape and allowing foreigners to create European dwellings and gardens on Japanese soil. It is argued that the degree of 'borrowing' from European park and garden styles has been over-stated.⁵⁸ Places intended for public use and recreation already existed in Japan before the Meiji era such as *Kairakuen* in *Mito*. These spaces encouraged passive reflection and relaxation rather than the active pursuits encouraged by European counterparts.

In the third chapter, the role of global exhibitions in shaping how the image of a Japanese garden spread internationally will be explored. There were for example, synergies between the Meiji policy of reinstating the state Shinto religion with that of the Shinto style gardens presented at early exhibitions such as Vienna in 1873.⁵⁹ Gardens were created at British private estates such as Bromborough Hall in Cheshire following international exhibitions showing how the latter elicited enthusiasm for Japanese gardening styles.

International exhibitions also presented opportunities for middle and working-class garden enthusiasts to experience Japanese garden forms and plants. Indeed, the very first Japanese exhibition garden at the Vienna Exposition of 1873 was relocated to Alexandra Park in London. This exhibit was joined by numerous "Native Villages" set up by private companies at public parks and halls across the country which presented a version of Japanese culture and gardens to the British public. Inspired

⁵⁸ Shirahata, Y. 1994, An Encounter of European and Japanese Concepts in the Field of Urban Planning History, with the Urban Park as a Symbolic Example, *The Transfer of Science and Technology between Europe and Asia, 1780-1880*, Vol. 7, pp. 163-181; Muraoka, K. 2011, Influence of English Landscape Gardens on Japanese Gardens in the Meiji Era, *Nippon Teien Gakkaishi*, Vol. 25, pp. 31-39.

⁵⁹ Tagsold, C. 2017, *Spaces in Translation: Japanese Gardens and the West*, Philadelphia: Penn University of Pennsylvania Press. (See also; Setsu Tachibana, Jill Raggett, Wybe Kuitert, Ayako Hotta-Lister)

by these garden exhibits, working-class man Thomas Hartley was inspired to create a Japanese themed garden attraction of his own in Yorkshire. Whilst they have been hitherto little studied, public parks were also a forum for showcasing Japanese garden styles, with many being created at tourist or spa resort towns such as Southport, providing a commercial attraction to draw in visitors. Other significant Japanese style gardens were created at Abbey Park in Leicester and Pittencrieff Park in Dunfermline which were often quite different representations to those at private estates.

The fourth chapter argues that when Japan became more accessible to foreign visitors, the treaty ports served as important hubs for exchanges of gardening ideas and practices between British and Japanese. The new port of Yokohama for instance, provided a base for diplomats and merchants alike to begin gaining trade advantages for Britain.⁶⁰ The Asiatic Society of Japan was formed in 1872 amidst the backdrop of internal political reform by a veritable who's who of diplomatic figures in Yokohama's foreign sector. This was founded initially with imperialist intentions of harvesting information for the advantage of Europeans, but as this chapter will show it also helped to facilitate the spread of knowledge about Japanese gardens. Equally as significant was the founding of the Japan Society in London (1892) which was utilised by the Japanese government and political elite to promote their nation as an imperial power equal to European and North American States. The societies played a crucial role in the spread of knowledge about Japanese gardens in Britain, not least as a forum for scholars such as Josiah Conder to showcase research on topics such as flower arrangement and garden design.

Conder was undoubtedly influential in facilitating the Japanese garden craze, but his ideas were oversimplified when reproduced by other writers. *Landscape Gardening in Japan* (1893) was generally too complex to act as a garden construction guide, so those who wished to create Japanese-style British gardens tended to use other texts which simplified his work. While there are gardens which show evidence of Conder's influence, these are rare examples. Conder relied on contemporary Japanese secret texts as composed by self-styled garden experts (*niwashi*) to inform his own work. His use of these garden guides influenced those

⁶⁰ Tachibana, S. 2000, *Travel, Plants and Cross-cultural Landscapes: British Representation of Japan, 1860-1914*, PhD Thesis, *University of Nottingham Thesis Collection: School of Geography*.

deriving from his work and it will be shown that Conder was unwittingly endorsing *niwashi* garden forms of the late Edo and Meiji era. This in turn impacted on how Japanese gardens were interpreted in Britain.

The fifth chapter explores how Japanese style gardens became a popular addition to estates of the British wealthy and aristocracy. Guidebooks to Japan encouraged British tourists to visit select popular gardens, which resulted in the creation of gardens made up of travel souvenirs.⁶¹ It will be argued that these guidebooks further exposed British tourists to Meiji, over-ornamented gardens which was reflected in their replications of Japanese garden style. This fed down to designers employed to create estate gardens. Gardeners such as Harold Peto drew from their own experiences in Japan to create gardens that were nevertheless somewhat removed from traditional forms as did Alfred Parsons, as this niche area of landscape gardening was promoted by British gardening and horticultural businesses.

The chapter also demonstrates how royal enthusiasm under King Edward VII bestowed positive acclaim on Japanese garden style. It is within the socio-political landscape of cordial relations between the Japanese and British monarchies in the Edwardian era that Japanese garden style made inroads across Britain. This chapter will further establish how the politics of alliance and trade agreements played a great part in this. Many Japanese style gardens were visited by the King and the royal family such as Rufford Abbey in Nottinghamshire and we will examine how and why this occurred. Japan's active engagement with visiting British estates (and vice versa in Japan) where garden parties were often held between high ranking members of society from both countries demonstrate how the blossoming high societal relations and favourable encounters between British and Japanese elites impacted upon gardening in their respective countries.

Chapter six will establish that as the Japanese style garden became a more common sight in British estates and parks, critiques of their design and authenticity also became more common. There were various ways in which a sense of authenticity was strived for by British gardeners and gardening enthusiasts. There

⁶¹ Tachibana, S. 2000, *Travel, Plants and Cross-cultural Landscapes: British Representation of Japan, 1860-1914*, PhD Thesis, *University of Nottingham Thesis Collection: School of Geography*; Raggett, J. 2002, *The Japanese-Style Garden in the British Isles: 1850-1950* (2 Volumes), Imprint: York, PhD Thesis, *University of York Thesis Collection: Department of Archaeology*.

were contrasting attitudes towards Japanese-style gardens with some individuals such as Lord Redesdale actively denying that they had created Japanese gardens on their estates even when others believed that they had. For example, Leopold Rothschild at Gunnersbury Park took the opposite stance but based designs on broader Oriental garden themes. Quite a few gardens were incorrectly attributed to native Japanese gardeners or claimed to be constructed by a native firm. Often these attributions came long after a garden's construction and were used to imbue a stamp of Japanese authenticity.

There were a few places however, such as Cowden Castle in Scotland, and Tully in Ireland where Japanese gardeners really did work in Britain and Ireland in the Victorian and Edwardian periods as means to achieving a supposed authentic Japanese garden.⁶² As we will see however, these *niwashi* in Britain were actually inexperienced self-styled gardeners. While they did create more elaborate forms of British-Japanese style garden, they worked to their British employer's designs and ideas. Many other British gardens were created by landscape gardening or nursery firms that branched into Japanese styles to meet new demand and engaged with their client's wishes. While striving for authenticity, these were hybridised creations infused with British interpretations of Japanese gardening.

Garden trends in the Meiji era had a big impact on the way Japanese forms were interpreted and transmitted to British parks and gardens. British visitors to Japan often observed new styles of garden rather than the traditional examples they thought they were seeing meaning that British-Japanese style gardens were more contemporary and less traditional than their promoters realised. There was also a reaction against gardens and gardeners who sought to copy Japanese gardens too slavishly. Some garden designers such as Reginald Farrer sought to mesh Japanese garden designs and features with other styles such as rock and water gardens. Hayward is a good example of this, as like Farrer, he created rock gardens with Japanese garden techniques in mind. By following Japanese horticultural and gardening techniques rather than imitating visual representations, these gardens represented a subtler appropriation of Japan in British gardens.

⁶² Raggett, J. 2010, *Shadowy Figures: Early Japanese Garden Designers in Britain and Ireland*, from: Cortazzi, H. 2010, *Japan and Britain: Biographical Portraits (volume 7)*, Kent: Global Oriental, pp. 501-513; Raggett, J., Kajihara-Nolan, Y. & Nolan, J. 2013, 'Handa Taki (1871-1956)', from: Cortazzi, H. 2013, *Japan and Britain: Biographical Portraits (volume 8)*, London: Global Oriental, pp. 332-350.

The final chapter examines in depth the 1910 Japan-British Exhibition which showcased two Japanese landscape gardens and was encouraged by a desire to forge a closer relationship and cement the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. As such the politics guiding the conception and construction of the exhibition and its gardens had a huge the impact upon their design and implementation as well as traditional Japanese garden ideologies. The European sympathies of the garden's creators Honda and Ozawa helped them to appeal to their audience and this showed through their legacy on subsequent British-Japanese style gardens.

Evaluations of critical responses in the press and horticultural press demonstrate how the image of these gardens made a strong impression and garnered largely positive reactions. This encouraged further Japanese style gardens to be built, often by the exhibition gardeners as at Tatton Park in Cheshire and Ewell Castle in Surrey. The 1910 exhibition marked the culmination of the Meiji era drive to modernity and this chapter will highlight how the whole event was intended as a showpiece for Anglo-Japanese unity and the effects this imparted on the way Japanese style was presented and perceived in Britain.

One of the most crucial findings of the thesis is that in response to European imperialism, the Meiji government's active promotion of Japan and programme of modernisation manifested itself in new forms of park and garden, both nationally and internationally. In this Japan succeeded in breaking the mould of Oriental stereotyping which it initially faced by became an imperial nation. This was reflected in the evolution of British Japan gardens from Victorian uninformed, Oriental or porcelain patterns, to full landscaped gardens in the Edwardian era. A range of Japan Garden categories has been drawn from the preceding chapters into the conclusion and demonstrates the full effect of Meiji era politics in shaping the transmission of Japanese garden styles to Britain into distinctive forms.

Chapter 1: Plant Hunters and the Nursery Trade: from *sakoku* to Victorian Japan Gardens

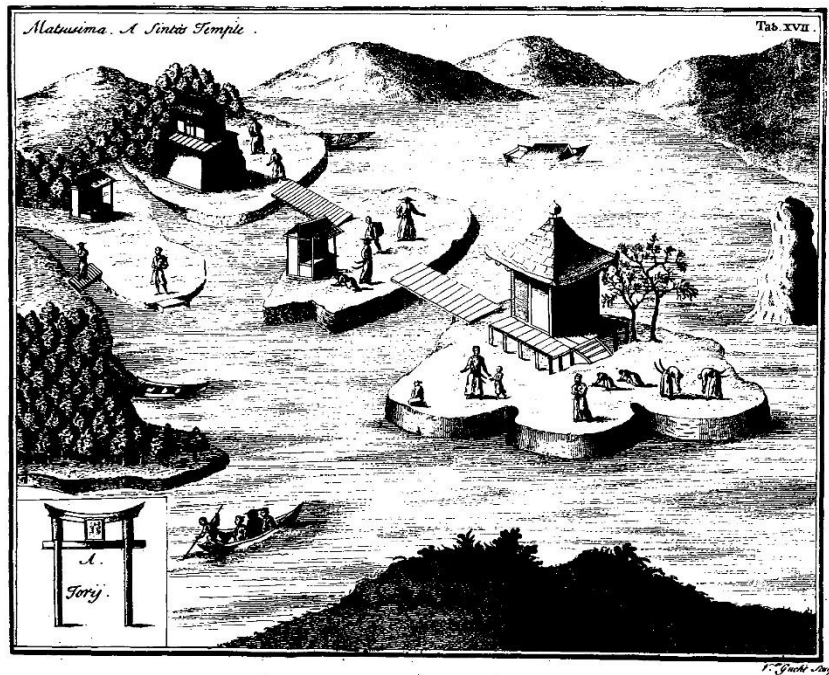


Figure 2 – Shinto Temple Engraving

Source - Kaempfer, E. (Translated by Scheuchzer, J.G.) 1727, *The History of Japan* (Volume 1), London: Hans Sloane, Table XVII.

Introduction

Sakoku, the name of the edict proclaiming the expulsion of foreigners from Japan which lasted from 1633 to 1854, has often carried connotations of a totalitarian cut-off from world affairs through self-imposed isolation.⁶³ However, this was not the case as a majority of the Japanese Shoguns retained a keen eye on outside affairs as evidenced by interrogations of Dutch East India Company physicians such as Engelbert Kaempfer. The window into Japan was as reciprocally narrow as the view out, but considerable foreign knowledge was exchanged which belies the myth of *sakoku* as a time of insular disinterest in all things foreign. That Japan continued to trade, albeit limitedly with China and in severely limited terms with the Netherlands at Deshima in Nagasaki, shows that the Tokugawa Shoguns were not opposed to foreign trade and commerce. Similar to how Chinese Emperors used the tribute system to maintain the illusion of total power, Japanese Shoguns restricted, but nevertheless continued relations with outside nations.⁶⁴

Sakoku was more a front for Japanese governmental control following increasing imposition by Portuguese Missionaries who were perceived as a threat to the Shogun's power. Until defeat in the Second World War and subsequent American Occupation of 1945 Japan had remained unoccupied and un-colonised. The geographical position of the island nation on the periphery of Asia and an element of fortune in the case of the thwarted Mongol invasion attempts of the thirteenth century afforded Japan a position of control regarding internal affairs and interactions with foreign nations.⁶⁵ This continued with the closed policy edict employed to state that Japan was hostile to foreign incursions, while still allowing some trade and learning about the outside world to occur. This effectively gave the Shogun in power the ability to strictly regulate the movements of any foreign visitors, while providing the benefits of receiving information and trade items through the port of Nagasaki.

⁶³ Ayers, J., Mallet, J. & Impey, O. 1990, *Porcelain for Palaces: The Fashion for Japan in Europe 1650-1750: An Exhibition Organised Jointly With The British Museum In The New Japanese Galleries, 6Th July To 4Th November 1990*, London: Oriental Ceramic Society; Beasley, W.G. 1995, *Japan Encounters the Barbarian*, Yale: Yale University Press.

⁶⁴ Frankopan, P. 2015, *The Silk Roads: A New History of the World*, London, Oxford: Bloomsbury Publishing Ltd.

⁶⁵ Lu, D.J. 1974, *Sources of Japanese History (Volume 1&2)*, New York: McGraw-Hill.

The cultural exchanges that took place were headed by the access granted to the Dutch for trade at the artificial island of Deshima, off the coast of Nagasaki. Physicians in the employ of the Dutch East India Company were required to report annually to the Shogun on global affairs. This also allowed the Dutch employees to glimpse the interior of Japan and interact with its people, trading knowledge and expertise along the way in fields such as medicine.⁶⁶ These experiences and glimpses of the closed nation were recounted in books which provided tantalising views of the flora of Japan as well as the first descriptions of Japanese gardens. New exotic species of plants were a major draw for Europeans looking to procure lucrative rare specimens. These books built upon the fleeting and often inaccurate information from pre-*sakoku* Portuguese accounts of the state of Japan.⁶⁷

It has been argued by historians such as John Hobson that the idea of Japan's isolation is over exaggerated by recent scholars to emphasise Japan's supposed backwardness in the Tokugawa controlled 'Edo' era.⁶⁸ This notion is even apparent in Japanese critiques from the Meiji era (1868-1912) with reformist figures such as Yukichi Fukuzawa echoing these negative sentiments after visiting European nations on governmental missions.⁶⁹ To high profile government persons such as Fukuzawa, Japan needed to modernise to compete with the Western European powers. The labelling of Japan prior to the Meiji era as 'backwards' was a political reaction against the merits of the Tokugawa era of control. Ignoring any benefits, critics focussed on how behind Japan was and on the negatives of *sakoku*. Indeed, Tsunenari Tokugawa has argued that Europe in the same period as the peaceful Tokugawa in Japan was rife with religious and state-imposed warring and witch hunts. He felt that Japan had a head start in reaching a state of peace as a country compared with Europe.⁷⁰

It is evident that Japan was alluring to Europeans, as it effectively became like a 'final frontier' of exploration due to the limited access afforded to them. After 1854, plant hunters from Britain, Europe and the US gained greater access to Japanese

⁶⁶ *See section 1.1. for further discussion (Keampfer, Thunberg, von Siebold)*

⁶⁷ Willis, C. 2012, Captain Jorge Álvares and Father Luís Fróis S.J.: Two Early Portuguese Descriptions of Japan and the Japanese, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (Third Series)*, pp. 391-438.

⁶⁸ Hobson, J.M. 2004, *The Eastern Origins Of Western Civilization*, Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press.

⁶⁹ Cobbing, A. 1998, The Iwakura Mission in Britain, 1872, *LSE Research Online*, from: eprints.lse.ac.uk/6908/1/The_Iwakura_Mission_in_Britain,_1872.pdf.

⁷⁰ Tokugawa, T. 2009, *The Edo Inheritance*, Tokyo: International House of Japan.

plants and a whole host of species they had never seen before. The trade by both British and Japanese firms of these plants and the motivation of these early plant hunters fuelled the earliest forms of Japan inspired gardens in Britain. These Japan gardens were supplanting the Chinese themed gardens that were already in many British estates in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. That there was already an existing East Asian prototype garden in Britain shaped the approach to many early attempts to create a Japan garden.

In the early 1800s at Whiteknights estate in Reading, in addition to a Chinese themed garden area a 'Japan Garden' was constructed, solely of Japanese plants. This marked a first attempt to differentiate from Chinese or Oriental style. The descriptor of 'Japan Garden' will be adopted throughout this thesis to distinguish a garden designed to represent Japan in some way, differentiated from a garden created to Japanese tradition.⁷¹ Other gardens built in a similar vein were made up of *bonsai* trees or were experimental gardens of one Japanese native species of plant. Ultimately, this reflected the lack of knowledge of Japanese gardens in Britain and the importance placed on the plants themselves. Many scholars such as Conway, Herries and Raggett have placed a large emphasis on the plants procured from Japan as described in the writings of the physician plants hunters.⁷² The Japanese side of a process of cultural exchange will be explored to balance this one-sided view of *sakoku* through further examples in the physicians' accounts. This chapter challenges the predominant view of *sakoku* as a time where Japan was cut-off and disinterested in outside affairs, whilst also leading an interrogation of the first descriptions of Japanese gardens which will be analysed to ascertain how they were initially perceived by Europeans.

⁷¹ *First representations and manifestations of Japan Gardens will be introduced and analysed at the end of section 1.3 and in section 1.4*

⁷² Conway, J. 1988, *Japanese Influences on English Gardens* (2 Volumes), *Architectural Association*; Herries, A. 2001, *Japanese Gardens in Britain*, Buckinghamshire: Shire Publications Ltd; Raggett, J. 2002, *The Japanese-Style Garden in the British Isles: 1850-1950* (2 Volumes), Imprint: York, PhD Thesis, *University of York Thesis Collection: Department of Archaeology*.

1.1. Closing and opening Japan

The history and politics surrounding the Edo era and Meiji restoration is of importance to this thesis as it provides context to the diffusion of Japanese plants and gardens outside of their native origins. The opening of Japan ushered in a period of drastic political change with active learning from Europe and the US. This cultural learning and adoption of foreign ideas had huge influence on the developments of parks and gardens both in Japan and in the diffusion of Japanese garden style overseas.⁷³ The closing of Japan was equally as significant in shaping how Europe was exposed to its culture, plants and gardens. Both the 'closing' and 'opening' will be analysed in turn which will demonstrate a long standing process of cultural exchange taking place.

It was a continuous sequence of unsavoury incidents involving catholic Portuguese missionaries which eventually resulted in the writing of the final expulsion edict known as *sakoku* in 1637.⁷⁴ The benefits of trade and commerce with the Portuguese was not given up lightly by the Shogun, however the Dutch played their hand as Protestant Christians willing to allow Japan to continue to reap the benefits of trade and commerce in whatever form the government dictated.⁷⁵ This gave the Dutch the lucrative Japan trade, while it also allowed Tokugawa Ieyasu to solve the Portuguese missionary problem without giving up foreign trade entirely. It is clear that *sakoku* was never intended to completely sever all contact with the outside world as evidenced by this continued trade.

It has been argued that Japan was only substantially cut off from outside influence for the first hundred years of its closed rule era.⁷⁶ However the extent of this knowledge cut-off relaxed with time, as did anti-Christian sentiment, although the Dutch were still tested on occasion with questions as to the similarities of their religion with that of Spain and Portugal.⁷⁷ This was simply to ensure they had no

⁷³ Conte-Helm, M. 1996, *The Japanese And Europe: Economic and Cultural Encounters*, London: Athlone.

⁷⁴ Kaempfer, E. (Translated by Scheuchzer, J.G.) 1727, *The History of Japan: 3 Volumes*, London: Hans Sloane, pp. 318-319. *The first came in 1596 whereby a Catholic priest affronted a Japanese dignitary. To this end it was not a case of a sudden expulsion of Christians as is popularly coined. Indeed, the proclamation of *sakoku* was not issued until 1637 some 41 years of incidents later. Even then, the Portuguese were determined to remain at Deshima, Nagasaki until 1639 but eventually realised the Shogun's resolve would not alter*

⁷⁵ Sansom, G.B. 1950, *The Western World and Japan: A Study in The Interaction of European And Asiatic Cultures*, London: Cresset Press.

⁷⁶ Beasley, W.G. 2000, *The Rise of Modern Japan*, London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson.

⁷⁷ Kaempfer, E. (Translated by Scheuchzer, J.G.) 1727, *The History of Japan: 3 Volumes*, London: Hans Sloane.

designs on catholicising the Japanese as the Portuguese had begun to do in the 1500s. That the Japanese Shoguns actively requested and took an interest in external affairs shows that this 'cut-off' was less a complete move away from foreign learning and more of a political partition to remove foreign threats to Japan. The small window to the outside world at Deshima, combined with the annual reports from Holland and China provided the Japanese government with outside knowledge to feel safe in seclusion.

Sakoku was more a metaphorical wall for Shogun Tokugawa Ieyasu to place around Japan, giving his government control of foreign interactions. Despite the 'closed nation' label there remained a strong interest in global activities beyond the initial motive to secure the nation against potential threats from overseas.⁷⁸ Japan was an active agent in keeping abreast of foreign developments which was largely achieved through continuous trading with the Dutch East India Company at Nagasaki where Japanese individuals continued to actively exchange information with their Dutch counterparts. In European accounts such as Engelbert Kaempfer's this appeared more a one-sided learning process on the part of the Japanese with the Dutch imparting wisdom to an uninformed recipient.⁷⁹ In reality there was a highly active process of cultural exchange taking place than has prior been acknowledged.

The first *sakoku* era account of Japan was provided by Engelbert Kaempfer, a German botanist and Physician who was able to gain access through the Dutch East India Company between 1690 and 1692. It is through Kaempfer's narrative published in Europe in 1727 that glimpses of Japanese interest in outside affairs were presented. Kaempfer was able to travel from Nagasaki to Edo (present day Tokyo) to attend formal meetings which took place every few years in attendance with the Shogun. The Shogun enquired at length over many different aspects of European life, customs, medicine and geography, in addition to reports on the trade between Holland and Japan. The Dutch were also required as part of their trade agreement (as were the Chinese) to submit an annual report of developments and knowledge of the Western world to the Japanese state via the governor of Nagasaki.⁸⁰ Clearly the

⁷⁸ Lu, D.J. 1974, *Sources of Japanese History (Volume 1)*, New York: McGraw-Hill.

⁷⁹ Kaempfer, E. (Translated by Scheuchzer, J.G.) 1727, *The History of Japan: 3 Volumes*, London: Hans Sloane.

⁸⁰ Akamatsu, P. & Kochan, M. 1972, *Meiji 1868: Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Japan*, London: Allen and Unwin.

Japanese government was not so insularly disinterested in the outside world and retained an active interest in developments across Europe.

Kaempfer's primary motive for journeying to Japan was to conduct a survey of Japanese plants and secure specimens to send back to Europe. His cataloguing of Japanese flora and the great allure these plants held over the European imagination helped create an image of Japan as a 'flowery land' to be mined for new exotic plants.⁸¹ However the restrictions of *sakoku* meant that it was not until the end of the eighteenth century that this knowledge was substantially built upon. It was Swedish born student of Carl Linnaeus, Carl Peter Thunberg who like Kaempfer, gained access to Japan as an employee of the Dutch East India Company between 1775 and 1776. He acquired and studied even more Japanese plants later published as *Flora Japonica* (1784). Thunberg recounted his attempts to view the plants around Nagasaki bay through Japanese interpreters dealing with the Dutch at Deshima. Thunberg was granted access to explore the bay on rare occasions by Nagasaki's governor and he gained additional plant specimens in exchange for teaching the Japanese interpreters in European medicine.⁸² This interaction and exchange of knowledge with the interpreters further demonstrates the active interest by both Japanese and Europeans to learn from each other, although Thunberg was primarily interested in the flowers, shrubs and trees rather than in Japanese culture.

The singular interest in Japanese flora was the European obsession but by contrast, the Japanese were interested in a wide variety of foreign practices and commodities aside from European medical advancements.⁸³ This is exemplified by Thunberg during his procurement of rare seeds of herbs, shrubs and trees from infrequent excursions ashore. On one such outing Thunberg observed the amount of European plants and vegetables being grown around the town and in gardens, a clear indication of the experimentation occurring as a result of being the designated trading port.⁸⁴ Vegetables such as leeks, beetroot, onions, French beans and carrots, as well as buck-wheat and tobacco plants were being grown. This affirms

⁸¹ Raggett, J. 2002, *The Japanese-Style Garden in the British Isles: 1850-1950* (2 Volumes), Imprint: York, PhD Thesis, *University of York Thesis Collection: Department of Archaeology*.

⁸² Thunberg, C.P. 1795, *Travels in Europe, Africa and Asia performed between the years 1770 and 1779, Volume 3 (2nd Edition)*, London: F & C Rivington, pp. 34-37.

⁸³ Rudolph, R. C. 1974, Thunberg in Japan and His *Flora Japonica* in Japanese, *Monumenta Nipponica*, Vol. 29 (2), p. 166.

⁸⁴ Thunberg, C.P. 1795, *Travels in Europe, Africa and Asia performed between the years 1770 and 1779, Volume 3 (2nd Edition)*, London: F & C Rivington, pp. 80-87.

the notion that the Japanese were not passively closed to foreign commodities, ideas and learning. What Thunberg witnessed was Japanese cultivation of foreign plant species which mirrored the desire of the Europeans to cultivate Japanese native plants in Europe.

In the cases of both Kaempfer and Thunberg, gaining knowledge, plants and artefacts from Japan was never a one-way process. It was through interacting with Japanese individuals that they acquired the exotic specimens they desired, while the Japanese learned about new developments in Europe such as medicine. In addition, the Emperor and Shoguns still required the Dutch East India Company to report annually and, like Kaempfer a hundred years before him, Thunberg travelled across Japan from Nagasaki to 'Jedo' (present day Tokyo). Here he gathered flowers, seeds and cuttings as the opportunities arose, eventually sending them back to Amsterdam and Batavia.⁸⁵ In addition to the samples and collections Thunberg made during his trip, he purchased numerous Japanese texts on the country's plants while at *Jedo* and was supposedly gifted a twenty volume Japanese herbal anthology titled *Chimense* by a Japanese learning European medicine from him.⁸⁶ These greatly enhanced his sources of information and knowledge of Japanese native plants. This fed the desires of wealthy members of society in Europe, keen to obtain rare plants for their estate gardens to exemplify their status and riches.

The wish to maintain a knowledge exchange is evident in Thunberg's memoirs, where he alleged to have kept in contact with his translator-cum-students even after leaving Japan, exchanging letters and gifts, often including seed samples from Japan.⁸⁷ These specimens allowed the number of Japanese plants under propagation in Europe to significantly increase, enhancing the alluring aura of Japan as a potential untapped resource for European botanists, physicians and horticultural enthusiasts. The hub for these exotic plants remained at Leiden in the Netherlands where a 'Japanese herbarium' was established, reportedly contained nearly 2500 species of 30,000 specimens by 1843.⁸⁸ This herbarium was significantly augmented

⁸⁵ Thunberg, C.P. 1795, *Travels in Europe, Africa and Asia performed between the years 1770 and 1779, Volume 3 (2nd Edition)*, London: F & C Rivington, pp. 60-61.

⁸⁶ Thunberg, C.P. 1795, *Travels in Europe, Africa and Asia performed between the years 1770 and 1779, Volume 3 (2nd Edition)*, London: F & C Rivington, pp. 186-187.

⁸⁷ Thunberg, C.P. 1795, *Travels in Europe, Africa and Asia performed between the years 1770 and 1779, Volume 3 (2nd Edition)*, London: F & C Rivington, p. 206.

⁸⁸ 'Miscellaneous: Flora of Japan', *The Gardeners' Chronicle*, April 29th 1843, p. 288.

to by a third notable physician who journeyed to Japan in 1823 in the employ of the Dutch East India Company, German born Philipp Franz von Siebold. As did his contemporaries, he studied the flora and fauna of Japan and published a further update on Japanese plants in the *Flora Japonica sive Plantae* (1835). Accounts of his travels appeared later in English translations entitled *Manners and Customs of the Japanese* (1841), which included some additional contributions from other physicians sent to Deshima prior to his visit (although no contributions significantly different to those of Kaempfer and Thunberg). This marked one of the final texts on Japan and its flora prior to the opening.

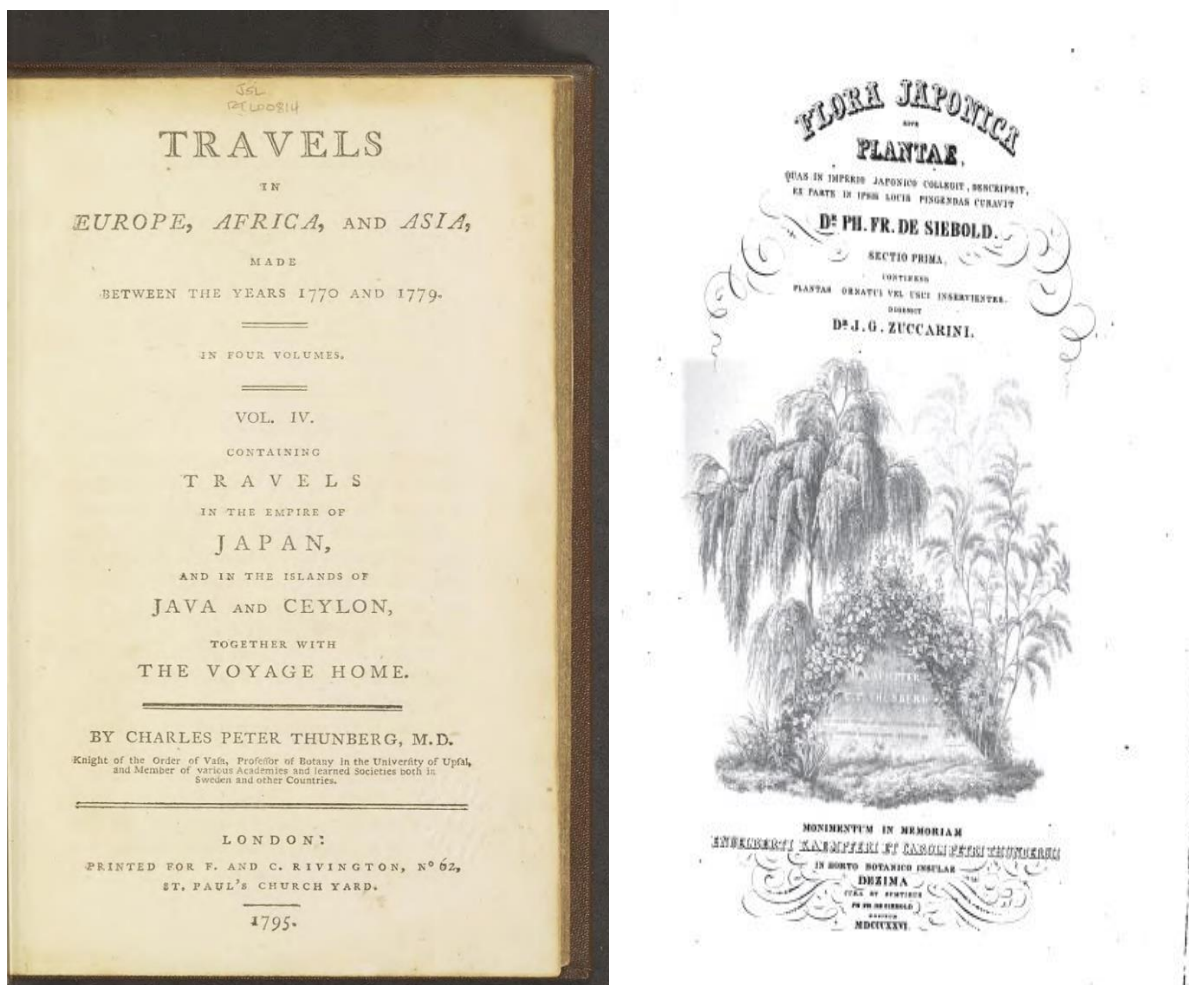


Figure 3 – Thunberg and von Siebold book covers

Sources: Thunberg, C.P. 1795, *Travels in Europe, Africa and Asia performed between the years 1770 and 1779, Volume 3* (2nd Edition), London: F & C Rivington; Siebold, P.F.v., & Zuccarini, J.G., 1835, *Flora Japonica sive Plantae*, Lugduni Batavorum.

While Kaempfer, Thunberg and von Siebold were motivated primarily by collecting Japanese plants, they also provided glimpses of how these plants were incorporated into gardens by the Japanese. The Portuguese missionaries' motivations to Catholicise Japan in the fifteenth century left the Japanese garden an overlooked entity. Kaempfer provided the first fleeting descriptions of a Japanese garden. After meeting the Shogun for the annual report, Kaempfer visited the gardens at the Imperial Temple *Tsugan-in* in *Miaco*, which he noted was;

“a small pleasure garden, as it were in miniature, curiously laid out after the Japanese manner, and with as much regularity as the narrowness of the place would admit. The walks were finely and neatly gravell'd with a whitish sand. Many scarce and uncommon stones adorn'd the beds. But what was most pleasing to the eyes, was a row of small hills artfully made in imitation of nature, with the most beautiful plants and flowers growing thereon, and a shallow brook running across with an agreeable murmuring noise, over which were laid four small stone bridges for ornament, as well as for easier communication with all parts of the garden.”⁸⁹

Although Kaempfer did not get many opportunities to see Japanese gardens, when he did see them he was full of praise for their composition, elegance, and exotic plants, calling them “a sight pleasing beyond expression”. This sentiment was echoed by Thunberg who praised the indigenous maples he encountered, describing how “for beauty, none could excel”.⁹⁰

This description of a Japanese garden could hardly have imbued European readers with any great insight into Japanese gardening practice. However, von Siebold attempted to convey a wider understanding of the spread of Japanese gardening practice as he stated that;

“These gardens, however diminutive, are always laid out in the landscape-garden style, with rocks, mountains, lakes, waterfalls, and trees, and uniformly contain a family chapel, or oratory.”

He asserted that gardens had achieved widespread popularity in Japan, as even;

⁸⁹ Kaempfer, E. (Translated by Scheuchzer, J.G) 1727, *The History of Japan: 3 Volumes*, London: Hans Sloane, pp. 550-551.

⁹⁰ Thunberg, C.P. 1795, *Travels in Europe, Africa and Asia performed between the years 1770 and 1779, Volume 3 (2nd Edition)*, London: F & C Rivington, p. 162.

“the very smallest habitations possess similar gardens, yet more in miniature, sometimes consisting of what may be called mere corners cut off from the triangular back of the house, with trees in flower pots.”⁹¹

It is from these few sources and examples that von Siebold amplified his assertion that all Japanese gardens must be of a similar vein. However, after exiting *sakoku* many visitors to Japan found these claims were inaccurate. One such individual was German scholar Johann Justus Rein who detailed his travels through Japan and provided some comments upon Japanese gardening practices.⁹² He attempted to dispel some myths formed by von Siebold’s accounts of Japanese gardening practices, writing that;

“Siebold says that even in the large cities there is scarcely a house which has not its garden, or at least a court adorned with one or more evergreen trees. This idea has become very prevalent, but it is nevertheless erroneous.”⁹³

He cited his extensive journeys across Japan as the basis for this critique. This was a bold refutation of the idea that all Japanese have a garden and shows the extent to which the myths had permeated the wider European academic community. The von Siebold account exaggerated the Japanese as garden obsessed, but Rein put forth the more accurate assessment that it was a wealthy and cultured class pastime and interest.

It is through Rein’s assessment of von Siebold’s earlier works that we see how influential the writings on Japan were prior to exiting *sakoku*. These were clearly taken as gospel accounts by European readers and many were dismayed to find numerous inaccuracies when Japan was finally opened to foreign visitors from 1854. There was a performative element in the writing of these books and von Siebold was actively attempting to improve on the accounts of his predecessors. This is epitomised in the notes appending *Manners and Customs of Japan* where there are to be found some interesting critiques of Kaempfer’s and Thunberg’s accounts of their travels in Japan. The editor Busk described Kaempfer’s two volume texts as “ponderous folio tomes” and questioned how he could have procured so much

⁹¹ Siebold, P.F.v., & Busk, M.M. (editor), 1852, *Manners and Customs of the Japanese (New and Cheaper Edition)*, London: John Murray, pp. 53-54.

⁹² Rein, J.J. 1888, *Japan: Travels and Researches (2nd Edition)*, London: Hodder & Stoughton; Rein, J.J. 1889, *The Industries of Japan*, London: Hodder & Stoughton.

⁹³ Rein, J.J. 1889, *The Industries of Japan*, London: Hodder & Stoughton, p. 261.

information while only spending two years in Japan.⁹⁴ He similarly dismissed Thunberg as “more amusing but less instructive than old Kaempfer”.⁹⁵ While proclaiming his present work, Busk was also implying that the texts before it were designed more for the purposes of entertainment rather than standing as wholly representative accounts of Japan. Ironically, this critique also applied to von Siebold’s book.

It is no coincidence that Japan’s exit from *sakoku* came about during the age of European imperialism. Certainly, a major impetus for acquisition was the lure of the prospective wealth of Japanese plants and the economic potential in trade.⁹⁶ The works of Thunberg et al. were tinged with a kind of imperialist stance of Europe taking from and ‘discovering’ Japan. But as argued in each of the cases discussed, there was a greater exchange of knowledge taking place than has previously been acknowledged. While seeds and plants were smuggled out through the Dutch East India Company, many European plants were being propagated in Japan too. As Europeans gained glimpses of Japan and its flora, so too did the Japanese learn about European developments, medicine and plants. Japan remained heavily in control of interactions with foreigners through *sakoku*.

During this so-called closed period, Japan conducted their own geographical surveys between 1800 and 1817. This was significantly before the Westerners such as Rein in 1874 and fellow German Edmund Naumann from 1875-85, came and ‘discovered’ the lands and mapped them out.⁹⁷ The Japanese government was well aware of potential contact from foreign nations before Perry’s visit, and in the case of the mapping expeditions this was partly in response to movement near Japan’s northern territories by Russian ships. Attempts to access Japan were more frequent in the early nineteenth century as shipping technology improved and imperial European nations were acquiring possession of many other East Asian countries

⁹⁴ Siebold, P.F.v., & Busk, M.M. (editor), 1852, *Manners and Customs of the Japanese (New and Cheaper Edition)*, London: John Murray, p. 408.

⁹⁵ Siebold, P.F.v., & Busk, M.M. (editor), 1852, *Manners and Customs of the Japanese (New and Cheaper Edition)*, London: John Murray, p. 408.

⁹⁶ Schiebinger, L.L. 2007, *Plants and Empire: Colonial Bioprospecting in The Atlantic World*, Cambridge, London: Harvard University Press.

⁹⁷ Baker, J.N.L. 1931, *A History of Geographical Discovery and Exploration (Revised edition)*, London: George G. Harrap & Co. Ltd., p. 278.

and ports.⁹⁸ Of these developments and potential threats Japan's Shoguns were acutely aware.

JAPAN OPENED. 45

YEAR.	PORTUGUESE.	DUTCH.	ENGLISH.	RUSSIAN.	UNITED STATES.
1543-45	1st landing.				
1560	Christianity introduced				
1597	Persecution begins.				
1600		1st arrival.			
1609		Licence to trade.			
1613			Saris reaches Firando.		
"			Licence to trade.		
"			Factory at Firando.		
1623			Leave Japan.		
1636			Futile attempt to renew trade.		
1639	Expelled from Japan.	Assist in persecuting native Christians.			
1641		Sent to Desima.			
1673			Attempt again to renew trade.		
1791			"Argonaut's" futile attempt.		
1792				Laxman's visit.	
1803			"Frederick's" attempt.		
1804				Resanoff's mission.	
1807				Descent on the Kuriles.	
1808			"Phaeton's" visit under Pellew.		
1811				Captivity of Golownin.	
1813		Defeat Raffles' attempt.	Sir J. Raffles' attempt.		
1814		Defeat another attempt.	Attempt repeated.		
1818			Gordon's attempt.		
1837					Morrison's visit.
1846					Com. Biddle's visit.
1849			"Mariner's" visit.		Glynn in the "Preble."
1852					Com. Perry's visit.

Figure 4 – List of attempted Contact with Japan by Europe and the US, 1543-1852.

Source - Perry, M. (The American Expedition to Japan) 1858, *Japan Opened*, London: The Religious Tract Society, p. 45.

Sakoku was never born out of disinterest with world affairs as shown by the forty years during which the Shoguns tolerated unpleasant incidents with the Portuguese. Rather it represented a way to continue to interact with outside nations, whilst keeping complete control. When Japan exited from the closed era it caused a great amount of political upheaval but allowed peripheral figures who had desired such a

⁹⁸ Perry, M. (The American Expedition to Japan) 1858, *Japan Opened*, London: The Religious Tract Society, p. 43.

resolution to come to the fore. With the knowledge of outside affairs gained through their restricted windows, the Japanese government was well set to begin the process of largescale global trade and negotiations as forced by the coming of Commodore Mathew Perry's ships in 1852. It is from here that Europe and the US began to realise that Japan was not as ignorant of global affairs and developments as they had assumed. However imperialistic aspirations remained motivating forces regarding Japanese resources, particularly the flora.

The desire to gain access to Japan's treasures are clear from the attempts by European nations such as Britain to persuade Japan to enter into any kind of discourse which spanned two centuries (see Fig 4). It was the United States who eventually succeeded through Perry's negotiating, first arriving off the coast of Japan in 1852. The Perry mission credited the fact that the US did not have a negative history of interacting with Japan and so were able to gain inroads not available to Europeans tarnished by the intrusions of Catholic missionaries in the sixteenth century.⁹⁹ This was certainly an advantage, but the real impetus for the ultimate success of the mission was the measured approach taken by Perry in dealing with Japan. He was firm and resolute in his demands and kept his promises such as his intention to return the following year in 1853 to continue dialogue. This approach was in part informed by Perry's study of Japanese customs and manners prior to his visit.¹⁰⁰ Perry outlined his authority as an ambassador for the US president who would only speak with a Japanese figure of equal rank. His unmovable stance was unprecedented to the Japanese officials who respected this approach and reluctantly agreed to engage in talks.

The Japanese dignitaries displayed knowledge of current affairs in the US and European nations which surprised their American counterparts. Furthermore, the author expressed suspicions of some Japanese learning or familiarity with what he supposed to be new technologies being presented to them. For example, he described on being shown around a US steamship that:

⁹⁹ Perry, M. (The American Expedition to Japan) 1858, *Japan Opened*, London: The Religious Tract Society, pp. 46-48.

¹⁰⁰ Perry, M. (The American Expedition to Japan) 1858, *Japan Opened*, London: The Religious Tract Society, p. 48. *It may be assumed that the texts Perry consulted were from the small array available at the time such as Francis Xavier, Engelbert Kaempfer, Carl Thunberg or Philipp Franz von Siebold. von Siebold's would have provided the most up to date account of Japanese culture and customs*

“They evidenced an intelligent interest in all the various arrangements of the vessel, observed the big gun, and rightly styled it a “Paxihan,” and exhibited none of the surprise which would naturally be expected from those who were beholding for the first time the wonderful art and mechanism. The engine evidently was an object of great interest to them, but the interpreters showed that they were not entirely unacquainted with its principles.”¹⁰¹

Here the Japanese demonstrated the sophisticated knowledge they garnered through their window to the world at Deshima, but also attempted to present to the US the idea that they were not an inferior or backwards civilisation.

The practicality of Japan adopting these new technologies was sped up and advanced by Perry’s negotiating from 1852-54, from mere knowledge as evidenced by the dignitaries viewing the steamship, to learning from Europe and the US first hand with a view to Japan utilising them. To this end, a group of forty Japanese set off to the US and Europe in 1862 amongst considerable internal political unrest to learn ways to fight off European imperialism and revise unequal treaties.¹⁰² Conte-Helm labelled the three key areas of focus for the development of Japan in the 1860s as the industries of coal, ships and guns.¹⁰³ These industrial and military considerations were clearly how the Japanese Shogun foresaw that his nation would need to improve in order to compete with imperial powers in Europe and the US. Japanese missions in the 1860s visited coal mines in Newcastle amongst other locations in Britain. Excursions to Europe such as these became relatively frequent over the next decade, but with increasing significance after the reinstating of the Emperor to governmental power in 1868. This political change was marked by the *Iwakura* mission, which set off to the US and Europe to learn about all aspects of politics, industry and culture in 1872. The main aims of this mission were;

“to secure high level international recognition for Japan’s newly restored Imperial regime; to open preliminary discussions on revision of the so-

¹⁰¹ Perry, M. (The American Expedition to Japan) 1858, *Japan Opened*, London: The Religious Tract Society, pp. 104-106.

¹⁰² Cobbing, A. 1998, *The Iwakura Mission in Britain, 1872*, *LSE Research Online*, from: eprints.lse.ac.uk/6908/1/The_Iwakura_Mission_in_Britain,_1872.pdf.

¹⁰³ Conte-Helm, M. 1989, *Japan and the North East of England: from 1862 to the Present Day*, London: Athlone, pp. 6-7.

called 'Unequal Treaties'; and to assess Western civilisation with a view to adopting those parts of value to Japan."¹⁰⁴

It is here that we see Japan most enduringly embarking upon a process of active cultural learning and integration of European and American technologies.

Much of the literature on Japanese-British interactions in the period between 1850 and 1914 have focussed on the political change in Japan with the Meiji Restoration and British imperialism in the Far East. Similarly, there have been plenty of critiques of Japan's 'Westernisation', trade and drive to modernisation, a narrative that dominates discourse of this historical period. There is an overriding argument amongst both US/European and Japanese scholars that Japan's 'closed', Tokugawa led Edo era was a time of stagnation in comparison with early-modern Europe.¹⁰⁵ This view has been partly fuelled by post-*sakoku* politics and the Meiji restoration of 1868. Meiji era Japanese officials such as Yukichi Fukuzawa deemed the nation in need of modernising on European lines and looked down on the previous era as backwards, in keeping with Victorian perceptions of Eastern cultures at the time.¹⁰⁶ A minority of critics have argued that this scorn for the Edo era stemmed from the drive to modernity which ignored the relative peace and prosperity of nearly 250 years of Shogun rule.¹⁰⁷ The present research supports this minority view of a more active interest of the Japanese in outside affairs during *sakoku* as illustrated by the interactions sustained both during and after exiting seclusion.

With Japan opened to foreign exchanges the government sought ways to retain the control enjoyed through *sakoku* and forestall imperial threats to sovereignty. This took the form of a marked increase in foreign learning compared to the closed era. However, this was a continuation from the previous period rather than the drastic reform as popularly coined. *Sakoku* was merely a front for Shogunal control, rather than being a total cut-off from the world. The Meiji era drive to modernity accelerated the process of cultural exchange which was already occurring in the Edo period.

¹⁰⁴ Beasley, W.G. 1995, *Japan Encounters the Barbarian*, Yale: Yale University Press.

¹⁰⁵ Akamatsu, P, & Kochan, 1972, *Meiji 1868: Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Japan*, London: Allen and Unwin; Lu, D.J. 1974, *Sources of Japanese History (Volume 1&2)*, New York: McGraw-Hill; Lambourne, L. 2005, *Japonisme: Cultural Crossings Between Japan and the West*, London: Phaidon.

¹⁰⁶ Cobbing, A. 1998, The Iwakura Mission in Britain, 1872, *LSE Research Online*, from: eprints.lse.ac.uk/6908/1/The_Iwakura_Mission_in_Britain_1872.pdf.

¹⁰⁷ Hobson, J.M. 2004, *The Eastern Origins of Western Civilization*, Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press; Tokugawa, T. 2009, *The Edo Inheritance*, Tokyo: International House of Japan.

1.2. Building the horticultural Trade: British and Japanese Nurseries



Figure 5 – Maries posing with Mr Kosaburo and his family at their nursery in Yokohama

Source – ‘Japanese Nurseries’, *The Gardeners’ Chronicle*, 24th April 1880, p. 529.

As we have seen, the European assimilation, acquisition and quest for knowledge of Japanese plants began well before the opening. However, plant hunters such as Kaempfer, Thunberg and von Siebold could only scratch the surface of this as far as Japanese closed policy would allow. As demonstrated by the case of Johan Justus Rein, the reality of Japan, its flora and its gardens were somewhat different to the narrow views afforded to those visiting during *sakoku*. There was the additional driving force guiding Thunberg and von Siebold of the scientific movement of categorisation, with Thunberg as a student of Linnaeus classifying Japanese species of plants to the Linnaean system. The lack of access to Japan thwarted the desire of European physicians and horticulturalists to adequately complete this categorisation process, but this only spurred on the desire for ‘discovery’ in the inaccessible Japan.

This mantle was largely taken up by nursery companies of the mid to late nineteenth century who supplanted the individual plant hunters or employed them to source new stocks for commercial gains.¹⁰⁸ Many British firms drove the continuation of categorisation and discovery as will be explored.

Horticultural trade rapidly grew into big business in Japan, with vast nurseries appearing around the treaty ports of Yokohama, Hakodate and Nagasaki. Through these nurseries many British nursery firms and plant hunters procured lucrative Japanese exotics to sell for great profits back in Britain. In the year of the Meiji restoration (1868) for example, Japanese bulbs were shipped to Cheshire in England from Japan by a Mr James Walter, an English practical botanist who was residing in Japan. In a magazine advert, bulbs of *Lilium Auratum* were to be sold at auction for “not less than Ten, at 5s (shillings)” which was a considerable amount of money at the time for ten plant bulbs.¹⁰⁹ The auction was addressed; “to Mr T. Mopham, head gardener to Major Walter, Vernlum, Wallasey, Cheshire”. This shows that the networks were being quickly established for the distribution of the new-found commodities to cater for customer demand as British firms competed for this lucrative trade opportunity.

Harry Veitch of nursery firm *Veitch & Sons* noted that only cultivated Japanese plants were collected by plant hunters such as von Siebold.¹¹⁰ To remedy this John Gould Veitch made plans to venture to Japan, together with Sir Rutherford Alcock the British Minister to explore Japan’s wild flora. Veitch set out in April 1860 with, “The spirit of enterprise and the desire of making discoveries, which prompted him at first to set sail for Japan, then lately made accessible to Europeans”.¹¹¹ This desire for discoveries was of course spearheaded by the potential commercial possibilities to be gained by procuring new exotic species for sale back in Britain. Members of the Veitch family wrote regularly for *The Royal Horticultural Society* and appeared often in various horticultural magazines and periodicals, writing on Japanese, Chinese and Far Eastern plants, trees, bamboos and shrubs. With several nurseries, and with the

¹⁰⁸ Schiebinger, L.L. 2007, *Plants and Empire: Colonial Bioprospecting in the Atlantic World*, Cambridge, London: Harvard University Press.

¹⁰⁹ Anon, 1868, *The Journal of Horticulture and Cottage Gardener*, January 28th 1868, p. 56.

¹¹⁰ Veitch, H.J. 1891, The Coniferae of Japan, *The Journal of the Royal Horticultural Society*, Vol. 14 (1892), pp. 18-33.

¹¹¹ Veitch, J.H. 1906, *Hortus Veitchii*, London: James Veitch & Sons Limited, Chelsea, p. 19.

exotic collection based mainly at Coombe Wood in Surrey, the company was renowned and well respected for their nursery stock and horticultural expertise.¹¹²

Through the 1880s and 1890s, Japanese plants were still being collected and experimented with by British nursery companies, keen to uncover the commercial viability and successful growths in the British climate, although there was no real ambition to create Japanese style gardens in Britain at this time. Harry Veitch, speaking on the lesser known Japanese trees and shrubs in 1894 wrote in glowing excitement of the variety and volume of flora to be found in the Japanese isles. He described the new varieties of maple trees and how he could not;

“avoid feeling astonished at the wonderful development of the genus in that part of the world, nor can we help looking forward with confidence, strongly supported by our own experience, that these Maples are destined to impart to our landscape and gardens some of the most pleasing and distinct features yet obtained from any group of exotic trees and shrubs.”¹¹³

He attempted to stoke interest in these Japanese plants with a view to fostering potential sales for the nursery company. Saying as much himself;

“I have endeavoured to bring under your notice some of the leading features of the forest flora of Japan, very imperfectly it is true, but enough, I hope, to awaken some interest in the subject, and to show what a wealth of material yet remains available for the improvement and further adornment of our park and landscape scenery.”¹¹⁴

This precursory statement shows the intent of the plant hunters and nurseries to endow British landscape gardens and parks with the flora of Japan.

Many problems for those growing Japanese plants was the uncertainty of how they would fare away from the humidity and mountainous volcanic soil. James H. Veitch described the failed growth of a seedling collected during his excursions to Japan;

“*Magnolia salicifolia*, new to cultivation, has not yet flowered in Europe, nor are its blossoms known to botanists. My own seed, collected on Mount Hakkoda, failed to germinate; but, thanks to the kindness of

¹¹² Elliott, B. 1990, *Victorian Gardens*, London: Batsford, 1986.

¹¹³ Veitch, H.J. 1894, Deciduous Trees and Shrubs of Japan, *The Journal of the Royal Horticultural Society*, Vol. 17 (1895), p. 16.

¹¹⁴ Veitch, H.J. 1894, Deciduous Trees and Shrubs of Japan, *The Journal of the Royal Horticultural Society*, Vol 17 (1895), p. 21.

Professor Sargent, my firm now has a promising young tree, which it is hoped will flower in a few years' time."¹¹⁵

The Veitch firm enjoyed a connection with eminent American botanist Professor Sargent whom James H. Veitch met whilst in Japan in the 1880s. Sargent was curator of the Arnold Arboretum in Boston, USA and wrote an article widely circulated in Britain on Japanese Forest Flora, which Veitch stated; "To what he has written in a general way I have very little to add."¹¹⁶ With networks across the Atlantic Ocean we can see how the Veitch firm collaborated to successfully propagate Japanese plants and further expand their collection.

In tandem with the British nursery firms, there were several Japanese firms providing Japanese plants to British customers. These were no less significant in the formation of Japanese gardens in Britain. As will be discussed, many of them set up bases in Britain to better serve their client base, typically in London. As Japan began to adjust its political landscape and begin the process of modernising and trading en masse, Japanese nursery firms started to trade directly with Europe and the US. One such Japanese supplier, the *Yokohama Nursery Company* appear as an important exporter of Japanese plants to Britain from 1890 onwards. The *Yokohama Gardeners Association* and the *Yokohama Nursery Company* were located in the new trading port of Yokohama, Japan. Japanese nurserymen; Uhei Suzuki, Mr. Yamaguchi, Mr. Iijima, and Mr. Suda formed "the *Yokohama Gardeners Association* on February 7, 1890, for the direct exportation of numerous varieties of Japanese plants, seeds, and bulbs."¹¹⁷ The firm went on to be a highly successful and significant international supplier of plants and garden adornments, crucial in the development of British-Japanese gardens.

Uhei Suzuki had worked for foreign nursery company *L. Boehmer & Co.* for seven years until leaving with founder Louis Boehmer's encouragement to take a leading role in establishing *The Yokohama Nursery Company*. The Japanese still had a lot to learn about trading with European nations as Suzuki's internship demonstrates. He

¹¹⁵ Veitch, J.H. 1902, Lesser known Japan Trees and Shrubs, *The Journal of the Royal Horticultural Society*, Vol. 27 (1902-03), p. 865.

¹¹⁶ Veitch, H.J. 1894, Deciduous Trees and Shrubs of Japan, *The Journal of the Royal Horticultural Society*, Vol. 17 (1895), pp. 12-13.

¹¹⁷ Elias, T. 2005, History of the introduction and establishment of Bonsai in the Western World, *Proceedings of the International Scholarly Symposium on Bonsai and Viewing Stones*, Vol. 104, pp. 19-23.

spent a considerable time learning about the nursery trade, which enhanced his company's ability to begin trading abroad.

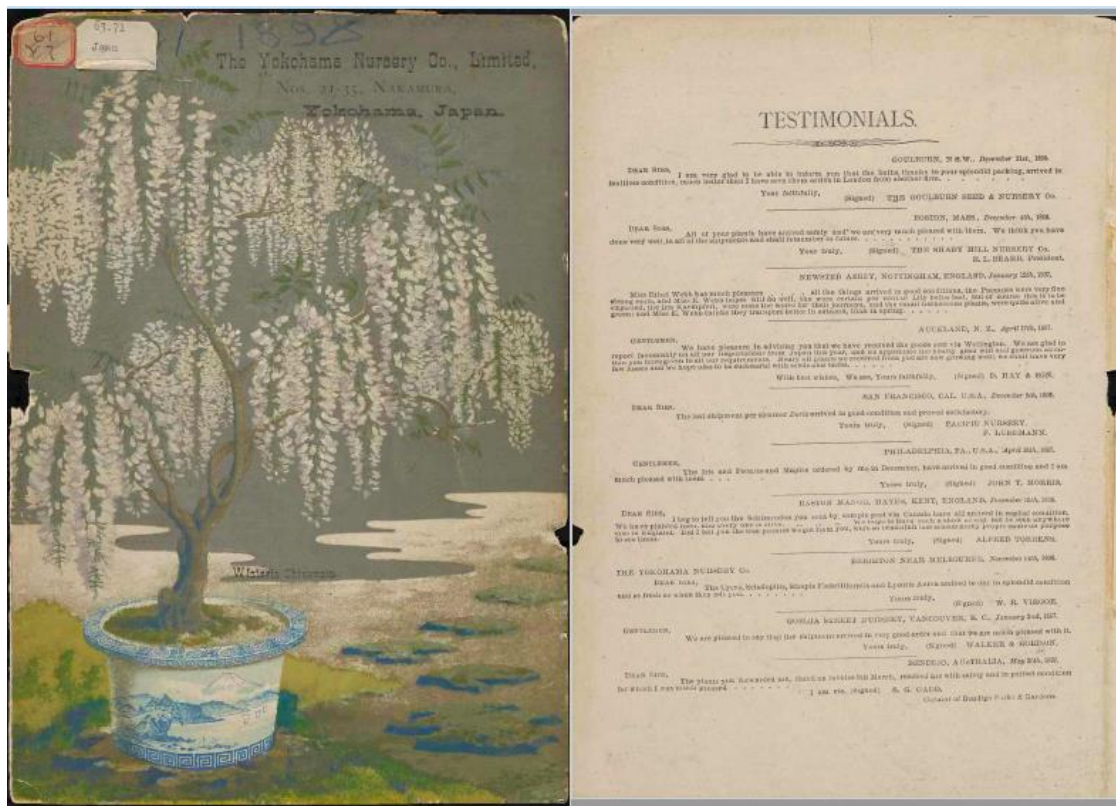


Figure 6 – Yokohama Nursery Co., Nursery catalogue and Testimonials inc. Ethel Webb

Source - Yokohama Nursery Co., 1898, *Descriptive Catalogues of the Yokohama Nursery Co. Ltd.*

It is in part due to this period of learning about nursery and horticultural trade by the Japanese that there was not much in the way of direct business dealings by Japan with Britain and Europe before the 1890s. *The Yokohama Nursery Company* became very successful as time went on, particularly into the 1900s. However, there is evidence of earlier custom in Britain within the 1898 Yokohama Nursery co. catalogue, where there is a testimonial from Ethel Webb at Newstead Abbey;

“Newstead Abbey, Nottingham, England, January 12th, 1897.

Miss Ethel Webb has much pleasure . . . all the things arrived in good conditions, the Paeonies were very fine, strong roots and Miss E. Webb hopes will do well, the* were certain percent of lily bulbs bad, the Iris Kaempferi were none the worse for their journeys, and the small

herbaceous plants were quite alive and green: and Miss E. Webb thinks they transport better in autumn, than in spring” (see Fig 6) .¹¹⁸

This shows that Japanese plants and materials were accessible in Britain, not solely limited to London by the end of the nineteenth century. The direct impetus of Japanese firms helped to foster this growing market and availability of Japanese plants and garden ornaments in Britain. At Newstead Abbey this assisted the eventual creation of a full Japanese style garden by Webb in the early 1900s.¹¹⁹

Testimonials in nursery catalogues represent a curious early form of self-advertising and promotion, designed to evoke confidence in their potential customers through endorsement. It is interesting to see this enterprising tactic in use so early in the formation of horticultural trade links between Japan and the world. Clearly this was a tactic emulated between different companies in competition for custom, as Suzuki’s mentor Louis Boehmer similarly used this approach with one testimonial reading;

“L. Boehmer & Company of Yokohama confirmed the arrival of bonsai in England in 1901. The letter read: Baildon, Shipley Kirkfield, June 11, 1901. The trees (dwarf trees) which we bought from you and brought to England on board the “U. S. Princess Irene” arrived safely at their destination and in good condition considering the variations of climate they were exposed to on the voyage. They appear to be doing well.... Signed Mrs. Elsie M. Hogdon”.¹²⁰

That these companies were successfully shipping Japanese plants to places such as Baildon, in West Yorkshire and to Nottinghamshire by the turn of the nineteenth century shows how they were becoming a wider spread commodity in Britain. The need to advertise highlights the competition for custom which was growing substantially into the Edwardian era.

Alfred Unger, the proprietor of L. Boehmer & Co. wrote to *The Gardeners’ Chronicle* in 1901 (no doubt to drum up some business for the company) to inform them of the increasing popularity of Japanese plants in recent years. He cited a

¹¹⁸ Yokohama Nursery Co., 1898, *Descriptive Catalogues of the Yokohama Nursey Co. Ltd.* *Typo - as printed in original.

¹¹⁹ *See Chapter 5 for further discussion*

¹²⁰ Elias, T. 2005, History of the introduction and establishment of Bonsai in the Western World, *Proceedings of the International Scholarly Symposium on Bonsai and Viewing Stones*, Vol. 104, pp. 19-30.

sharp rise from 1896 owing largely to the demand for *Lilium longiflorum* because of disease to the formerly popular Bermuda variety.¹²¹ This table was summed up succinctly in the *Journal of the Royal Horticultural Society* of the same year; “The bulbs were valued at £493 in 1879, in 1889 £2502, and in 1899 at £25956. The great rise in the last four years is owing to the enormous demand for *L. longiflorum*”.¹²² Even if this is a statistical advert for the company, it shows the growing business and demand for Japanese plants at the end of the nineteenth century. This was a trend that only increased into the Edwardian era and developed alongside the increasing number of Japanese style gardens across Britain.

With the example of Louis Boehmer teaching Uhei Suzuki we saw the continuation of Japan and Europe’s cultural exchange. Japan was actively seeking to learn from the US and Europe in virtually all aspects of industry and commerce in the Meiji era, with horticultural trade being no exception. To this end, Japanese nurseries rapidly became a conspicuous feature of Yokohama’s geographical make-up. Charles Maries, an employee of Veitch’s firm exhibited before the Royal Horticultural Society many Japanese plants procured on his expedition there in the 1870s. A photo of him at the nursery of Mr Kosoburo and his family features together with a quote from fellow plant hunter Robert Fortune which described how the outskirts of Yedo were covered with nursery gardens (see Fig 5).¹²³

Other Japanese companies sought to gain a foothold in the emerging botanical trade. *The Japan Saitama Nursery Co.* advertised in *The Gardeners’ Chronicle* with a letter from the manager being published, saying that;

“I beg to inform you that I have established a company called the Japan Saitama Nursery Co., for purposes of direct exportation to foreign countries of all varieties of plants, seeds, bulbs, and especially Japan Lilies, and if favoured occasionally with your orders, I will esteem myself indebted. The place in which I am now living is the habitat of the Lily of Japan; therefore the species obtainable are much finer than those of any other part of Japan. My own experience as a buyer enables me to

¹²¹ Unger, A. *The Gardeners’ Chronicle*, 13th July 1901, p. 21.

¹²² G.S.S. 1901, Lily and Other exports from Japan, *The Journal of the Royal Horticultural Society*, Vol. 25 (1901), pp. 560-561.

¹²³ ‘Japanese Nurseries’, *The Gardeners’ Chronicle*, 24th April 1880, pp. 528-229.

purchase the most approved goods as cheaply as any long-established nursery here.”¹²⁴

The nursery was based in the Saitama prefecture, due North of Tokyo. From this advert it is clear there was much competition for custom in the botanical trade and the manager of *The Japan Saitama Nursery Co.* alludes to this by singling out the so-called more established firms. This is more evidence to suggest the fierce trade and competition between Japanese nursery companies scrambling to secure international trade as their prowess developed and demand in Britain for Japanese horticulture grew.

The success of Japanese horticultural trade and nursery companies shows that the British firms such as Veitch & Co. still had some way to go with their experimentation with Japanese plants. But by the early 1900s James H. Veitch was confident that the worst of these trials of error were overcome, stating that;

“It is becoming every year more evident that we owe much to the forests of Japan, more indeed than is realised by planters generally; and now that the results of the original plantings of the introductions of Charles Maries have had from twenty-five to thirty years to prove their value, it is permissible to speak somewhat definitely.”¹²⁵

Many Japanese plants, trees and shrubs had become established in Britain, and thus the Japanese garden could literally grow out of this early experimentation and cultivation period. Direct trade with Japan continued to flourish but increasing numbers of British nursery firms were successfully propagating Japanese plants in Britain itself. This facilitated a wider sphere of access for British gardeners and those wishing to imbue their gardens with exotic Japanese plants and it also made Japanese plants more affordable. This also reflected the Japanese drive to learn from Europe and the US to take back some control of trade and resources. This was part of a much wider scheme aimed at avoiding becoming another casualty of imperialism.

¹²⁴ ‘Trade Notice’, *The Gardeners’ Chronicle*, 21st December 1895, p. 749.

¹²⁵ Veitch, J.H. ‘Far Eastern Maples’, *The Journal of the Royal Horticultural Society*, Vol. 29 (1904-05), p. 327.

1.3. Differentiating a distinct Japanese style: Chinese and Oriental aesthetics



Figure 7 – Shugborough Hall Chinese-style Garden (laid out circa 1747)

Source – Author’s own photo, 27.08.17.

Now that Japan was accessible to foreigners and nurseries were building up strong networks of trade, the way was paved for Japanese gardens to fall under the gaze of outsiders. While there was some knowledge of Japan in Britain together with a small amount of trade of its wares owing to the Dutch East India Company prior to exiting *sakoku*, this was manifested solely in art and porcelain goods. Japan was not actively trading plants before the opening and as such, they remained a rare commodity, available only at great expense from those smuggled out of Japan and cultivated in Leiden.¹²⁶ The fleeting *sakoku* era descriptions of Japanese gardens from Kaempfer, Thunberg and von Siebold could not adequately showcase them to British gardeners. Plant scarcity, together with limited garden descriptions almost prevented British-Japanese garden attempts altogether before the opening. Although as will be seen with The Duke of Marlborough’s Japan garden at Whiteknights there were a few attempts prior to exiting *sakoku*.¹²⁷

However, within these first manifestations a distinct Japanese style was not always perceived but merged with notions of Far Eastern or Oriental gardens and from Chinese horticulture, which had already permeated numerous British estates and parks. Both Japan and Britain owed a debt to China for providing representations

¹²⁶ ‘Miscellaneous: Flora of Japan’, *The Gardeners’ Chronicle*, April 29th 1843, p. 288.

¹²⁷ *see discussion at the end of this section 1.3*

and models for garden styles which they could imitate and build upon. While in Japan's case their Chinese inspirational garden models stemmed from around the seventh century, in Britain the adoption of Chinese garden style came around a thousand years later in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. This significantly vast period of time allowed the Chinese elements to morph and alter significantly in Japan, forming a distinct Japanese garden style. In Britain, the narrow views provided by Cantonese gardens provided exotic vistas for so called Chinese gardens in British estates. Entangled with this is the notion of the Orient and the eventual imperialism which marked Britain's interaction with China.¹²⁸

Chinese garden style acted as a precursor to the trend for Japanese forms with several erected at country estates around Britain, with notable examples in Staffordshire at Shugborough Hall and Biddulph Grange. It was the architecture of Chinese teahouses, arched bridges and clusters of bamboos which were often the dominant features in these gardens. At Shugborough Hall (c1747), a white Chinese inspired teahouse stood surrounded by bamboos and fronted by an arched red bridge crossing over the river (see Fig 7). Examples such as those at Shugborough Hall often drew inspiration from artistic sources such as the willow-pattern on Chinese porcelain. Architect and engineer William Chambers criticised these simplistic representations of Chinese garden style and sought to "put... a stop to the extravagancies that daily appear under the name of Chinese, though most of them are mere inventions, the rest copies from the lame representations found on porcelain and paper-hangings."¹²⁹

The willow plate pattern was an inspirational source for both Chinese and Japanese style gardens in Britain. Both were viewed as 'Oriental' and the fashion for both Chinese and Japanese porcelain were popular in the centuries preceding Japan's opening in 1854. English porcelain factories in Chelsea and Bow were big producers of Japanese styled wares in the 1750s (see Fig 8), although most were entirely European in shape and design and merely printed in Japanese or Chinese

¹²⁸ Akamatsu, P. & Kochan, M. 1972, *Meiji 1868: Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Japan*, London: Allen and Unwin.

¹²⁹ Chambers. W. 1757, *Designs of Chinese Buildings, Furniture, Dresses, Machines and Utensils*, London: Covent Garden, p. preface a.

style designs.¹³⁰ These imitation wares provided a fixed image of gardens from Japan and China which was reductionist and simple to recreate by adding a bridge and teahouse into the garden. This porcelain inspired scheme was still in evidence in the twentieth century at Japanese style gardens such as Pittencrieff Park in Dunfermline (c1904).¹³¹



Figure 8 – Willow Plate Pattern: Typical features of arched bridge and pagoda

Source – Cuthbertson, F.J. 1927, *Old English Porcelain and Pottery*, New York: The Anderson Galleries, p.31.

William Chambers desired to halt the onset of these simplistic and misguided attempts at Chinese garden replication and studied Chinese gardens and architecture while in Canton. He learned from a Chinese painter called Lupqua during his stay with an artistic approach guiding his commentaries which read like compositional instructions of a landscape scene. Chamber's observed that;

“The Chinese gardeners, like the European painters, collect from nature the most pleasing objects, which they endeavour to combine in such a manner, as not only to appear to the best advantage separately, but likewise to unite in forming an elegant and striking whole.”¹³²

It is this artistic approach to garden design in China that differed to the European ideas of garden design and construction. These synergies are also evident in Japanese gardens, for which China provided design blueprints. Indeed, Chambers went on to describe more garden design ideas that contrasted with the formal, geometric gardens fashionable in Europe at the time. Chambers described that “The

¹³⁰ Ayers, J., Mallet, J., & Impey, O. 1990, *Porcelain for Palaces: The Fashion for Japan in Europe 1650-1750: An Exhibition Organised Jointly With The British Museum In The New Japanese Galleries, 6Th July To 4Th November 1990*, London: Oriental Ceramic Society.

¹³¹ *See Chapter 3 for further analysis*

¹³² Chambers. W. 1757, *Designs of Chinese Buildings, Furniture, Dresses, Machines and Utensils*, London: Covent Garden, pp. 14-19.

Chinese generally avoid straight lines; yet they do not absolutely reject them"¹³³, referring here to the winding streams and paths used in larger gardens. Chinese gardens are designed around representations of nature, utilising different vantage points for the composition, as well as using the winding set-up of the paths and streams to lead the viewer to unexpected turns and new scenes.

Chinese garden style receiving analysis and attention in the eighteenth century and the synergies they possessed with Japan's garden style laid the foundations for the later Japanese craze. Despite writers such as William Chambers seeking to improve Chinese garden representations, the simplified Oriental aesthetic of the willow pattern persevered. As this incorporated both Chinese and Japanese connotations, the lasting legacy of this precursor to the Japanese garden in Britain was such that many early attempts were often confused or enmeshed with Chinese style features and ideas. This was evident even in twentieth century gardens such as Compton Acres in Dorset which was built between 1914 and 1920. Its owner Thomas Simpson erroneously thought that all Japanese teahouses and bridges should be painted red, which is a lucky colour and more common in China.¹³⁴ Therefore the bright red of his pavilion and bridges at the Compton Acres Japanese style garden did detract somewhat from the authenticity Simpson had hoped to achieve.

A hybrid blending of Chinese and Japanese garden design ideas was also in evidence at Coombe Wood in Surrey. The garden was realised in its main form between 1865 and 1872 to initially serve as a showcase for the new exotic plants from China and Japan being sold at the adjoining Veitch & Co. nursery.¹³⁵ As well as serving to demonstrate how the plants could be used, and how well they flourished in British soil. The ponds, streams and lakes were constructed by Veitch and his firm, as is evident from Ordnance Survey maps from the 1860s and 1870s.¹³⁶ It is not clear when the stone lanterns, orange pavilion and red arched bridges were added however. The orange and red colouring is again indicative of the Chinese aesthetic, which would have been familiar and appealing to British gardeners at this time. The

¹³³ Chambers. W. 1757, *Designs of Chinese Buildings, Furniture, Dresses, Machines and Utensils*, London: Covent Garden, pp. 14-19.

¹³⁴ Herries, A. 2001, *Japanese Gardens in Britain*, Buckinghamshire: Shire Publications Ltd, pp. 28-29.

¹³⁵ Raggett, J. 2002, *The Japanese-Style Garden in the British Isles: 1850-1950 (2 Volumes)*, Imprint: York, PhD Thesis, *University of York Thesis Collection: Department of Archaeology*.

¹³⁶ Ordnance Survey Maps, 1870-1930, *Coombe Wood Surrey*, National Library of Scotland.

willow plate pattern is once again cited as a key influence in the design of this garden demonstrating the longstanding effect it held over British perceptions of Chinese and Japanese gardens.¹³⁷

Other common misuses of Chinese style in Japanese garden attempts was an overuse of bamboos as a feature plant. This is a more common inclusion in Japanese style gardens in Britain, with Gunnersbury Park in London being but one example.¹³⁸ Bamboos are only used as fence and structural materials in traditional Japanese gardens.¹³⁹ It seems that the connection being made was that because bamboos were native to, or grown in Japan, that would naturally mean they were grown in Japanese gardens. This idea coupled with the British ideas of Chinese gardens which were already embedded before Japan's opening to trade led to these inevitable misuses and misrepresentations. In a 1902 article, Mary Fraser noted that of the bracket style of bridge in Japanese gardens, "although the Japanese have made this their own, I cannot help connecting it with Chinese scenery, having constantly met with it in the Imperial gardens near Peking" which suggests that that by the beginning of the Edwardian era, the image of the Japanese garden was still not distinct from other East Asian nations in the British mind.¹⁴⁰ Evidently the perceived images of Japanese and Chinese cultures were still interconnected and this view demonstrates that the Japanese would require a great deal of work to present a distinction from Oriental or Chinese stylings.

This was especially true of the earliest attempt to differentiate a Japanese garden area on a British estate in the Duke of Marlborough's Mansion and gardens at Whiteknights Estate, Reading. While not strictly an example of a Japanese gardening traditions as replicated in Britain, Author Barbara Hofland described the estate as containing both a Chinese Garden and Japanese Garden. On closer inspection the nature of this 'Japanese Garden' becomes clearer, as author Hofland wrote; "we enter the Japan Garden. This inclosure is another square, somewhat smaller than the last, and is entirely filled with Japanese and American plants".¹⁴¹

¹³⁷ Herries, A. 2001, *Japanese Gardens in Britain*, Buckinghamshire: Shire Publications Ltd.

¹³⁸ *See Chapter 6 for a more in-depth discussion of Gunnersbury Park*

¹³⁹ Kawaguchi, Y. & Townsend, R. 2016, Speaking at the: *Japanese Garden Society – Annual Conference, Durham*, 15/10/2016. (Further information from: Kawaguchi, Y. 2000, *Serene Gardens: creating Japanese design and detail in the Western Garden*, London: New Holland Publishers Ltd.)

¹⁴⁰ Fraser, M.C., 'Gardens Old & New: Of.....Gardens in Japan - III', *Country Life*, February 22nd 1902, p. 242.

¹⁴¹ Hofland, B. 1819, *A Descriptive Account of the Mansion and Gardens of Whiteknights*, London: W. Wilson, p. 59.

This garden is clearly not an attempt at an authentic Japanese style garden. Not least because it is a square with Japanese and American plants, bearing no resemblance to Japanese traditions or horticultural techniques. This is not so surprising given the gardens at Whiteknights described here was laid out before 1819.¹⁴² This predated Matthew Perry's 'opening of Japan's ports' in 1854 quite considerably. An authentic Japanese style garden in Reading during this period would have been a considerable achievement given the limited knowledge on Japanese garden design by the outside world at this point in history. Nevertheless, the Duke of Marlborough's Japanese square is still a very significant and unusual inclusion to his extensive and impressive grounds.

In addition to the Japan garden, a green hexagonal Chinese temple was included, indicating clear Far Eastern influence.¹⁴³ It seems the Duke wanted to display a further indication of his wealth and worldliness, by displaying hard to obtain Japanese plants which would have been rare, exotic and expensive at the time. His was an example of 'conspicuous consumption' whereby wealthy aristocrats displayed their wealth to mark themselves as powerful societal figures.¹⁴⁴ In the 1909 *Gardener's Magazine*, Whiteknights' lavish expenses were described;

"the bill of one firm alone for rare trees amounted to the goodly sum of £15,000. In those days from five to twenty guineas were considered ordinary prices to pay for nicely developed examples of rare kinds, and consequently the planting of these on a large scale was a very costly matter."¹⁴⁵

Clearly the motive here was to showcase aristocratic wealth rather than indicate any genuine knowledge of Japanese horticulture.

One likely source of the Duke of Marlborough's knowledge of Japanese flora is evident in the 1819 sale catalogue of the Whiteknights library.¹⁴⁶ Listed in the catalogue are the early canons on the subject; *Icones Selectae Plantarum in Japonia*, By Engelbert Kaempfer (1691) and Thurnberg's *Icones Plantarum*

¹⁴² Raggett, J. 2002, *The Japanese-Style Garden in the British Isles: 1850-1950* (2 Volumes), Imprint: York, PhD Thesis, *University of York Thesis Collection: Department of Archaeology*.

¹⁴³ Hofland, B. 1819, *A Descriptive Account of the Mansion and Gardens of Whiteknights*, London: W. Wilson, p. 59.

¹⁴⁴ Mayhew, A. 2001, 'Chapter 3: All Consumption is Conspicuous', from: *Intersubjectivity in Economics*. Taylor & Francis Ltd / Books, pp. 43–55.

¹⁴⁵ *The Gardener's Magazine*, April 10th 1909, pp. 278-280.

¹⁴⁶ *Whiteknights Library – Sale catalogue, 1819*, Cleveland Row, St James's: W. Bulmer & Co.

Japonicarum (1794) and *Flora Japonica* (1784). Whilst it cannot be ascertained that the Duke actually read these texts, their inclusion in his library and his inclusion to the Whiteknights grounds of a so-called 'Japan Garden' with Japanese plants suggests there was a likely influence of these texts on the garden's creation. In keeping with the dissemination of knowledge about Japan before the 1850s, the Whiteknights Estate Japanese garden was not a garden steeped in Japanese landscape tradition. Rather, it was a display of exotic plants from a closed and little-known country in the Far East. It would take until after Japan's 'opening' for knowledge of Japan's rich landscape and garden design history to begin to reach foreign shores. The Chinese Temple similarly indicates this, as it was in keeping with the simplified Chinese image prevalent in those produced around Britain at this time.

While clearly not a garden based on any understanding of Japanese landscape gardening, Whiteknights represented a first attempt to differentiate between China and Japan via garden art. The Duke of Marlborough's Chinese garden bore resemblance to the simplified Chinese style garden design of the willow plate pattern, with its teahouse. While the 'Japan Garden' was a representation of Japan through a selection of Japanese plants, arranged in a square as a curiosity or exhibit space for rare, expensive and exotic horticulture. This approach reflected all that was then known about Japanese horticultural tradition as afforded through the ventures of Kaempfer and Thunberg. The assumption made was that Japanese plants must feature in a Japanese garden.

The plants of Japan provided the basis for many gardens bearing the tag of 'Japanese garden' in the aftermath of the 1854 opening. But this process had begun prior to this event with the trend for Chinese style gardens as a precursor and the 'Japan Garden' entering the fray off the back of the Dutch East India Company's physician plant hunters, through their specimens and writings. As will be explored, the first Japan gardens in Britain held much in common with the Duke of Marlborough's square of Japanese and American plants at Whiteknights. Typically, these either focussed solely on the plants themselves or a different singular aspect of Japanese gardening.

1.4. The Japan Garden: first representations of Japan in British gardens

In the wake of a period of experimentation with Japanese plants and a lack of knowledge about the gardens of Japan, most Victorian gardens labelled as 'Japanese' were so-called because they contained a signifying element from Japan. More commonly this took the form of a single plant species or cultivation of *bonsai* trees in a British garden space. Barbara Hofland's descriptor of the 'Japan Garden' at Whiteknights provides a title that encapsulates this phenomenon effectively as it implies a garden designed to represent Japan in some way, differentiated from a garden created to Japanese tradition. This tag will be borrowed and expanded upon to encompass all attempts to create gardens inspired by Japan in some way. Victorian British gardens all fall into this category of 'Japan Garden', utilising disparate Japanese emblems to produce a self-styled Japanese garden. This was achieved in a variety of different ways and over a significant period of time.

With the example of the Duke of Marlborough's 'Japan garden' we see the first attempt to differentiate between Japan's flora and that of Chinese or Oriental plants or gardens. This quite naturally centred on the only part of Japanese gardens then known or accessible, the plants themselves. This was a prototype that persevered well into the nineteenth century, even as Japanese gardens and gardening traditions were becoming more frequently written about or visited by Europeans. These gardens incorporated a greater degree of experimentation with Japanese plants in the British climate, alongside the processes being undertaken by nursery firms such as Veitch & Co. At Inverewe Gardens, Osgood Mackenzie experimented with Japanese trees, shrubs and plants at Ross-shire on the West coast of Scotland. Writing an article for the *Journal of the Royal Horticultural Society*, Mackenzie described that;

"my enclosure called "Japan," which, like its namesake in the East, though young, is very prosperous and go-ahead; for though it is only three or four years since it was reclaimed from a wild state of nature, it has made rapid strides, and is now a most civilised little spot."¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁷ Mackenzie, O.H. 1904, Shrub Gardening On The West Coast Of Ross-shire, *The Journal of the Royal Horticultural Society*, Vol. 29 (1904-05), pp. 182-185.

Here he seems to allude to Japan's relative newcomer status on the world stage with a slight hint that he therefore is rescuing the plants grown at Inverewe from the wild and formerly un-civilised Japanese. As at Whiteknights, the garden is referred to as 'Japan' owing to the inclusion of Japanese species.

Mackenzie goes on to describe some of this Japan area's plants and the overall effect;

"It is just a glade in the plantation, close to the salt water's edge, and one is struck at once by its very foreign look, chiefly owing to its Cordylines, Palms, Bamboos, Eucalypti, and New Zealand Flaxes."

Here we see the recurrence of a mixture of plants from different nationalities under the Japan umbrella. It is interesting that this approach was still employed even after Japan was opened. The 'Japan Garden' of plants persevered all through the nineteenth century with the Inverewe gardens demonstrating how relatively unknown the Japanese landscape gardening tradition was even by the end of the century. Even with Japan now open for trade, this knowledge was still largely lacking as reflected in many gardens that had the title of Japanese garden ascribed to them.

Other markers in gardens indicative of Japanese origins also qualified the overall garden to be labelled as 'Japanese' and were representative of this form of Japan Garden. At Lamport Hall in Northamptonshire, Japanese dwarf trees or *bonsai* were cultivated by the owner Charles Isham. He described the formation of the garden in 1878, where he alluded to the garden's creation being based on articles about Japanese dwarf trees from *The Garden* in 1874 and the Paris International Exhibition of 1878. Isham admitted he was not a great traveller and his knowledge of Japanese horticulture was similarly narrow given its basis on a few articles. He boldly stated that he did not "think it presumptuous to denominate it a Japanese rockery", given his use of Japanese dwarfing methods.¹⁴⁸ Although, the use of gnomes in his garden removed any connotations of Japanese gardening and reflected Isham's individual eccentricities.¹⁴⁹ Of the plants used, the *Abies pygmaea* mentioned is a tree native to Norway, although Isham does mention a *Retinosporas*, also known as the Japan Cypress which is a tree native to Japan. It is apparent that this rockery was formed more on the basis of utilising Japanese dwarfing methods than on all of the trees and

¹⁴⁸ Isham, C. 'Japanese Gardening at Lamport Hall', *The Garden*, August 24th 1878, pp. 189-190.

¹⁴⁹ 'The Orphanage Fete at Lamport', *The Northampton Mercury*, August 23rd 1879, p. 6.

plants being of Japanese origin. Isham claimed the garden began in 1847, although this predates Japan's widescale interaction with Europe and any knowledge about Japanese gardening practices or methods of dwarfing trees. Therefore, one must conclude that the adoption of Japanese dwarfing methods came somewhat closer to the date of this article in 1878, although the process of shaping the garden itself may have begun much earlier.

Many of the articles after Japan's opening focussed more on the *bonsai* dwarf trees as a real curiosity for the Victorian readers. This was a continuation of the legacy of the plant hunters who procured them. A writer in *The Garden* offered the opinion that, of the various Japanese curiosities, the dwarfing of trees; "seems very much less objectionable than clipping trees into strangely artificial shapes", here referring to the other Japanese horticultural tradition of pruning and shaping trees.¹⁵⁰ These evaluations of Japanese horticultural practices and particularly the view of them as 'curiosities' shows the limited scope of knowledge about them in Britain. Many Japanese horticultural practices were still perceived as strange and unfathomable. Many articles on Japan would readily refer to the trees and shrubs as set within an 'Oriental landscape'.¹⁵¹ This reflected the association of Japan with neighbours China and the Far East. It would take a number of decades after Japan's opening in 1854 for substantial works of writing on its culture, history and gardens to be produced. This owed a lot to the turmoil within Japanese politics, culminating in the Meiji restoration of 1868 and persevering well into the 1870s and 1880s.

Japan gardens were created amidst much experimentation with the newly accessed species, and as already noted, not least by nursery firms such as Veitch & Co. The Veitch nursery at Coombe Wood, Surrey in addition to the vast growing grounds, contained a Japanese style water garden. It appears the construction of this garden began alongside the Veitch family's expeditions to Japan in the 1860s, although it seems likely that it formed gradually over time owing to the period spent experimenting and testing the Japanese plants in the British climate. This is evidenced by an article in the 1865 *Gardeners' Chronicle and Agricultural Gazette* which, while showing that there were numerous Japanese plants thriving at Coombe Wood, indicated that the full landscape garden itself was still some way off. Indeed,

¹⁵⁰ 'A Dwarf Japanese Tree', *The Garden*, August 1st 1874, p. 90.

¹⁵¹ 'View in Nagasaki, Japan', *The Gardeners' Chronicle*, April 24th 1875, p. 534.

the author tells of Veitch's plans to erect a villa at some point in the future.¹⁵² Similarly by 1872, descriptions of the nursery do not include the Japanese houses, bridges, and stone lanterns apparent in more contemporary images and accounts.¹⁵³ Reports of a visit to Coombe Warren by a group of elderly residents from the Royal Cambridge Asylum in 1872, do however describe a Japanese garden which was much admired.¹⁵⁴ By this time the gardens had been sold by James Veitch to Hugh Hammersley who owned Warren House and negotiated taking the land bisecting his, owned by the Veitch nursery. Jill Raggett similarly dismissed the posthumous attributions of a Japanese style garden at the site this early as lacking evidence, lending support to the assessment here that the eventual and more complete Japanese style designs were included much later.¹⁵⁵

In addition to the experimental grounds of nursery companies, arboretums were common grounds for mass planting and experimentation. Here Japanese trees and plants could be introduced into the British climate to test their hardiness outside of their native habitat. For example the third Earl at Sheffield Park Garden in East Sussex began the planting of an arboretum in 1885, containing Japanese species such as Japanese maples.¹⁵⁶ This was not an uncommon practice as highlighted by the collection at Westonbirt Arboretum which, by 1927 had well over one hundred different Japanese species such as acers, bamboos, yews and cypresses.¹⁵⁷ A vast majority of these species had been introduced in the late nineteenth century.

This period of experimentation and the continuation of the process of cataloguing Japanese plants after Japan's opening was a slow and drawn out process. As previously noted, Japanese species were still being 'discovered' by plant hunters and nursery firms well into the late Victorian and Edwardian eras. This is one reason that explains the simplistic Japan gardens of the Victorian era formed without any knowledge of Japanese gardening traditions. As will be introduced chapter four, it was the formation of societies for Japan studies both in Britain and Japan which facilitated the study and subsequent understanding of their gardens by foreigners. By

¹⁵² *The Gardeners' Chronicle and Agricultural Gazette*, June 24th 1865, pp. 583-584.

¹⁵³ *The Gardeners' Chronicle and Agricultural Gazette*, August 24th 1872, p. 1129.

¹⁵⁴ *The Surrey Comet*, August 31st 1872, p. 4.

¹⁵⁵ Raggett, J. 2002, *The Japanese-Style Garden in the British Isles: 1850-1950* (2 Volumes), Imprint: York, PhD Thesis, *University of York Thesis Collection: Department of Archaeology*.

¹⁵⁶ Watkins, J. & Wright, T. 2007, *The Management & Maintenance of Historic Parks, Gardens & Landscapes: The English Heritage Handbook*, London: Frances Lincoln, p. 292.

¹⁵⁷ Jackson, B.A. 1927, *Catalogue of the Trees & Shrubs at Westonbirt*, London: Oxford University Press.

the 1890s, literature on Japanese gardens was being produced at a time when horticultural trade between both nations began to take great strides forward. Added into this was the fruits born of the period of experimentation with Japanese plants in Britain. All these factors came together to facilitate the onset of Japanese style gardens becoming a common feature of British parks and gardens in the Edwardian era.

Conclusion

The first section of this chapter demonstrated that there was a process of significant cultural exchange between Japan and Europe before the 1850s. The accounts of Kaempfer and the physicians of the Dutch East India Company alluded to this, with exchanges of knowledge demonstrated. While limited by Japanese enforced restrictions of movement, the country could become partially known to Europeans. Even after negotiations with Mathew Perry Japan retained significant control over what was seen of their country until a resolution to internal political struggles was reached.

The control afforded Japan during *sakoku* was evident in the way that the Dutch East India Company were restricted and led only through select routes (the tourist trails of the Meiji era). The parts of Japan presented will have been the predesignated ones chosen by the government, therefore the views afforded Kaempfer et al. were shaped by the Tokugawa Shogunate. This control and approach resonated with the succeeding Meiji era where a similar level of control was maintained post-*sakoku*. Likewise, that there were Japanese species available (to the rich at least) shows that the Dutch East India Company had already facilitated trade and fostered demand for Japanese plants in Europe.

As Japan modernised and learned from European examples, the horticultural trade burgeoned both for British and Japanese companies. This trade enabled British gardeners to experiment with Japanese plants in their gardens, paving the way for Japan Gardens to be laid out across Britain. The example of Whiteknights demonstrated that there was engagement with literature on Japan before the 1850s resulting in a Japanese themed garden area. That this was explicitly differentiated from Chinese garden areas which were also present showed knowledge (albeit limited) more apparent than previously given credit for.

In Victorian Britain, these Japan Gardens began as simplified representations or notions of the Far Eastern nation, often flimsy or misconceived as they were. Moving forward, this descriptor of Japan Garden will be adopted to describe gardens created outside of Japan. Progressing from the late Victorian and into the Edwardian era, Japan gardens appeared in a variety of different guises, culminating in much more elaborate forms by the beginning of the First World War. However, all of these

Japanese style gardens were designed to represent Japan and being geographically removed from the Far East could only hope to be tributary creations. For this reason, all should fall under the title of 'Japan Garden' as used to describe Whiteknights, rather than 'Japanese Garden' which is indicative of a garden in Japan itself.

Chapter 2: European elements in the parks and gardens of Japan: Changing Japan and Changing Japanese Gardens



VIEW OF THE FRONT GATE FROM FINE ART BUILDING.



FOREIGN SAMPLE BUILDING.

Figure 9 – Buildings at the 1903, Osaka National Industrial Exhibition

Source - The Osaka Exhibition. 1903, *Guide Book for Tourists in Japan* (3rd Edition), Yokohama: The Obun Printing Co.

Introduction

After exiting *sakoku*, foreign ideas around architecture, park and garden design were studied and introduced into Japan as part of its government's reformation. There are a wealth of examples showing how Japan sought to utilise foreign design ideas and practices but adapt them to be fit for Japanese usage. In particular, there was a strong focus on foreign brick buildings and architecture by the Meiji government. William Coaldrake offered that, "Not since the eighth century had there been so concerted a national effort to redefine the image Japan displayed to the world".¹⁵⁸ This refers to the Heian era (c794) adoption of Chinese city building planning and methods, as a new capital – Kyoto – was created by the government. This era also fostered in the assimilation of Buddhist ideas to sit alongside traditional Shinto and the introduction of the Chinese writing system. In many ways the effect was more dramatic than was the case in the Meiji era as the city of Edo was not moved but 'upgraded' to become Tokyo, with Western/European ideas being infused rather than Chinese models copied.

'Foreign experts' or *oyatoi* such as Josiah Conder, employed by the Japanese to assist with the construction of Western style buildings in Japan, aided in the adoption of foreign models and architecture. The results were often designed and executed so as to be almost unrecognisable to their Western counterparts, partly owing to the combination of Japanese and foreign architects, but also the whims of the designers themselves. The results were not necessarily reflective of traditional Western/European design. What the Japanese desired most was the functionality of Western engineering. A Japanese engineer at Akasaka Palace in Japan cited defects (earthquake protection) in American structural designs. These were adapted and improved for the building of the palace to suit Japanese needs.¹⁵⁹ Like Japanese park spaces, it was this functionality that underpinned most of the borrowing of foreign ideas.

While it is clear there was a degree of 'borrowing' from Europe in terms of layouts and garden styles, some critics have argued that this was over stated.¹⁶⁰ Places

¹⁵⁸ Coaldrake, W.H. 1996, *Architecture And Authority In Japan*, London: Routledge, pp. 209-220.

¹⁵⁹ Coaldrake, W.H. 1996, *Architecture And Authority In Japan*, London: Routledge, pp. 209-220.

¹⁶⁰ Conder, J. & Ogawa, K. 1893, *Supplement to Landscape Gardening in Japan*, Tokio: The Hakubunsha, Ginza & Yokohama, Shanghai, Hong Kong and Singapore: Kelly & Walsh ltd, p. 107; Sakai, A. 2011, *The*

intended for public use and recreation already existed in Japan before the Meiji era such as *Kairakuen* in *Mito*. The first section will look at how the European elements in Japanese park and garden spaces were largely exaggerated and why this was the case.

The need for modernisation stressed by the Japanese government after the 1868 Meiji restoration and removal of Shogunal power, helped to foster an active and swift drive towards adopting Western/European design ideas around architecture, park and garden spaces. European parks and gardens were also created in the treaty ports such as Yokohama to serve the growing foreign diplomat and merchant communities. These are of great interest as they provide a good counterbalance to the parks infused within existing shrine or former aristocratic garden grounds. Samuel Cocking's procuring of former Buddhist temple land for a European garden will demonstrate how the Meiji policies were impacting the Japanese landscape as foreigners took advantage of legal loopholes.

The Meiji era as a time of great and lasting change to Japan is a theme well exemplified in historical accounts of this period. It is these drastic changes and reforms that are of interest in relation to Japan's parks and gardens because they form a key part of the period's horticultural developments. The Japanese government began the process of modernisation and industrialisation by displaying new technologies, architecture and horticulture at national exhibitions. These were designed to serve the agenda of the new government and promote what had been learned from the Europe and the US through legations such as the *Iwakura* mission. Just as Britain and Europe were learning about Japan and its gardens, Japan was setting up park spaces based on European models. The differing approach to Japanese infusion of European styles in its parks will be discussed, in addition to the political motivations behind incorporating European style into private gardens such as *Murin-an* in Kyoto.

hybridization of ideas on public parks: introduction of Western thought and practice into nineteenth-century Japan, *Planning perspectives*, Vol. 26 (3), pp. 347-371.

2.1. Existing Park Spaces in Japan: the extent of foreign ‘borrowing’

Although Edo period Japan did not have public parks in the European mould, there were plentiful recreation areas that served many similar functions to the European public park. The idea that Japan had no public parks prior to the Meiji Restoration is more of a contentious ideology than is often portrayed in historical literature with the picture often painted by historians being that Japan had no spaces for public use prior to the Meiji Restoration.¹⁶¹ While it was the case that parks of a European framework were not present in Japan, this did not indicate an absence of public spaces. Josiah Conder offered contradictions to this myth and suggested otherwise, as he wrote about Japan’s public gardens for his 1893 publication. Conder claimed that “None of the important towns of Japan are without public gardens. In many cases the grounds surrounding Shinto shrines or Buddhist temples serve the purpose of a people’s park”.¹⁶² This section will aim to support this statement and demonstrate that contrary to the views championed in historical literature, Japan already possessed sites akin to public park spaces prior to the Meiji Restoration. These existing spaces were later expanded to include some aspects of European park models absent from Japanese spaces, chiefly sports and recreation facilities.¹⁶³

Conder cited these public spaces as being funded by a “necessary entourage of religious establishments” with the huge number of festivals and event days in Japan providing frequent social gatherings of people in these temple grounds and shrines.¹⁶⁴ Yokohama resident John Black described the Japanese love of picnicking, claiming that in no other part of the world must this practice be carried out to such an extent “Upon their gala days and that seems to be six days out of the week”.¹⁶⁵ The profusion of Japanese festival days here demonstrates how important these public spaces were and how Japan was already well equipped for the subtle

¹⁶¹ Finn, D. 1995, *Meiji revisited: The sites of Victorian Japan*, New York: Weatherhill inc.; Havens, T.R., 2011. *Parkscapes: green spaces in modern Japan*, Honolulu: University of Hawai’I Press.

¹⁶² Conder, J. & Ogawa, K. 1893, *Supplement to Landscape Gardening in Japan*, Tokio: The Hakabunsha, Yokohama, Hong Kong, Shanghai & Singapore: Kelly and Walsh Ltd., p. 107.

¹⁶³ Conway, H. 1996. *Public parks*. Princes Risborough: Shire.

¹⁶⁴ Conder, J. & Ogawa, K. 1893, *Supplement to Landscape Gardening in Japan*, Tokio: The Hakabunsha, Yokohama, Hong Kong, Shanghai & Singapore: Kelly and Walsh Ltd., p. 107.

¹⁶⁵ *The Japan Herald* (12th and 19th July 1862), Cited in: Black, J.R. 1883, *Young Japan: Yokohama and Yedo. A narrative of the settlement and the city from the signing of the treaties in 1858, to the close of the year 1879. With a glance at the progress of Japan during a period of twenty-one years (Volume 1)*, New York: Baker, Pratt & Company, London: Trubner & Co., Yokohama: Kelly & Co., pp. 175-176.

incorporation of European ideas into ready-made spaces and customs of the Japanese. Japan already possessed places for the public to gather before the Meiji restoration, although not with all of the same functionalities as European public parks such as sporting facilities.

This strongly hints at a contrary view to public park spaces as being a recent addition to the Japanese lexicon. Certainly, European parks with vast open spaces and recreational areas would have been a new take on what the Japanese public were accustomed to. However, these suggestions indicate that the Japanese already had numerous places to go after work, in contrast to their European counterparts. It is the matter of public space usage which sets the Japanese versions apart. In Japan it was the function of the space for social gatherings and relaxed contemplations versus the sports and recreation championed by most European parks.¹⁶⁶ The Japanese tradition was in the enjoyment of nature more passively. Aya Sakai further supports this argument listing the traditional outdoor activities of the Japanese, which included the enjoyment of strolling along riverside paths and viewing cherry blossoms, a pursuit enjoyed all across Japan to this day and the focus of annual spring festivals.¹⁶⁷

A good example of a Japanese semblance of a public park space is *Kairakuen* Gardens in Mito, 120km North-East of Tokyo in the Ibaraki Prefecture. Built relatively recently in the late Edo era, 1841, by the local Lord Tokugawa Nariaki, this garden-park predated Japan's exit from its closed *sakoku* era. The park was intended to be appreciated by many people, as reflected in the name ascribed it; meaning 'park to be enjoyed together'.¹⁶⁸ Nariaki described his desires for the park on a stone tablet in his own handwriting which indicated that;

"Nariaki did not design Kairakuen for himself alone, he wanted the park to be shared by all the people in the domain. He made it clear that the park is to be used as a place for rest or leisure and to feed the mind and body after hard study or martial arts training."¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁶ Conway, H. 1996, *Public parks*, Princes Risborough: Shire.

¹⁶⁷ Sakai, A 2011, The hybridization of ideas on public parks: introduction of Western thought and practice into nineteenth-century Japan, *Planning perspectives*, Vol. 26(3), pp. 347-371.

¹⁶⁸ Information board, *Kairakuen Ki no Hi*, Kairakuen Gardens, Mito, Ibaraki, Japan, accessed: 16/04/2017.

¹⁶⁹ Information board, *Kairakuen Ki no Hi*, Kairakuen Gardens, Mito, Ibaraki, Japan, accessed: 16/04/2017.

This indicates a park designed with the Japanese 'passive' pursuits of resting and recharging after work in mind. European active pursuits were not within the Japanese tradition for these park spaces.



Figure 10 – View from the *Kobuntei*. Kairakuen, Mito: An Edo period Japanese Park

Source – Author's own Photo, 17.04.18.

The key features of this park, regarded along with *Korakuen* and *Kenrokuen* as the three great landscape gardens of Japan, are its forest of 3000 trees containing over one hundred different plum tree varieties with white, pink and red blossoms. The *Mito Ume Matsuri* (Mito plum festival) is held annually during late winter and early spring. Along with this striking feature there is a bamboo grove, cedar woods and a traditional Japanese style building - the *Kobuntei* (see Fig 10). This was a Japanese designed and laid out garden but serves to show that there were spaces in Japan of a similar size and vein to a European public park in Japan before the Meiji Restoration. Tokugawa Nariaki clearly intended this garden-park space to be used by the public, and while it was not State owned it served the same functions that Buddhist and Shinto temples and shrines did for the public. Kairakuen ably demonstrates the existence of communal areas in Japan, prior to its period of modernisation and interaction with Europe and the US which acted as Japanese park spaces.

Former *Daimio* – aristocratic lands and shrine complexes which were re-designated as European style parks retained much of the prior Japanese usage and

associations. These were usually, vast landscape garden sites around lakes, with set walks, woodlands and resting areas all a part of the elaborate Japanese gardens of the wealthy. A good example of former *Daimio* gardens being re-designated is *Ritsurin-en* garden in Takamatsu, Kagawa prefecture on Japan's southern island of Shikoku, which unlike Kairakuen was not originally intended for public use. In 1875 the Meiji government chose Ritsurin-en with its near 39 acres as a suitable park site for the public (see Fig 11). This process mirrored the conception of many public parks in Britain re-purposed from aristocratic lands for public use.¹⁷⁰ These former private gardens were ideal for becoming parks as they already contained features synonymous with British examples such as large ponds, bridges and meandering walkways. Jiro Harada described how the garden was designed "to be sauntered in for enjoyment" by its maker Matsudaira Yorishige.¹⁷¹ Clearly a garden for strolling or 'sauntering' in is an aspect that lends itself well to use for the public as a park.



Figure 11 – Ritsurin-en, Takamatsu: re-designated as a public park in 1875

Source - Harada, J. 1956, *Japanese Gardens*, London and Boston: The Studio Limited, c1920, pp. 88-89.

It was mainly the active facilities and open plan areas that were added to existing sites increasing a park's functionalities. As will become apparent through a deeper

¹⁷⁰ Conway, H. 1996, *Public parks*, Princes Risborough: Shire.

¹⁷¹ Harada, J. 1956, *Japanese Gardens*, London and Boston: The Studio Limited, c1920, pp. 88-89.

look at how Japanese incorporated British elements into their parks and gardens, it was predominantly the open lawn feature that was utilised. No more is this apparent than at Shinjuku Gyoen's 'English landscape garden'. This served the purpose of an open space for recreation and sports in park spaces. At parks and gardens such as Shinjuku, stylised gardens were incorporated such as French formal (see Fig 12). However, these were not common additions to Japanese Meiji era parks, rather they were unusual embellishments designed to evoke foreign curiosity in visitors.



Figure 12 - Shinjuku Gardens, Tokyo: French Garden

Source – Author's own Photo, 14.04.17.

Kairakuen serves as an example of a Japanese public space existing before the Meiji restoration and like Ritsurin-en, a place which provided spaces to walk and enjoy outdoor pursuits akin to European park models. Therefore, the process of incorporating any European features or design ideas did not require any wholesale alterations. At Shinjuku, a few veritably foreign, English lawns and a French garden were added, however these did not create a radically foreign park in Japan, as the site already contained ponds, walkways and areas for relaxation and contemplation. While not known as public parks in Japan, there were numerous sites which were already serving the public in very similar ways to those in Europe. As hypothesised, the pre-Meiji absence of public parks was over exaggerated.

2.2. The Settlements and Treaty Ports: Parks and gardens in Japan designed for or by Foreigners

The development of Japan's first official public parks reflected the tension between the Japanese government and the increasing imposition of foreign diplomats who sought to create settlements as was the practice in other Asian nations encountered such as China.¹⁷² Following the signing of treaties in 1858, the process of establishing settlements for trading and negotiating with Japan was swiftly embarked upon. High on the list of priorities of these new foreign settlers was the building of recreation grounds. British consul Rutherford Alcock attempted to gain agreements from local governors at Yokohama in 1864 to fill in a salt water swamp at the back of the settlement and convert the area into a race-course.¹⁷³ These plans did not bear fruition however as the local council was determined to retain this land for other purposes. A similar fate befell the foreign residents desire to have a public garden space created for their use. John Reddie Black described how a Mr W.H. Smith and Mr Landau had approached the governor of Kanagawa to request the lease of land for this purpose in 1866. Again, this was reportedly agreed to but fell through with a public garden not being built for several years.¹⁷⁴

It is unsurprising that many contradictory responses were received by the foreign settlers in the first decade after the signing of the treaties. The Shogun and his government at this time were in a period of major upheaval and internal turmoil over the arrival of and discourse entered into with foreigners. This created a great deal of uncertainty as Japanese ministers argued over the best course for dealing with outside nations, with many having held onto the notion that they could still eventually 'expel the barbarians' as Tokugawa Iemitsu had done with the Portuguese in 1635.¹⁷⁵ This was not to prove the case however, with the Meiji Restoration of 1868

¹⁷² Bickers, R. & Howlett, J. 2015, *Britain and China, 1840-1970: Empire, Finance and War*, London: Routledge.

¹⁷³ Black, J.R. 1883, *Young Japan: Yokohama and Yedo. A narrative of the settlement and the city from the signing of the treaties in 1858, to the close of the year 1879. With a glance at the progress of Japan during a period of twenty-one years (Volume 1)*, New York: Baker, Pratt & Company, London: Trubner & Co., Yokohama: Kelly & Co., pp. 406-407.

¹⁷⁴ Black, J.R. 1883, *Young Japan: Yokohama and Yedo. A narrative of the settlement and the city from the signing of the treaties in 1858, to the close of the year 1879. With a glance at the progress of Japan during a period of twenty-one years (Volume 1)*, New York: Baker, Pratt & Company, London: Trubner & Co., Yokohama: Kelly & Co., pp. 408-409.

¹⁷⁵ Iriye, A. 1997, *Japan and the Wider World: From the Mid-Nineteenth Century to the Present*, London: Longman.

came a new governmental direction which ran against the expulsion of foreigners, towards a policy of learning from Europe and the US to modernise Japan.

It was shortly after the restoration that areas were designated for parks across Japan, particularly in the new trading port cities such as Yokohama. From here, at the behest of a new Japanese governmental direction, the once thwarted desires of the foreign settlers began to be realised. The number of foreign residents in Japan taken from the 1901 census, shows that, second to the 7330 Chinese residents, Britain provided the next highest number with 2102. Followed by 1584 Americans, this represented a significantly vast proportion of the total foreign residents of which the next highest after America were the 588 Germans recorded.¹⁷⁶ It is in the trade and treaty ports that we see the biggest foreign settlements at Nagasaki, Tokyo and Kobe, however Yokohama – the purpose built port town of the Meiji era – commanded the largest foreign colony. It was Yokohama that was the main access point in Japan for foreign business, trade interactions and where some of the earliest park spaces were purpose built directly as a response to the growing foreign settlements.

One example which demonstrates the evolving functionalities of these new public spaces is Kobe's Higashi Park established in 1868 for the international community and later designated a public facility in 1875 for both foreigners and Japanese to use.¹⁷⁷ The need to provide spaces for the influx of foreign settlers and traders was a new problem for Japan and the Meiji government set up new departments to deal with the administration and management of new parks. One government report from Hakodate in Japan's North island of Hokkaido in 1879 informed that a "horticultural department has been established about a year at Sapporo".¹⁷⁸ This new department incorporated European flowers into a flower garden as well as encouraged local farmers to grow European vegetables by selling the seeds at a low price. It was noted at this time however that the consumption of these vegetables was not so successful and even more tellingly, the article goes on to describe that "the superintendent of the horticultural department" is "said to be an Englishman", which would explain the motive behind pushing European flowers and vegetables onto the

¹⁷⁶ The Osaka Exhibition. 1903, *Guide Book for Tourists in Japan (3rd Edition)*, Yokohama: The Obun Printing Co., pp. 13-14.

¹⁷⁷ Havens, T.R.H. 2011, *Parkscapes: Green Spaces in Modern Japan*, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, pp. 22-23.

¹⁷⁸ 'Horticulture in Japan', *The Gardeners' Chronicle*, February 22nd 1879, pp. 242-243.

Japanese.¹⁷⁹ What is clear is that new ideas and forms of governmental practice regarding park and garden spaces were quickly permeating the Japanese landscape.

The Meiji government still retained a tight control over the building of these spaces, but there was a strong involvement of foreign settlers in the designing and planning of these parks. Both Yokohama Park and Yamate Park were designed with the use of foreigners from the Yokohama settlement in mind. Yokohama was a small fishing village prior to its post 'opening' designation as a trading port. As such it represented a near blank canvas for the Japanese government and the Western traders and diplomats to create a kind of purpose-built area in line with the new foreign treaties. Yokohama Park was opened in 1877 with the intention of providing a Western-style park for the use of both Japanese and foreigners.¹⁸⁰ It was the result of requests from the new settlement's foreign residents, who wanted a place for recreation and relaxation which were considered essential for the individuals living there at the time, showing how important the idea of a public park had become to Europeans.¹⁸¹

Plans for the park were drawn up by British born Robert Henry Brunton who was employed by the Japanese Government and led the design and development of the park. Brunton was also a member of The Asiatic Society of Japan where he engaged with and contributed papers within the foreign community. He was also heavily involved in other improvements to Yokohama's planning and civil engineering, such as installing street lighting, drainage and paving the roads. European buildings such as a pavilion, bandstand and vine-covered arches were included in the plans, likely at the behest of other foreign residents. Although the local administrative government welcomed plans, the control of building and planting the park was to be carried out by Japanese builders and gardeners. This enabled the Meiji government could retain control of the alteration and development of Japanese land.

While allowing foreign plans but insisting on native workers it is evident that there was a conflict between the Japanese desire to maintain control over developing their land, against limited knowledge around how to carry out this first Japanese endeavour to construct a large European-style garden. Yozaburo Shirahata however

¹⁷⁹ 'Horticulture in Japan', *The Gardeners' Chronicle*, February 22nd 1879, pp. 242-243.

¹⁸⁰ 2739 – B49. Yokohama Public Garden, *Metadata Database of Japanese Old Photos in the Bakumatsu-Meiji Period*, Nagasaki University Library Collection.

¹⁸¹ Elliott, B. 1990, *Victorian Gardens*, London: Batsford, 1986.

maintained that despite not necessarily knowing what plants were suitable for the European plan, the great general knowledge and high standard of horticultural tradition in Japan provided a strong enough guide.¹⁸² So while there was a degree of consternation on the part of the Japanese, this did not ultimately affect the parks construction detrimentally. The intention for this park to be European in style is much more clear-cut as it was expressly designed by foreigners with their usages in mind. However, the laying out of the space by the Japanese builders and gardeners without knowledge of European park design, in addition to the lack of availability of European flowers created a much more hybridised space than Brunton would have envisaged from his designs. This resulted in a Japanese park better described as European styled.



Figure 13 – Yamate park, Yokohama

Source – Author’s own Photo, 14.04.17

Another example, Yamate Park was created in Yokohama which demonstrates the early Japanese approach to creating a European style park without direct foreign design input. Yamate Park was different to Yokohama Park in that it was designated

¹⁸² Shirahata, Y. 1994, An Encounter of European and Japanese Concepts in the Field of Urban Planning History, with the Urban Park as a Symbolic Example, *The Transfer of Science and Technology between Europe and Asia, 1780-1880*, Vol. 7, pp.165-166.

for the sole use of foreigners in line with the third treaty of 1866.¹⁸³ It sat atop the hill in the so-called Bluff area – the site of the numerous Western-styled diplomats’ homes – where it effectively serviced the growing diplomatic community from its opening in 1870. There was a hybrid Japanese-European blend of design features, some similar to those at the later Yokohama Park such as a so-called ‘Western style pavilion’ (see Fig 13) included and the general layout was removed from Japanese traditions. However, a Japanese gardener was hired for Yamate Park’s construction, who Aya Sakai noted would only have had experience designing private gardens, hence the inclusion of so-termed “passive” elements designed to be appreciated, but in opposition to the active nature of a Western style of park.¹⁸⁴ Sakai goes on to evaluate Yamate Park – Japan’s first attempt at a ‘Western style park’ – as a curious hybrid where techniques from both traditions sat side-by-side.

Both the parks designated for foreigners could be purpose built in Yokohama due to it having been a fishing village prior to a settlement. The land was not re-designated rather it was re-purposed. Although there were seven years separating their construction, both Yokohama Park and Yamate Park both shared hybridised results, despite being designed by a British designer and Japanese designer respectively. The process of creating these park spaces was clearly at its early stages in Japan. Even with the impetus of foreign designers and advisors we see the Japanese government keeping control and ultimately retaining a largely Japanese feel to these so-called Western style parks. With Yokohama Park it is evident that the Meiji government saw more potential for working with foreigners as advisors in matters not native to Japan. For Yamate Park this was not the case with a rigid control at both planning and construction phases maintained by local authorities. Through employing foreigners such as Brunton we can see how the Meiji government gradually relaxed the previous stance of absolute control to one of learning from foreigners, although always whilst maintaining tight restrictions.

The changing policies of the government also had ramifications outside of the treaty ports. With the settlements established, merchants and traders also set up premises with which to gain financial opportunities in Japan. Irish born, British trader

¹⁸³ Shirahata, Y. 1994, An Encounter of European and Japanese Concepts in the Field of Urban Planning History, with the Urban Park as a Symbolic Example, *The Transfer of Science and Technology between Europe and Asia, 1780-1880*, Vol. 7, pp. 163-181.

¹⁸⁴ Sakai, A. 2011, The hybridization of ideas on public parks: introduction of Western thought and practice into nineteenth-century Japan, *Planning perspectives*, Vol. 26(3), pp. 355-357.

Samuel Cocking arrived at Yokohama in 1859 with his business 'The Cocking Trading Company' which specialised in art, antiques and speciality plants.¹⁸⁵ He married a Japanese lady called Riki Miyata in 1872, and in her name purchased then derelict Buddhist shrines on the island of Enoshima in 1880 and proceeded to build a European style villa and botanical gardens there.

Cocking was able to achieve this due to the Meiji government's policies at the time which proclaimed; "Abolish the Buddha, Destroy Sakyamuni" to remove the religion's influence within the government.¹⁸⁶ This reaction against Buddhism arose as the government sought to modernise and reclaim many lands, similar to the way the majority of public park spaces came in to being. In this case Cocking was able to take advantage of the government's crusade against its Buddhist establishments to gain land. Samuel Cocking helped modernise the island by also building a power plant – which was later taken over by the Yokohama cooperative electric light company – in 1887. The 660m² greenhouse was described as "the wonder of Japan", and constructed of brick over a coal fired heating plant (see Fig 14).¹⁸⁷

The botanical gardens at Enoshima represent a great example of ways in which foreigners took advantage of the changing policies of the Japanese government as they sought to modernise. Samuel Cocking first made his fortune through the newly opened trade ports at Yokohama. He then married a Japanese native and utilised her nationality and connections to purchase land, otherwise unavailable to a *Gaijin* (foreigner). He then turned the site into his own villa and gardens, perhaps utilising the greenhouse to grow botanical stock for his business. It is likely he took his cues on what could be achieved from the houses and gardens created for the diplomats in Yokohama's 'Bluff area', as a merchant he wouldn't have had the means to acquire such a residence like the diplomats, so he utilised other avenues. Cocking opened his gardens, described by Historian Patrick Hien as "The Largest European-style garden then in Japan" in 1882 to local residents, no doubt to keep good feeling from

¹⁸⁵ 'Demonstration of Electrical lighting by Messrs. Cocking & Co. at NO. 55 Main Street, Yokohama', *The Japan Weekly Mail*, April 21st 1888, p. 360. – The firm seems to be thriving with numerous employees and Cocking is praised for the ingenious solutions, projects and running of the firm – *Cocking made his fortune through the importation of a carbolic acid, used mainly to disinfect against cholera*

¹⁸⁶ Information board, *The Samuel Cocking Botanical Gardens, Enoshima, Fujisawa, Japan*, Accessed: 10/04/17.

¹⁸⁷ Information board, *The Samuel Cocking Botanical Gardens, Enoshima, Fujisawa, Japan*, Accessed: 10/04/17.

the locals, as well as to afford himself of more potential business clients.¹⁸⁸ This example highlights how the construction of foreign buildings and gardens were not just limited to the treaty port settlements. If allowed or able to, individuals such as Samuel Cocking could acquire land in Japan to build on for their own purposes, away from the government's stipulations.



Figure 14 – The remains of Samuel Cocking's gardens and the Greenhouse's brick foundations

Source – Author's own Photo, 07.04.17.

While the diplomats dogged attempts to repurpose land for recreation grounds and parks was an example of European intrusion in a foreign country, Samuel Cocking's acquisition of land for private use represented British imperialism. Cocking claimed some Japanese land via a loophole in their legal systems, but this is not so dissimilar from the diplomatic approach taken by British consular officials in negotiating land for their use. In the early stages of discourse with Japan, the imperialist approach was taken by Britain and other European powers. This showed through in how the diplomats sought to create foreign colonies in Japan with more permanent features such as recreation grounds and parks. Their success shows that the Japanese government was in a weaker position of power during these early exchanges and had to concede quite considerable ground to Europe and the US.

¹⁸⁸ Hein, P. 2014, *The Goddess and the Dragon: A Study on Identity Strength and Psychosocial Resilience in Japan*, Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, p. 88.

All the park and garden examples discussed were the product of the Meiji government's struggle to keep control of internal affairs in the face of increasing foreign incursions. They succeeded in keeping tight control of the construction process by only employing Japanese gardeners but were forced to concede land space for foreign use when faced with treaties and diplomatic pressure. In addition to this, some policies adopted had unintentional side-effects as exploited by Samuel Cocking in procuring his residence at Enoshima. The government sought to address their lack of knowledge of foreign affairs by employing foreign advisors for planning and designing parks in Japan. With the example of Yokohama Park this bore fruition and served as a guide for later public park designs not just for the use of foreign settlers. Many of these parks served the purpose of staging exhibitions to promote Meiji political motives and support the idea of Japan interacting with foreign nations.

2.3. The Meiji government's promotion of Japan's modernisation: National Industrial Exhibitions at new park sites

The Meiji era saw the birth of state sponsored exhibitions which displayed industrial advancements and promoted the governmental agenda of a positive interaction with foreign ideas to the population. As will be discussed in greater depth in chapter three, Japan actively participated at exhibitions abroad to showcase their culture to the world after long isolation. The first of which was the Second Paris International Exposition of 1867, which saw Japan exhibiting itself for the first time.¹⁸⁹ To further demonstrate the development and modernisation, exhibitions were planned and held at park sites in Japan itself mirroring the use of European and American parks for big global exhibitions. The first of these was held a decade after the Paris 1867 exposition, as the first National Industrial Exhibition at Ueno Park, Tokyo in 1877. Further exhibitions were held at the same Ueno Park site again in 1881 and 1890, with the fourth National Industrial Exhibition moving to Okazaki Park in Kyoto City. In 1903 the fifth (and last) National Industrial Exhibition, was held in Osaka City (Tennoji, Imamiya) where for the first time, foreign exhibitors were also permitted marking Japan's diplomatic progress.

Ueno Park is probably the most famous of Tokyo's Meiji era public parks and possesses a complex history and multifaceted functionality. With regards to plans to turn the Ueno site into a park, European countries were touted as the best model, with one member of the planning committee having asserted that;

“Ueno-koen which will be handed over to the Tokyo Prefectural Government from the Department of Agriculture is to be used by the nobles, like Boix des Boulogne.”¹⁹⁰

The aim was to model Tokyo's parks on examples in European cities such as London, Paris or Berlin, which was the key to getting the plans approved by the pro-European government. Interestingly the intention to keep Ueno Park for the nobles shows that the park was not always intended to be a park for the people, as evidently the class structure and ideas of class segregation were still a prevalent

¹⁸⁹ *See Chapter 3 for discussion of Japan at World Exhibitions*

¹⁹⁰ Shirahata, Y. 1994, An Encounter of European and Japanese Concepts in the Field of Urban Planning History, with the Urban Park as a Symbolic Example, *The Transfer of Science and Technology between Europe and Asia, 1780-1880*, Vol. 7, p. 171.

force in Japanese society.¹⁹¹ Officially opened as a public park in 1876 by the Meiji Emperor, the site contained the National museum, a Zoo with Zoological garden, Buddhist temples, a boating lake, statues and traditional Japanese gardens.¹⁹² The inclusion of the zoo, museum and boating lake show the great influence of European Park models on Japanese ideas for modernisation which promoted active pursuits.¹⁹³

The park was not built from scratch on an empty plain however, stretching back to its beginnings as an unlucky gateway on the hill (from Buddhist geomancy and iconography¹⁹⁴) to a guardian temple commissioned by the second Tokugawa Shogun, Hidetaka and designed by Tenkai, the priest-designer of Nikko.¹⁹⁵ The old site, while retaining its shrines, temples and overall expanse was redeveloped as modernity and the governmental policy dictated. Ueno also served as a monument to the victory of the imperial forces and the new governmental direction for Japan. A late Victorian visitor, Basil Hall Chamberlain described in his 1901 book, how certain features at Ueno Park had altered historically, such as “The original main temple (Kwan-eiji) then founded occupied the site of the present Museum, but was burnt down in 1868 on the occasion of a fierce battle fought between the partisans of the Mikado and those of the Shogun”.¹⁹⁶ Such events as the fierce battles around the Meiji restoration allowed the re-purposing of a former Buddhist temple to become a European style museum building.

As can be surmised, Ueno Park’s new designation as a public park space meant designs would need to be incorporated around the existing Shinto or Buddhist temples, shrines and *sakura* lined promenades. In fact, it is the prior associations as a place that people could go for religious events or cherry blossom viewing that lent it so well to the infusion of European park design ideas. The site had already been serving this function as a place of social gatherings for centuries. Overall though, the

¹⁹¹ Jansen, M.B. 1980, *Japan And Its World: Two Centuries of Change*, Princeton; Guildford: Princeton University Press.

¹⁹² Havens, T.R.H. 2011, *Parkscapes: Green Spaces in Modern Japan*, Honolulu: University of Hawi’i Press, pp. 29-30.

¹⁹³ Veblen, T. & Banta, M. 2009, *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

¹⁹⁴ *This links back to Buddhist ideologies as described by Gunter Nitschke - Nitschke, G. 2007, *Japanese Gardens*, Köln; London: Taschen*

¹⁹⁵ Brown, J.D. 1994, *The Sudden Disappearance of Japan: Journeys Through a Hidden Land*, New York: Capra Press.

¹⁹⁶ Hall-Chamberlain, B. 1901, *A Handbook to the Japanese Empire (6th Edition)*, London: John Murray, pp. 128-133.

European influence seems to only really extend as far as the buildings, incorporation of statues, lawns and re-designation as a park. The traditional *sakura* lined promenades remained, as did many of the original Japanese temples, shrines, gateways and gardens. The site certainly evolved, but still retained a strong proportion of Japanese aesthetic, horticultural tradition and functionality. By adding in a few extra features and buildings such as the museum, Ueno Park happily served both the traditional and modern designations and purposes without severe reform.

The Ueno Park site as earlier noted played host to three industrial exhibitions from only a year after its official opening by the Emperor. This demonstrates the motives of the government to quickly use these new park spaces for political purposes. The first national exhibition in 1877 was modelled on the Vienna international exhibition of 1873 and as Thomas Havens described, it was “a carefully choreographed piece of international propaganda to solidify support for the new government while its survival was still in question”.¹⁹⁷ The political nature of these park spaces, in addition to the exhibitions held at Ueno Park demonstrates how valuable they were to the government’s modernisation plans. The presence of a ‘Western style pavilion’, together with foreign exhibits demonstrated the country’s progress in industry, art, civilisation and learning with the aim of legitimising the government’s modernisation plans to the 453,000 visitors.

A European in the employment of the Japanese government, Gottfried Wagener advised the Japanese government on industry and developmental matters for both the First and Second Ueno Industrial Exhibition in 1881.¹⁹⁸ He provided his advice on what should be focussed upon for Japan’s display of modernisation, with a chief focus on agriculture. He also advised the Japanese government on their exhibits for the Vienna 1873 International Exhibition in Austria, indicating a great trust with their European advisor.¹⁹⁹ The second Ueno Industrial Exhibition had more than double the visitors and exhibits as the first and appears to have held the same motives as the 1877 exhibition. The third and final Ueno industrial exhibition in 1890 did not manage to surpass the 1881 exhibition significantly in terms of visitors and exhibits,

¹⁹⁷ Havens, T.R.H. 2011, *Parkscapes: Green Spaces in Modern Japan*, Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, pp. 29-30.

¹⁹⁸ Itani, Y. 2006, Export porcelain from Seto in the Meiji era, *University of Oxford PhD thesis.*, pp. 31-35.

¹⁹⁹ Second National Industrial Exhibition: Success in spite of recession, Expositions: where the modern technology of the times was exhibited, *National Diet Library, Japan, 2010 – 2011*, accessed online at: <http://www.ndl.go.jp/exposition/e/s1/naikoku2.html> (20/03/2018).

owing to factors such as recession and an outbreak of influenza, however the political motives still served their purpose adequately.²⁰⁰

The exhibitions themselves saw Japan actively promoting the nation's new direction in a bid to calm any negative sentiments still lingering from the Tokugawa era's legacy which had labelled foreigners as barbarians. The three Ueno Industrial Exhibitions displayed exhibits in buildings specifically for fine art, agricultural production, machinery, horticulture and livestock. For the Third Industrial Exhibition a foreign samples building was added. It was hoped that a few foreign visitors would attend the event, albeit a domestic one, highlighting Japan's desire for international recognition. These exhibitions were maintained as forums for the Meiji politics of reform and industrialisation, and Ueno Park served to legitimise the adoption of foreign, European ideas, technologies and practices to the Japanese populace. The success of Ueno's National Industrial Exhibitions led to other major Japanese cities being selected to host later editions to further legitimise Meiji policy in other regions.

The next big industrial exhibition in Japan was notable for a number of different reasons, held as The Kyoto City Industrial Exhibition at Okazaki Park in Japan's old capital Kyoto in 1895. This overlapped with the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war which started 1894. It also coincided with the 1100th anniversary of the establishment of the city of Kyoto, so lending itself to a multifaceted combination of significant factors. The military, industrial-political and the celebratory anniversary related aspects all combined to make for a controversial, but ultimately successful exhibition.²⁰¹ Okazaki Park fronted the Heian Shrine, designed by the legendary Jihei Ogawa VII to commemorate the 1100th anniversary of Kyoto's creation. Residents of Kyoto were still shocked at the relocation of the Emperor to the new capital of Tokyo, so this anniversary came at an ideal time for the Meiji government to merge the political motive of showcasing industrialisation within the celebration of Kyoto's creation.

Like its Tokyo based predecessors, the Kyoto Exhibition demonstrated again the great strides Japan was making on the global stage. In the context of the heated

²⁰⁰ Third National Industrial Exhibition: Publicity to the world, Expositions: where the modern technology of the times was exhibited, *National Diet Library, Japan, 2010 – 2011*, accessed online at: <http://www.ndl.go.jp/exposition/e/s1/naikoku3.html> (20/03/2018).

²⁰¹ Fourth National Industrial Exhibition: Kyoto's rollback operation, Expositions: where the modern technology of the times was exhibited, *National Diet Library, Japan, 2010 – 2011*, accessed online at: <http://www.ndl.go.jp/exposition/e/s1/naikoku4.html> (22/03/2018).

military conflict with China, this particular exhibition stands out as a show of Japanese development not only in its public parks, internal industry and commerce, but as a display of imperial, military strength. Success in the Sino-Japanese war for Japan only intensified this display for the Japanese public. By the time of the next exhibition in Osaka, Japan was taking even further international strides as a partner to Britain, with the Anglo-Japanese Alliance of 1902 having recently been signed. With this new status as an international partner, Japan shifted focus from displaying Japanese industrial progress to its own citizens, but also expanding to invite foreign contributors to display their wares to the Japanese.²⁰² The Osaka exhibition therefore represented a milestone in Japanese global diplomacy, as the government closed in on their long-term goal; to be perceived as a global power, on par with Europe and the United States.

For Japan's biggest national exhibition and with the aim of attracting foreign contributors and visitors, the Osaka Industrial Exhibition of 1903 had an official guidebook produced. This contained all manner of information pertaining to the history, customs, culture, development and geography of Japan. It was also an outlet for Japanese businesses to advertise, particularly those wishing to strike up foreign trade, whilst images and information about the exhibition itself were also present.²⁰³ The guidebook for the Osaka exhibition helpfully listed transport details and fares from Yokohama to the less frequented Osaka and other tourist spots. This was clearly a great opportunity for the Japanese government to cement perceptions of the country as a modern and advanced nation, while forging new financial opportunities through potential trade and tourism. The Exhibition boasted a 'Foreign Samples Building', (see Fig 9) constructed with a view to future exhibitions in Japan. This building hosted countries such as Britain, Germany, the United States, France, and Russia who were able to exhibit their own items to the Japanese public for the first time.

Osaka's exhibition was "three times as extensive as those of the Tokyo Exhibition of 1877, and twice as large as those of the Kyoto Fair in 1895" making it the largest

²⁰² Daykin, J. 'International Ambitions of an Exhibition at the Margin: Japan's 1903 Osaka Exposition', From: Filipová, M. (editor) 2015, *Cultures of International Exhibitions 1840-1940: Great Exhibitions in the Margins*, Surrey: Ashgate Publishing, Ltd, pp. 333-350.

²⁰³ The Osaka Exhibition. 1903, *Guide Book for Tourists in Japan (3rd Edition)*, Yokohama: The Obun Printing Co.

exhibition on Japanese soil to date.²⁰⁴ The Osaka exhibition itself received positive praise from the press at the time with New Zealand newspaper *The Poverty Bay Herald* comparing it favourably with a similar exhibition held in Glasgow. The enthusiasm for 'Western' wares was noted, as was the "Anglo-Japanese air" of the event, indicating the British band songs being played and the layout of the grounds reminiscent to Earl's Court in London. The article finished by stating that "The whole undertaking furnishes an additional reason why Great Britain may be proud of her Eastern ally."²⁰⁵ In the space of just over a quarter of a century, promoting Meiji governmental policy at the Japanese national exhibitions in newly designated park sites bore the fruits of both national and international success.

The Osaka exhibition was indeed a milestone, however it was an international exhibition which was craved to be held on Japanese soil, for which in the end the government had to settle for holding the joint Japan-British Exhibition of 1910 in London some seven years later.²⁰⁶ These earlier industrial exhibitions were a way to legitimise and promote the new governmental stance of modernisation and incorporation of Westernisation. By allowing foreigners to contribute at the 1903 exhibition, Japan took a big step towards realising a full international exhibition and the overall impression gained from this analysis is that the event was tailored to be appealing to foreigners and Japanese alike. With features and exhibits which would be readily recognisable to visitors of the many European and American exhibitions such as the music played by the band, while providing the traditional Japanese features such as *Geisha* dances to please the foreign visitor. By staging exhibitions in these park spaces we see the gradual easing in of usage in a Western/European context, which was a theme expanded upon in the first parks guided by European blueprints.

The modernisation of Japan afforded the opportunity for collaboration with architects and garden designers from Europe as already evidenced by Gottfried Wagener's involvement advising for the industrial exhibitions. This was enacted particularly with regards to designing foreign styles of building, but also extended to some of the new park and garden spaces. Significantly at the Shinjuku Imperial

²⁰⁴ The Osaka Exhibition. 1903, *Guide Book for Tourists in Japan (3rd Edition)*, Yokohama: The Obun Printing Co., p. 54.

²⁰⁵ 'Japan's Exhibition', *The Poverty Bay Herald*, June 2nd 1903.

²⁰⁶ *See Chapter 7 for detailed discussion and analysis*

Gardens in Tokyo, European gardens were added into the extensive grounds alongside the existing traditional Japanese gardens. Hayato Fukuba was the landscape designer involved in designing and redeveloping a Meiji park space at the Shinjuku Imperial Garden site in 1903, with gardener Yoshichika Kodaira directing the works. French landscape architect Henri Martinet was commissioned to design a French formal garden at the site. Hayato Fukuba travelled often to Europe to learn and perfect the park-like dimensions at Shinjuku Gyoen. He visited France often, in addition to Russia, Germany, Austria and Belgium.²⁰⁷ His visits to Kew gardens and Windsor in London will have no doubt inspired the English lawns at Shinjuku.

This space was not initially intended as a public park and was not designated as such until 1949. It was a Daimyo garden until 1879 when the Meiji government took over and made the site the Shinjuku Imperial Botanic Garden.²⁰⁸ While now a public park, these gardens were originally intended for the use of the aristocratic upper-class, but through re-designation as a botanical garden, Shinjuku took on an additional role as a space for foreign plants and garden areas. By choosing to have a French formal garden and English open lawns incorporated into the grounds, the desire to champion the European models is again apparent. Hayato Fukuba was again involved with the design and construction of the Western styled building and gardens for the Mitsubishi headquarters, *Kaitokaku*. Just as significantly, the influential figure for Japanese landscape gardening in Britain and Western architecture in Japan, Josiah Conder designed and advised on the construction of the Mitsubishi headquarters. The Iwasaki family who founded the Mitsubishi Company were powerful and influential in Japanese society. Between Yotaro Iwasaki, who founded Mitsubishi, his son Hisaya, Yanosuke his younger brother and his son Koyata, the four men had many gardens built.²⁰⁹

Of these gardens many incorporated elements or design ideas of foreign origin, such as British lawns and flower beds like those utilised at Shinjuku Imperial Gardens. However this supposed Westernisation of Japanese spaces based on

²⁰⁷ Wakaizumi, H. & Suzuki, M. 2008, A Study on Fukuba Hayato's Influences for Modern Horticulture and Landscape Gardening in Japan, *Journal of The Japanese Institute of Landscape Architecture*, Vol. 71 (5), pp. 469-474.

²⁰⁸ Havens, T.R., 2011. *Parkscapes: green spaces in modern Japan*, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, pp. 125-127.

²⁰⁹ Muraoka, K. 2010, Gardens of the Iwasaki Family (Yataro, Yanosuke, Hisaya and Koyata Iwasaki), *Nippon Teien Gakkaishi*, Vol. 23, pp. 13-23.

European style parks was often in actuality a superficial re-thinking of existing spaces. The Parks in this way acted as vessels for political motives as evidenced by the national industrial exhibitions which promoted and championed foreign learning and technology.

2.4. Incorporation of European ideas into Japanese parks and gardens: Significance

Meiji era Japan was attempting to gain a place within the narrow sphere of global dominance held by a handful of European nations at this point in history, and the impact and imprint was left on the Japanese landscape. Public Parks were considered a prerequisite for a civilised modern society, as a place for industrial workers and elites alike to escape to and enjoy walks, horticulture and recreation.²¹⁰ Through the many Japanese who travelled to Europe after the restoration, knowledge was gained of the planning and layout of such park spaces. The designation and construction of these began soon after 1868 as part of the Japanese government's overall modernisation plans. A large proportion of these parks are often described as 'Western styled' and before looking at some examples, it would be useful to define this as a term in the context of Japanese landscape and park history. The Western style refers mostly to the grouping of multinational style parks of mid-nineteenth century Europe, including Britain, France, Germany, The Netherlands, Belgium, Austria and Russia, to name just the commonly cited nations of influence in Japanese parks. These typically included formal plantings, sports areas such as tennis, cricket, bowling greens etc., boating lakes with tree lined walks, lawn areas for picnics and recreation and often fountains, statues and bandstands. While not an exhaustive list, these were some of the main features incorporated into the new Meiji Japanese Park spaces. How this was achieved and what exactly was borrowed from Europe will be looked at through examples of these park spaces in Japan.

While representing a significantly later addition to the number of public parks of Japan, Hibiya Park is repeatedly referred to as 'the first Western styled park in Japan' and 'Japan's first proper public park'. It was planned from about 1884, finally opened in 1903 and has been described as a "European-style showpiece", with its mixture of Japanese gardens with areas of 'French formalism' and 'German naturalism'.²¹¹ The most conspicuously German feature was the 'sunken garden' with its roses and palm tree centrepiece, this formally laid out garden contained a

²¹⁰ Hotta-Lister, A. 2011, Japan Seeks an Image as an Emerging Colonial Empire: The Japan-British Exhibition of 1910 in London, *Questioning Oriental Aesthetics and Thinking: Conflicting Visions of "Asia" under the Colonial Empires*, Vol. 38, pp. 115-133.

²¹¹ Havens, T.R.H. 2011, *Parkscapes: Green Spaces in Modern Japan*, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, pp. 40-43.

fountain to the north which cascaded water out of the bills of two pelicans (see Fig 15).²¹² The water fountain is unmistakably a foreign idea for Japanese garden and park design and as already discussed, Hibiya Park was certainly planned and laid out with European design ideas around space, garden design and the incorporation of foreign plants. But as with all Japanese park spaces, even as the 'First Western Style Park in Japan', Hibiya Park contained a Japanese garden. This area was created using traditional Japanese horticultural pruning techniques, arched bridges, stone lanterns and stone arrangements. While certainly being a much more heavily Western/European influenced park, Hibiya retained much in keeping with Japanese tradition and practice.

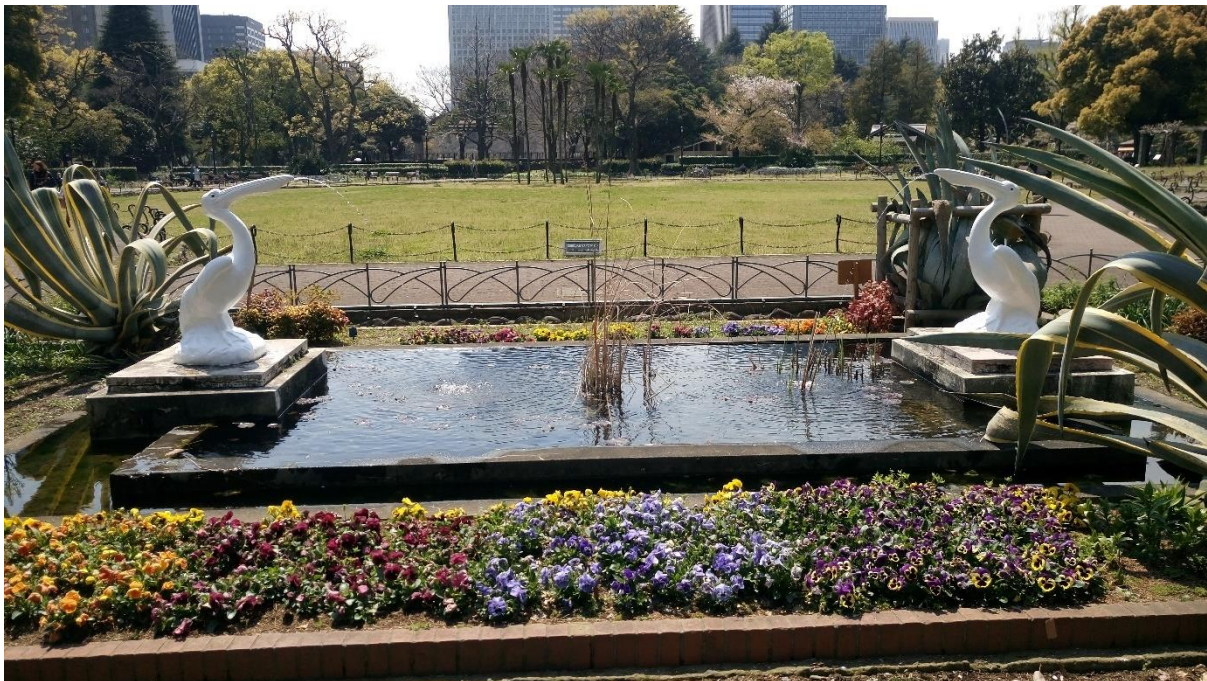


Figure 15 – Renovated Pelican Fountain at Hibiya Park, Tokyo and Open Lawns

Source – Author's own Photo, 11.04.17.

The open lawns at Hibiya were described by Thomas Havens as being laid out in the German-style, although open lawns also often feature as descriptive of an English style. In this case it seems likely that whether German or English, the open lawn element was selected for its functionality and European park connotations rather than to be reminiscent of a specific locale. The lawns functioned as a place for

²¹² Hibiya Park Information board, *The German Sunken Garden*, Hibiya Park, Tokyo, Japan, Accessed: 13/04/2017.

citizens to gather, frolic and enjoy the open space away from the busy metropolis of Tokyo. Dallas Finn similarly described Hibiya Park's being built along German lines, again calling Hibiya "the first truly western styled park".²¹³ However it was at the planning phase that these 'Western' ideas featured most prominently rather than in the finished park.

The space for the park became available in busy Tokyo after former army parade grounds were deemed unsuitable for buildings, leaving forty-four acres for the government to build on. Designed by Seiroku Honda in 1900, the park was influenced by the many plans of European parks which Honda had collected while studying forestry. These plans were from numerous European cities, but particularly those of Germany, such as Berlin, hence the strong attribution to German style by Havens and Finn. The lawns and flower beds foreign to tradition were laid out by the 'Dean of Meiji horticulture' - Hayato Fukuba. Much of the architecture including the central European styled park office was later added by Shigeyoshi Fukuda. However, it was British born Josiah Conder who planned and decided on the site for Hibiya park. Two plans were drawn up for a government office centre in Tokyo in 1885 but Conder deemed the grounds unsuitable for large buildings and recommended that it was much more suitable for the construction of a park. It took many plan revisions and discussions to finally settle on the layout of the park, as evidenced by the number of years it took from initial designation as a park site to completion. As Shirahata Yozaburo noted, the rejected plans all contained Japanese style designs.²¹⁴ As European styles of park were considered the ideal model, it is likely this was why they were rejected.

Despite the preference for European models, a Japanese garden was built around the oldest feature in the park, the pond. The traditional Japanese areas appear in almost all the Meiji era parks, despite the European ideas which pervaded their construction. Unlike Hibiya, a vast majority of parks such as Ueno Park were built alongside or around Temple sites, intertwining the elements of public parks with religious and traditional Japanese settings. While Hibiya is often touted as the first Western styled public park in Japan, it too is not entirely separated as a solely

²¹³ Finn, D. 1995, *Meiji revisited: The sites of Victorian Japan*, New York: Weatherhill inc, pp. 158-163.

²¹⁴ Shirahata, Y. 1994, An Encounter of European and Japanese Concepts in the Field of Urban Planning History, with the Urban Park as a Symbolic Example, *The Transfer of Science and Technology between Europe and Asia, 1780-1880*, Vol. 7, pp. 171-172.

Western or European Park space in Japan due to it containing a Japanese garden. As is often seen in Japanese Parks, the European ideas of a public park were blended, infused and hybridised to form a space suited to use by the Japanese, with hints of foreign influence.

Hibiya park highlights the difficulty faced by the Japanese park planning committees in deciding on what was acceptable or suitable for a European style park in Japan. The *Tokyo Municipal Assembly* in 1899 is quoted as saying:

“Many sites have been designated as parks in the city plans, but most of these are open spaces in temple and shrine grounds. Very few could be called real parks for the common people. European parks aim not only at having beautiful scenery and other amenities, but also sanitation facilities.”²¹⁵

Here we see the first real distinction between existing spaces for public engagement in Japan, and what they hoped to achieve for their future public park spaces. Hibiya park was thus intended to be different to the earlier parks built in Japan and benefitted from being built from scratch on empty land.

The park additionally served an educational function and promotion of the Meiji government’s championing of foreign practices. Hibiya was one of the few places people could go to see flowers and plants from Europe introduced during the Meiji era. Tulips, Pansies, Dahlias and Roses were some of the plants on display from the park’s inception, which remains largely unchanged to the present day.²¹⁶ This lack of alteration is testament to the popularity amongst the public for seeing foreign plants in Japan. In this way, Hibiya Park partially served the function championed by eighteenth century British landscape architect John Loudon, for public parks to educate as well as provide spaces for recreation.²¹⁷ These foreign plantations provided the Japanese public access to seldom seen flowers and acted as a display of the Meiji government’s success at indigenising them.

²¹⁵ Tokyo Sigikai Giji-roku [Minute Book of the Tokyo Municipal Assembly] 27 (1899), from: Shirahata, Y. 1994, An Encounter of European and Japanese Concepts in the Field of Urban Planning History, with the Urban Park as a Symbolic Example, *The Transfer of Science and Technology between Europe and Asia, 1780-1880*, Vol. 7, pp. 171-172.

²¹⁶ Hibiya Park Information board, *The First Flower Garden, offering Western Flowers, one of the “three sought after Western things (flowers, food and music)”*, Hibiya Park, Tokyo, Japan, Accessed: 13/04/2017.

²¹⁷ Elliott, P.A. 2016, *British Urban Trees: A Social and Cultural History, C. 1800-1914*, Cambridgeshire: The White Horse Press.

Foreign species of plants were also the subjects of experimentation and propagation for educational institutions. Japan was mirroring the processes occurring in Europe regarding Japanese plants and this two-way cultural exchange discussed previously was still in evidence with Japanese utilising greater access to foreign plants afforded by the increased trade and contact with Europe. To this end the Koishikawa Botanical Gardens were a recipient of the new European/Western influence pervading the Japanese politics of the Meiji era. These botanical gardens in Tokyo are another example of former aristocratic lands being re-possessed after the Meiji restoration and the fall of the Shogunate. In this instance the grounds came into the possession of the Imperial University (present day Tokyo University). The site has a long history of cultivation of indigenous and foreign plants and botanicals for study; “The Koishikawa Gardens originated as the Koishikawa Medicinal Herb Garden, which was established in 1684 by the Tokugawa Shogunate.”²¹⁸ Under the University’s stewardship the learning of botany, cultivation and study of herbs, shrubs, trees and plants was further enhanced. As Japan was opened for trade, European as well as other foreign plants from around the world were now able to be accessed, grown and studied as was not possible under the Tokugawa Shogunate’s closed, *sakoku* edict.

Some European landscape features were also incorporated into the site as observed by American Professor Francis Ramaley from the University of Colorado who visited the Koishikawa botanical gardens in 1906, stating that it was “one which every botanist should be glad to visit.”²¹⁹ Ramaley noted the chance to study native plants so very different to those in Europe and America, but also that the gardens at this time contained a “sprinkling of European and American plants.” Fellow American and botanist, Henry Allan Gleason visited in the gardens in 1913, described the;

“so-called European garden, with straight gravel paths, trees bordering the walks in rows, and herbaceous plants in geometrical beds. It does look somewhat like some American parks, but if, while in it, one could imagine himself back in America, the illusion would be at once broken by the group of tall grass-trees, in the background.”²²⁰

²¹⁸ Murata, J. 2004, Brief History of Research Botanical Gardens in Japan - (1) Koishikawa Botanical Garden, *Foods Food Ingredients Journal Japan*, Vol. 209 (7), p. 611.

²¹⁹ Ramaley, F. 1906, The Tokyo Botanical Garden, *The Plant World*, Vol. 9 (11), pp. 251-258.

²²⁰ Gleason, H. A. 1915, Botanical Sketches from the Asiatic Tropics. 1: Japan, *Torreya*, Vol. 15 (5), pp. 93-101.

This description is reminiscent of many of the descriptions European or Western features employed in Japanese parks and gardens, adopting some of the formal plantings and straight, tree-lined paths popular in European parks and gardens.²²¹ This was juxtaposed with the traditional Japanese gardens, winding paths and asymmetrical arrangements. The other main feature more commonly associated with the English garden are a few open lawns. Aside from the European styled garden areas (albeit small portions of the whole site), a large greenhouse of European construction housed many tropical species on the site and a more clearly foreign style brick building (see Fig 16).



Figure 16 – European style, Brick building at Koishikawa Botanical Gardens, Tokyo, set within a Japanese garden

Source – Author’s own Photo, 16.04.17.

To this point it seems to be clear that the Park and garden spaces discussed, while striving for Westernisation and incorporation of a European framework, retained a vast proportion of either; the already existing Japanese areas, or, still included Japanese gardens within the grounds. As has been established, the public park movement in Japan was spearheaded by the Meiji government’s modernisation plans which were heavily based on European models. Many influential governmental figures further demonstrated their support for these political motives by incorporating

²²¹ Finn, D. 1995, *Meiji revisited: The sites of Victorian Japan*, New York: Weatherhill inc.

European style buildings and garden areas into their private estates. One such garden was commissioned by elder statesman, chief military figure and advisor to the Emperor, Baron Aritomo Yamagata who lived from 1838 to 1922. Yamagata was a powerful, enigmatic figure and employed the revered garden craftsman, Jihei Ogawa VII to create the garden. Yamagata allegedly held a keen sense of scenic beauty and Ogawa reportedly “praised Aritomo for being highly influential to his career and style of garden design.”²²² In 1894 construction of the spacious villa and 3,135m² gardens of Murin-an began. For the gardens at Murin-an, the building of the Lake Biwa canal in Kyoto allowed for the construction of gardens utilising the water channels to create ponds and streams.

For stipulations on the designs;

“Jihei Ogawa was given three instructions by the Baron Yamagata towards the construction of the garden: an open field with a lawn, plantings of non-traditional cedar and cypress trees and the introduction of water from Lake Biwa.”²²³

Baron Yamagata was not a fan of enclosed, traditional ornamental gardens. He saw the garden as a place for relaxing and strolling around with the sound of running water through the streams, rather than as contemplative with complicated symbols. Here Murin-an marks an unusual example of a Japanese garden as it consciously rejects many traditional, historical design principles. This reflected Yamagata’s military and governmental allegiances, rejecting the traditional Buddhist infused design ideals in favour of a naturalistic Shinto nature link, in keeping with governmental policy. The stipulation of including an open lawn area was clearly designed to evoke European garden design ideas. However, this in actuality reflected more on what was desired to be omitted of traditional Japanese garden aspects, rather than as a desire to create a Western or European style of garden.

Seiko Goto described the English elements of the lawns, open fields and groves which drew influence from places Yamagata visited while studying military science

²²² Sakaue, T. & Kato, T. 2015, Annual Fostering Techniques of Existing Plants of Murin-an Garden as a National Place Scenic Beauty: For Preserving the Spatial Characteristics of Original Sensitivity of Aritomo Yamagata, *Japanese Institute of Landscape Architecture Magazine: Landscape Research Japan*, Vol. 76 (extra edition: Technical Report No. 8), pp. 1-6.

²²³ Goto, S. 2005, The confrontation with Western culture: A new garden style in Kyoto—Murin-an, *Studies in the History of Gardens & Designed Landscapes*, Vol. 25 (3), p. 197.

abroad.²²⁴ This typical “English naturalistic garden style” influenced Yamagata’s design desires, but not Ogawa who had never seen Western or European gardens and built traditional Japanese gardens.²²⁵ The resulting effect was still very much in keeping with Japanese gardening traditions with elements such as *shakkei* (‘borrowing’ scenery from the surrounding mountains) present. However, with the inclusion of a few European/English elements or flavours, it was an unusual, new type of Japanese garden as was recognised even at the time. The garden remained largely free of foreign ideas, whereas the Western/European style house was unabashedly constructed with borrowings, a house of *shakkei*; Western ideas captured alive within a Japanese landscape.



Figure 17 – Murin-an, Kyoto: lawns in a Japanese Garden and *Shakkei* – borrowed scenery of distant hills.

Source – Author’s own Photo, 23.04.17.

Murin-an did also have a teahouse in the West of its grounds, but this was a separate entity from the stroll garden with its *shakkei* scenery. Yamagata was unabashedly vocal in his dislike of contemplative traditional gardens, and it appears that the teahouse was more likely a retreat house than a ceremonial teahouse for

²²⁴ Goto, S. 2005, The confrontation with Western culture: A new garden style in Kyoto—Murin-an, *Studies in the History of Gardens & Designed Landscapes*, Vol. 25 (3), pp. 199-200.

²²⁵ Goto, S. 2005, The confrontation with Western culture: A new garden style in Kyoto—Murin-an, *Studies in the History of Gardens & Designed Landscapes*, Vol. 25 (3), pp. 199-200.

meditation and contemplation. The borrowed *shakkei* scenic intrusion of the mountains is a traditional element that brings scope and power through drawing the mountains into the garden, framed by the clipping of the outlying trees so as to appear a part of the garden (see Fig 17).

Whilst the English style elements were clearly intended in the design and layout of the garden, as was often the case in Japanese parks and gardens with these stylistic inclusions, the English element was largely represented by a lawn area. At Murin-an, the lawns were designed to imitate rolling hills with wildflowers as seen in England.²²⁶ These lawn hills took the place of traditional Japanese features such as artificial mounds to symbolise Mount Fuji. The Western style building used for official affairs was built in 1898 and sits alongside the traditional Japanese building which offsets the blend of English and Japanese infused together. The overall effect of the garden however, cannot help but feel like a Japanese garden. The lawn areas, though a radical inclusion to a garden in Japan, cannot make the garden truly feel like English garden design ideas have taken over. Jihei Ogawa's masterful designs blended a garden that was and is a subtly new style of Japanese garden. However, the use of so many traditional Japanese garden components such as *shakkei*, waterfalls, teahouse and the overall informal layout, make this a Japanese garden, with a small slice of England included.

It was the bold features of the Western style house and English style lawns that stood out as instantly foreign at Murin-an. Yamagata's selection of these features was clearly designed to promote his commitment to the Meiji modernisation policies. These bold features will have impressed upon Japanese visitors and attending government ministers who attended meetings in the new Western building designated for this purpose. The blending of Western or European features while subtle to a European observer will have been much more perceivable to Japanese accustomed to the traditional Japanese gardens. Here we can see evidence of Meiji politics pervading not just the public sphere of parks or educational institutions, but also the private gardens of Japan.

²²⁶ Information Leaflet - Kyoto City Designated Scenic Beauty: Murin-an, *Murin-an Administrative Office*, April 2016.

Conclusion

The legacy of the Meiji era government's modernisation policies shaped and left their indelible mark on the parks and gardens of Japan. Parks such as Ueno in Tokyo and Okazaki in Kyoto served as forums to showcase these policies via national industrial exhibitions. The Meiji drive to modernity was also evident in parks designed for the use of foreigners in the treaty ports. The city of Yokohama was literally born from its designation as a foreign settlement and reflected the struggle of the Meiji government to keep control of Japanese land. The imperial advances of European nations were gradually rebuffed as Japan strove for parity through reformation and learning from foreign advisors and Western/European practices such as park and architectural design.

These new ideas were infused in Japanese public parks and private gardens of the aristocracy. As explored in this chapter, the approach taken was to incorporate foreign ideas in park and garden design to suit Japanese ideas of 'passive' enjoyment with the European functionality of places for 'active' pursuits. This was achieved by blending the new into existing spaces in Japan such as former *daimio* gardens or temple or shrine complexes which had served the purposes of public frequentation long before Japan's contact with the West. With examples such as the people's park *Kairakuen* the notion of Japan having no places akin to a public park prior to the restoration has been challenged and shown to be a false ideology.

Overall, it is apparent that the early parks and gardens of Meiji era Japan were utilised for the purposes of vindicating governmental policies. Many were existing spaces re-designated as public parks and utilised for events such as the national industrial exhibitions. It is clear there were concerted efforts to make Japan's parks appear European which was mostly achieved by adding in elements such as museums, zoos and sporting areas. The traditional elements were more commonly left in place alongside these new inclusions, making the spaces not seem alien in a Japanese context, while also appearing familiar to Western visitors such as those at the Osaka exhibition.

Chapter 3: Japanese Gardens in Public Spaces: Exhibitions, Villages and Parks

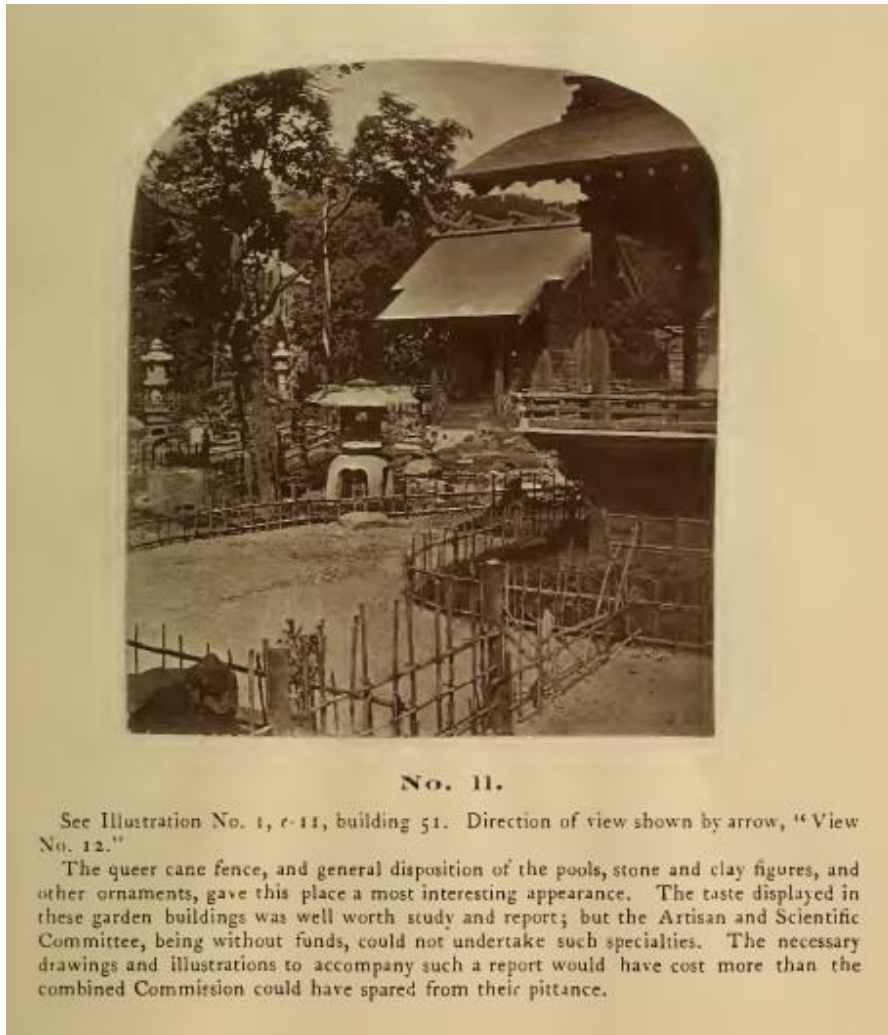


Figure 18 – Vienna International Exposition 1873, Shinto Japanese garden

Source – Meigs, J.V. 1873, *The Exposition at Vienna 1873*, Washington: Gibson Brothers, p. 31.

Introduction

The role of global exhibitions in shaping how the image of Japanese gardens spread internationally has been identified by numerous scholars.²²⁷ Christian Tagsold observed the synergies between Japan's Meiji policies of reinstating state Shinto religion with that of the gardens presented at early exhibitions such as Vienna in 1873 which reflected this.²²⁸ It is this politically motivated aspect that will be further explored, to demonstrate how Japanese garden style and architecture presented at these exhibitions were designed and moulded to serve Meiji governmental motives. Gardens were created at private estates with direct influence from the exhibitions such as Bromborough Hall in Cheshire, which show that these were influential in eliciting enthusiasm for Japanese garden style, particularly amongst the aristocracy.

These exhibitions also presented opportunities for those outside of the aristocracy to see a Japanese style of garden. Indeed, the Vienna Exposition garden was relocated to Alexandra Park in London. Numerous private companies set up native villages at public parks and halls across the country to present Japanese culture and gardens to the British public. These gardens were simplified forms compared to those at global exhibitions, but they were equally as significant in fostering pro-Japanese sentiment in Britain. Business ventures with Japanese inspirations were also opened for frequentation by the public such as themed teahouses. Additionally, private gardens were frequently opened for public or group visitation. Many with Japanese style gardens would draw great admiration and interest from the viewing public as reported in the press and horticultural literature. This greatly increased public exposure to Japanese garden forms.

The role of the public park as a vessel for showcasing Japanese garden style is also of great significance. Many were created at tourist or spa resort towns such as Southport, indicating a unique selling point to draw in visitors. This has not been looked at in any real detail in literature on the subject but is a highly important side of the Japanese garden craze in Britain. The aristocracy were the most frequent creators of Japanese gardens owing to the vast wealth that many of them possessed. However, there were forums for other classes of Britain to experience or

²²⁷ See; Setsu Tachibana; Jill Raggett; Wybe Kuitert; Christian Tagsold; Ayako Hotta-Lister.

²²⁸ Tagsold, C. 2017, *Spaces in Translation: Japanese Gardens and the West*, Philadelphia: Penn University of Pennsylvania Press.

enjoy Japanese style gardens such as at Abbey Park in Leicester and Pittencrieff Park in Dunfermline. These were often quite different representations to those at private estates, reflecting the narrower sphere of Japanese garden knowledge possessed by their creators. Nevertheless, it is fully evident that the Victorian and Edwardian Japan craze was not limited to the upper classes. There were numerous settings for all classes of society to glimpse some form of horticultural representation of the land of the rising sun.

3.1. Japanese Gardens at World Exhibitions

Exhibitions were a highly politically charged propaganda tool, designed to demonstrate modernity, advancements and the achievements of the government. As demonstrated in the previous chapter, Japan used its National Industrial Exhibitions in this way to not only win over its own population, but also demonstrate to a global audience that Japan was a civilised, modern nation. However, before the first Industrial Exhibition held within Japan, there was a concerted effort by the Japanese government to exhibit globally. This began at the Second London International Exposition of 1862. Eminent Japanese figures such as Yukichi Fukuzawa of the *Iwakura* mission attended, showing the interest these exhibitions held to the government.

They did not present exhibits in London, although interestingly the foreign minister for Britain, Rutherford Alcock provided many items from Japan such as art, prints, books and porcelain. Of the samples Alcock collected, few dated from before the Edo era. He was also unaware that many of the designs were produced for European markets and influenced by them. Therefore, the Japanese were catering for a European market even at this time (vindicated by Alcock's choosing them). Many saw a romantic notion of past medieval society in the newly presented modern Japan, fostering interest and popularity.²²⁹ Doubtless, this will have provided some clues to Fukuzawa and other Japanese from the *Iwakura* mission to Europe as to what was pleasing to their foreign audience. Participating in these exhibitions offered the government a perfect platform to mount its bid to promote Japan and gain more favourable international recognition. It was for this reason they continued to participate so consistently at international exhibitions after the opening.

It was another five years until Japan attended an exhibition again, this time exhibiting for themselves at the Second Paris International Exposition of 1867. Their choice of exhibits was similar to those presented in London and was largely made up of arts and crafts, with the Official Catalogue listing; bronze & silver ornaments and Japanese prints from a variety of regional locales of the "Empire of Japan".²³⁰ By

²²⁹ Sato, T. & Watanabe, T. 1991, *Japan And Britain: An Aesthetic Dialogue 1850-1930*, London: Lund Humphries.

²³⁰ Dentu, E. 1867, *Catalogue Officiel des Exposants Recompensare le Jury International 2nd ed*), Paris: Imprimerie Paul Dupont. (French Language Edition)

styling themselves as an Empire, the desire to present Japan akin to European Counterparts such as Great Britain is made clear.

Following the impetus of the Meiji restoration (1868), it was at the 1873 Vienna International Exposition that the new government officially participated for the first time. They employed Gottfried Wagener a German who advised and oversaw the industrial and exotic Japanese Exhibits. Wagener gave the Meiji government a European perspective on how best to showcase Japan. His advice was evidently well received as he later advised at the first two national industrial exhibitions at Ueno Park, Tokyo in 1877 and 1881.²³¹ It was however, the Vienna International Exposition of 1873 that truly announced Japan on the world stage and marked the more elaborate exhibits of Japanese architecture and garden art (see Fig 18). It also marked the first Japanese garden constructed at an exhibition and was subsequently relocated to Alexandra Palace Park in London after the event.

James Morgan Hart who attended the 1873 Vienna exhibition described the original;

“it was a pleasure to ramble through the grounds in the cool of the evening, to wander slowly past the palm-house, to loiter in front of the Japanese garden, so attractive with its quaint bronze dragons and its dainty wood-work”²³²

With the positive reception of the gardens, the Alexandra Park Company bought and arranged the reconstruction of the Vienna site in the park at Alexandra Palace in London.²³³ The company worked in an advisory role to Londos & Company, with both companies having established trade with the Meiji Government founded ceramics company Kiryu Kosho Kaisha.²³⁴ These Japanese links were key factors in the company acquiring the village and gardens from the exhibition. This function of the Vienna exhibition and the Meiji government’s active involvement provided good opportunities to forge business with companies in Britain.

²³¹ Second National Industrial Exhibition: Success in spite of recession, Expositions: where the modern technology of the times was exhibited, *National Diet Library, Japan, 2010 – 2011*, accessed online at: <http://www.ndl.go.jp/exposition/e/s1/naikoku2.html> (20/03/2018).

²³² Gindriez, C. & Hart, J.M. 1878, *International Exhibitions: Vienna-Philadelphia-Paris*, New York: A.S. Barnes & co. p. 23.

²³³ Robinson, W. (editor) 1876, *The Garden: an illustrated weekly journal of gardening in all its branches*, London: Office, p. 3.

²³⁴ Ono, A. 2003, *Japonisme in Britain: Whistler, Menpes, Henry, Hornel and Nineteenth-Century Japan*, Oxon: Routledge, pp. 23-24.

It was Glasgow born, Christopher Dresser who founded the Alexandra Park Company in 1873 and bought the Vienna Village and gardens for Alexandra Park in the same year. He was an active admirer and collector of Japanese art and artefacts but was also a scholar in botany and industrial design. Dresser held a keen interest in Japanese culture forged through his studies and travels.²³⁵ He journeyed to Japan in December 1876 at the invitation of the Japanese government, having gained several high-ranking Japanese contacts through a close friend. Dresser discussed contributions to the new Japanese museum with military figure General Saigo and Mr Sano who was Japan's commissioner for the Vienna exposition.²³⁶ These figures connected with the exposition show the continued cultural exchange between Japan and Europe and how the exhibitions allowed societal links for the Meiji government to promote their culture further.

The exhibition itself was a great success for Japan, with much interest and enthusiasm for the country's wares and style.²³⁷ The commercial benefits are evident from James Morgan Hart's description of the sales at the Vienna Exhibition: "The Japanese and Persians sold almost if not quite every thing that they had brought over" and "In fact, the Orientals were the only exhibitors that did what might be called a good business."²³⁸ Hart goes on to indicate that Austria incurred heavy financial losses and lack of trade sales over the exhibition. With Austria making a loss it stood to reason that it was in their interests to sell off what they could of their exhibitions, probably at a favourable rate to the Alexandra Park Company who purchased the Japanese Village and Gardens for the price of £600 and sent them to London.²³⁹

Christopher Dresser's role in moving the Vienna gardens to London brought the first Japanese designed gardens into the domain of the British public. This elicited much interest in the press and horticultural press, with one observer describing;

"Probably few of our readers are aware that a Japanese garden, made by a Japanese gardener, exists at Alexandra Park – that curious hybrid

²³⁵ Checkland, O. 2003, *Japan and Britain after 1859: creating cultural bridges*, New York and London: Routledge, pp. 90-95.

²³⁶ Dresser, C. 1882, *Japan: its Architecture, Art and Art Manufactures*, London: Longmans, Green and Co., & New York: Scribner and Welford.

²³⁷ Sakamoto, H. 2008, Relationship between the Philadelphia World Exposition and the Vienna World Exposition seen in Japan's exhibition, *Kinki University Kyushu Junior College Bulletin*, Vol. 38, pp. 1-15.

²³⁸ Gindriez, C. & Hart, J.M. 1878, *International Exhibitions: Vienna-Philadelphia-Paris*, New York: A.S. Barnes & co., p. 30.

²³⁹ Sakamoto, H. 2008, Relationship between the Philadelphia World Exposition and the Vienna World Exposition seen in Japan's exhibition, *Kinki University Kyushu Junior College Bulletin*, Vol. 38, pp. 1-15.

between shop, theatre and race-ground. The Japanese garden was originally set up at the Vienna Exhibition, and was bought by the Alexandra Park Company at very great expense. There are a few Japanese shrubs in the garden, a good many beautiful stones for the rock-garden arranged in the grassy banks with some taste, and nothing more so far as gardening is concerned.”²⁴⁰

This curt assessment of a lack of gardening interest was a common descriptive response to the garden with another visitor adding that;

“A more useless feature as an adjunct to the Palace it would be difficult to produce, even at great cost. By the way, what a noble Japanese garden could be made by worthily representing the rich flora of Japan!”²⁴¹

While Christopher Dresser was keen to promote and showcase Japanese style to the British public, this early commentary suggests that many found the gardens an alien landscape. The lack of flowers and plants which are typically abundant in British gardens was the most common criticism. Although not all Japanese gardens are overly full to the brim with large groupings of plants, which is more in keeping with British tastes, the lack of horticultural trade with Japan in the 1870s will have certainly affected the lack of native plants on display. It certainly appeared this Japanese garden was regarded as a mere curiosity, baffling to press writers in terms of the efforts and cost at transporting it from Vienna. That said, the writers were mostly complimentary to what was there, however they did not feel that there really was enough of horticultural value present to warrant it being regarded as a garden.

While responses to the garden were mixed, that it was relocated and on display in London shows there was growing interest in Japanese architecture and culture in Britain. It also demonstrated the Meiji government found great success in participating at world exhibitions. Being only five years after the Meiji Restoration of 1868 and almost twenty after Japan opened its shores in 1854, this also represented one of the earliest displays of Japanese landscape and architectural culture in Britain. As Tagsold established, this garden was a scaled back Shinto shrine in keeping with the new governmental policy designed to lessen the Buddhist

²⁴⁰ Robinson, W. (editor) 1876, *The Garden: an illustrated weekly journal of gardening in all its branches*, London: Office, p. 3.

²⁴¹ Robinson, W. (editor) 1876, *The Garden: an illustrated weekly journal of gardening in all its branches*, London: Office, p. 3.

influence.²⁴² The grouping of religious structures and ornaments with the garden areas significantly impressed itself on the minds of the foreign viewers. This was key to the way that Japanese gardens were understood or perceived by the Victorian British public.

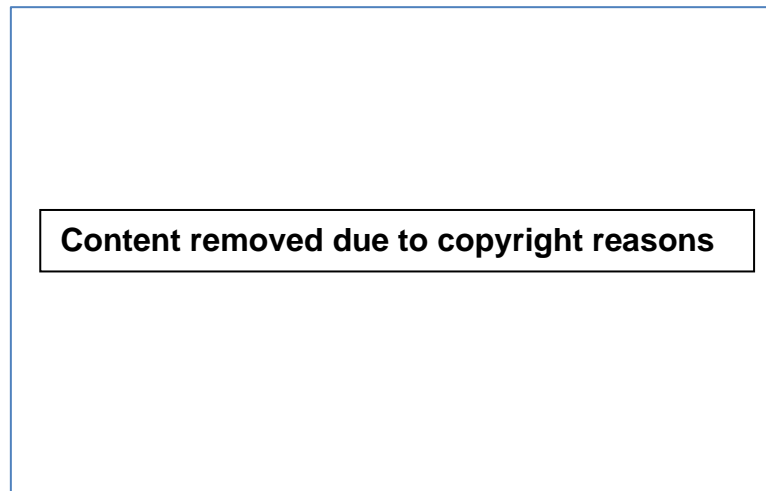


Figure 19 – Sketch of the Vienna Exposition 1873 Japanese Garden at Alexandra Park, London

Source – SC_GL_ENT_079f – Lithograph: The Japanese Village at Alexandra Palace, (accessed online at: <https://collage.cityoflondon.gov.uk/view-item?i=323187&WINID=1589795856048>)

For much of the period succeeding the Vienna Exhibition and the relocation of the garden to Alexandra Park in 1875, the gardens constructed in Britain reflected this meshed together view of religious structures and gardens. As already alluded to, it was a Shinto shrine and garden, typically less flamboyant than the gardens of Buddhist temples and private aristocrat's estates (see Fig 19). This is reflected in the written accounts of those viewing the gardens which mostly indicate an air of mild bafflement. This first garden exhibit was therefore somewhat toned down compared to the exuberant gardens of Edo period Japan which spread across vast areas and incorporated more landscape features. It is also likely that at such an early stage of Japan actively exhibiting, the Vienna 1873 exhibition committee would not have given them such a large plot as to display a large garden. Therefore, what was seen was a small snapshot of Japanese gardening in the Shinto style.

Another Japanese garden exhibit was not presented until a considerable time after the 1873 exhibition. However Japanese traditional pavilions were constructed at the

²⁴² Tagsold, C. 2017, *Spaces in Translation: Japanese Gardens and the West*, Philadelphia: Penn University of Pennsylvania Press.

Philadelphia International Exposition of 1876, plus the 1878 Paris International Exposition, continuing to stoke the interest of the global audience in these foreign structures. The Japanese government exhibited more wares at each subsequent exhibition, with a book on the Philadelphia 1876 Exhibition listing the Japanese Department's exhibits in the main building such as Carved Bedsteads, Embroidery, Paintings, Medallions, Vases and Armor.²⁴³ As well as these more usual suspects, the Japanese had additional displays and examples of education, showing school books, maps and charts, as well as a composition by a school-boy, "A Story of the Wolf and Mouse" by a school-girl and an essay by a Law Student from the Imperial University of Japan. These interesting extra exhibits seem to have been designed to begin to demonstrate to the US and European nations that Japan was a well-educated and civilised nation with literary and scholarly prowess. It clearly had the desired positive impact, as one commentator wrote that;

“Japan has an educational department, which does her infinite credit, and shows the enterprise and activity of that wonderful people in this direction. It is an extensive collection of school books, maps, charts, school registers, pictures chemical and philosophical apparatus, examination reports, etc.”²⁴⁴

A Japanese gentleman described as possessing a good command of English manned this section, providing information on the positive state of education in Japan. A Philadelphia newspaper *The Herald* noted the commercial possibilities at “The Japanese Bazaar, where all sorts of Japanese goods and curiosities are on sale, at about double the prices you can obtain the same articles for in the stores”.²⁴⁵ Clearly trade in goods was also an important reason for participating at these exhibitions, as was the Meiji promotion of Japan and the fostering of positive sentiment from foreign nations.

While there was not a garden, the large and imposing pavilion building at the Philadelphia Exhibition stood as an example of Japanese architecture and attracted much attention. Local newspaper *The Herald* were unable to adequately describe this new visage;

²⁴³ Dale, J.T. 1877, *What Ben Beverly Saw at the Great Exposition*, Chicago: Moses Warren & Co., p. 80.

²⁴⁴ Dale, J.T. 1877, *What Ben Beverly Saw at the Great Exposition*, Chicago: Moses Warren & Co., p. 126.

²⁴⁵ *The Herald*. 1876, *Guidebook and Directory to the Centennial Exposition Philadelphia 1876*, Philadelphia: Belmont Ave, p. 16.

(the) “Japanese Building, built by native workmen in the pure and unadulterated style of architecture prevalent among the Japs, but not liable to be counterfeited here. Any attempt to accurately describe this building would be as futile an attempt as to solve the mysteries of Japanese jugglery. 'Tis purely Japanese, and that's all the satisfaction you'll get out of us”.²⁴⁶

Clearly such a site outside of Japan was a rare and unexpected apparition and these buildings most certainly provided much intrigue and interest.

Remarkably, there was another ‘Japanese pagoda’ present at the Philadelphia Centenary Exhibition of 1876, however this was an entirely British exhibit of a cast-iron pavilion decorated in gold and orange.²⁴⁷ This huge and imposing interpretation of Japanese style architecture shows the impact of Japan’s opening on the minds of designers in Britain. This was undoubtedly an Orientalist construction given its British origins and was successful in its bid to wow their European and American audience. It is especially intriguing given that Japan was exhibiting a building for itself at the same world exhibition, that a British company would display a Japanese inspired structure. Although this was a cast-iron construction rather than a traditional timber framed Japanese building that was being presented, to showcase how a British industrial firm could re-imagine or potentially improve on their Eastern model. It was an impressive cast-iron structure which likely lessened the impression of it being a Japanese replica (see Fig 20).

Like the Japanese garden at Alexandra Park, this exhibit was eventually relocated to a British park in 1880. The so called ‘Japanese Pagoda’ was erected by Barnard, Bishop & Barnard for Norwich Council at Chapelfield Park, Norwich. It was a very popular exhibit at the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition of 1876 and featured at further exhibitions including at Paris 1878. Local architect Thomas Jeckyll, who was one of the first designers to introduce the Japanese motif to Victorian England, designed the pagoda described as measuring about 35 feet long, 40 feet high,

²⁴⁶ The Herald. 1876, *Guidebook and Directory to the Centennial Exposition Philadelphia 1876*, Philadelphia: Belmont Ave, p. 17.

²⁴⁷ Donnelly, M. 2001, British Furniture at the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition 1876, *Furniture History*, Vol. 37, pp. 91–190.

weighing around 40 tons and costing £2000 to build.²⁴⁸ While this was a British interpretation of Far Eastern architectural style, the Chapelfield Pagoda showed the growing interest in Japanese aesthetics. It also marked another Japanese themed area in a British park space, further presenting Japan to the British public. Finally, the pagoda highlights that despite Japan's active participation and display of their own wares at exhibitions, imperialist nations such as Britain still opted to present their style for them. The Meiji government still evidently had some way to go to promote and establish Japan to European/Western powers.

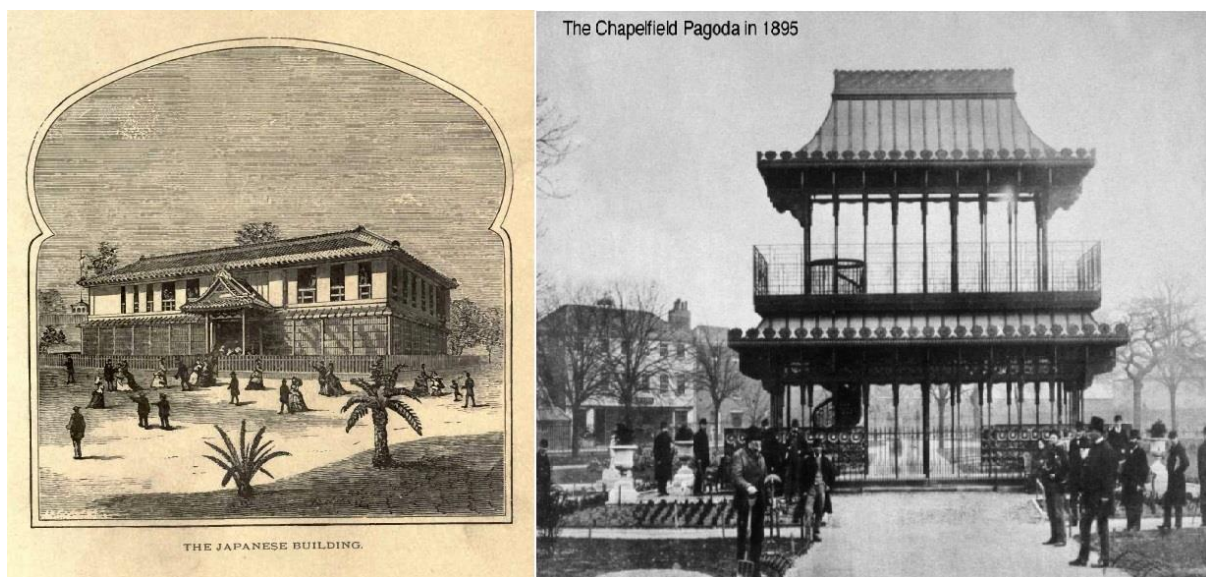


Figure 20 – comparison: (left) Philadelphia Exposition 1876 Japanese Pavilion and; (right) Chapelfield Pagoda circa 1895.

Sources – (left) Dale, J.T. 1877, *What Ben Beverly Saw at the Great Exposition*, Chicago: Moses Warren & Co, p. 126. ; (right) www.racns.co.uk

To this end Japan continued to participate at further world exhibitions. At the Paris International Exposition of 1878 similar exhibits to those at Philadelphia 1876 were displayed, including a smaller pavilion. For this 1878 exposition, a book on Japanese history and culture was composed in French under the direction of the President of the Japanese Commission for the exhibition M. Matsugata. The topics detailed how exhibits at the exposition were made, how Japanese society was past and present, while also containing notes on topics such as currency and language. While no

²⁴⁸ ‘Norwich pagoda became a victim of planners’, *Norwich Evening News*, 24th February 2011, Accessed Online at: <http://www.eveningnews24.co.uk/views/derek-james/norwich-pagoda-became-a-victim-of-planners-1-811943>.

Japanese gardens were constructed at the Paris exposition, the horticulture of Japan is described in this guidebook, where the writer recommended that Japanese plants exposed in the gardens of Trocadero were the ones that are found most frequently in their gardens, and that they could serve to give some idea of a such a space.²⁴⁹ Here Matsugata inadvertently proclaimed that a Japan Garden could be represented by native plants alone. In terms of providing knowledge of Japanese gardening practices, he was happy to leave such matters to the realms of the imagination, likely the byproduct of not having a physical example at the exposition itself or, not possessing a personal interest in gardens. This book is significant in showing how involved the Meiji government was early on in cultivating knowledge and presenting Japan to the world.

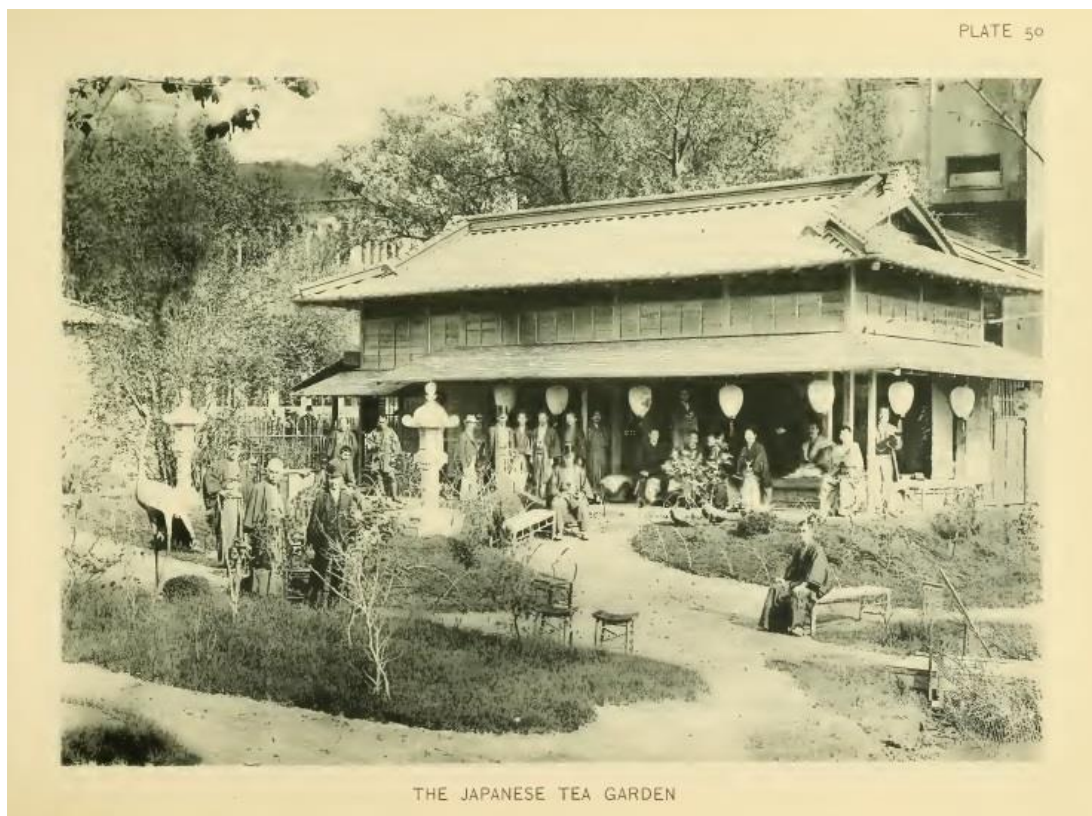


Figure 21 – Chicago World Exposition 1893 Japanese Gardens

Source - Arnold, C.D., & Higinbotham, H.D. 1893, *Official Views of the World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago:* Press Chicago Photo-Gravure Co., Plate 50.

²⁴⁹ Matsugata, M. 1878, *Le Japon a L'Exposition Universelle*, Paris: Avenue De Matignon, pp. 187-188. (French Language) *The original text in French reads; "Les plantes japonaises exposées dans les jardins du Trocadéro sont celles que l'on retrouve le plus fréquemment au Japon dans les jardins. Elles pourront servir à donner une certaine idée d'un jardin japonais."*

It was twenty years after Vienna 1873, at the Chicago International Exposition of 1893 that a Japanese garden was presented for exhibition again. Once more, a Pavilion and bazaar featured like at the Philadelphia exposition. The gardens themselves seem to have been in the style of those at Buddhist temple grounds, while also resembling a tea-garden style and were located on an area called the Wooded Island. The temple complex was laid out to represent different historical eras of Japanese design with the main temple a replication of the Ho-o-Do (Phoenix Hall) from Byodo-in Temple.²⁵⁰ In spite of these Japanese historical design influences, the buildings were designed by a pupil of Josiah Conder, Masamichi Kuru. So, although labelled a traditional Japanese building, it was designed by an architect who had studied foreign architecture. Kuru's Western/European studies will have provided him with a good understanding of what was pleasing to a Western audience. This was fully evident in the more elaborate and flamboyant display of Japanese architecture and garden art which was favored by the Meiji government in presenting Japan at exhibitions

The gardens were akin to those of a Japanese teahouse at a rest-stop or an inn, rather than a tea garden per se and photos from official guidebooks show Japanese stone lanterns and a couple of short winding paths (see Fig 21). The buildings were set on the lakes edge amongst thickly wooded area, and as at Vienna, the plantings themselves appear to be fairly liberal. The Wooded Island itself was connected to the rest of the grounds via an arched bridge reminiscent of those in Japan. Overall, the layout and content of the exhibit seemed more geared around providing a slice of archetypal Japan to the visitors by offering tea in the teahouse and a look at the grand architecture.²⁵¹ In terms of providing a look at Japanese landscape garden design, the space and exhibits chosen did not really allow for a complete or representative example at the Chicago Exposition. The whole space was a replica of a Buddhist temple complex and working teahouse. However, the visual impact of the

²⁵⁰ 'Ho-o-Den (Phoenix Palace)'. Expositions: Where Modern Technology of the Times was Exhibited - Part 1: Expositions Held in and before 1900, *Copyright: National Diet Library, Japan 2010 – 2011*. (Accessed 01/03/2018 at: <http://www.ndl.go.jp/exposition/e/s1/1893-1.html>)

²⁵¹ Arnold, C.D. & Higinbotham, H.D. 1893, *Official Views of the World's Columbian Exposition*, Chicago: Press Chicago Photo-Gravure Co.

complex and the functionality of the tea-room made this an immersive experience for visitors.

This more flamboyant and showy approach to Japanese garden and architectural style continued at later exhibitions. The St. Louis International Exposition of 1904 also had a garden and temple complex. The Meiji government, as at Paris 1878, commissioned a book detailing Japanese history and the exhibits at the St. Louis Exposition of 1904. The gardens at St. Louis were bigger than at previous exhibitions and spread over an area of some 15,000 square feet. The official guidebook described that;

“Hills and waterfalls, ponds and bridges, all presented in miniature scales exquisitely tasteful, and the verdant lawns studded with fascinating flowers of different colors, these are all harmonized into an artistic unit in unique landscape gardening. Beautifully trained dwarf trees, so old, yet so small, were brought from Japan for the special purpose of ornamenting the garden. The drooping wistaria and gay peony, the scented lily and blushing maple are all thriving, eager to rival the beauty of each other in the season of their glory.”²⁵²

The bigger allocation of space shows how much Japan had risen in popularity and stature internationally when compared with earlier exhibitions. This was a much more elaborate display of garden art.

The growing proficiency of Japanese horticultural trade is also in evidence with many more native plants presented at the 1904 Exposition, with the guidebook listing; Morning Glories, Yomato Cedars, Pines, Peonies (Trees and herbaceous), Darallia Ferns, Bamboo palm (rhaps Habelliformus), Kwannonchiku, Baran, Cycas revolute, Ginmatsu and a host of Dwarf trees and potted plants. The direct involvement of the Meiji government was still fully apparent with Yukiwo Ichikawa, superintendent of the Imperial Household Garden being involved in exhibits at St. Louis. In addition, more Japanese businesses were present than at previous exhibitions with Tokyo based company Tanaka & Co, producing some of the agricultural displays, while

²⁵² Imperial Japanese Commission. 1904, *The Exhibition of the Empire of Japan Official Catalogue: International Exposition St. Louis 1904*, St. Louis: Woodward & Tiernan Printing Co., pp. 5-6.

Yamanaka & Co. of Osaka installed the fences, bronze cranes and stag statues and Lanterns in the gardens.²⁵³

Each successive exhibition saw Japan's exhibits and the details around them in guidebooks grow exponentially. This was also true of its garden and horticultural exhibits which improved and progressed by the end of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The 1905 Liege International Exposition also had a similar arrangement of a bazaar, architectural exhibits and with a garden adjoined to the gentle slope of a lake.²⁵⁴ The Japanese exhibits were similarly well received and popular, as at prior exhibitions.

Overall, the Japanese garden and architectural exhibits from Vienna in 1873 to Liege in 1905 did not differ too drastically. They generally got subsequently bigger, with more ornamentation, plantings and structures at each exhibition, but the theme and representation remained largely the same, with bazaars, temples, teahouses and liberally planted garden areas. This image of Japan remained relatively constant, meaning that in a period of over thirty years, the viewing publics at the exhibitions were exposed to a fixed representation of Japan and its aesthetics. This served the Meiji government well in its bid to promote Japan to the world and also keep a consistent image of its gardens over time. Nevertheless, the rich heritage of horticulture in Japan and the keen love of plants and nature was not so apparent in this imagery. As will be seen, the way that horticulture and architectural ornamentation were separated out – even in the garden spaces at the exhibitions – was influential in the way British-Japanese gardens came to be formed.

It is evident that these exhibitions offered the Japanese government an outlet for promoting Japan and fostering positive sentiment in their bid for equality and recognition as a civilised nation on par with their European and American contemporaries. It is also equally important to contextualise that these exhibitions or expositions were designed to show the participants' modern prowess in arts, industry, agriculture, horticulture and a myriad of other areas. Therefore, they did not necessitate themselves of being a stage to denote the past glories of the Japanese

²⁵³ Imperial Japanese Commission. 1904, *The Exhibition of the Empire of Japan Official Catalogue: International Exposition St. Louis 1904*, St. Louis: Woodward & Tiernan Printing Co., pp. 223-224.

²⁵⁴ Dreze, G. 1905, *Le Livre D'or de L'Exposition Universelle et Internationale de 1905: Histoire Complete de L'Exposition de Liège (2 Volumes)*, Liege: Imp. Aug. Benard. (French language)

The Liege Exposition book described how Japan nearly did not attend the exhibition in Belgium due to the close proximity of their involvement at St Louis the previous year and the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese war

nation. Although they did represent some areas of history to demonstrate the long legacy of civilisation in their country, even these exhibits were blended, condensed or hybridised to best showcase a modern and in many ways, Westernised Japan. So, we must conclude that the gardens, as described above at the various exhibitions, were geared towards a less traditional design and directed more towards a projected Meiji government image of Japan as was desired to be presented to other nations of the world.

Along with the growing frequency of exposure to gardens at exhibitions, this was a big part of the impetus for Japanese gardens to begin to find favour in Britain, as well as Europe and the US. Before looking at some examples and applications of these exhibitions in park sites around Britain, the unofficial avenues away from the world exhibitions are worth exploring. These add to the overall dominant pictures and ideas of Japan formed in the minds of British about Japanese culture and garden design. Local native villages, as well as other exhibits open to the public such as themed tea gardens were run as commercial ventures at a variety of locations nationwide. These also had a direct impact on perceptions of Japanese garden style by the British public.

3.2. Japanese Villages and Japanese Themed Attractions



Figure 22 – Tannaker’s Japanese Native Village Poster

Source - Japanese Native Village Poster 1886, *The British Library Online*, Accessed at: www.bl.uk/catalogues/evanion.

International expositions represented forums where Japanese culture and garden art could be presented. However, these exhibitions were only accessible to the wealthy who could afford to travel on the continent or to America to attend them. While Alexandra Park’s Japanese village and garden offered a taste of the Vienna Exposition to the public and the Chapelfield Pagoda was a British representation of Japan, the majority of the British public were not in direct contact with the Meiji government led global exhibitions. However, there were people and companies who saw a commercial opportunity from creating Japanese Villages or attractions at sites around Britain, and these did expose the public to different forms of Japanese gardening. These representations were often more reductionist than their exhibition counterparts but did serve to expose Japanese culture to the British lower classes.

The most well-known of these ventures was Tannaker Buhicrosan’s Japanese village at Humphrey’s Hall in London. The Village existed briefly between 1884 and

1887 before succumbing to fire damage and closing. It was well publicised in a variety of newspapers, magazines articles and advertisements. For example, *The Times* reported that it was a very unique and interesting idea, where “A Japanese garden has been laid out, and a temple, restaurant, and tea houses will be interesting annexes.”²⁵⁵ The press gave prestige to the exhibit by detailing some distinguished patrons such as Princess Louise, the Marchioness of Lorne and Princess Christian.

Tannaker Buhicrosan was born in Nagasaki to Dutch and Japanese parents and married a Japanese lady called Otakesan.²⁵⁶ He recruited some eighty Japanese to become part of the Village in London, although over one hundred were eventually a part of the exhibition. British Consul in Japan, Rutherford Alcock officially opened Tannaker’s Village in 1885. It is of note that Alcock was an acquaintance of Christopher Dresser who brought the Vienna 1873 Exhibition garden to London, citing him as his inspirational catalyst for his Japanese enthusiasm.²⁵⁷ Those who had visited or spent a period in Japan often actively proclaimed and encouraged displays of its culture in Britain. Here Alcock continued in this vein having previously been involved in exhibiting Japanese arts and culture at the 1862 London exhibition.

The attraction itself was a huge success and one advert proclaimed that; “250,000 persons have already visited Tannaker’s Japanese Village” a few months after opening.²⁵⁸ These visitors were exposed to the so-called Japanese gardens at Humphrey’s Hall which consisted of a pool with a bridge crossing over it, a cascade waterfall on one side and, interestingly, a wholly un-Japanese water fountain on the other. In addition, the site was accessed by a Shinto temple *Tori* gate and had palm trees adorning the scene (see Fig 22).²⁵⁹

Despite this success and the continuing popularity, Tannaker ran into financial difficulties in early 1887, some two years after opening the Japanese Village. The company which took over was called *The Japanese Village and Oriental Trading*

²⁵⁵ ‘A Japanese Village in London’, *The Times*, December 20th 1884, p. 10.; ‘A Japanese Village in London’, *Supplement to The Evening Post*, February 21st 1885.

²⁵⁶ Mihara, A. 2009, Professional Entertainers Abroad and Theatrical Portraits in Hand, *Old Photography Study*, Vol. 3, pp. 45-54.

²⁵⁷ Checkland, O. 2003, *Japan and Britain after 1859: creating cultural bridges*, New York and London: Routledge, p. 90.

²⁵⁸ ‘Japan In London’, *The Era*, 1885.

²⁵⁹ Evan.424, Japanese Native Village Poster 1886, *The British Library Online*, Accessed at: www.bl.uk/catalogues/evanion.

Company who set out their objectives to make the Village “The central market of the Japanese trade in London. Goods will be consigned from various parts of Japan direct to Albert-gate, and there unpacked and offered for sale.”²⁶⁰ The *Company* went on to outline their desire to make Japanese works of art and cultural artefacts more popular, including later offering to “lay out gardens and erect summer-houses and rockeries in the same style.”²⁶¹ While these claims and ambitions by the company started successfully, they ran into a lawsuit over unpaid shares amounting to £300 which seems to have ultimately led to the company swiftly ending its involvement in the Japanese Village, which subsequently closed in July 1887.²⁶² These ambitious aims serve to show how demand for Japanese garden ornaments, architecture and plants was beginning to become more widespread. The Japanese villages were places of commercial trade in addition to the novelty value of their arts and performances.

The blueprint created by Buhicrosan for his native village was often replicated around Britain, with others following in the wake of Humphrey’s Hall, an annoyance to Tannaker Buhicrosan himself as exemplified in posters advertising the attraction;

“Notice. – Since the establishment by Tannaker of the Japanese Village in London, many wretched imitations have sprung up in provincial towns, some copying his name as nearly as possible. Beware imposters and imitators. None genuine except the name Tannaker Buhicrosan appears on the bills.”²⁶³

These mimic exhibits were heavily based on Tannaker’s Japanese village and thus there was little variation amongst them. One such village appeared in Colchester in 1885, with its debt of influence to the London original described in a local newspaper;

“The Colchester public are fortunate in being provided, as far as possible, with the greatest of various “London Successes.” Colchester is certainly

²⁶⁰ ‘The Japanese Village’, *The Morning Post*, January 28th 1887, p. 9.

²⁶¹ ‘The Japanese Village’, *The Era*, February 19th 1887, p. 7.

²⁶² ‘High Court of Justice’, *The Morning Post*, July 25th 1887, p. 6.

²⁶³ SC_GL_ENT_101d - Japanese Native Village in Hyde Park, 1886, (accessed online at: <https://collage.cityoflondon.gov.uk/zoom-item?i=323207&WINID=1589795856048>).

one of the very first provincial towns in England to follow the example of the Metropolis in having a Japanese Village”.²⁶⁴

The village was erected under the direction of a Mr. Charles Clark and was described as containing numerous houses “erected under the supervision of Mr. Samuel Baylis, the artist employed in the construction of Tannaker’s Village in London”.²⁶⁵ Here we see more direct links with some of those involved at Humphrey’s Hall in London working on other sites, although evidently not with Tannaker Buhicrosan’s approval. We can discern from press descriptions that there was a large temple with an image of Mount Fuji behind it;

“and the sacred rocks, the latter being decorated with ribbons, according to the custom on a certain high feast day. The temple is well set off by two large palm trees, which have been admirably designed, and which have a most natural appearance.”²⁶⁶

In this section it is the two palm trees that are an unusual inclusion, as well indicating the literal translation of the setup at Tannaker’s village. The palm trees or *Cycas Revoluta* are natives to Japan but were only popular additions to its gardens during the Meiji era. Here we can see the contemporary Japanese fashion being employed in native village gardens.²⁶⁷ There were also additional portions of the building set out for the sale of flowers described as “principally Japanese” and displayed by the New Plant and Bulb Company. What these ‘principally Japanese’ flowers were however remains a mystery.

The Japanese Villages around Britain generally followed a basic set theme for what they presented and included. They were popular attractions for the British public from 1885 and into the 1890s. Through the examples of Humphrey’s Hall and Colchester’s Japanese village it becomes clear that the gardens were simplified versions of those at Alexandra Palace from the Vienna 1873 exhibition. There were imitation temple buildings with some rockwork and *Tori* gates, but few plants or other features that could be likened to Japanese gardening tradition. The Villages and

²⁶⁴ ‘Opening of a Japanese Village in Colchester’, *The Essex Standard and West Sussex Gazette*, September 17th 1885, p. 6.

²⁶⁵ ‘Opening of a Japanese Village in Colchester’, *The Essex Standard and West Sussex Gazette*, September 17th 1885, p. 6.

²⁶⁶ ‘Opening of a Japanese Village in Colchester’, *The Essex Standard and West Sussex Gazette*, September 17th 1885, p. 6.

²⁶⁷ Harada, J. 1956, *Japanese Gardens*, London and Boston: The Studio Limited, c1920.

themed gardens therefore were a part of the continuing legacy of Japan at the world exhibitions. They exposed the paying public to a museum-like view of Japanese culture, gardens and architecture, as contemporary in the Meiji era representations. While limited depictions, they did however foster positive sentiment towards Japan and its garden style.

The continued success of Japanese themed ventures continued in other guises. A smaller business venture was undertaken in Otley in North Yorkshire from 1895, set up by Mr Henry Dacre at the joint Queens and Otley Recreation Halls. The space was used for concerts and dramatic performances and had a so-called Japanese garden where performers adorned geisha costumes and kimonos (see Fig 23).²⁶⁸ It was described in an Otley Town Guide (circa 1913);

“It may surprise some visitors to know that we have a miniature picture of Japan in the centre of the town – a dainty Japanese garden that was conceived and carried out long before the great Exhibition in London was thought about. We give a picture of this charming little place, to which all visitors have access by payment of the nominal fee of 2d.”²⁶⁹



Figure 23 – Otley ‘Japanese garden’

Source - Otley What to See and How to [A guide to the town c1913] - Japan in Otley Recreation Hall: Otley Museum, Otley Museum Archives Trust, Accessed online at: <http://otleymuseum.org/japanese-gardens/4554208403>.

²⁶⁸ ‘Otley’s Lost Japanese Garden in the Spotlight’, *The Wharfedale & Aireborough Observer*, May 23rd 2014.

²⁶⁹ Otley What to See and How to [A guide to the town c1913] - Japan in Otley Recreation Hall: Otley Museum, Otley Museum Archives Trust, Accessed online at: <http://otleymuseum.org/japanese-gardens/4554208403>.

This description somewhat exaggerates the ventures conception by almost half a decade to the Great Exhibition of 1851. It was an exhibit in a similar vein to the Japanese villages, with a basic representation of Japan through geishas and the gardens, which were in actuality little more than a collection of rocks, paper lanterns and a few plants and trees. It was purely an entertainment and performative space, drawing on the Japanese gimmick to pull in customers.

As with the bigger and more elaborate Japanese Villages, Henry Dacre's garden showcased the very basics of Japanese garden design, with scant few native plants, trees or ornamentation. The geisha costumed performers added the main allusion to Japan. The gardens drew on the association of Japan as a kind of 'fairly land' which was a widespread connotation held within Victorian Britain.²⁷⁰ At Otley, this was manifested in dramatic performances that likely drew additional influence from contemporary theatrical plays such as *The Mikado* which opened in London in 1885, presenting stereotypes of Japanese culture in a British play. *The Mikado* is often cited as working in synchronization with Tannaker's Japanese village (which also opened in 1885) to simultaneously garner enthusiasm and encourage the spread of ideas of Japanese culture in Britain.²⁷¹ Japan and its culture had rapidly become a commercially viable theme for attractions and businesses as proven by the many native villages and smaller ventures such as at Otley. These ventures and the images of Japan they disseminated would also have the later effect of inspiring the creation of Japanese style gardens by visitors.

²⁷⁰ Raggett, J. 2002, *The Japanese-Style Garden in the British Isles: 1850-1950* (2 Volumes), Imprint: York, PhD Thesis, *University of York Thesis Collection: Department of Archaeology*.

²⁷¹ Mihara, A. 2009, Professional Entertainers Abroad and Theatrical Portraits in Hand, *Old Photography Study*, Vol. 3, pp. 45-54.

3.3. Gardens inspired by the Exhibitions and Japanese themed Attractions

There is evidence of both the world exhibitions and native villages inspiring individuals to recreate Japanese style at their estates or home gardens. Tannaker's Village attracting hundreds of thousands of visitors attests to their popularity and suggests a strong engagement from the British public with these novel attractions. With the examples of the garden and village at Alexandra Park and Chapelfield Pagoda, the impact of Japanese exhibits at world exhibitions began to be seen in Britain. That these examples were direct transpositions of the exhibition originals and the Vienna Exposition gardens at Alexandra Palace seem to have only stoked curiosity rather than prompted any concerted Japanese garden movement amongst the British populace in the twenty years before Chicago 1893. As outlined in previous chapters, the 1890s marked a combination of factors coming together to facilitate this changing. The expanding Japanese horticultural trade and consistent attendance at exhibitions increased the exposure of Japan to the world and resulted in bigger space allocations and ability to furnish displays with a wider variety of plants, ornaments and structures. These factors combined with the interest in Japan studies as fostered by societies, encouraged the creation of Japanese style gardens, many of which were designed with direct influence from those presented at exhibitions.²⁷²

One such site inspired by the gardens at the 1904 St. Louis (Chicago) Exposition was at Bromborough Hall, Cheshire in the Northwest of England. Bromborough was mentioned in the book *The Gardens of England in the Northern Counties* (1911), which Alfred Lys Baldry described as;

“a Japanese garden planted with appropriate shrubs and flowers and furnished with garden ornaments which help much to give distinctive character to the design. This garden is mainly a reproduction of one which was laid out at the Chicago Exhibition.”²⁷³

The accompanying photograph showed a typical Victorian/Edwardian Japanese style layout of a lily pond, crossed over by a rustic arched wooden bridge. This was flanked by a bronze crane statue, Japanese stone lantern and several potted *bonsai*

²⁷² *See Chapter 4*

²⁷³ Holme, C. 1911, *The Gardens of England in the Northern Counties*, London: The Studio.

trees. In the upper corner over a section of stream a *yatsubashi* zig-zag bridge can be seen. The area itself was in the flat style water garden, with stones placed around winding paths with a few shrubs and trees placed here and there.²⁷⁴

The owner of Bromborough Hall was Sir William Forewood who made his fortune in the ship building industry. He was well-travelled having visited India, Egypt and Tibet amongst other places. He acquired the early seventeenth century property in 1898 and as Forewood proclaimed in his memoirs, “The charms of Bromborough Hall are the gardens, which cover about thirteen acres and contain probably the most extensive lawns and the largest trees in Wirral.”²⁷⁵ Like many country house estates Bromborough Hall contained an elaborate Dutch garden and orangery, as well as a vast area of woodland for walks. The Japanese garden was an addition to these separate, themed garden areas, which was common practice at virtually all the private country estates in Britain. Forewood visited the St. Louis exhibition whilst in the United States and he was very impressed by the event.²⁷⁶ He was a self-proclaimed keen gardener and devoted much time as a hobby to improving the gardens and grounds at Bromborough. As can be discerned from a 1908 Ordnance Survey maps, the ponds and streams were an addition to the Southeast of the Hall, absent from the 1895 survey.²⁷⁷ This indicates the Japanese gardens creation soon after William Forewood’s visit to St. Louis.

There are numerous similarities with the Chicago 1904 Japanese garden layout, in that Forewood used a bronze crane and stone lantern, as well as the flat style and winding paths. Even the zigzag bridge crossing the lake is present. Comparing images of the exhibition gardens and those at Bromborough Hall, there are striking similarities between their forms and layouts (see Fig 24). The inclusion of *bonsai* trees adorning the scene at Bromborough is likely indicative of those for sale at the exhibition placed similarly. This was not however usual practice for gardens in Japan, again showing how the example at the exhibition helped shape translations abroad. It is clear that the exhibition gardens could provide a blueprint for Japanese style gardens in Britain, as ably demonstrated by those at Bromborough Hall.

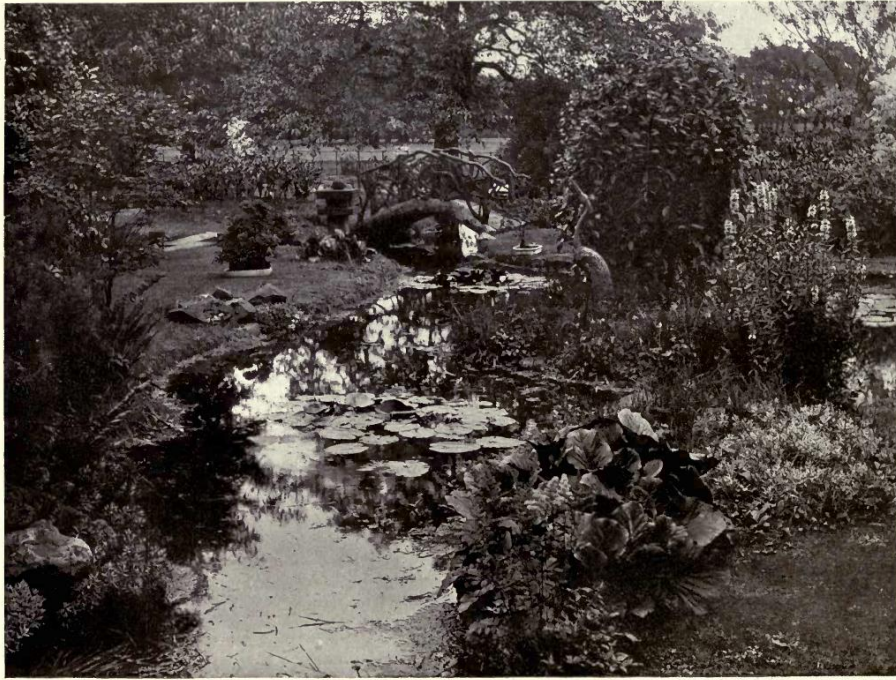
²⁷⁴ Holme, C. 1911, *The Gardens of England in the Northern Counties*, London: The Studio, plate. XXI.

²⁷⁵ Forewood, W.B. 1910, *Recollections of a Busy Life*, Liverpool: Henry Young & Sons, p. 168.

²⁷⁶ Forewood, W.B. 1910, *Recollections of a Busy Life*, Liverpool: Henry Young & Sons, pp. 235-238.

²⁷⁷ Ordnance Survey Maps, 1895, Cheshire XXIII.NW: Includes Bebington and Bromborough, *National Library of Scotland*, Published 1936.; Ordnance Survey Maps, 1908, Cheshire XXIII.NW: Includes Bebington and Bromborough, *National Library of Scotland*, Published 1936.

PLATE XXI



(By permission of Sir William B. Forwood)

THE JAPANESE GARDEN AT BROMBOROUGH HALL, CHESHIRE



JAPANESE GARDEN ART—IN THE JAPANESE GARDEN.

Figure 24 – Bromborough Hall and St. Louis International Exposition 1904 garden comparison

Sources - Holme, C. 1911, *The Gardens of England in the Northern Counties*, London: The Studio, plate. XXI. & Imperial Japanese Commission. 1904, *The Exhibition of the Empire of Japan Official Catalogue: International Exposition St. Louis 1904*, St. Louis: Woodward & Tiernan Printing Co., pp. 223-224.

William Forewood mentioned being asked to play host to Japanese royalty at Bromborough Hall in his memoirs;

“In June, 1907, I received a letter from Sir Edward Grey, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, asking me if I could entertain at Bromborough Hall the Prince Fushimi of Japan, a royal prince, who was visiting England on a special mission from the Emperor.”²⁷⁸

Forewood oversaw the preparations for the Japanese party who eventually stayed at a larger estate nearby at Knowsley Hall, residence of former Prime Minister Lord Derby.²⁷⁹ It is likely that Forewood was asked to play host to the Japanese dignitaries owing to his association with his Japanese garden at Bromborough Hall. Evidently William Forewood’s impression of Japan and its garden style was positive given his decision to build one at his country home. Even if this was based on the Meiji projected garden image of the 1904 St. Louis exhibition.

While the St. Louis Exposition of 1904 had a direct impact on William Forewood, prompting him to create a replica at his private estate in Cheshire, he was a wealthy man who could afford these expensive extravagancies. He would also have been in the minority of the British population who would have been able to travel abroad to see these Meiji garden exhibits. The Japanese villages which presented scaled down, simplified garden images were more readily imitable by the British visitors in terms of cost and effort. But they were more crucially accessible at local venues such as village halls and parks around Britain. Humphrey’s Hall in London and the native village at Colchester represent just two examples of these Japanese themed attractions. The world exhibitions provided examples for the wealthy classes of Britain, while these local attractions impressed positive images of Japanese gardens on visitors of lower classes.

There were other Japanese villages around the Country, including at the Royal Yorkshire Jubilee Exhibition at Saltaire in 1887, which contained a Japanese garden in keeping with the other Japanese village models.²⁸⁰ This is cited as having inspired Thomas Hartley to build his Japanese themed garden at Ivy House, in Shipley Glen

²⁷⁸ Forewood, W.B. 1910, *Recollections of a Busy Life*, Liverpool: Henry Young & Sons, p. 220.

²⁷⁹ Pollard, W. 1869, *The Stanleys of Knowsley: a history of that noble family, including a sketch of the political life of the late Right Hon. the Earl of Derby*, London and New York: F. Warne.

²⁸⁰ ‘The Yorkshire Jubilee Exhibition’, *The Huddersfield Chronicle and West Yorkshire Advertiser*, February 5th 1887, p. 5.

near Bradford.²⁸¹ It was shortly after 1887 that the gardens were created as a business venture by Hartley, who opened his grounds to visitors. It was a miniature theme park, with Hartley creating a folly ruined castle on one lake, surrounded by rustic arches. In addition, there was a tea room, aviary, an amusement arcade and small waterfalls. The Japanese inspired garden area was an addition to all of this and formed part of Hartley's grand design scheme to draw in the crowds and leisure seekers. The garden itself was of the pond and stream, water garden style, with Hartley using a method popular in creating gardens in Japan such as Kyoto, by diverting water from a nearby stream to feed the ponds and run through the garden. Although it is likely this was just a means that the ever-enterprising Hartley utilised of his own initiative to source water for the garden, rather than as a result of any knowledge of Japanese landscaping practices.

It was because of the process of imitating a reductive representation of their garden style that it is not clear what, aside from the lakes, streams and waterfalls constituted a Japanese garden at Shipley Glen. For example, one description of the gardens described that;

“The ‘Japanese’ garden at Ivy House... contained a miniature lake and islands, one carrying two pagoda arches but on the other stood a miniature castle with no Japanese connotations”.²⁸²

The baffling descriptor of ‘pagoda arches’, it must be assumed related to those running across from the folly ruined castle. Overall, this is not surprising given that the early representation of Japanese gardens at the Native Villages were similarly designed with water fountains, cascades and bridges. Thomas Hartley does seem to have succeeded in his attempt to replicate what he saw at the Saltaire Exhibition, and in doing so replicated a false representation of Japanese gardening. As with the Japanese Villages, his gardens were designed to appeal to the growing popularity and intrigue towards Japanese culture in the late Victorian era. His gardens were a small slice of Japanese Village, scaled down for a local community and by an individual entrepreneur. His version was frequented by many patrons in Yorkshire and so further spread an image of Japan. While not as sophisticated an image as

²⁸¹ Cattell, A. 2011, *Bingley and Surrounds: Forgotten Moments from History*, Bradford: Overt Marketing Ltd. (Accessed online at: <http://mycommunityhub.co.uk/shipley-glen-history/> - 09/03/2018)

²⁸² ‘The State of Horticulture in Britain’, from; Cattell, A. 2011, *Bingley and Surrounds: Forgotten Moments from History*, Bradford: Overt Marketing Ltd. (Accessed online at: <http://mycommunityhub.co.uk/shipley-glen-history/> - 09/03/2018)

presented by the Meiji government at world exhibitions, it served a similar purpose in spreading positive associations with Japan through an enjoyable attraction.

3.4. Public Parks with Japanese Themed Gardens

The public park was deemed a prerequisite for civilised society in the Victorian era, in no small part as a response to the industrial revolution and growing urban populations.²⁸³ These parks were designed to encourage active pursuits with sports, leisure and recreation for people to escape the city buildings and industrial smoke. They also served as a place to reconnect with nature, through strolls around lakes, ponds and wooded areas.²⁸⁴ The provision of trees, flowers and plants also served to educate in horticulture and provide beauty as well as cleaner air. As was exemplified by how Japan swiftly adopted the idea of the public park after opening its shores to foreign nations, this was no small or trivial movement. The public park served as a place to entertain, relax, and like in Japan, many hosted exhibitions and events. Tannaker's Japanese Village was set within London's Hyde Park, as was the Vienna Exhibition Japanese Garden at Alexandra Park. Park spaces played a big part in how Japanese culture was presented to the British public, as already exemplified. However, these representations have been shown to be skewed or distorted visions of Japan as directed by the Meiji government.

Alongside the growth of public parks in the Victorian era was the development of spa and seaside resorts and towns. Many of these incorporated exotic trees, plants and ornaments into the parks and gardens to add interest for holiday makers and potential tourists. Incorporating these features into the spa and resort towns added an air of luxury and worldliness to these places as centres of rejuvenation and relaxation.²⁸⁵ The seaside town of Southport on the Northwest Coast of England is a good example of Japanese plants and aesthetics incorporated in this way. The town grew around its designation as a health resort for taking in the sea air and bathing at the end of the eighteenth century. In the mid nineteenth century, many parks and gardens were laid out as the population rapidly grew and Southport became a popular resort.²⁸⁶ At the Churchtown Botanic Gardens and Hesketh Park Japanese areas were designated in these new parks. There were even some Chinese inspired

²⁸³ Hough, M. 1984, *City form and natural process: towards a new urban vernacular*, London: Croom Helm.

²⁸⁴ Conway, H. 1996, *Public parks*, Princes Risborough: Shire.

²⁸⁵ Elliott, P.A. 2016, *British Urban Trees: A Social and Cultural History, C. 1800-1914*, Cambridgeshire: The White Horse Press.

²⁸⁶ Farrer, W. & Brownbill, J. 1907, *A History of the County of Lancaster: Volume 3*, London: Victoria County History, pp. 230-236.

buildings constructed on the Southport seafront which highlights the growing allure of Far Eastern exotic styles.

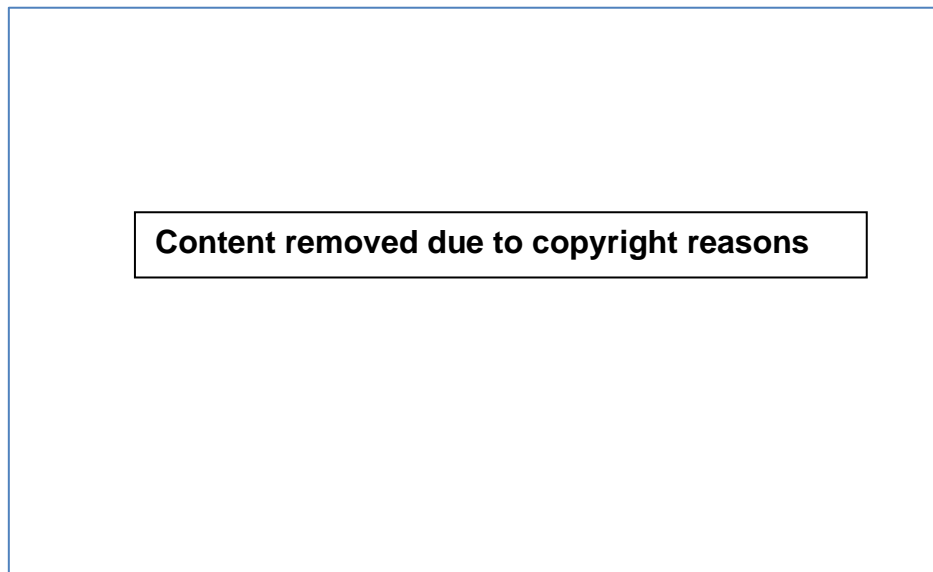


Figure 25 – Hesketh Park Postcard circa 1900, of a supposed Japanese area

Source - NS_p22_36, Southport, Hesketh Park Japanese Gardens, *Sefton Council Digital Archive*, Southport Photos, c1900.

The earliest of these developments was at the Southport and Churchtown Botanical Gardens and Museum which opened Officially in 1875. This represents a very early Japanese inspired garden in Britain after the opening just over twenty years previously. The site was acquired from Rev. Charles Hesketh who owned the neighbouring Hesketh Estate by the *Botanic Gardens and Museum Company Limited*. Mr. John Shaw, who founded *The Stamford Nurseries* of Oxford Street in Manchester, oversaw the laying out of the grounds with the assistance of head gardener Mr. Fish.²⁸⁷ Extensive lakes were excavated for the botanical gardens which would contain all manner of plants and exotics.²⁸⁸ The intention was for the display of rare plants as a place of learning and instruction;

“In the cultivation of these plants it is intended that the Gardens shall be not only a resort for pleasure-seekers, but also a place of instruction – that is to say, a place where visitors will have an opportunity of witnessing how

²⁸⁷ ‘Obituary – John Shaw’, *The Gardener’s Chronicle*, September 20th 1890, p. 338.

²⁸⁸ ‘The Southport and Churchtown Botanic gardens and Museum’, *The Manchester Courier, And Lancashire General Advertiser*, April 10th 1876, p. 6.

the plants are grown and the mode of protecting them, and thus enabling them to use the same means in their own private grounds.”²⁸⁹

This was a common rhetoric for public parks and gardens as championed by John Loudon who was influential in later design and theory.²⁹⁰

What was a unique feature at Southport’s botanic gardens was the intention to stock and group together Japanese species of plants as indicated by early press coverage of the botanic gardens, which described that an area was intended at the site;

“which is to be stocked with plants from Japan, and called the “Japanese Garden;” whilst a summer-house is to be erected on a mound near by which commands a pleasing, and, in fact, the best view of all the erections in the Gardens, the winding serpentine, and the beautiful surrounding country.”²⁹¹

The labelling of the area as ‘the Japanese Garden’ at Southport is perhaps somewhat misleading as the plantings alone were the aim and result in the botanic garden. This was another Japan Garden showing that a distinction from Chinese and Oriental connotations was continuing to emerge. As with the first Japan gardens such as Whiteknights in Reading, this was represented by native plants, although in contrast to the wealthy Duke of Marlborough’s private display of riches, the intention here was to show Japanese exotics to the general public.

Likewise, at neighbouring Hesketh Park, an area labelled as the ‘Japanese Garden’ seemed to indicate only an area of plants from that country (see Fig 25).²⁹² Here the Japanese garden connotations in Southport through its plants continued. Further images suggest there was a Japanese style pavilion next to one of the lakes which was a later integration of additional Japanese garden elements. This theme of Chinese and Japanese features within Southport is further evidenced by the so-called Kew Gardens (not to be confused with its Surrey namesake). The Southport Kew Gardens contained a lake with three islands spanned by arched bridges. An

²⁸⁹ ‘The Southport and Churchtown Botanic gardens and Museum’, *The Manchester Courier, And Lancashire General Advertiser*, April 10th 1876, p. 6.

²⁹⁰ Elliott, P.A. 2016, *British Urban Trees: A Social and Cultural History, C. 1800-1914*, Cambridgeshire: The White Horse Press.

²⁹¹ ‘The Southport and Churchtown Botanic gardens and Museum’, *The Manchester Courier, And Lancashire General Advertiser*, April 10th 1876, p. 6.

²⁹² NS_p22_36, Southport, Hesketh Park Japanese Gardens, *Sefton Council Digital Archive*, Southport Photos, c1900.

1890 engraving of the scene shows small building on the centre island with the scene reminiscent of the aforementioned Willow-Plate Pattern, a common inspiration for Chinese and Japanese style gardens in Britain (see Fig 26). John Shaw who designed the Churchtown Botanic Gardens was also responsible for laying out the Kew Gardens.²⁹³ Across multiple Southport Parks and gardens his preference for Far Eastern and exotic design elements was in abundant evidence.

Content removed due to copyright reasons

Figure 26 – Kew Gardens, Southport: 1890 Engraving showing islands spanned by arched bridges

Source - Wright, G. 'How Kew Gardens Became one of Southport's Top Pleasure Spots', *The Visitor*, 8th February 2015, accessed online at: <https://www.southportvisiter.co.uk/authors/geoff-wright/kew-gardens-part-two-8547779>.

Southport contained numerous examples of Far Eastern influence in its public parks, botanic gardens and harbourfront spaces. However, none of these examples could be accurately assessed as truly inspired by Japanese garden design. Each contained isolated elements such as the plants in the Churchtown Botanic Gardens and Hesketh Park (which also had a pavilion), while Kew Gardens in Southport were more reflective of a Chinese style of garden layout. These parks pertaining to have Japanese gardens in the late nineteenth century were in keeping with similar examples at the time which were quite basic or actually 'Japan Gardens' of Japanese plants. Different Japanese garden elements were picked up on and

²⁹³ Wright, G. 'How Kew Gardens Became one of Southport's Top Pleasure Spots', *The Visitor*, 8th February 2015, accessed online at: <https://www.southportvisiter.co.uk/authors/geoff-wright/kew-gardens-part-two-8547779>.

employed in other British park spaces later, although even these were not always entirely removed from the domain of simplified Japanese styles of garden.

Southport as a resort town for people to go for rejuvenation held different motives for incorporating exotic Asian styles into parks and garden areas than those of a city park. The exotic styles acted as attractions themselves to draw tourists and customers to the town which would boost local industry and business. Botanic gardens fed directly into the idea of cleaner air, outdoor pursuits and rejuvenation through enjoying walks in gardens that recalled a locale far removed from city life.²⁹⁴ Whereas city parks were places for the public to go for recreation and set within the cities themselves. This made the more passive Japanese garden a less likely inclusion in a city public park where ideas of rejuvenation and drawing in customers was less of a priority.

The inclusion of Japanese gardens in public park spaces was still such an uncommon and novel idea that in 1904 and 1905 many regional newspapers announced the news that a Leicester Park was to have one created. *The Nottingham Evening Post* reported that;

“Leicester is having a Japanese garden laid out in one of its principal parks. It will contain miniature mountain ranges, clumps of bamboo, the dry bed of a mountain torrent, and a lake with an island in the centre.”²⁹⁵

These grand plans were to be accompanied by several stone lanterns “without which no garden in Japan would be considered complete.”²⁹⁶ The reported descriptions in the press suggested a different approach to the mostly floral Japan gardens in Southport’s parks. There was more emphasis on using emblematic Japanese garden ornaments to adorn Abbey Park’s garden. Indeed, postcards of the Japanese garden show the entrance with a *Tori* gate, flanked by two Japanese stone lanterns, with another lantern further up a winding path leading to a pergola.²⁹⁷

This provided a different representation of Japan than had previously been seen at park spaces in Britain, although *Tori* gates had featured at the Japanese native

²⁹⁴ Elliott, P.A. 2016, *British Urban Trees: A Social And Cultural History, C. 1800-1914*, Cambridgeshire: The White Horse Press.

²⁹⁵ ‘Items of Local Interest’, *The Nottingham Evening Post*, May 17th 1904, p. 4.

²⁹⁶ ‘Leicester’s Japanese Garden’, *The Evening News*, May 17th 1904, p. 3.; ‘Leicester, England’, *The Poverty Bay Herald*, July 4th 1904.

²⁹⁷ DE8251/1/21/15; DE8251/1/1/23; DE8251/1/21/32; DE8251/1/21/124, Leicestershire Postcards: Parks, *Leicestershire Record Office*.

villages. These gates mark the entrance to shrines or temple areas in Japan, therefore they are not necessarily indicative of a Japanese garden in the traditional sense. The use of several large Japanese stone lanterns was also an unusual inclusion in a British park (see Fig 27).

While not bearing resemblance to its gardens, Abbey Park did contain features wholly associated with Japan in the *Tori* Gates and Stone Lanterns. In this way they recast the 'Japan Garden', replacing a garden made solely of native plants, with additional signifiers of Japanese structures and ornaments. While Abbey Park also utilised some Japanese trees and plants in the garden, the emphasis was clearly on the visual impact of the adornments.

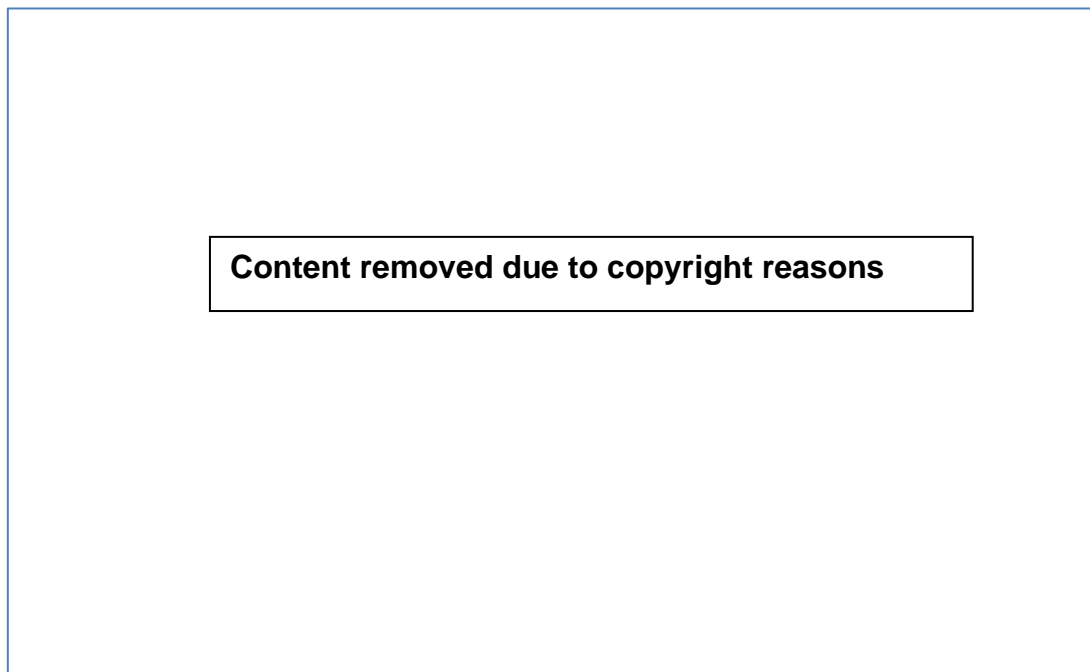
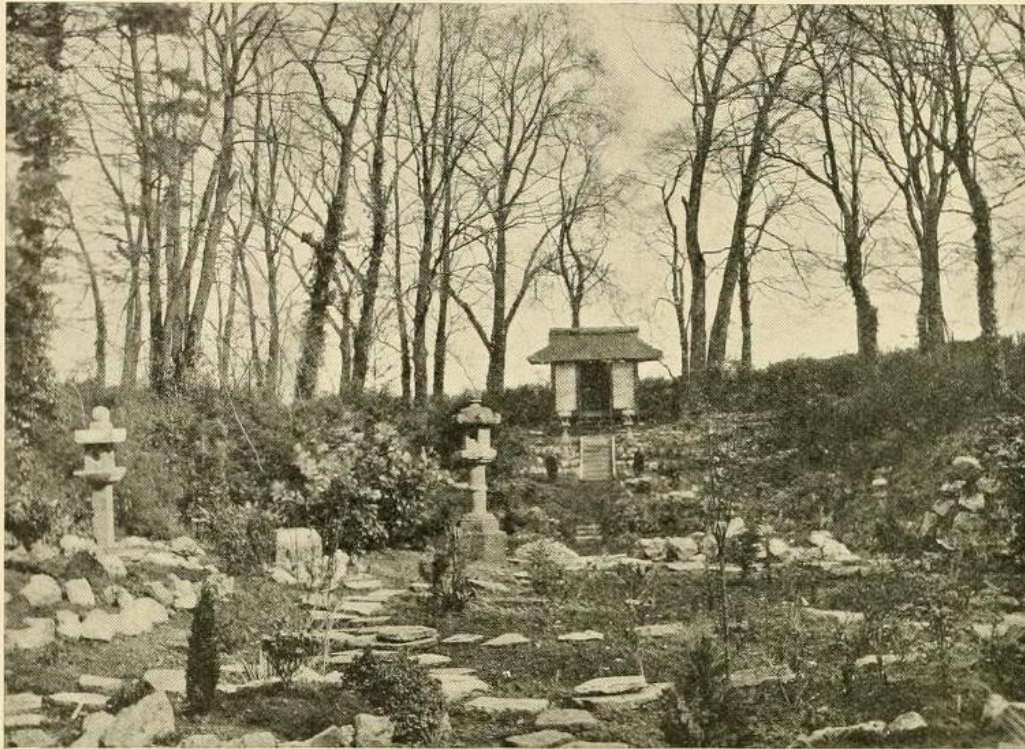


Figure 27 – Japanese Garden at Abbey Park, Leicester

Source - DE8251/1/1/23, Leicestershire Postcards: Parks, *Leicestershire Record Office*.



VIEW ACROSS DELL IN JAPANESE GARDEN.



SHINTO TORII GATEWAY AND STEPPING-STONES AT GLEN HALL.

Figure 28 – Japanese Garden at Glen Hall, Leicestershire

Source - Walker, T. 'Japanese Gardening', *The Garden*, May 16th 1903, pp. 335-336.

The Japanese garden at Abbey Park was designed at the behest of Theodore Walker, a local hosiery manufacturer who resided at Glen Hall in Leicestershire.²⁹⁸ The garden was proposed and approved of during local park council meetings together with the superintendent at Abbey Park Joseph Burton. Burton had visited Japanese gardens at Yokohama and Nikko during his world tour in 1902 and sent regular postcards to his daughter Annie Granger expressing his enthusiasm.²⁹⁹ Walker had similarly grown enthusiastic about Japanese gardens during his visit there in 1903 and expressed his desire to create a themed garden at his Glen Hall residence on his return.³⁰⁰ The results were a much more extravagant Japanese style garden than at Abbey Park. In an illustrated 1903 edition of *The Garden* magazine, Walker described his design influences and the results of the Japanese style garden at Glen Hall. He incorporated a few areas into the site. The first was a replication of Buddhist temple grounds with a red painted teahouse accessed by a flight of stone steps and flanked by two Japanese stone lanterns. This overlooked the so-called 'dell' with an artificial mount Fuji mound and a ditch crossed by stones designed to represent a stream. The second garden area was designed with the 'flat style' in mind, with the 'guardian stone' arrangement reached by stepping stones and overlooked by a replica *Shinto Tori* gateway. The whole garden was surrounded by already existing deciduous trees and planted with a host of plants brought back from Yokohama such as camellias, azaleas and chrysanthemums (see Fig 28).³⁰¹

Walker clearly possessed a more studied knowledge of Japanese landscape gardening as evidenced by his commentary and designs at Glen Hall. This likely owed to his travels in Japan and perhaps some literary knowledge. It was his donations of the stone lanterns and *tori* gates that were used at Abbey Park.³⁰² In addition to this there is evidence of renowned stockist of Japanese plants and

²⁹⁸ MacDermid, H. 2005, *Halls, Houses andhovels: The Packes in Great Glen, Leicestershire*, Hinckley: Cordee.

²⁹⁹ GRC56 - Postcard from Joseph Burton, Nikko, Japan to Dr. Granger, Ebury Road, Sherwood Rise, Nottinghamshire, 12th November 1902, *Nottingham University Library - Manuscripts and Archives Collection*; GRC57 - Postcard from Joseph Burton, Yokohama, Japan to Mrs. [Annie] Granger, Ebury Road, Sherwood Rise, Nottinghamshire, Nottinghamshire, 18th November 1902, *Nottingham University Library - Manuscripts and Archives Collection*.

³⁰⁰ Walker, T. 'Japanese gardening', *Reading Mercury, Oxford Gazette, Newbury Herald, and Berks County Paper*, May 23rd 1903, p. 10.

³⁰¹ Walker, T. 'Japanese Gardening', *The Garden*, May 16th 1903, pp. 335-336.

³⁰² Raggett, J. 2002, *The Japanese-Style Garden in the British Isles: 1850-1950* (2 Volumes), Imprint: York, PhD Thesis, *University of York Thesis Collection: Department of Archaeology*.

Japanese garden makers; Carters & Co. of Raynes Park in London having supplied plants for use in Abbey Park's Japanese style garden (see Fig 29).³⁰³

As previously described, Abbey Park was a much simpler form of Japanese style infusion, with only the ornamentation and a few Japanese plants as the real signifiers of Japan. This is even more marked when compared against Theodore Walker's more elaborate designs for his private gardens at Glen Hall. Reasons for this discrepancy are the public park department's budget itself, which would not have been able to support a huge landscaping project at the park. The garden seemed to have been integrated into an existing area around the lake. Adding in the stone lanterns and *tori* gateways as donated by Walker will have been an easier, if superficial way to create the Japanese style garden in the park.

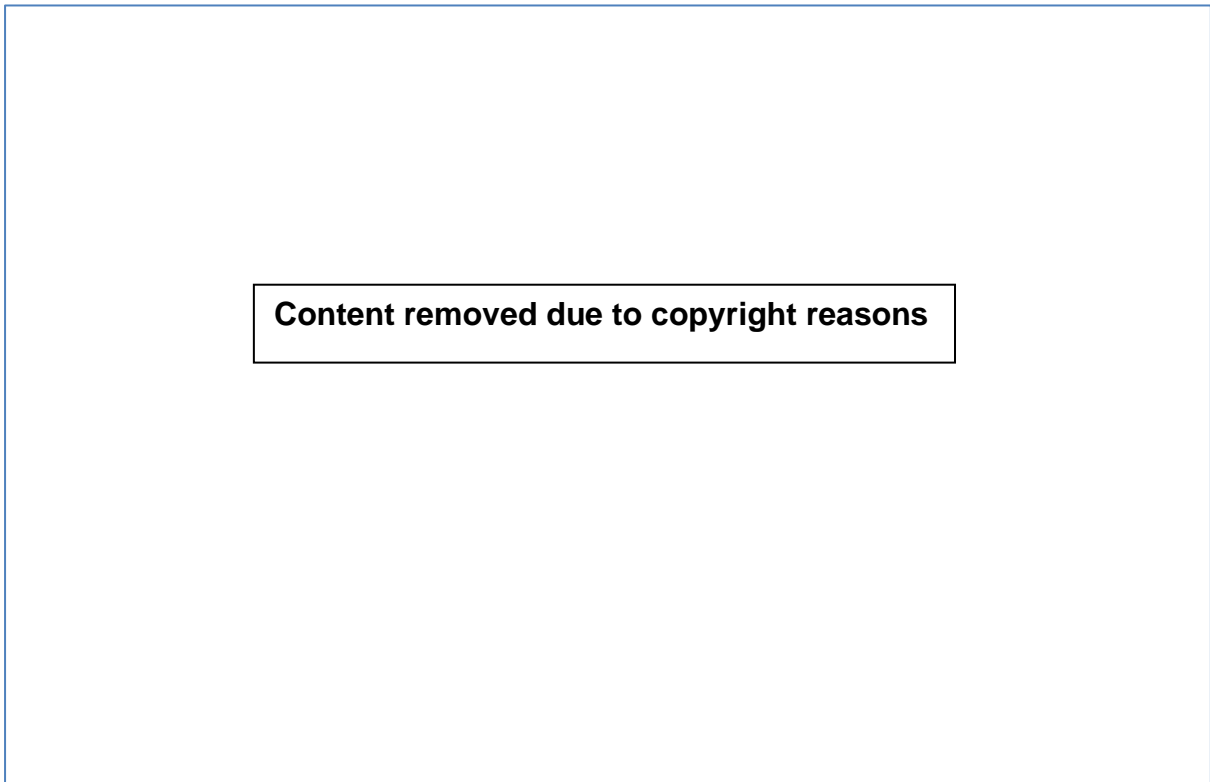


Figure 29 – Correspondence between Carters & Co. and Joseph Burton at Abbey Park³⁰⁴

Source - DE1408/1 - Leicester City Council: Parks and Recreation Grounds Dept, *Leicestershire Records Office*, pp. 15-16.

³⁰³ DE1408/1 - Leicester City Council: Parks and Recreation Grounds Dept, *Leicestershire Records Office*, pp. 15-16.

³⁰⁴ The letter on the left-hand side reads: “27th October 1904, Messrs Jas. Carter & Co. Raynes Park: London. S.W. Gentlemen. If you have an account against the Leicester Corporation Parks Comm. please send me the invoice of same as soon as possible. Yours faithfully Pro. Joe Burton (signature)” (Transcribed by the Author)

Theodore Walker's garden at Glen Hall was not similarly bound by the landscaping and budgetary restrictions at Abbey Park. This was a private garden which Walker had license to do with as he wished. Abbey Park was a public owned space which required permissions and compromises for radical alterations. This resulted in Abbey Park's garden being a simplified representation of Japanese garden style, even though its designer had the knowledge to create much more authentically set out representations as evidenced at Glen Hall. As was clearly Walker's desire though, this garden represented a public forum to experience some of the sights of Japan in a British park, a novelty that created much interest in the press. Abbey Park's Japanese style garden was more unique in design when compared to the native village gardens and those in Southport made up of Japanese species of flowers.



Figure 30 – Pittencrieff Park, Dunfermline Japanese Garden

Source – Author's own Photo, 07.04.18

A contrasting approach was taken at Pittencrieff Park in Dunfermline, Scotland, which was designed around the same time as Abbey Park but with a design that recalled the willow-plate pattern. Here the difference between a designer who had visited Japan and one who had not was very clear. Dunfermline Council commissioned both Patrick Geddes and renowned garden designer Thomas Mawson to draw up plans for Pittencrieff Park which opened in 1906. A combination

of both designs was used but the Japanese themed area was not a part of either plan.³⁰⁵ The Japanese style garden was added to the 'glen' area contrary to Geddes and Mawson's wishes, and was the work of James Whitton, Superintendent of Glasgow Botanic Gardens who laid out the park.³⁰⁶ The garden was centred around an octagonal summerhouse, situated in the designed landscape which included cliffs, rustic steps and paths, planned viewpoints, seats and a rustic bridge.³⁰⁷ This garden did follow some Japanese garden principles such as the winding walks, planned viewpoints and waterfalls, but it actually recalled the willow-plate pattern which inspired Chinese gardens like Kew in Southport. The octagonal summerhouse further emphasised this, as did the arched 'rustic bridge' which completed the willow-plate scene (see Fig 30).

By labelling this garden Japanese, whilst resembling a Chinese style pattern, the Orientalist blurring of East Asian styles is once again apparent. The rock garden did contain some Japanese plants such as "Metasequoias, Embodrium, Cryptomerias (Japanese Red Cedar) and Eucryphia", and the Japanese area certainly incorporated more landscaping in its design than other examples in public parks.³⁰⁸ However Metasequoias were not discovered until 1941 and are a Chinese species, once again showing the blurring together of Chinese with Japanese plants and garden ideas at Pittencrieff Park.³⁰⁹ The Japanese label was tacked on to create interest, but ultimately it misinformed the public as to the real nature of the gardens of Japan. Unlike Abbey Park which contained ornaments emblematic of Japan such as the stone lantern and *torii* gateways, Pittencrieff Park followed the well-trodden path of Orientalist inspiration from porcelain patterns to represent Japan. This demonstrates the contrasting images which were created in British parks under the banner of Japanese garden. Those in Southport, Leicester and Dunfermline were all simplistic versions of Japanese garden art in differing forms, from gardens of just Japanese plants, ornaments or Oriental plate design inspired areas.

³⁰⁵ Chadwick, G.F. 1966, *The Park and the Town*, London: The Architectural Press.

³⁰⁶ GDL00315, Inventory Garden & Designed Landscape: Pittencrieff Park, *Historic Environment Scotland*, <http://portal.historicenvironment.scot/designation/GDL00315>.

³⁰⁷ Pittencrieff Park Information Board (Fife Council), *Japanese Garden*, Pittencrieff Park, Dunfermline, Scotland, accessed: 07/04/2018.

³⁰⁸ Pittencrieff Park Publications, *Gardens and Glasshouse – Japanese Garden*, Fife Council Publications.

³⁰⁹ Chant, S. & Heywood, V. 1982, *Popular Encyclopedia Of Plants*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

While these earlier gardens were more simplistic representations, later Japanese Garden attempts in public spaces were more elaborate than their Victorian and Edwardian counterparts. Peasholm Park in Scarborough was laid out by Harry H. Smith, starting circa 1912 and described as “entirely in the Japanese style”.³¹⁰ Although some press reports described the area as “in Chinese fashion”.³¹¹ This citation of the gardens influence as Chinese rather than Japanese, highlights the continuation of Orientalist grouping together of Chinese and Japanese styles. The gardens were actually inspired by the gardens from the 1910 Japan-British Exhibition with its pagoda atop a waterfall cascading into a large lake. By comparing the gardens at the Japan-British Exhibition with Peasholm Park a literal translation can be seen (see Fig 31).

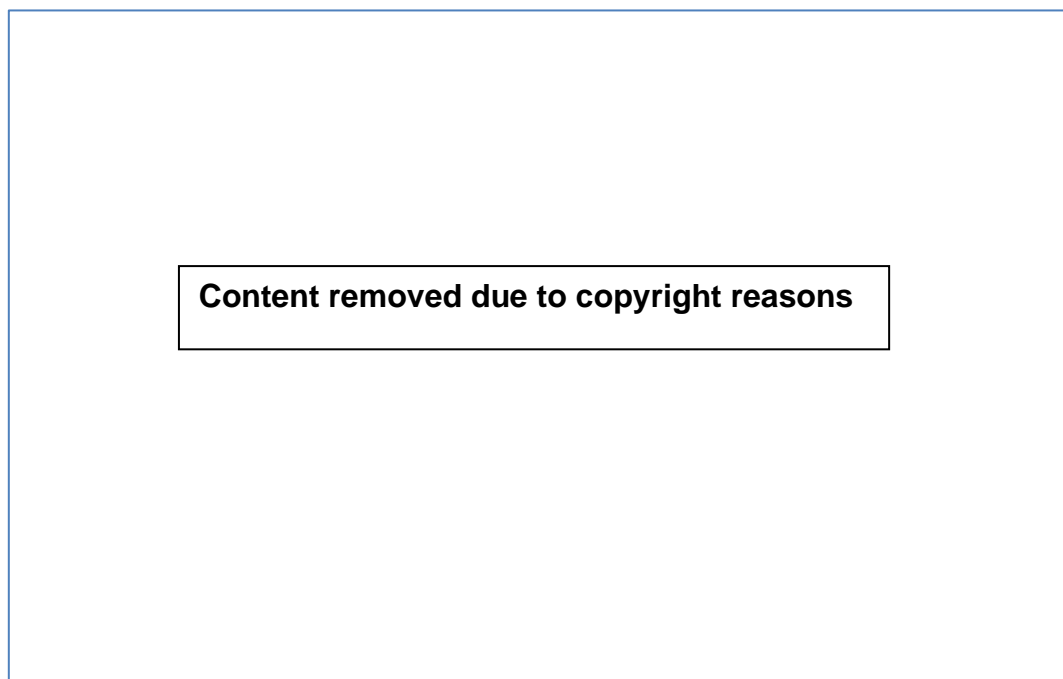


Figure 31 – Peasholm Park, Scarborough gardens inspired by the Japan-British Exhibition 1910 gardens

Source – ‘Peasholm Lake, Scarborough’, Postcard from: <http://peasholmpark.com>

Peasholm Park’s Japanese garden was built two years after the exhibition and we can see the same layout of Japanese styled teahouses on and by the lake, Japanese stone lanterns spread all about the site and miniature stone pagoda all present. The Chinese style is included with the pagoda atop the cascade and the arched bridge over the lake, which again draws resemblance to the Willow Plate

³¹⁰ Elliott, P.A. 2016, *British Urban Trees: A Social and Cultural History, C. 1800-1914*, Cambridgeshire: The White Horse Press, pp. 94-95.

³¹¹ ‘Peasholm Park’, *Express and Advertiser*, May 24th 1930, p. 13.

Pattern. As will be discussed in greater depth later on, by using the 1910 Exhibition's gardens as inspiration did not necessarily facilitate a garden site steeped in Japanese tradition. The exhibition gardens were tailored to suit Western tastes by the Japanese designers, so Peasholm Park's garden inspiration was a hybrid garden before becoming hybridised further still by its English designers in Scarborough.

Peasholm Park did mark a more landscaped form of Japanese garden in a public Park as opposed to the Japan Gardens of either just Japanese plants or ornaments at Southport and Leicester, or even in the case of Pittencrief Park, a garden more akin to Chinese willow-plate pattern design inspiration. Generally, public Park spaces with Japanese style gardens got more adventurous and elaborate as time went by particularly in the 1920s. For example, Valley Gardens in Harrogate had a Japanese area with ponds, streams, waterfalls, winding paths, stone lanterns and bridges. Happy Mount Park in Morecambe was similarly a landscape garden of walkways and bridges around streams but also included *tori* gates like Abbey Park. The exception to these 1920s landscaped park examples was the Great Yarmouth Promenade gardens which had an arched bridge and hexagonal house next to a lily pond of the more basic willow-plate inspired representation.

As can be seen by the geographical diversity of all these sites, Japanese style areas or features in public parks were part of a national trend or movement that sat alongside and interacted with the exhibitions and Japanese villages of the Victorian and Edwardian eras and beyond. Parks across Britain incorporated Japanese elements and *Gardam & Sons* of Staines, London proclaimed that;

“No Grounds or Public Park is complete without its Japanese Garden, and no Garden in the world is superior to the Japanese for quiet simplicity, in the treatment of Buildings, Gates, Rocks and Flowers”.³¹² (see Fig 32)

And while this proclamation should be treated with some caution as it was derived from an advert intent on drawing in business, it is evident that Japanese style gardens in public parks were a more common site by 1912 to incite such praise and a business move for *Gardam & sons*. The teahouses and Japanese gates in the advert also demonstrate more elaborate garden ideas

³¹² ‘Wm Gardam and Sons Ltd, Staines’, *Country Life*, August 31st 1912, p. 30.

than the earlier park possessed. As renown and world standing increased, so did knowledge of Japanese gardening in Britain improve.

As earlier stated, there was a particularly strong link between parks in coastal seaside towns and spa resorts. With the examples of Japanese style gardens at Southport, Scarborough, Morecambe, Great Yarmouth and Harrogate exemplifying this point. The Japanese, Chinese and Oriental areas created interest and allure to the growing tourist industry and for daytrip revellers. The Japanese tag was good for business. These gardens did not need to be grounded in landscape gardening tradition, they just needed to look the part – Oriental, Chinese, Japanese – or all at the same time. Overall, in the public sphere of parks and resort towns, these representations were basic or fragmented visions of Japanese Garden style. However, they served the purpose of bringing Japan and Japanese horticulture into the minds of the wider British public, just as the world exhibitions had done for the wealthy members of society. There was some crossover with Theodore Walker donating artefacts from his travels in Japan to Abbey Park.

30* COUNTRY LIFE. [Aug. 31st, 1912.]


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THE CHIEF GATE. Wm. Gardam & Sons, Ltd., Staines, Mdx.

THE TEA HOUSE. Established 1860. Works Cover Five Acres.

THE MINOR GATE. Phone—8 Staines.

Figure 32 – Gardam & sons, Staines advert

Source - 'Wm Gardam and Sons Ltd, Staines', *Country Life*, August 31st 1912, p. 30.

Open days at private gardens of the wealthy provided another avenue for members of the public to experience different and often more elaborate representations of Japanese garden style. These garden open days that many estates offered for individuals and groups gave good exposure to the public of Japanese style gardens as interpreted by wealthy members of society. They simultaneously stimulated the idea (for the uninitiated) of what a Japanese garden was like, but also helped solidify the image of the British representations of them. A group of workers from a Norfolk company ‘Swan Laundry’ visited Lord Battersea’s Japanese water gardens at the Pleasaunce, Overstrand on their annual trip. The head gardener Mr Clements showed them around the estate, and the new Japanese water garden is cited as having particularly impressed the party (see Fig 33).³¹³



View in Rock-gardens, The Pleasaunce, Overstrand, Cromer.

[By kind permission of the Right Honorable Lord Battersea.]

Figure 33 – The Pleasaunce, Overstrand Japanese inspired garden

Source – Clarke, W.A. 1906, *Alpine Plants (2nd edition)*, London: L. Upcott Gill.

Similarly, Lord Lonsdale’s Japanese style garden at Lowther Castle in Cumbria hosted a Bazaar for the *Lowther District Nursing Association*.³¹⁴ This gave further

³¹³ ‘Norwich: Swan Laundry’, *Eastern Evening News*, July 11th 1906.

³¹⁴ ‘Bazaar at Lowther Castle: Lord Lonsdale’s Japanese Gardens’, *The Yorkshire Post*, August 4th 1905, p. 6.

exposure to a multitude of Japanese garden ornaments that Lonsdale had acquired during his travels to Japan in 1903. These however were second hand images, which is a theme that permeated the lower classes of Britain's experience of and interaction with Japanese garden style. The presence of Japanese style gardens in the estates of the elite will also have solidified their status in the realm of the aristocracy as expensive landscaped gardens.

The wide acclaim of many of these Japanese inspired gardens in the press further spread their renown to the public. A famed Japanese style garden built between 1900 and 1901 at Holland House in London drew consistent praise.³¹⁵ Lord Ilchester and Lady Mary Ilchester owned the estate and they often held garden parties and events at Holland House such as a 1905 garden party where entrance fee proceeds were donated to the West London Hospital.³¹⁶ It is likely this consistent exposure of the house and its grounds to members of the public that contributed to its wide acclaim, in addition to the press coverage of these events and visits. Similarly, that Holland House was host to many exhibitions and events, chiefly the Floral and horticultural exhibitions of the *Royal Horticultural Society*, such as those reported in the *Gardener's Chronicle* magazine will have added to this renown.³¹⁷

³¹⁵ 'Lady Violet Greville', *The Graphic*, October 5th 1901, p. 446.

³¹⁶ 'Society Gossip: from "the World"', *The Framlingham Weekly News*, August 5th 1905.

³¹⁷ 'Royal Horticultural Society. Summer Exhibition at Holland House', *The Gardener's Chronicle*, July 9th 1910, pp. 24-29.

Conclusion: In the Public Eye

Participation at international expositions provided a platform for the Meiji government to solidify the image of their nation as a modern and progressive state. In their native garden forms, Japan had an ideal vessel for promoting their arts and culture to foreigners. The exhibitions allowed Meiji governmental policy to be displayed outside of Japan, just as they were presenting similar images at domestic national exhibitions. The reinstatement of Shinto as the national religion was a policy evident at the first Japanese exhibition garden in Vienna. But compared with the abstract Shinto shrine stylings, the later exhibitions from Chicago 1893 onwards offered more hybridised gardens of Buddhist and Shinto architecture. These were more readily imitable styles of garden, with elements like bridges over water and the adorning artefacts of stone lanterns and bronze crane statues. It was also a clearer representation that could be easily transplanted into British gardens and sites. This was evidenced at Bromborough Hall which recreated the St. Louis 1904 garden in Cheshire.

World exhibitions, native villages and park sites provided a window into Japanese culture, gardens and architecture to the wider British public. As already explored, the forms presented to the lower classes of Britain was a much simplified and reductionist version of Japanese garden art than the wealthy aristocracy were exposed to at international exhibitions. Japanese gardens were an expensive medium to recreate leaving them in the realm of the wealthy landed gentry for replication on their estates and a great many of them did just this. Private estates with these garden areas were often opened for visits by their proud owners for charity events or group visitations, which allowed members of the public to see different visions of Japanese garden art.

However simplified versions of Japanese gardens and culture they were, the attractions of Japanese villages and other smaller business ventures such as at Shipley Glen and Otley did offer a chance for the British public to engage with Japanese culture and see exotic plants and structures. The infusion of many parks and resort town gardens with Japanese areas further expanded the places that the public could see these forms of garden art. Much in the same way that Japanese parks were incorporated with elements that encouraged active pursuits not in

keeping with traditional designs, many parks in Britain had Japanese 'passive' or tranquil areas incorporated into them, going against the 'active' connotations associated with British parks. It was a form over function approach that guided the infusion of Japanese style in Britain, taking the opposite approach to their Far Eastern counterparts.

It has been demonstrated in this chapter that while the international exhibitions were largely frequented by the wealthier British classes due to costs of travelling abroad, there were a large number of different forums for the lower classes to experience representations of Japanese culture. Gardens at parks, native villages, local attractions, resort towns and even open days at private estates offered a multitude of opportunities for the British public to see Japanese horticultural forms. Therefore, while the British aristocracy created most of the Japanese style gardens in Britain during the Victorian and Edwardian eras, their forms had also infiltrated the public domain. This was a less Meiji government influenced realm, but still served to endear Japan to the British public, regardless of the reductionist forms of Japanese garden that were actually on display.

Chapter 4: Japan Societies and Guides to make a Japanese garden

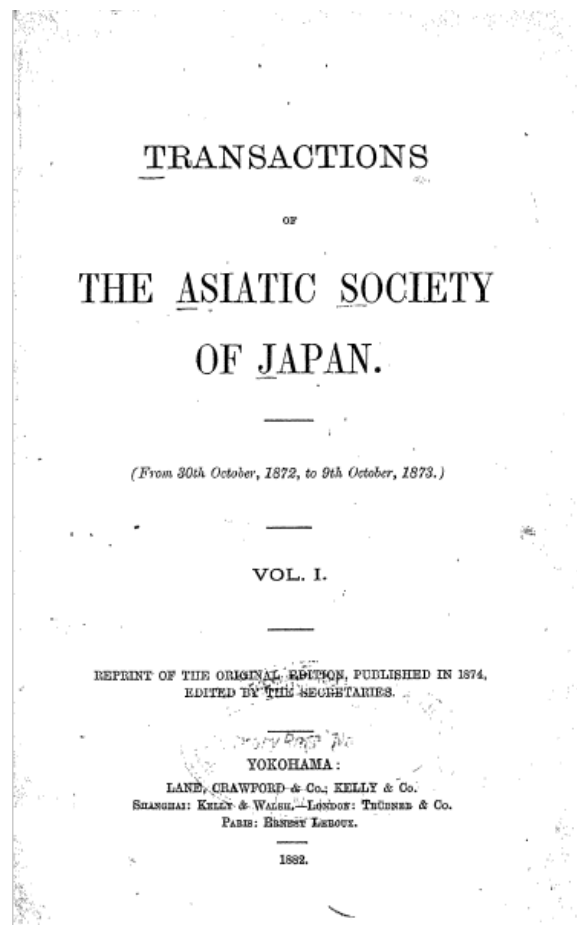


Figure 34 - First Journal of The Asiatic Society of Japan 1872 - 1873

Source - Transactions of The Asiatic Society of Japan, Volume 1, 1873.

Introduction

With Japan now accessible to foreign visitors, the treaty ports became important places for learning about its culture. As Tachibana has emphasised, the new port of Yokohama represented a base for diplomats and merchants alike to begin the process of gaining trade advantages for Britain.³¹⁸ The Asiatic Society of Japan was formed in 1872 amidst the backdrop of internal political reform by a veritable who's who of diplomatic figures in Yokohama's foreign sector. This society was founded initially with imperialist intentions of harvesting knowledge for the advantage of Europe and the US. The Japan Society of London was formed twenty years later in conjunction with members from its Yokohama equivalent. The Meiji government actively worked against the imperialistic advances by co-forming this society and directing the promotion of their nation. These societies helped to shape representations of Japanese culture abroad including that of garden design.

Asiatic Society member Josiah Conder established himself as a leading European expert in the fields of Japanese flower arrangement and landscape gardening, reading detailed papers which formed the basis for later books. His work was derived from so called Japanese secret texts on garden design. The majority of these were from the 1800s onwards and reflected contemporary Japanese gardening trends rather than traditional forms and methods of construction. An examination of the sources informing Conder will highlight that he was perpetuating the modern forms of Japanese garden design of the late Edo and Meiji period. As a so-called Japanese garden expert this will have affected how English speakers understood and interpreted their forms and construction.

Conder is credited with inspiring the creation of numerous Japanese style gardens in Britain through the use of his work *Landscape Gardening in Japan* (1893) particularly in the works of Raggett and Tachibana.³¹⁹ The present research however postulates that Conder's book was too dense and detailed to be of widespread practical use for gardeners as a guide. While there are a few examples of evidence

³¹⁸ Tachibana, S. 2000, *Travel, Plants and Cross-cultural Landscapes: British Representation of Japan, 1860-1914*, PhD Thesis, *University of Nottingham Thesis Collection: School of Geography*.

³¹⁹ Tachibana, S. 2000, *Travel, Plants and Cross-cultural Landscapes: British Representation of Japan, 1860-1914*, PhD Thesis, *University of Nottingham Thesis Collection: School of Geography*; Raggett, J. 2002, *The Japanese-Style Garden in the British Isles: 1850-1950* (2 Volumes), Imprint: York, PhD Thesis, *University of York Thesis Collection: Department of Archaeology*.

of the book's practical use, these were a small minority of the numerous sites across Britain with Japanese style elements. This section will explore the sites that bear evidence of the use of Conder's work to ascertain the extent of his influence on British-Japanese style garden sites. The argument put forward is that this influence has been exaggerated in other readings of the subject and that Conder's role was to impart knowledge on a scholarly rather than practical basis overall. While there is evidence for the use of Conder's book as a garden construction guide, this has been greatly overstated by Raggett and Tachibana. By re-assessing the sites that evidence Conder's book such as Cowden Castle and Newstead Abbey, the abundance of other guiding factors in their design will show that the book alone was insufficient to create a Japanese style garden in Britain.

Through articles he read before the society and book publications, Conder was regarded as the chief figure associated with Japanese garden knowledge. Tachibana argued Conder's work was highly influential, saying that "*Landscape Gardening in Japan* was the first serious and systematic exposition of the subject in English, and proved influential throughout the anglophone world".³²⁰ This is supported by American writer, Clay Lancaster who stated in 1964 that; "Josiah Conder's influence in bringing Western art forms to Japan and Japanese forms to the West challenges estimation".³²¹ He advised members of the Japan Society and was often cited as the expert on the subject. However, as the lack of evidence for the widespread use of his work suggests his book was too dense to function as a guidebook. Rather, his work was often simplified in magazine articles or the images were reprinted providing a better visual blueprint. By looking at some examples of these articles that were often informed by Conder's more detailed works, we will see that his texts were limited in their practical use. Conder was the scholarly figure, but his work was more accessible for garden designers when simplified. It will be argued that Conder's role in the spread of Japanese garden style was greatly limited by the inaccessibility of his books than has been claimed.

³²⁰ Tachibana, S., Daniels, S. & Watkins, C. 2004, Japanese gardens in Edwardian Britain: landscape and transculturation, *Journal of Historical Geography*, Vol. 30, p. 372.

³²¹ Conder, J., & Lancaster, C. 1893, *Landscape Gardening in Japan*, New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1964, p. vii.

4.1. Japan Societies: political motives and garden knowledge

The formation of two Japan societies in Yokohama and London signalled the dawn of Japanese studies. From imperialist beginnings in the trade ports to direct Meiji government involvement in the English Capital, these societies were crucial entities towards promoting Japan in Britain. Papers read before the Asiatic Society of Japan represented the first European accounts of Japanese garden design. While the Japan gardens of Japan Society members in London gained notoriety through social meetings which encouraged others to create them. Furthermore, interaction with Japanese individuals in these societies enabled a network to form linking back to the Far East where garden items and garden expertise could be acquired. The social interactions between Japanese and British in conjunction with the political motives of the Meiji era make these societies a crucial component in Japanese gardens being understood and transmitted abroad.

It was the rapid accumulation of knowledge from Japanese studies taking place that hastened the spread of popularity for the nation's garden style in Britain. The new foreign community formed in the treaty port of Yokohama came together to disseminate and share their 'discoveries' about the country and related cultural aspects. Within this community The Asiatic Society of Japan was founded in 1872 largely at the behest of foreign diplomats. The society would prove pivotal for British learning about the newly opened Japanese nation and represented a 'who's who' of influential political figures, merchants and the learned.³²² Individuals such as Rutherford Alcock, Basil Hall Chamberlain and Josiah Conder were members at some stage, all influential in promoting Japan in Britain.

The Asiatic Society of Japan also had many longstanding Japanese members from its inception in 1872. These Japanese members added native viewpoints to society debates which Moore-Kendrick argued lent a great deal of impartiality and frankness to the society's scholarly approach.³²³ This statement is somewhat overshadowed by a later statement that many of the Japanese members were either prominent educational figures or Meiji government officials. Their role in part was to keep an

³²² Suleski, R. 1998, Japanese Studies in the East: the Asiatic Society of Japan, *Tsushin*, Vol. 4 (1) (Spring), pp. 15-16; Tachibana, S. 2000, Travel, Plants and Cross-cultural Landscapes: British Representation of Japan, 1860-1914, PhD Thesis, *University of Nottingham Thesis Collection: School of Geography*.

³²³ Moore-Kendrick, D. 1978, A century of Western Studies of Japan: The First 100 years of the Asiatic Society of Japan, 1872-1972, *Transactions of The Asiatic Society of Japan*, Vol. 14 (3), pp. 1-460.

eye on foreigners discussing their culture. Most had studied in Europe or America which indicates a certain European bias or leaning to these individuals and indicates their sympathies with the governmental agenda which promoted foreign interaction. Whilst the Japanese members present from 1872 could occasionally give papers (the first of which was given by Professor Ichizo Hattori in 1878) and join in the society's debates, they were a minority of members in comparison to the foreign residents. In addition to this, Japan was still in the early stages of modernisation, reform and unable to strongly assert political motives, meaning these Japanese members took largely a back-seat role in the society's affairs.

The society allowed for a rapid exchange of knowledge from a variety of niche fields which allowed the recently opened nation to be interpreted and understood. The society's first meeting was held a year after formation on October 9th 1873 at the Grand Hotel Yokohama.³²⁴ Their aims were;

- a. The collection of information and the investigation of subjects relating to Japan or other Asiatic countries.
- b. The formation of a library and Museum adapted to the above purposes.
- c. The publication in a Journal of original papers and information read before or collected by the Society."³²⁵

With regards to the first objective, information was collected in relation to almost every aspect of Japanese culture, society and tradition. For instance, the first journal edition contained papers on the locality of the island of Loochoo, Japanese street names, recent typhoons and a history of the Japanese language. The desire to swiftly learn as much about the Japanese nation as possible was clear from this first objective. The vast amount of information that was hoped to be gathered about Japan is evident in the second and it seemed that the society wanted to compile and create a museum and library for information, texts, artwork and curiosities. This desire to harvest and display resources reflected the imperialist beginnings of the society.³²⁶ That it was founded by envoys and emissaries such as Harry Parkes and Ernest Satow shows the political links and motivations behind this, as well as British

³²⁴ *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, Vol. 1, 1873.

³²⁵ *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, Vol. 2, 1874, p. xi.

³²⁶ Lavine, S.D. & Karp, I. 1991, *Exhibiting cultures: the poetics and politics of museum display*, Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press.

imperial interests within the society. The last aim of producing publications was ably accomplished with volumes still being produced and published annually well into the Edwardian era (with the society still active to the present day).

The society grew considerably from its conception and continued to increase its library of Japanese related materials. Douglas Moore Kendrick summarised the main preoccupations of the members in 1874;

“History and culture: *thirty-seven papers*. Scientific research...: *thirty-three*. Travel and geography: *thirty-one*. Industry, metallurgy, energy and food: *twenty-eight*. Language and literature: *twenty-four*. Religions: *eleven*. Flora and fauna: *seven*. Music: *three*. Law: *one*”³²⁷

This demonstrates what the priorities of the society were with history, science, industry, language and geography making up the bulk of the papers. Although not ignored completely, it was the arts and high culture of Japan that was looked in more depth later in the society’s existence. That there were only seven papers in a decade relating to Japanese flora reflects this initial bias towards science rather than art.

The focus was to study and discuss topics such as language that would aid the diplomats in dealing with the Japanese. There were a few significant articles within the seven cited that did engage with the continuing hunt for Japanese plants. Papers that were actively expanding on the works compiled during *sakoku* were read before the society between 1873 and 1882.³²⁸ French medical officer and botanist Dr Savatier was aided by Japanese individuals in his collecting and study of new species of plants.³²⁹ His paper outlined his additional discoveries that added to the existing body of knowledge. As during *sakoku*, the interest attributed to Japanese plants was ever present, but it was architect Josiah Conder who first introduced Japanese landscape gardening and floral arrangements to the society. His papers were thorough and lengthy studies of these Japanese arts as will be examined later.

³²⁷ Moore-Kendrick, D. 1978, A century of Western Studies of Japan: The First 100 years of the Asiatic Society of Japan, 1872-1972, *Transactions of The Asiatic Society of Japan*, Vol. 14 (3), p. 95.

³²⁸ Savatier, P.A.L. 1873, On the Increase of the Flora of Japan, *Transactions of The Asiatic Society of Japan*, Vol. 2 (1873-74), pp. 204-214; Kinch, E. 1882, List of Plants Used for Food or from which Foods are obtained in Japan, *Transactions of The Asiatic Society of Japan*, Vol. 11 (1882-83), pp. 1-30; Geerts, A.J.C., ‘Observations on Kinch’s List of Plants used for Food, *Transactions of The Asiatic Society of Japan*, Vol. 11, 1882-83, pp. 30-38.

³²⁹ Ohwi, J., Meyer, F.G., & Walker, E.H. 1965, *Flora of Japan*, Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, p. 7.

Conder's articles were the first real analyses of Japanese gardening beyond the brief glimpses and descriptions afforded through the *sakoku* era accounts and observational descriptions of diplomats visiting thereafter.³³⁰

The Asiatic Society helped to facilitate a spread of Japanese style gardens in Britain through the dissemination of these works. As already identified, it was the 1890s that saw a real surge in the spread of knowledge around Japanese gardens. There was an increase in tourism owing to the travel guides compiled by Ernest Satow and Basil Hall Chamberlain. Tachibana and Raggett see these guides as crucial for making Japan a fashionable tourist destination for the rich and wealthy, arguing this created greater exposure for Japan's gardens aided by larger freedom of movement for foreigners.³³¹ The books titled as *Murray's Handbook to Japan* were extremely popular, with a sixth edition in print by 1901. They significantly expanded



HIS EXCELLENCY
 THE VISCOUNT M. KAWASÉ,
His Imperial Japanese Majesty's
Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary,
 First President of the Japan Society.

Figure 35 - Portrait of Viscount Kawase, first President of the Japan Society

Source - *Transactions and Proceedings of The Japan Society, London, Vol. 1, 1892.*

with each edition, detailing even more touristic spots and trails. These guidebooks represented the culmination of the knowledge accumulated by the society from its conception. That Satow and Hall-Chamberlain were key members of, and prolific contributors of articles to the Asiatic Society of Japan establishes the link between their activities in Japan and an active role in promoting Japanese culture in Britain. This encouragement to study Japan continued and expanded with the creation of a new society.

The Japan Society of London was formed in 1891 in reaction to the Western/Eurocentric studies as encapsulated by the Asiatic Society of Japan.³³² The inaugural meeting of the Japan Society was opened by the first president, Viscount Kawase on 1st November 1892 (see Fig 35). Kawase passed on the approval of

³³⁰ *See the discussion of Conder's work in section 2*

³³¹ Tachibana, S. 2000, *Travel, Plants and Cross-cultural Landscapes: British Representation of Japan, 1860-1914*, PhD Thesis, *University of Nottingham Thesis Collection: School of Geography*; Raggett, J. 2002, *The Japanese-Style Garden in the British Isles: 1850-1950 (2 Volumes)*, Imprint: York, PhD Thesis, *University of York Thesis Collection: Department of Archaeology*.

³³² Cortazzi, H. & Kaneko, A. 2001, *The Japan Society: A History, 1891 to 2000*, London: Japan Society Publications.

Emperor Meiji as to the formulation of the society, including a donation of 100 guineas.³³³ That a Japanese minister was president and had the support of the Emperor himself shows that the Japanese government was seeking to take an active role in how Japanese studies were presented in Britain. This significant change was reflected in the aims of the Japan Society which promoted;

“Encouragement of the Study of the Japanese Language, Literature, History and Folk-lore, of Japanese Art, Science and Industries, of the Social Life and Economic Condition of the Japanese People, past and present, and of all Japanese matter.”³³⁴

By helping fund and found a society in London the Meiji government could begin to be more directly involved in how its history and culture was studied and presented to a British audience, rather than be subjected to ‘study’ by foreign residents. The key difference promoted here was the encouragement of looking at Japan in its present state, reflecting the Meiji political motive for Britain to see how modern their country had become.

Viscount Kawase’s opening speech before the society lends evidence to support this reaction against the European imperial interest in Japanese studies. After outlining the aims, Kawase prophesied “a highly beneficial influence on the relations of the two nations” resulting from the creation of the society. He pointedly differentiated Japan from other Asian nations stating that;

“Japan is – not only geographically – the most Eastern of Eastern countries, but her isolation and her feudal system, which has lasted through centuries to within forty years of the present time, have evolved national characteristics essentially her own, differing, not only from those Western, but even from those of other Eastern nations. The study of such a country on a basis so extensive as that proposed by our Society, is, evidently, a task of exceptional magnitude.”

Kawase addressed the work carried out by individuals and societies such as The Asiatic Society of Japan when he stated that;

³³³ *This equates to around 37,339 pounds at the time of writing*

³³⁴ *Transactions and Proceedings of The Japan Society, London*, Vol. 1, 1892, p. vi.

“It is true, your cultivated residents and travellers have done much towards making your work clearer and your labour lighter, but still it is impossible for them to obtain full information on all points you desire to have elucidated.”

Kawase finished by labelling the Japanese studies conducted so far as of “merely academic interest”, affirming that through the Japan Society new learning would “become important factors in cultivating a closer touch with all that concerns my country.”³³⁵

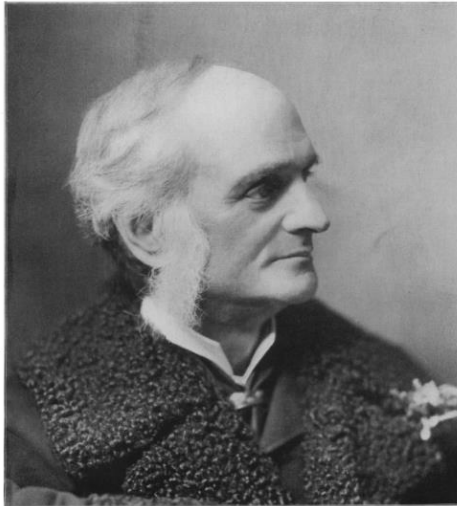
A great many of the members of the Asiatic Society of Japan also became members of the Japan Society on returning to Britain. There was a great fluidity between the two societies in terms of members actively proclaiming Japanese studies after leaving Japan, or those joining while still residing there. Ernest Satow, Rev. Hepburn and Basil Hall-Chamberlain were honorary members, as was Josiah Conder who was in contact with other members of the Japan Society, offering advice and additional information via letters sent from Tokyo, as evident in the first *Transactions and Proceedings* from 1892.³³⁶ A large proportion of key society members had also visited Japan at some point. Writers of well received books on Japanese subjects such as Francis Piggott were founding members along with Charles Holme who wrote articles on Japanese art and gardening in British magazines. Therefore, despite Kawase’s hopes, the European bias visible in the Asiatic Society was still partly present.

It was around the time of the Japan Society’s conception that Japanese garden style really began to be replicated in British gardens, nurtured within the London centred social forum. With a base not as far removed as the Yokohama formed Asiatic Society of Japan was, Japanese garden style began to enter British gardens. Members such as Lord De Saumarez had a Japanese teahouse erected on his estate (c1890).³³⁷ Other significant members with Japanese style features in their gardens included Lord Redesdale a close friend of King Edward VII. Redesdale spent considerable time in Japan as a diplomat between 1866 and 1870 during times of significant political change and upheaval. He brought back with him several

³³⁵ *Transactions and Proceedings of The Japan Society, London*, Vol. 1, 1892, pp. 1-2.

³³⁶ *Transactions and Proceedings of The Japan Society, London*, Vol. 1, 1892, pp. 65-66.

³³⁷ Raggett, J. 2002, *The Japanese-Style Garden in the British Isles: 1850-1950* (2 Volumes), Imprint: York, PhD Thesis, *University of York Thesis Collection: Department of Archaeology*.



[BRITISH MEDICAL JOURNAL, Jan. 15, 1898]

Figure 36 - Ernest Hart Portrait

Source - 'Obituary: Ernest Hart', *The British Medical Journal*, Vol. 1 (No. 1933), January 15th 1898, pp. 175-186.

Japanese ornaments which took up residence in his garden (c1890).³³⁸ These formed a new type of Japan Garden with curios as the signifying elements, which became the dominant style in evidence amongst the society's members.

Ernest Abraham Hart (1835-1898) (see Fig 36) is a good example of this and the impetus the society gave to their creation in British estates. Hart was a medical doctor, collector of Japanese artwork, long-time editor of the *The British Medical Journal* and founding member of the Japan Society of London in 1891. Hart had several strong ties with Japanese art experts Tadamasa Hayashi and Kenzaburo Wakai who had initially arrived in Europe for the Vienna World Exhibition in 1873 and advised him in his

art collecting from 1882.³³⁹ Hart would eventually become an expert in Japanese art in his own right and gave a series of lectures about Japanese art, lacquering and metalwork before the Royal Society of Arts and the Japan Society.

In 1891 he travelled to Japan with his wife, gaining access to many private collections of Japanese art in Tokyo, Kyoto, Osaka, Nikko and Nara.³⁴⁰ They visited scenic garden spots such as the cherry blossoms at *Ueno Park* and the wisteria gardens at *Kameido* as well as many temple grounds in Kyoto.³⁴¹ Both Hart and his wife possessed a keen eye for Japanese artistic endeavours. His collecting was not limited to works of art and it appears he had a Japanese garden of sorts at his home which contained "symbolic bronzes, (of a) stork and tortoise".³⁴² His obituary listed his address as Fairlawn, Totteridge in the county of Hertfordshire.³⁴³ It was here that

³³⁸ *See Chapter 6 for a detailed analysis*

³³⁹ 'Obituary: Ernest Hart', *The British Medical Journal*, Vol. 1 (No. 1933), January 15th 1898, pp. 175-186.

³⁴⁰ Koyama, N. 'Ernest Abraham Hart (1835-1898), from; Cortazzi, H. 2013, *Japan and Britain: Biographical Portraits*, Volume 8, Part 3, pp. 257-265.

³⁴¹ Mrs Hart, E. 'Some Japanese Industrial Art-Workers, (Crape Printers)', *Transactions and Proceedings of The Japan Society, London*, Vol. 1, 1892, pp. 50-59.

³⁴² 'Congratulatory Dinner to Sir Walter Foster, M.P., M.D., F.R.C.P., Parliamentary Secretary to the Local Government Board', *The British Medical Journal*, Vol. 2 (No. 1661), October 29th 1892, pp. 954-958.

³⁴³ 'Ernest Abraham Hart: Commonly known as Ernest Hart – deceased', *The London Gazette*, March 29th 1898, p. 2050.

he set his bronze stork and tortoise amidst his garden. There is little to suggest that there was much more in the way of Japanese gardening other than these bronze ornaments which provided the only allusions to Japan in Hart's garden.

These gardens all dated from circa 1890 and reflected a continuation of the Japan Garden containing a few select elements indicative of that country. That several different members took this approach to adding Japanese ornaments to their gardens establishes a link between the Japan Society and a trend for the display of exotic curios. This would change as more writings about Japanese landscape gardening were produced in English. Society member Josiah Conder produced the first and most in-depth accounts of the art. His work represents a good example of how both Japan societies provided forums for Japanese gardening to be discussed and understood.

4.2. Josiah Conder: an English *Niwashi*

(119)

THE ART OF LANDSCAPE GARDENING IN JAPAN.

BY J. CONDER, F.R.I.B.A.

[Read May 5, 1886.]

No art in Japan has been followed with greater fidelity to nature than that of Landscape Gardening. There are numerous arbitrary rules and quaint conceits connected with this art, but the results achieved invariably possess the merit of natural picturesqueness, such artifice as is resorted to not unduly asserting itself, but only contributing unobtrusively to effects apparently artless. Whilst supplying the materials with which the landscape gardener constructs, nature also serves him as a model in arrangement and distribution. In this respect the principles adhered to contrast somewhat with those followed in Europe, and in order to duly appreciate the contrast it will be interesting to consider briefly the chief characteristics of Western horticultural arrangements.

Fidelity to nature
in Japanese
gardening.

Landscape gardening as practised in Europe is subjected to greater formalities of design than in Japan, and in theory it harmonizes less closely with the features and disposition of real scenery. It is more of a science and less of a fine art than in this country. The French gardens, which are noted for their magnificence, are remarkable for their adherence in plan

Contrasts between
European and Ja-
panese gardening.

Vol. xiv.—14

Figure 37 - Josiah Conder *Asiatic Society of Japan*
Article

Source - Conder, J. 1886, *The Art of Landscape Gardening in Japan, Transactions of The Asiatic Society of Japan*, Vol. 14, pp. 119-175.

Josiah Conder provided the first systematic and detailed writings on Japanese landscape design and flower arrangements in English. Through his associations with the Asiatic Society of Japan and the Japan Society in London, his reputation as an expert in this field was solidified. The publication of books drawn substantially from

his articles read before these societies cemented this reputation and had a profound effect on how Japanese gardens were interpreted in Britain. Raggett and Tachibana have argued that Conder's book *Landscape Gardening in Japan* (1893) was influential in Japanese gardens being created outside of Japan.³⁴⁴ Tachibana identified sites such as Newstead Abbey and Cowden Castle which bore evidence of Conder's book, whilst Raggett similarly saw Conder as a figure of paramount influence on British-Japanese style garden interpretations.³⁴⁵ However the sources which informed Conder's research require scrutiny, as he relied heavily on contemporary Japanese texts. This led to him unwittingly disseminating modern garden styles, images and design diagrams to his audience. An interrogation of these works and sources will show that Japan gardens in Britain informed by reading Conder were based heavily upon these Meiji era styles.

Josiah Conder arrived at Yokohama, Japan in January 1877 and taught Western engineering and architecture for the Department of Engineering at Tokyo University. Conder was one of many *oyatoi*, foreigners employed by the Japanese government to teach Japanese students Western practices in the early Meiji period.³⁴⁶ He was also employed to design many new Western styled buildings in Tokyo, as Japan looked to modernise. Conder is viewed by many Japanese as the "father of Western architecture in Japan", owing to his role in designing a great number of buildings of foreign design.³⁴⁷ Conder did not limit himself to just teaching engineering and architectural design, immersing himself in Japanese culture he wrote books on Japanese arts, garden design and flower arrangement. He even married his Japanese traditional dance teacher, Maename Kume in 1880, and remained in Tokyo until the day he died in June 1920.³⁴⁸

Although a teacher and architect by profession Conder wrote about Japanese arts, horticulture and landscape design. Conder first produced and read articles before The Asiatic Society of Japan on the topic of 'The History of Japanese Costume' in

³⁴⁴ Tachibana, S. 2000, *Travel, Plants and Cross-cultural Landscapes: British Representation of Japan, 1860-1914*, PhD Thesis, *University of Nottingham Thesis Collection: School of Geography*.

³⁴⁵ Raggett, J. 2002, *The Japanese-Style Garden in the British Isles: 1850-1950* (2 Volumes), Imprint: York, PhD Thesis, *University of York Thesis Collection: Department of Archaeology*.

³⁴⁶ Raggett, J. 2002, *The Japanese-Style Garden in the British Isles: 1850-1950* (2 Volumes), Imprint: York, PhD Thesis, *University of York Thesis Collection: Department of Archaeology*.

³⁴⁷ Professor Terunobu Fujimori writing in; Conder, J., & Brown, A. 1893, *Landscape Gardening in Japan*, Tokyo: Kodansha International Ltd, 2002, p. 230.

³⁴⁸ Conder, J., & Brown, A. 1893, *Landscape Gardening in Japan*, Tokyo: Kodansha International Ltd, 2002, pp. 230-240.

1880 and 1881. These were detailed accounts with numerous supporting images of the various different *kimonos* worn by the different classes of Japanese society, with the second article focussing on Japanese armour.³⁴⁹ *The Flowers of Japan and The Art of Floral Arrangement* (1891) detailed the Japanese art of *Ikebana* flower arranging in great detail, with numerous illustrations and diagrams. This book was derived from articles he had written for *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan* (1889). In the preface to the book, Conder described how the project arose from positive reactions to his 1889 article for which he stated that;

“If, as some reviewers of that essay suggested, a New Art worthy of imitation in the West, was then revealed to them, the present attempt to treat the subject in a fuller and more attractive manner may find its justification.”³⁵⁰

Conder also thanked Basil Hall Chamberlain for helping with translating Japanese sonnets on flowers for the book.³⁵¹ Both men were lecturers at Tokyo University, members of the Asiatic Society of Japan, the Japan Society and prolific writers on Japanese subjects. As highlighted in the previous section, Hall Chamberlain’s travel guides reached a wide audience and encouraged visitors to Japan in the 1890s. Therefore, the wide exposure of his books and recommendation of Conder’s writings on Japanese gardening and flower arranging will have given a wider reach for his reputation as an expert on these subjects.

Like Basil Hall Chamberlain who wrote about Japanese poetry, language and provided overview guides for travellers to Japan, Conder wrote about then little-known art forms. His intended audience was therefore those with an interest in Japan or horticulture more generally. Two years later in 1893, Conder released two volumes of *Landscape gardening in Japan* and a *Supplement to Landscape Gardening in Japan*.³⁵² In addition, the supplement volume was revised and reissued

³⁴⁹ Conder, J. 1880, *The History of Japanese Costume*, *Transactions of The Asiatic Society of Japan*, Vol. 8 (1879-80), pp. 333-368; Conder, J. 1881, *The History of Japanese Costume II: Armour*, *Transactions of The Asiatic Society of Japan*, Vol. 9 (1880-81), pp. 254-280.

³⁵⁰ Conder, J. 1891, *The Flowers of Japan and the Art of Floral Arrangement*, Tokyo: The Hakubunsha, Ginza and Kelly & Walsh Ltd, London: Sampson Low, Marston and Company, Ltd (1892).

³⁵¹ Hall Chamberlain, B. 1891, *Things Japanese: Being Notes on Various Subjects Connected With Japan* (2nd edition), London: Kegan Paul, Trench Trubner & co. Ltd, Yokohama, Shanghai, Hong Kong, Singapore: Kelly & Walsh limited, pp. 166-167.

³⁵² Exploring the relationship between China and the West: Early Kelly & Walsh Publications, *The Old China Hands Project*, 2002; accessed from: <http://web.archive.org/web/20131213234326/http://www.oldchinahands.org/kellywalsh.htm> (22/09/2018)

in 1912, likely due to renewed interest after the 1910 Japan-British Exhibition. Publisher Kelly & Walsh, with bases in Hong Kong, Shanghai, Singapore, Tokyo and Yokohama were a firm known for producing guidebooks for “Globetrotting tourists” in the English language.³⁵³ It was their Tokyo branch who published and distributed Conder’s books.

It was his 1886 article on ‘The Art of Landscape Gardening in Japan’ (see Fig 37) which would ultimately form the basis of his 1893 book.³⁵⁴ The article began by introducing to the society audience – made up largely of European or American diplomats, scholars and Japanophiles – to the peculiarities and differences between Japanese and European gardening. While most of this audience will have likely encountered a Japanese garden in some form or another owing to residence in Japan, Conder’s introduction was a unique insight into the art of constructing these landscape spaces.

Conder acknowledged the complicated nuances associated with constructing Japanese landscape gardens, when he wrote that;

“The theory of the art is to be found in books is enveloped in an accumulation of abstruse terms, secret meanings, fancies and superstitions, which render it highly complicated.”³⁵⁵

These complications he went on to say, arose from the Japanese oral tradition of handing down gardening skills and knowledge through lengthy apprenticeships. In addition to this, knowledge about landscape gardening in Japan was kept very secretively with the books kept purposely vague or incomplete, “puzzling the uninitiated student”.³⁵⁶ Conder however made extensive use of these ‘secret books’ which he himself acknowledged was a potential faux pas as viewed by Japanese garden master practitioners. That said, the texts most certainly offered insights, whether correct or approved of by these specialists for the uninitiated foreigner. Conder divulged the secret texts he consulted in his 1893 book and of these, the *Tsukiyama Teisaku Den* and *Tsukiyama Teizo Den* from 1633 and 1736 respectively

³⁵³ Tachibana, S., Daniels, S. & Watkins, C. 2004, Japanese gardens in Edwardian Britain: landscape and transculturation, *Journal of Historical Geography*, Vol. 30, p. 372.

³⁵⁴ Conder, J. 1886, The Art of Landscape Gardening in Japan, *Transactions of The Asiatic Society of Japan*, Vol. 14, pp. 119-175.

³⁵⁵ Conder, J. 1886, The Art of Landscape Gardening in Japan, *Transactions of The Asiatic Society of Japan*, Vol. 14, p. 124.

³⁵⁶ Conder, J. 1886, The Art of Landscape Gardening in Japan, *Transactions of The Asiatic Society of Japan*, Vol. 14, p. 125.

were the ones dating back the furthest.³⁵⁷ The other twelve secret texts consulted dated from between 1800 and 1892 (see fig 38).

These nineteenth century texts were those of disrepute in the eyes of Japanese garden masters as they simplified the art and were removed from traditional practices.³⁵⁸ They were compiled by *niwashi*; gardeners from Edo (present day Tokyo) who went from place to place in the country teaching what they called ‘the secrets of the art of garden making’ for financial gain.³⁵⁹ Conder’s understanding of Japanese gardening knowledge therefore was a late Edo and contemporary Meiji era view of Japanese garden history. This made Conder an unwitting English *niwashi* casting these modern interpretations outside of Japan. The spread of these secret texts by *niwashi* simultaneously allowed Japanese and foreigners to gain an understanding of this secretive art. Therefore, Conder’s reputation as an expert on Japanese landscape gardening was built upon research informed by unreliable sources and not Japanese traditional practices.

The following Japanese publications have been consulted in the preparation of this work :—

Tsukiyama Teisaku Den, by Hishigawa Kichibei.	...	...	...	...	1633.
Tsukiyama Teizo Den, Part 1, by Kitamura Enkin.	...	...	...	...	1736.
Miyako Rinsen Meisho Zuye, by Akisato Ritoken.	...	...	...	...	1800.
Somoku Sodate-gusa, by Abe Rekisai.	...	..	...	...	1815.
Tsukiyama Teizo Den, Part 2, by Akisato Ritoken.	...	...	...	...	1829.
Ishigumi Sono-U Yayegaki Den, by Akisato Ritoken.	...	...	...	...	1829.
Kinsei Zu-Fu, by Choseisha	...	...	...	...	1832.
Tsukiyama Sansui Den.	...	...	...	...	1838.
Sakutei-no-Ki (Manuscript), by Gokiogoku Kakuo.	...	...	...	...	1838.
Engei-Ko, by Yokoi Tokifuyu.	...	...	...	...	1891.
Zukai Teizo-Ho, by Honda Kinkichiro.	...	...	...	...	1891.
Fuzoku Gwa-ho (Magazine).	...	...	...	...	1891 and 1892.
Tsuikiyama Sansui Teizo-hiden, by Takatsu Chugoro.	...	...	...	...	1892.

Figure 38 – List of texts consulted by Conder for *Landscape Gardening in Japan*

Source - Conder, J., & Lancaster, C. 1893, *Landscape Gardening in Japan*, New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1964,

p. x.

³⁵⁷ Conder, J., & Brown, A. 1893, *Landscape Gardening in Japan*, Tokyo: Kodansha International Ltd, 2002, p. x.

³⁵⁸ Shields, J. M., 2010, Beyond Belief: Japanese Approaches to the Meaning of Religion, *Studies in Religion/Sciences Religieuses*, Vol. 39 (2), pp. 133–149.

³⁵⁹ Harada, J. 1956, *Japanese Gardens*, London and Boston: The Studio Limited, c1920.

Watanabe further supports this, pointing to the narrow scope of garden styles represented in the images from the supplement. These were limited to those garden styles that were in trend at the time, which Watanabe asserts were reflective of nineteenth century garden publications and trends of the Meiji era.³⁶⁰ These were the result of Kinkichiro Honda and his lithographer E. Koshima who provided the plates of garden diagrams based on the 1736 *Tsukiyama Teizo-den*. These diagrams “represented in a modern style of drawing by lithography” were taken directly from Honda’s 1891 interpretation, *Zukai Teizo-Ho*.³⁶¹ The Meiji trends and politics strongly directed how Japan was presented in Conder’s work. The development of garden design fashion in Japan was significant not only to Conder’s books, but also had a wider impact on the way Japanese gardens were understood and recreated outside of Japan.

Kuck has pointed to how Conder inaccurately labelled Japanese gardening as containing rigid rules and absolute principles. Although there are set ways of doing things, these are not laws; fixed and immutable.³⁶² They are suggestions to be developed appropriately to the desires of both garden designer and garden owner. As Japanese garden designs are derived from ancient Chinese Geomantic principles, it is understandable Conder held them as imperative rules. This interpretation bled into Japanese gardens being designed in Europe and was also evident in Japan owing to the *niwashiki* and their secret guidebooks. As previously highlighted, Conder was aware of the problematic nature of learning Japanese landscape garden practices. Therefore, his book was intended to demonstrate a compilation of all known knowledge as best he could gather from the variety of contradictory sources. As criticised by Kuck, this often led to misinterpretation by Conder and readers of his work.

These so-called secret Japanese gardening texts from the nineteenth century increasingly saw greater exposure in Britain. One of the Japanese garden plans that appeared in *Landscape Gardening in Japan* was used in an article by Kenkichi Okubo published by the *Royal Horticultural Society* in 1904. It was included in their

³⁶⁰ Watanabe, T. ‘Josiah Conder: 1852-1920’, from Cortazzi, H. 2013, *Japan and Britain: Biographical Portraits (Volume VIII)*, Boston: Brill, pp. 324-331.

³⁶¹ Conder, J., & Brown, A. 1893, *Landscape Gardening in Japan*, Tokyo: Kodansha International Ltd, 2002, p. x.

³⁶² Kuck, L. 1968, *The World of The Japanese Garden: From Chinese Origins to Modern Landscape Art*, New York; Tokyo: John Weatherhill, pp. 239–241.

Journal, with Okubo describing the meaning and layout of 'The Garden of Artificial Hills'.³⁶³ This appeared as 'plate XXV – Hill garden finished style' – in *Landscape Gardening in Japan*.³⁶⁴ The plan is actually from Honda's *niwashi* derivation (*Zukai Teizo-Ho*, 1891) of the 1736 *Tsukiyama Teizo-den*.³⁶⁵ The exposure of the plan in this journal lends some legitimacy to Conder's book or those who were familiar with *Landscape Gardening in Japan* as their reoccurrence in Okubo's article and also Charles Holme's articles in *The Studio* gave more exposure to the plans themselves. The fact that multiple writers on Japanese gardeners presented them gave them credence as a design manual, whilst simultaneously serving to spread these 'genuine plans' across Britain. Okubo's article also showed the growing active involvement and interest native Japanese were beginning to have regarding disseminating knowledge of their gardening practices.

It seems that although European writers such as Josiah Conder had gained substantial knowledge of Japanese gardens, the attempts at design manuals were perhaps misguided. There was a widespread condemnation of these so called 'secret garden manuals' by numerous leading Japanese garden masters, not least because they encouraged copying of existing gardens. One eminent Japanese garden master, Mirei Shigemori surveyed the mass historical literature on Japanese garden designs in the 1930s, and concluded that many commonly held views of Japanese garden traditions such were inaccurate, with much of the traditional knowledge misinterpreted.³⁶⁶ Verdicts such as these highlight the problems inherent in Japanese garden manuals and the copying of garden design features that followed in their wake at the expense of design originality. As Florence Du Cane noted in her 1908 book *The Flowers and Gardens of Japan*;

"in these landscape gardens, but I can safely say that never did I see -
and I saw a great many - any two gardens, large or small, which bore any

³⁶³ Okubo, K. 1904, The Garden of Artificial Hills (Tsukiyama), *The Journal of the Royal Horticultural Society*, Vol. 29 (1904-05), pp. 82-85.

³⁶⁴ Conder, J., & Brown, A. 1893, *Landscape Gardening in Japan*, Tokyo: Kodansha International Ltd, 2002, p. 125.

³⁶⁵ Tatsui, M. 1949, *Japanese Gardens (5th edition)*, Japan Travel Bureau: Tourist Library 5.

³⁶⁶ Kuck, L. 1968, *The World of The Japanese Garden: From Chinese Origins to Modern Landscape Art*, New York; Tokyo: John Weatherhill, 1968, pp. 265-266; (For Shigemori's work and literature): Tschumi, C.A. 2004, Mirei Shigemori 1896-1975: Modernizing the Japanese garden, *Doctoral dissertation: Eidgenössische Technische Hochschule: ETH Zürich*, No. 15356, 2004, pp. 1-325.

resemblance to each other; the materials are the same, but the design is never the same.”³⁶⁷

So, while the plans and step-by-step manuals did exist in Japan, they were not intended for merely copying existing garden blueprints in their entirety. Those gardens in Britain which did so attempt to imitate or resemble any existing in Japan will have broken a fundamental of good Japanese garden design, that of their degree of originality.

It was the visual elements present in Conder’s work such as the photographs for *Supplement to Landscape Gardening in Japan* (1893 & 1912) provided by K. Ogawa which became widely circulated in the horticultural press. These served as examples of the gardens of Japan, providing visual representations to those who had not ever travelled there. Additionally, a catalogue style of different forms of stone lanterns, fences and all manner of Japanese garden ornaments and structures provided visual representations to the abstract tropes described in the text. These plates and figures enhanced the visual appeal of Japanese garden elements absent from his 1886 article on the topic. They also made it easier to visualise how and where they appeared in a garden setting, useful for those seeking to draw inspiration or visual guidance from the book. Conder described the history behind each aspect or area of a Japanese garden and often combined this with descriptions of famous garden examples in Japan, mostly those of the nobility or high-ranking aristocracy. It is therefore the wealthy aristocracy whom would benefit the most from this book as a guide to making a Japanese garden in Britain.

Josiah Conder was an influential figure in disseminating Japanese garden knowledge abroad. As we will see, his book was occasionally used to help create Japanese style gardens and was frequently referenced in later simplified writings on the subject. However, the impact of the origins of his informational sources meant that it was *niwashi* and Meiji versions of Japanese gardening practice that were perpetuated in British articles. This affirms the overriding argument that the Meiji era held a great legacy over how Japan was understood in Britain.

³⁶⁷ Du Cane, F. & Du Cane, E. 1908, *The Flowers and Gardens of Japan*, London: Adam and Charles Black, p. 12.

4.3. Practical applications: Conder's books as garden construction guides



Plate XXXIV. LARGE LAKE GARDEN.

Figure 39 - 'Large Lake Garden' plate which inspired Cowden Castle's Japanese style Garden

Source - Conder, J., & Lancaster, C. 1893, *Landscape Gardening in Japan*, New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1964, Plate: XXXIV.

While there was a significant scholarly impact of Conder's Japanese garden work on other writers, there was a limited practical application resulting in Japanese style landscape gardens in British estates. A few sites have been referenced to emphasise his influence in the Japanese garden movement of the Victorian and Edwardian eras. However, by re-examining these locations it will be made evident that *Landscape Gardening in Japan* was not wholly effective as a garden construction guide. In each example there were several other factors that impacted on the design and layout of these gardens.

Tachibana, Daniels & Watkins (based on research by Judith Conway) attempted to identify garden sites across Britain with some evidence of design influences from Josiah Conder's *Landscape Gardening in Japan*. Newstead Abbey in

Nottinghamshire was one example, where Ethel Webb had a Japanese Garden laid out.³⁶⁸ Tachibana argued that Webb was motivated by a reaction against her father's preference for African trinkets and artefacts, and her own travels to the Far East.³⁶⁹ Her preference for Japanese aesthetic was not limited to the gardens at Newstead Abbey, with the 'Henry the Seventh's Lodgings' room being entirely decorated in Japanese style interiors. Tachibana described Webb's use of the "Master's Isle" and "Guests Isle" from Conder's book, offering evidence from manuscript notes that indicate the book's literal influence on the Japanese style gardens at Newstead Abbey. The result was a Japanese style garden that is clearly more informed and reminiscent of those in Japan than those at neighbouring Rufford Abbey with its emphasis on a few aesthetic aspects of Japanese gardening such as bridges and stone lanterns.

This garden seems to have come to fruition before 1910, however Ethel Webb did utilise the *Yokohama Nursery Company* for deliveries of Japanese plants in the late 1890s, as evidenced in testimonials from their catalogues.³⁷⁰ She also later travelled to Japan, visiting gardens which will have informed her own designs at Newstead. Conder also provided advice to those who desired guidance from his expertise on the subject. This had a direct effect on the gardens at Cowden Castle, Clackmannanshire in Scotland. Ella Christie approached Conder who advised she employ a Japanese native to lay out her Japanese style garden. This advice she took and it resulted in an elaborate Japanese style garden designed by Japanese native Taki Handa in 1908.³⁷¹ Raggett also suggested that Christie may have instructed Handa to use Conder's *Landscape Gardening in Japan* of which an annotated copy is still held by her descendants.³⁷² This is supported by the resemblance of Cowden's Japanese style garden to Plate: XXXIV – 'Large Lake

³⁶⁸ Tachibana, S., Daniels, S. & Watkins, C. 2004, Japanese gardens in Edwardian Britain: landscape and transculturation, *Journal of Historical Geography*, Vol. 30, pp. 364-394.

³⁶⁹ Tachibana, S. 2014, The "Capture" of Exotic Natures: Cross-cultural Knowledge and Japanese Gardening in Early 20th Century Britain, *Japanese Journal of Human Geography*, Vol. 66 (6), pp. 492-506.

³⁷⁰ Yokohama Nursery Co., 1898. *Descriptive Catalogues of the Yokohama Nursey Co. Ltd.*

³⁷¹ Tachibana, S. 2014, The "Capture" of Exotic Natures: Cross-cultural Knowledge and Japanese Gardening in Early 20th Century Britain, *Japanese Journal of Human Geography*, Vol. 66 (6), pp. 492-506.

³⁷² Raggett, J., Kajihara-Nolan, Y., & Nolan, J. 2013, 'Handa Taki (1871-1956)', from: Cortazzi, H. 2013, *Japan and Britain: Biographical Portraits (volume 8)*, London: Global Oriental, pp. 332-350.

Garden' from Conder's book (see Fig 39) .³⁷³ Here we have an example of the use of Conder's book to form the plans for a Japanese style garden in Britain.

Additionally, we are provided with the insight that Conder clearly felt that Japanese gardens should remain the creations of native Japanese as exemplified by his suggestion to Ella Christie which resulted in the employment of Taki Handa. He felt that, "delightful as they are in their own country, they would be out of keeping if they were transferred to any other."³⁷⁴ This is further in evidence at Conder's own home in Japan, where he had gardens "without synthesis" of old English (for Conder) and Japanese styles (for his Japanese wife) side-by-side.³⁷⁵ Herein lies the biggest indicator of *Landscape Gardening in Japan's* scholarly rather than intended literal use as a guidebook for gardeners.

Newstead Abbey and Cowden Castle represent two examples where there is clear evidence of the owners having consulted Conder's work to aid in the design of a Japanese style garden in Britain. However, these were rare cases within the several hundred Japan Gardens laid out across Britain before 1914. Most gardeners did not follow Conder's work and opted for a simpler approach to incorporating Japanese elements into their gardens. Conder's book was intended as a treatise rather than a garden guide. This reflected in the few sites that bore his book's direct influence such as Newstead Abbey and Cowden Castle which were uncommonly elaborate examples of Japanese garden style in Britain.

Other British gardens which are alleged to have been inspired by Conder's book included Friar Park, near Henley-on-Thames. This was constructed circa 1906 for Sir Frank Crisp which followed the rules of 'Hill Garden—Finished Style' in Conder's book. It was the latest addition to a series of miniature gardens at Friar Park, fully described in a catalogue for the paying public.³⁷⁶ *Country Life* in 1909 credited the British firm Pulham & Sons with work on the site, described as a rock garden at this time;

³⁷³ Conder, J., & Brown, A. 1893, *Landscape Gardening in Japan*, Tokyo: Kodansha International Ltd, 2002, Plate: XXXIV.

³⁷⁴ Anon, 'Reviews: Swelled Soul', *The Saturday Review*, October 19th 1912, pp. 491-492.

³⁷⁵ Conder, J., & Lancaster, C. 1893, *Landscape Gardening in Japan*, New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1964, p. vii.

³⁷⁶ Tachibana, S., Daniels, S. & Watkins, C. 2004, Japanese gardens in Edwardian Britain: landscape and transculturation, *Journal of Historical Geography*, Vol. 30, p. 372.

“It is this copying of nature that gives such intense interest to Sir Frank Crisp’s wonderful rock garden at Friar Park, Henley-on-Thames. It is a revelation of what may be accomplished by one who cares to study not only the right placing of stones, but the way the plants should be arranged.”³⁷⁷

The Japanese style garden also contained more typical aesthetic elements, which were added later by Pulham & Sons. An image from *The Studio* in April 1912 showed a Japanese stone lantern with a well pruned dwarf tree planted in front.³⁷⁸ These kinds of features were commonplace in British Japanese style gardens of this period. The lakes were enlarged later, and the Japanese garden area was cited as being constructed on the firm’s return to Friar Park around 1912.³⁷⁹ So while there were Japanese like principles in the construction of other parts of the garden, they were not originally part of the Japanese area. Tachibana referenced Crisp’s use of Conder’s book, but there is also the likely influence of the 1910 Japan-British Exhibition gardens, as Friar Park’s Japanese style garden was extended and completed after that event. The exhibition marked the culmination of Japanese garden ideas which had been growing in Britain since *Landscape Gardening in Japan* from 1893.³⁸⁰

In the case of Friar Park, the garden followed a path of evolution from a rock garden to a Japan Garden between 1906 and 1912. While the garden did follow rules of construction as presented in Conder’s book, there also seemed to have been many other guiding factors such as the 1910 Exhibition’s influence in its creation. While published in 1893 at the onset of the Japanese garden craze, no further editions were realised until 1912 with the reissue of the supplement volume. The limited publication of *Landscape Gardening in Japan* will have restricted the spread of his work. This was a dense text which was hard to follow as a garden guide.

³⁷⁷ Anon, ‘The making of Rock Gardens’, *Country Life*, January 9th 1909, p. 1.

³⁷⁸ King, H.N., ‘Some Artistic Arrangements in English Gardens’, *The Studio*, April 1912, p. 214.

³⁷⁹ Hitching, C. & Lilly, J. 2012, *Rock Landscapes: The Pulham Legacy*, Suffolk: The Garden Art Press, Chapter: 24.

³⁸⁰ *The book was used alongside other works in the formation of British Japanese-style gardens. At Bitchet Wood in Kent (c1920) for example, a garden resembling plate ‘XXV – Hill Garden: Finished style’ was constructed* From: Wheeler, J. 2009, The Almost Lost Garden of Bitchet Wood, *The Kent Gardens Trust Newsletter*, Vol. 33 (Spring 2009), pp. 1-2.

It was his involvement within and connections with the Asiatic Society of Japan and the Japan Society in London that his authority and reputation was nurtured. The members of these societies were fully aware of Conder's authority on the subject of Japanese landscape gardening and many like Basil Hall Chamberlain actively promoted him as such in their works. His reputation as an expert on Japanese gardens is evident in later writings by other authors who at the very least indicated a knowledge of his work. As a garden guide however, *Landscape Gardening in Japan* was limited to those who were actively willing to thoroughly study the whole text such as Ethel Webb, or in the case of Ella Christie, place the book in the hands of a Japanese gardener to better interpret and follow.

4.4. Scholarly Impact: making Conder's work accessible

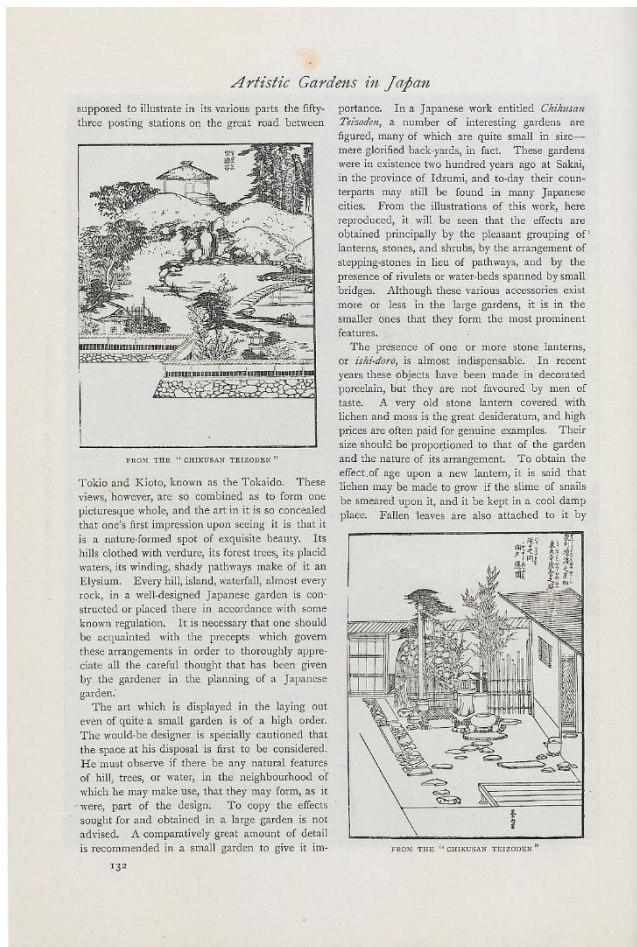


Figure 40 - Charles Holme's use of *Chikusan Teizoden*

Source - Charles Holme, 'Artistic Gardens in Japan', *The Studio*, July 1893, pp. 129-135.

Landscape Gardening in Japan was a very thorough treatise which made its use as a practical garden construction guide limited for the casual gardener. This section will demonstrate how Conder consistently held a scholarly reputation as an expert on the subject of Japanese landscape design, which in turn aided others to produce more easily comprehensible books and articles on Japanese gardening for the British public to follow. These articles were often derived from his work or directly referred to it.

This was the case for an article Charles Holme wrote for *The Studio* in 1893 entitled; 'Artistic Gardens in Japan' (see Fig 40). His article was one of the earliest uses of garden

plans taken from Japanese texts. Holme had been to Japan in 1889 and possessed a keen interest in art.³⁸¹ Also, as a founding member of the Japan Society he will have had a great network of informants as exemplified by his knowledge of Conder's 1886 article and access to Japanese texts. Like Conder, he gained his knowledge and insights into Japanese gardening from the secret Japanese texts, with the majority of images in his article taken from the eighteenth-century garden text *Chikusan Taizoden*.³⁸² Therefore, like Conder, he was an English *niwashi*, spreading Edo and Meiji garden knowledge abroad. Holme introduced the reader to the existence of these secret instructive books and gave a brief overview of Japanese

³⁸¹ *Transactions and Proceedings of The Japan Society, London*, Volume 1, 1892, p. 182.

³⁸² Charles Holme, 'Artistic Gardens in Japan', *The Studio*, July 1893, pp. 129-135.

garden fundamentals of stone placement, waterfalls and ornamentation. The descriptions together with the supporting illustrations would have provided an easy to comprehend overview of Japanese gardening.

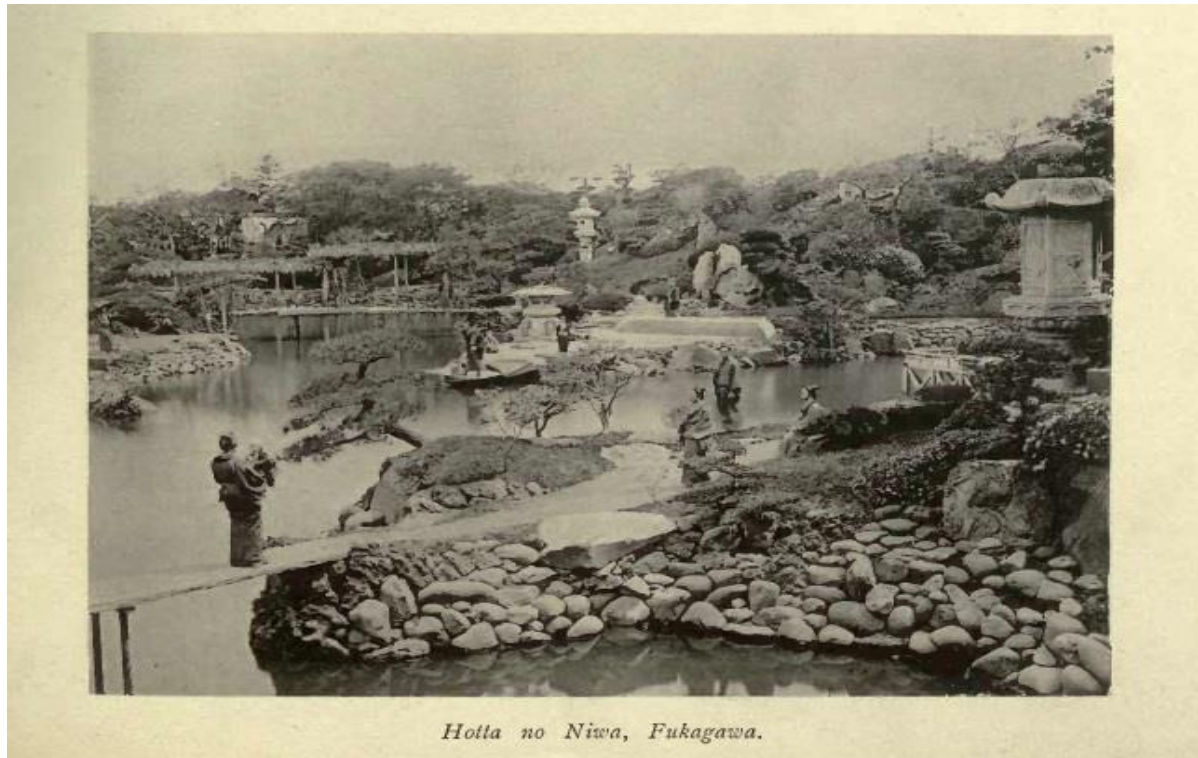


Figure 41 – Photo of an elaborate Japanese Garden; ‘Hotta no Niwa, Fukagawa’

Source - Conder, J. & Ogawa, K. 1893, *Supplement to Landscape Gardening in Japan*, Tokio: The Hakabunsha, Yokohama, Hong Kong, Shanghai & Singapore: Kelly and Walsh Ltd, plate: xvii.

In the article, Holme referenced Conder’s paper read before the Asiatic Society of Japan as an ‘excellent account’ for further details on Japanese gardening. While referencing Josiah Conder’s work in the text, Holme actually drew heavily from Basil Hall Chamberlain’s writings. Hall Chamberlain’s writings on Japanese gardening were limited to observations of sites in Japan as presented in his guidebooks to Japan series. He himself advocated consulting Josiah Conder’s work for a more thorough account, indicating Conder’s reputation as the authority on the subject.³⁸³ A simplified approach was more commonly taken by others writing on Japanese gardening. An illustrated feature on Japanese gardens published in *The Garden* in

³⁸³ Hall Chamberlain, B. 1891, *Things Japanese: Being Notes on Various Subjects Connected With Japan (2nd edition)*, London: Kegan Paul, Trench Trubner & co. Ltd, Yokohama, Shanghai, Hong Kong, Singapore: Kelly & Walsh limited, pp. 183-184.

1900 used images from *Supplement to Landscape Gardening in Japan*, showing plate: xvii – ‘*Hotta no Niwa, Fukagawa*’ (see Fig 41).³⁸⁴

That the author Burridge once again drew more heavily from Hall Chamberlain’s work indicates that Conder’s was more difficult to comprehend, whereas the summaries afforded by Hall Chamberlain were more readily understandable without the need to actually consult Conder’s work. It was in this vein that writings on Japanese gardening traditions continued, with Conder as the acknowledged expert, but not always the provider or consulted source of knowledge.

Other writers took material directly from Conder’s books. For example, from September 1901 to 1902 three articles were published in the widely read *Country Life* by Mary Crawford Fraser.³⁸⁵ Numerous famous photos of Japanese gardens and architecture taken by K. Ogawa and provided as plates for Conder’s *Supplement to Landscape Gardening in Japan* were printed. The presence of these photos indicates a working knowledge of Conder’s books. Her descriptions also reflected the Japanese secret texts, for example Fraser stated that; “All the associations of the garden must be friendly, either calm or inspiring, according to the owner’s age and character.”³⁸⁶ This vague reference referred to the principle inherent in Japanese garden construction, going back to the thousand-year-old *Sakuteiki*, of following the garden owner’s personal wishes for the garden.³⁸⁷ Fraser however followed the pattern of disseminating the Meiji dominant Japanese garden images of the *niwashi*.

Fraser explained that to create a Japanese garden required different considerations and points of emphasis. She used an example photo of Prince Horita’s garden in Tokyo to further this asserting that;

“In the planning of a garden the Japanese considers three points at starting – natural formation (under this head comes in the following order of importance, background, foreground, and middleground), stones and water. Let us take them in their order. In the illustrations of Prince Horita’s garden in Tokyo, the soft rolling ground which surrounded a piece of water

³⁸⁴ Burridge, F.W., ‘The Flower Gardens of Japan’, *The Garden*, April 21st 1900, pp. 304-306; Conder, J. & Ogawa, K. 1893, *Supplement to Landscape Gardening in Japan*, Tokio: The Hakabunsha, Yokohama, Hong Kong, Shanghai & Singapore: Kelly and Walsh ltd, plate: xvii.

³⁸⁵ *Mary Crawford Fraser was the wife of a diplomat and spent many years in Japan. Of her experiences, she wrote novels set in Japan such as; *The Custom of the Country: Tales of New Japan* (1899) and a two-volume book detailing her time in Japan called; *Letters from Japan: A Record of Modern Life in the Island* (1899).

³⁸⁶ Fraser, M.C., ‘Gardens Old & New: Of.....Gardens in Japan’, *Country Life*, September 14th 1901, p. 336.

³⁸⁷ Takei, J. & Keane, M.P. 2001, *Sakuteiki: Visions of the Japanese garden*, Boston: Tuttle Publishing.

has given the suggestion of a mountain lake with its encircling hills, bold rocks, and fairy beaches fringed with pine and moss. On the hillsides are thick groves, shady resting-places, the green mystery of mountain paths coming out into the open, and then losing themselves in woods – like the beautiful road from Karuizawa to Kirizume.”³⁸⁸ (see Fig 42)



Figure 42 - Prince Horita's Garden

Source - Fraser, M.C., 'Gardens Old & New: Of.....Gardens in Japan', *Country Life*, September 14th 1901, pp. 337.

This analysis combined parts of the secret text ideologies with more whimsical images of 'fairy beaches' and 'green mystery' in mountain paths. These descriptors reflect an Oriental view of Japan with its quaint and mysterious Far Eastern allure. The ornamentation such as stone lanterns she refers to later as the “work of human hands” to emphasise their deviation from the rest of the garden composition, designed to be reflective of nature. The accompanying photos bestowed the greatest impact regarding these gardens.

This is in evidence from the third part of Fraser's *Country Life* articles, which dealt with the forms and functions of bridges in Japanese gardens. Of these bridges it is

³⁸⁸ Fraser, M.C., 'Gardens Old & New: Of.....Gardens in Japan', *Country Life*, September 14th 1901, pp. 337-338.

the *Yatsu-hash*i zigzag bridge, a garden bridge of Japanese origin which gained special attention.³⁸⁹ The accompanying photos highlighted the pleasing aesthetic effect of these bridges and in addition to stone lanterns have a clear Japanese connotation to them.³⁹⁰ The *Yatsu-hash*i bridge was an often copied feature in many British-Japanese style gardens such as Buckhurst Park in Sussex. In fact, it is here that the effect of photos of famous Japanese gardens as blueprints for design becomes apparent. Compared side by side, the photo used in Fraser's article quite clearly formed the basis of the designs for Buckhurst Park's Japanese style garden. The *Country Life* photographer even took the photo from the same viewpoint as K. Ogawa, originally used in Conder's book (see figures 43 and 44).

The images and examples in Fraser's articles were classic representations of Japanese gardens in the late 1800s. The popular red lacquered arch bridge at Nikko featured, as did many elaborate gardens of Tokyo, Yokohama, Kyoto and Osaka. They were used often in articles and guidebooks to Japan so will have been readily available and popular images. It was these images rather than lengthy descriptions in Conder's works that will have been easier to follow by British gardeners. It is clear that Josiah Conder's books and reputation permeated the vast majority of later writings on Japanese landscape garden design such as Holme and Fraser's. He was often referenced, however not always directly followed in favour of more simplified accounts such as Holme, Burridge and Fraser.

In addition to articles published in the press, numerous authors derived their understanding of Japanese gardens from Conder and Meiji era discourses. Florence Du Cane's book drew heavily from Josiah Conder's writings (which she acknowledged in the foreword), and while she proclaimed the sentiment that design should be in some ways original, elsewhere her writings give the impression that all Japanese gardens must have a rigid set of objects, plants and materials.³⁹¹ These conflicting ideas of originality against the supposed laws and rigidity in Japanese gardening will have given very mixed impressions to those desiring to create Japanese gardens in Britain. It is from texts like this, heavily influenced by Conder's writings that we see how far his categorisation of Japanese garden aspects and

³⁸⁹ Fraser, M.C., 'Gardens Old & New: Of....Gardens in Japan - III', *Country Life*, February 22nd 1902, pp. 240-246.

³⁹⁰ Fraser, M.C., 'Gardens Old & New: Of....Gardens in Japan', *Country Life*, September 14th 1901, p. 339.

³⁹¹ Du Cane, F. & Du Cane, E. 1908, *The Flowers and Gardens of Japan*, London: Adam and Charles Black.

practices permeated the minds of British readers. In the defence of Josiah Conder, he borrowed heavily from existing 'secret' Japanese manuals of Japanese origin, indicating that many Japanese saw benefit in them. He was not a seasoned Japanese landscape gardener, but a scholar utilising the sources at his disposal, even if these texts were in many ways flawed.

The subject of Japanese Gardens and horticulture had become an increasingly well covered topic by the end of the Edwardian Period. So much so, that one review of Mrs Basil Taylor's *Japanese Gardens (1912)* (Harriet Osgood) was scathingly critiqued in *The Saturday Review* who claimed that;

"To review books upon Japan is a sad and dreary task. It would really seem as though every traveller who visited that entrancing country became infected with the disease of writing a book, and so of publishing his or her ignorance".³⁹²

The review refers to the long canon of work on Japan by Basil Hall Chamberlain, Lafcadio Hearn and Josiah Conder, whom Taylor is seen to be paling considerably in comparison to. In the preface to Taylor's book she concedes to her ignorance as to the technical knowledge pertaining to Japanese gardens and urges the reader to consult "Conder's book on Japanese landscape gardening".³⁹³ The longevity and influence of Josiah Conder's books and articles as an authority on Japanese culture continued long after his first publications in the 1890s. As emphasised in *The Saturday Review*, "All that need be said about Japanese gardens, indeed all that can be said about them, has been given to the European world by Mr. Conder".³⁹⁴

As has been established through looking at a variety of articles on Japanese landscape garden design published after Conder's 1893 book, his work remained definitive. Although this did not necessarily mean *Landscape Gardening in Japan* was not ripe for simplification. As established, photos and images were a stronger medium for British gardeners to follow as at Buckhurst Park which imitated a photo of a famous Japanese garden. While the scholarly impact of Conder's work was sufficiently strong, the practical applications as a guide for garden construction were limited.

³⁹² Anon, 'Reviews: Swelled Soul', *The Saturday Review*, October 19th 1912, pp. 491-492.

³⁹³ Osgood, H. 1912, *Japanese Gardens*, New York: Dodd, Mead and Company. London: Methuen and Co. Ltd., pp. vii-x.

³⁹⁴ Anon, 'Reviews: Swelled Soul', *The Saturday Review*, October 19th 1912, pp. 491-492.



Figure 43 – Garden in Japan image from Mary Fraser Article

Source - Fraser, M.C., 'Gardens Old & New: Of.....Gardens in Japan', *Country Life*, September 14th 1901, p. 339.

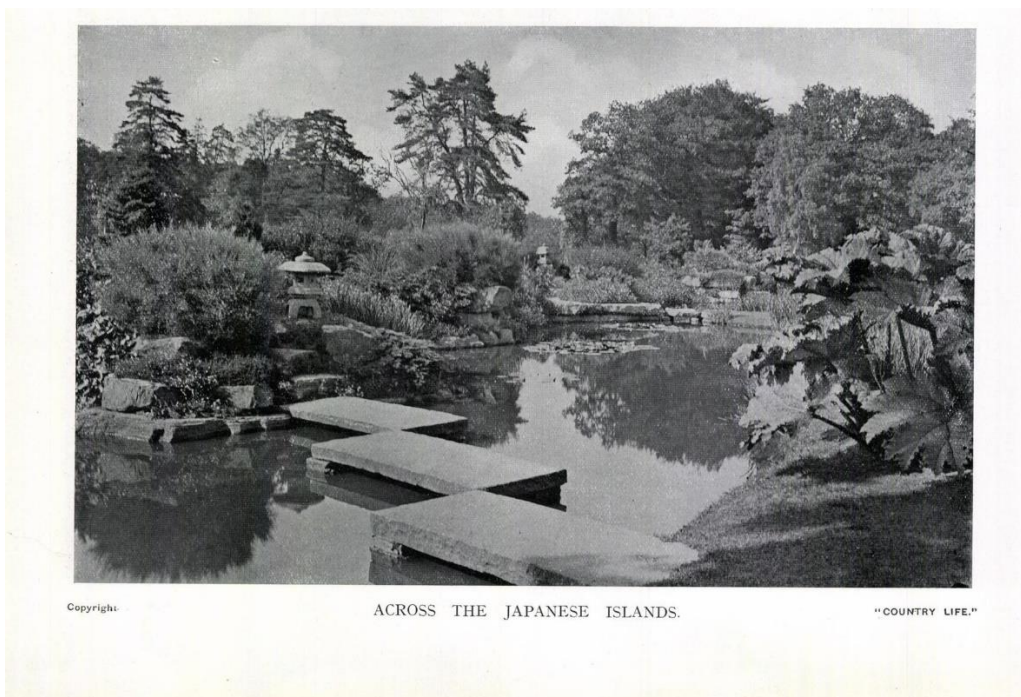


Figure 44 - Japanese garden at Buckhurst Park, Sussex

Source – 'Across the Japanese Islands', *Country Life*, May 11th 1912, p. 692.

(The garden at Buckhurst Park was completed circa 1908 and appears to have been laid out as a literal translation of the photo taken in Japan)

Conclusion

The two societies for Japanese studies based in Japan and Britain served as social forums for scholarly dissemination of Japanese garden ideas, but also offered those with Japanese style areas in their own gardens the chance to meet and share ideas. It was the legacy of these societies which enabled Josiah Conder to promote his treatise on Japanese garden design and fostered the early stages of Japanese style gardens being created in Britain. As argued here Conder's role was as an authority on the subject rather than as a provider of literal guidance on garden construction through his works. The later, simplified works of Charles Holme (a founder of the Japan Society) and Mary Fraser, in conjunction with the wide spread of Japanese garden photographs and images in the press and horticultural press provided more accessible forms of guidance for those wishing to replicate Japanese garden style in Britain.

The literature on Japanese gardening grew after – and was stimulated by - Josiah Conder' book. The legacy of Conder and his contemporaries to garden design stretched into the succeeding decades and beyond as Japanese garden popularity blossomed in Britain. However as indicated in the critique of Conder's book and that of those British or European's who visited Japan after the opening in 1854, the gardens they used as models were not necessarily grounded in the long tradition of Japanese gardens stretching across centuries. The garden models and images they encountered were – unknowing to a majority of British observers – based on the contemporary Japanese garden trends at that time. This held an indelible impact on the guiding principles and overall style of gardens produced or reproduced in Britain.

Conder's presence as an expert on the subject of Japanese garden design was maintained well after the publication of his first books and articles of the 1880s and 1890s. On the eve of the 1910 Japan-British Exhibition *The Times* ran an edition of its newspaper that contained no less than seventy-one pages of information on the country of Japan. The topics covered all aspects of industry, trade, history, empire, people and landscape gardening. Josiah Conder is again present as the writer of the sections on gardening, describing them similarly to how he did in *Landscape Gardening in Japan* with short sections on the various aspects of the tradition.³⁹⁵ His

³⁹⁵ 'The Japanese Empire: General Information', *The Times*, July 19th 1910, pp. 1-96.

involvement as the expert some seventeen years after the publication of his treatise shows how influential and established his work still was at this time. However, as discussed, this reputation was belied by the limitations of his work to instruct in the creation of Japanese gardens in Britain. This has been evidenced by the infrequent examples of sites bearing his book's influence.

The legacy of the *niwashi* garden guides and knowledge has also been highlighted as highly significant in how Josiah Conder and in turn British gardeners understood the Japanese tradition. These step-by-step manuals largely ignored earlier forms of Japanese garden and focussed on those of the late Edo and Meiji eras which informed Conder's works. Therefore, the *niwashi* modern styles of Japanese garden although reductive forms, were those that the majority of British gardeners encountered, either in Japan or more commonly second-hand via Conder's books or its numerous derivations. Conder in effect became an English *niwashi* extending the reach of their reductive plans and garden guides outside of Japan to the English speaking world.

Chapter 5: Gardens and Emissaries: Connections with Japan through Aristocrats and Landscape designers



THE RED BRIDGE, NIKKO.

Figure 45 – Nikko image from Robert Charles Hope's Guidebook

Source - Hope, R.C. 1896, *The Temples and Shrines of Nikko, Japan*, Yokohama: Kelly & Walsh Ltd, p. 11.

Introduction

By the end of the Victorian era Japan's popularity as a tourist destination had exponentially grown. Japanese style gardens had become popular additions to the private estates of the wealthy as spaces to display exotic curios from their travels. This was encouraged in large part due to the easing of laws restricting movement for foreigners in Japan around 1899 and the publishing of touristic guidebooks which attracted an ever growing number of visitors.³⁹⁶ Asiatic Society of Japan members Basil Hall Chamberlain and Ernest Satow who were foreign residents and scholars of Japanese culture compiled these guides which encouraged visitors to well-trodden scenic routes with famous gardens. These were the showy, elaborate gardens of the Meiji era which encouraged likewise over-ornamented replications such as Lord Lonsdale's at Lowther Castle in Cumbria. As will be explored, these gardens were constructed as elaborate travel souvenirs to form a physical memento of the owner's experiences and impressions of Japan.

In order to service the growing demand for Japanese style in British gardens during the Edwardian era, gardeners such as Harold Peto drew from his own experiences in the Far East to create gardens that were nevertheless somewhat removed from traditional forms. Others like Alfred Parsons took a similar approach, as this niche area of landscape gardening in Britain became catered for by British businesses. These designers would often make use of client or family links to gain garden commissions. Similarly, Japanese style was incorporated into architectural designs as a unique selling point by many garden furniture companies. These garden structures were designed with inspiration from the iconic imagery of Japan such as the bridges and teahouses at touristic hotspots such as *Nikko*. The services provided by these companies and gardeners further enabled the actualisation of tourist travel inspired Japan gardens.

As a new addition to the literature, King Edward VII as an important figure in bestowing positive acclaim on Japanese garden style will be examined. It is within the socio-political landscape of cordial relations between the Japanese and British monarchies in the Edwardian era that Japan's garden style saw significant

³⁹⁶ Raggett, J. 2002, *The Japanese-Style Garden in the British Isles: 1850-1950* (2 Volumes), Imprint: York, PhD Thesis, *University of York Thesis Collection: Department of Archaeology*.

application across Britain. The politics of national alliances and trade agreements played a part in this acclaim and in addition, many Japanese style gardens were frequented by the King such as Rufford Abbey in Nottinghamshire. Some of the gardens constructed for persons with connections to King Edward demonstrated a wider social impetus for laying out a Japanese style garden. Many sought to curry royal favour like King Edward's close friend, the Earl of Sandwich at Hinchingsbrooke House, who constructed a simplified garden that did not wholly reflect his own first-hand experiences in Japan.

The relationship between the aristocracies of both Japan and Britain further solidified the positive regard bestowed upon Japanese garden style. Emperor Meiji and his government actively encouraged any affirmation or regard for Japanese culture in Britain. Garden parties held between high ranking members of society in both countries developed this positive accord. These social interactions exposed both parties to favourable encounters with their respective native gardens, eliciting a stronger connection with these new styles and spaces. The official building of strong relationships between both nations further enhanced the appeal of Japanese style as advocated by King Edward himself. The politics involved in the spread of Japanese style gardens in Britain will be presented, from the touristic guides born out of a society's foreign studies, through to the affirmation of the King, Emperor and the two governments of Japan and Britain.

5.1. The Japan Garden as a Travel Souvenir

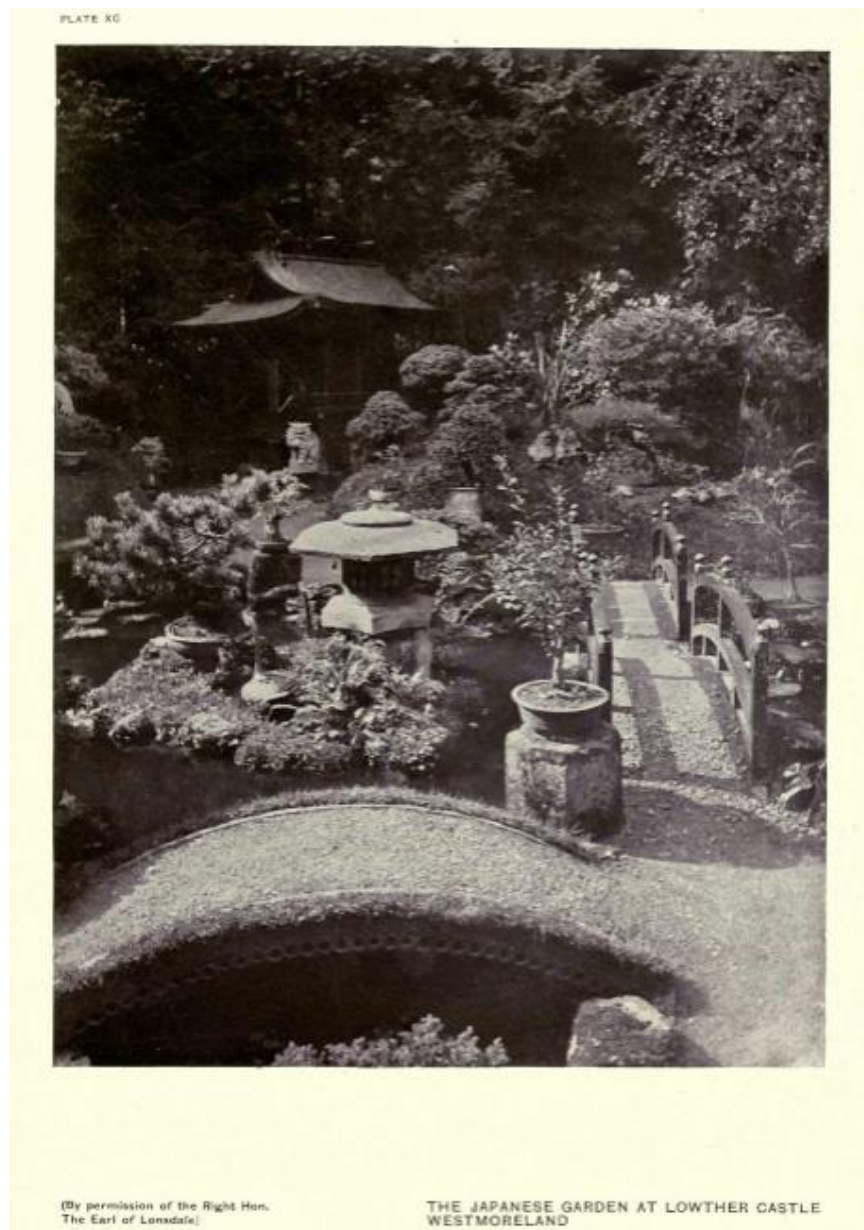


Figure 46 – Lowther Castle Japanese Gardens

Source - Holme, C. 1911, *The Gardens of England in the Northern Counties*, London: The Studio, Plate XC.

As discussed in chapter four, the active role of diplomats and scholars who sought to study culture through the Asiatic Society of Japan had the eventual effect of advertising Japan as a tourist destination. This was achieved in large part by the guidebooks compiled by Ernest Satow and Basil Hall Chamberlain in their

'Handbooks to Japan' series.³⁹⁷ These books in turn encouraged many wealthy members of British society to travel to Japan and visit the well-trodden hotspots. One itinerary compiled for travellers arriving at Yokohama suggested excursions to renowned sightseeing spots around Tokyo, Nagoya, Kyoto and Nikko (see Fig 47).³⁹⁸

These tourist-track routes and the famous Japanese gardens on their itineraries became the archetypal representations as perceived by British tourists. In particular, the locality of *Nikko* received a reputation for its magnificent scenery, oft imitated in British interpretations of Japanese garden style. *Nikko's* temples and shrines were the subject of a dedicated book written by Asiatic Society of Japan member Robert Charles Hope in 1896, with claims of being the most comprehensive account in the English language.³⁹⁹ Like the tourist guidebooks of Hall Chamberlain and Satow, the book's appendix detailed fares and travel information to visit many temples, shrines and their gardens (see Fig 45).

Gardens were popular attractions for British visitors to Japan. The impact they had on the many tourists was enough to encourage a desire to recreate Japanese garden style back in Britain, as a physical travel souvenir. In this way Lowther Castle's owner Lord Lonsdale was inspired to create gardens in "facsimile of some he saw in Japan" on returning from travels around the world in 1903.⁴⁰⁰ Lonsdale had numerous plants, flowers, trees and ornaments sent to Lowther Castle from Japan by native firm Yamanaka & Co, a company which also had a base in London.⁴⁰¹ Here a Japanese style garden was created amidst waterfalls, miniature ponds and no less than seven bamboo bridges. His head gardener Mr F. Clarke is credited with directed the laying out of much of the Japanese garden design.⁴⁰² Additional work on the Japanese gardens and the procuring of the Japanese plants and artefacts was the work of Messrs. T.R. Hayes & Sons, a landscape garden and

³⁹⁷ Raggett, J. 2002, *The Japanese-Style Garden in the British Isles: 1850-1950* (2 Volumes), Imprint: York, PhD Thesis, *University of York Thesis Collection: Department of Archaeology*.

³⁹⁸ Hall Chamberlain, B., & Mason, W.B. 1901, *A Handbook to the Empire of Japan: Handbook for Travellers in Japan (6th Edition)*, London: John Murray, Yokohama, Shanghai, Hong Kong Singapore: Kelly & Walsh Ltd, pp. 89-90.

³⁹⁹ Hope, R.C. 1896, *The Temples and Shrines of Nikko, Japan*, Yokohama: Kelly & Walsh Ltd.

⁴⁰⁰ 'Bazaar at Lowther Castle: Lord Lonsdale's Japanese Gardens', *The Yorkshire Post*, August 4th 1905, p. 6.

⁴⁰¹ Raggett, J. 2002, *The Japanese-Style Garden in the British Isles: 1850-1950* (2 Volumes), Imprint: York, PhD Thesis, *University of York Thesis Collection: Department of Archaeology*.

⁴⁰² 'Bazaar at Lowther Castle: Lord Lonsdale's Japanese Gardens', *The Yorkshire Post*, August 4th 1905, p. 6.

nursery company based in the lake district.⁴⁰³ The head gardener together with the landscape and nursery firm created a Japanese style garden to Lord Lonsdale's directions.

The Japanese designs at Lowther Castle utilised many of the oft seen features of Edwardian Japanese garden style, with numerous *bonsai* trees in pots adorning the many bridges and paths around the lakes. The usual suspects of bronze cranes and stone lanterns were littered throughout, and a Shinto shrine was erected on the site complete with guardian statues. Lonsdale's Japanese style garden demonstrated that his experiences of having visited gardens in Japan made a strong impression on him. Alfred Lys Baldry described the garden as exquisitely carried out on a small scale.⁴⁰⁴ This garden was however a Japan Garden designed to remind Lord Lonsdale of his travels and positive impressions of that country. However, he did not seem to have used any further literary inspiration for the design beyond those he saw in Japan, and Jill Raggett described how the garden was akin to a Victorian mantelpiece stuffed with curios and mementos (see Fig 46).⁴⁰⁵

Indeed, this was partly a result to the limited sphere of gardens that the British upper-class visiting Japan were exposed to, those of the wealthy Japanese aristocrats which favoured over ornamentation as popular in the Meiji era. Following the tourist trails and viewing the gardens of the Japanese aristocracy meant that wealthy tourists such as Lord Lonsdale viewed mainly modern garden styles and trends. This was reflected in the garden at Lowther Castle created after his trip to Japan. Those who strayed a bit further from the beaten paths of the oft seen gardens in major cities such as Tokyo and Kyoto often gained a wider appreciation for Japanese garden designs.

A good example of this is evidenced in artist Edward Atkinson Hornel's Japanese-Scottish garden at Broughton House, Kirkcudbrightshire. Hornel visited Japan several times, but first set out with fellow painter George Henry between 1893 and 1894.⁴⁰⁶ His garden was a knowing hybrid of Scottish-Celtic traditions and iconography mixed together with Japanese garden design ideas. Ysanne Holt

⁴⁰³ 'Southport Flower Show', *Lancashire Evening Post*, August 26th 1953, p. 5.

⁴⁰⁴ Holme, C. 1911, *The Gardens of England in the Northern Counties*, London: The Studio, p. xxix.

⁴⁰⁵ Raggett, J. 2002, *The Japanese-Style Garden in the British Isles: 1850-1950* (2 Volumes), Imprint: York, PhD Thesis, *University of York Thesis Collection: Department of Archaeology*.

⁴⁰⁶ Checkland, O. 2003, *Japan and Britain after 1859: creating cultural bridges*, New York and London: Routledge, p. 150.

described the way that Hornel utilised local ancient stones including the Dalshangan Cross from nearby Dundrennan Abbey in substitute for ancient stones as traditionally used in Japan.⁴⁰⁷ In this way Hornel wanted to evoke the spirit of Japanese gardening tradition down to the methods they employed to source their materials, mimicking this with Scottish local counterparts. There is a strong possibility that Hornel utilised the Japanese firm the *Yokohama Nursery Company* as in his book library he possessed copies of their nursery and seed catalogues.⁴⁰⁸ This could be one way he procured Japanese plants such as wisteria and peonies for his garden.

Hornel was a keen admirer of Japanese artistic sensibilities which he attempted to reflect and incorporate into his numerous painted scenes of Japan. He even delivered talks on Japanese flowers and garden style on his return to Britain, enthusiastically talking of the artistic infusion and nature links stemming from earlier periods of Japan's history.⁴⁰⁹ He acknowledged the lengthy and intensive study required to adequately understand the many nuances of Japanese arts such as garden design and *Ikebana* flower arranging. Clearly Hornel was a much more attuned and conscious British individual in his interaction with and perception of Japanese culture than many of the other visitors such as Lord Lonsdale. Hornel's publications drew praise with his record of local life, gained through his travels labelled as "comprehensive" reflecting his in-depth study of Japanese landscapes.⁴¹⁰ Hornel and George Henry made active efforts to stray from the beaten tourist paths and hotspots, instead heading for more rural communities to gain their artistic subject matter. This highlights another key difference between Hornel and Lord Lonsdale, as he stayed within the tourist-diplomat routes such as Yokohama, Tokyo and Kyoto. Hornel however was able to see and study gardens further afield, away from the usual tourist spots, giving him a greater appreciation of the variety and history of Japanese gardening.

This is reflected in his Japanese-Scottish garden which was created after his acquisition of Broughton House in 1901 and as discussed, possessed a wide range

⁴⁰⁷ Holt, Y. 2004, The Veriest Poem of Art in Nature: E. A. Hornel's Japanese Garden in the Scottish Borders, *Tate Papers: Tate's Online Research Journal*, Vol. 2, pp. 1-13.

⁴⁰⁸ Holt, Y. 2004, The Veriest Poem of Art in Nature: E. A. Hornel's Japanese Garden in the Scottish Borders, *Tate Papers: Tate's Online Research Journal*, Vol. 2, pp. 1-13.

⁴⁰⁹ Checkland, O. 2003, *Japan and Britain after 1859: creating cultural bridges*, New York and London: Routledge, p. 150.

⁴¹⁰ 'Art Matters: Japanese Studies by E. A. Hornel', *The Decorator and Furnisher*, September 1897, pp. 183-184.

of influences on its construction chiefly from his travels around Japan. However, this garden is still representative of the Japan Garden, albeit in this case, an unabashed and knowing exotic landscape to remind its owner of his travels in Japan. In fact, Broughton House still used the common motif of a lily pond crossed over by a bridge, with stone lanterns, stepping stones, potted dwarf trees and meandering paths setting the scene common to Victorian and Edwardian Japanese garden attempts.⁴¹¹ This is not to say this particular Japanese style garden was merely another example of similar gardens around Britain in this era. Ayako Ono points out Hornel's purchase of hundreds of common Japanese photographs on his travels, which together with his own recollections he;

“used them to convey his exotic impressions of Japan while resolutely pursuing an entirely western manner of painting. Henry's work shows a greater insight into Japanese culture and he seems to have understood and reacted to the more gentle and more delicate effects found in Japanese paintings”.⁴¹²

Hornel's juxtaposition of Japanese and Scottish-Celtic imagery, in addition to other more eccentric additions such as an un-Scottish and un-Japanese 'lead flamingo' statue created a concerted attempt at infusing cultural and individual ideas together in a garden space. While still a Japan Garden, this was a knowing Japan Garden.

With the comparison of Hornel and Lord Lonsdale's gardens, we can see differences in the approaches to re-creating Japanese garden style in British sites. As Hornel was more heavily involved in his garden and more widely influenced by a variety of examples and the history behind them, the results were a more thought out garden design that incorporated Japanese stylistic elements. Lord Lonsdale's intention was to stock his garden with as many Japanese curios and ornaments as he could procure with little thought to Japanese garden design principles such as layout and composition. Here Hornel's artistic profession gave him an advantage to see Japanese gardens as an art form rather than an aesthetic entity to be mimicked.

The tourist trails through Meiji Japan exerted a profound hold over foreign visitors. As demonstrated, at Lowther Castle this took the form of a travel souvenir garden full

⁴¹¹ Holt, Y. 2004, The Veriest Poem of Art in Nature: E. A. Hornel's Japanese Garden in the Scottish Borders, *Tate Papers: Tate's Online Research Journal*, Vol. 2, pp. 1-13.

⁴¹² Ono, A. 2003, *Japonisme in Britain: Whistler, Menpes, Henry, Hornel and Nineteenth-Century Japan*, London: Taylor & Francis Group, pp. 137-138.

to the brim with signifiers of Japan as a physical memento for Lord Lonsdale. Hornel's garden was formed with an active disregard for the tourist trail examples and their showy Meiji era arrangements. While his was still a travel souvenir garden and designed as a vestige of his travels, it was composed with native garden processes in mind. However, it was the Japanese gardens along the tourist trails as set out in guidebooks which provided the strongest examples as followed by British garden makers.

Outline Tours.		89	
Hirosaki	35,000	Osaka	821,000
Hiroshima	122,000	Otaru	57,000
Kagoshima	53,000	Otsu	34,000
Kanazawa	84,000	Saga	33,000
Kiryū	24,000	Sakai	50,000
Kōbe	216,000	Sakata	22,000
Kōchi	37,000	Sapporo	37,000
Kōfu	38,000	Sendai	83,000
Kokura	27,000	Shimonoseki	43,000
Kumamoto	61,000	Shizuoka	42,000
Kuro	22,000	Shuri	25,000
Kurume	29,000	Takamatsu	34,000
Kuwana	20,000	Takaoka	31,000
Kyōto	353,000	Takasaki	31,000
Maebashi	34,000	Tochigi	22,000
Marugame	25,000	Tokushima	62,000
Matsue	35,000	Tōkyō	1,440,000
Matsumoto	31,000	Toyama	60,000
Matsuyama	37,000	Toyohashi	22,000
Mito	34,000	Tsu	33,000
Mōji	25,000	Tsuru-ga-oka	20,000
Morioka	33,000	Ueda	24,000
Nafa	35,000	Utsunomiya	32,000
Nagano	31,000	Wakamatsu	29,000
Nagasaki	107,000	Wakayama	64,000
Nagoya	244,000	Yamagata	28,000
Nara	31,000	Yamaguchi	35,000
Niigata	53,000	Yokkaichi	25,000
Okayama	58,000	Yokohama	194,000
Onomichi	22,000	Yokosuka	25,000

28.—OUTLINE TOURS.	
1.—One Month's Tour from Yokohama:—	
Tokyo	3 days
Kamakura and Enoshima	1 "
Miyanoshiba (visit Hakone)	3 "
From Miyanoshiba to Nagoya by Tokaidō Railway	1 "
Nagoya	1 "
From Nagoya to Kyōto	1 "
Kyōto	4 "
Lake Biwa and back to Kyōto	1 "
From Kyōto to Nara and Kōbe	1 "
From Kōbe to Yokohama by steamer (by rail ½ day less)	13 "
From Yokohama to Nikkō by rail	1 "
Nikkō and Chūzenji	3 "
From Nikkō to Ikao viâ Ashio and the Watarase-gawa	2 "
Ikao (visit Haruna)	2 "
From Ikao to Kusatsu	1 "
Kusatsu	1 "
From Kusatsu to Karuizawa	1 "
From Karuizawa viâ Myōgi-san to Tōkyō	13 "

Introduction:—Outline Tours.		90
Spare day	1½ day	
Total	31 "	
With this tour may be combined the ascent of Fuji from Yokohama (Route 9). Those who object to purely Japanese accommodation should omit the journey from Nikkō to Ikao viâ Ashio, taking train instead, and also the visit to Kusatsu.		
2.—One Month's Tour from Kōbe:—		
Kōbe	1 day	
Osaka, Nara, Kyōto, and Lake Biwa	5 "	
Train from Kyōto to Gifu; along the Nakasendō to Asama-yama and Karuizawa	6 "	
From Karuizawa to Ikao	1 "	
Ikao	1 "	
From Ikao to Nikkō viâ the Watarase-gawa	2 "	
Nikkō and Chūzenji	4 "	
By rail to Tōkyō	1 "	
Tōkyō	3 "	
Yokohama, Kamakura, and Miyanoshiba	4½ "	
By Tokaidō Railway to Nagoya	1 "	
Rail to Kōbe	1 "	
Spare day	1 "	
Total	31 "	
If coming up the Tokaidō instead of the Nakasendō, the journey may be broken either at Nagoya or else at Shizuoka, from which latter place by jinrikisha viâ Kuno-zan to Okitsu, and on by rail to Kōzn.		
3.—One Month's Tour from Nagasaki:—		
Nagasaki and Onsen (Unzen)	4 days	
From Nagasaki to Kōbe by steamer*	2 "	
Nara, Kyōto, and Lake Biwa	5 "	
From Kyōto to Nagoya by Tokaidō Railway	1 "	
From Nagoya to Miyanoshiba	1 "	
Miyanoshiba	3 "	
From Miyanoshiba to Kamakura and Yokohama	1 "	
Yokohama	2 "	
Tōkyō	2 "	
From Tōkyō to Nikkō and back	4 "	
Steamer from Yokohama to Nagasaki	4 "	
Spare days	2 "	
Total	31 "	
4.—It frequently happens that travellers from America, en route to Europe viâ India, have only a fortnight to devote to Japan between the steamer that drops them at Yokohama and the next one that picks them up at Kōbe. To such the following outline is suggested: it entails no sleeping at native inns:—		
* Or else rail to Mōji, steamer to terminus of Sanyō line, and rail to Kōbe, stopping one night at Hiroshima after visiting Miyajima.		

Figure 47 – Outline Tours of Japan

Source - Hall Chamberlain, B., & Mason, W.B. 1901, *A Handbook to the Empire of Japan: Handbook for Travellers in Japan (6th Edition)*, London: John Murray, Yokohama, Shanghai, Hong Kong Singapore: Kelly & Walsh Ltd, pp. 89-

5.2. Creating a Souvenir Garden: Businesses, Garden Creators and their Connections



(By permission of Mrs. Henderson.)

THE WATER GARDEN AT SEDGWICK PARK, SUSSEX

Figure 48 – Sedgwick Park, Sussex Japanese Stone Lantern

Source - Holme, C. 1907, *The Gardens of England in the Southern and Western Counties*, London: The Studio, p. 182.

The enthusiasm in late Victorian and Edwardian Britain for Japanese culture generated an opportunity and demand for British gardeners to replicate that style for estate owners. While this was still a niche area of garden design, knowledge gained first-hand in Japan afforded reputations to garden designers as experts. For those returning from the Far East who desired a souvenir garden to be laid out, or those who wanted a garden to represent popular images of Japan, these gardeners were invaluable. As will be discussed, the direct experiences of the gardeners themselves were subordinate to the owner's desired layout and inspirational sources. However, having visited Japan gave an air of compatibility between their perceived expertise. Harold Peto provides a good example of a garden designer who travelled to Japan and benefitted from this association through subsequent business opportunities.

Peto travelled to Japan in 1898, and his experiences there and profession as a garden designer are likely reasons why he came to be sought after as the person to create gardens in Britain with a Japanese flavour to them.⁴¹³ The earliest of these garden sites was at Sedgwick Park in Sussex, commissioned by Emma Henderson for the estate in 1900. It was described as a 'water garden' by Alfred Lys Baldry who

⁴¹³ Whalley, R. 2007, *The Great Edwardian Gardens of Harold Peto: from the Archives of Country Life*, London: Aurum Press.

interestingly did not comment on the Japanese stone lantern set prominently within the scene (see Fig 48).⁴¹⁴ The garden area itself was a formally arranged lily pond with angular banks and flanked by rectangular clipped yew hedges on either side. In fact, it is only the stone lantern and perhaps (if being generous) the lilies that bring any sense of Japan to this garden. Rather, the Japanese stone lantern reflected the owner's touristic experiences and was a souvenir purchased during Robert and Emma Henderson's extensive tours of Asia, which included Japan.⁴¹⁵ Unlike Lord Lonsdale's garden stuffed full of Japanese ornaments, the sole lantern at Sedgwick Park stood as a solitary indicator of Japan within an English garden setting. Peto as a garden designer with Japanese garden knowledge appeared to be purely coincidental here with no further stylistic inclusions evident.

However, in 1901 a more clearly Japanese inspired garden was constructed by Peto at Heale House in Wiltshire. Lawrence Weaver cited Peto as having designed and laid out the formal gardens at Heale House and described the Japanese interests of Louis Greville who;

“spent some time in our diplomatic service at Tokio, and there learnt the charm which can be given to running water. He worked out the scheme of ponds, rills and rocks from his remembrance of Japan, fortified by a plan prepared by a Japanese gardener. The tea House and red bridge (copied from the Nikko Bridge) were not only made in Japan, but put up by two Japanese carpenters. Beneath the tea house two streams run at different levels, one above the other, the outcome of dams ingeniously disposed at intervals.”⁴¹⁶

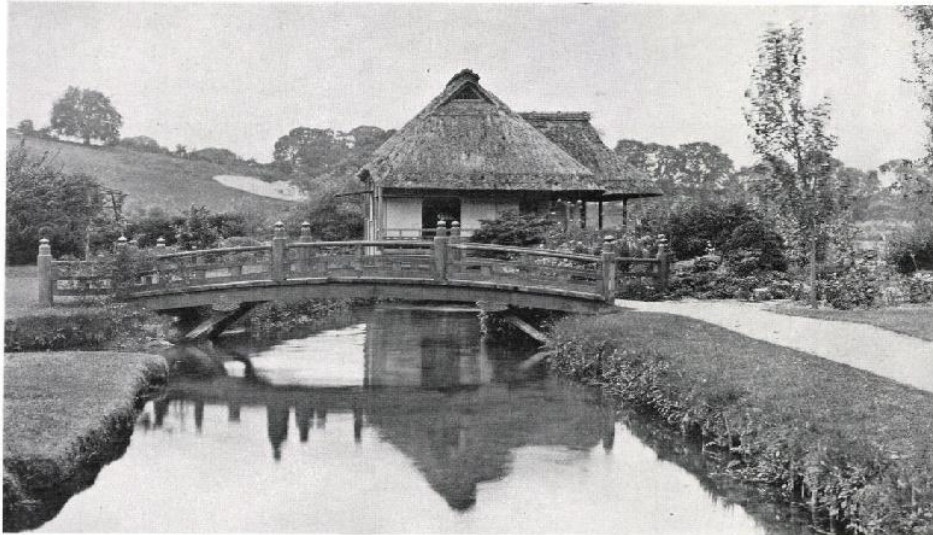
It is likely Greville commissioned Harold Peto to lay out the garden after his own time spent in Japan and because Peto had also seen their gardens himself. The overall layout at Heale House was in the flat-water style with a thatched roof teahouse and numerous stone lanterns adorning the surrounding trees and site. This garden was inspired by famous *Nikko* architecture, chiefly the red arched bridge (see Fig 49). Here we see the impact that the gardens on the tourist trails imparted on visitors, with *Nikko* a chief offender to this end. It is also evident that Peto's role was to follow

⁴¹⁴ Holme, C. 1907, *The Gardens of England in the Southern and Western Counties*, London: The Studio, p. 182.

⁴¹⁵ ‘Horsham and the Hendersons by Revd. Robert Toovey’, *West Sussex Gazette*, 11th June 2014.

⁴¹⁶ Weaver, L. ‘Country Homes Gardens old & New: Heale House, Wiltshire, the Seat of the Hon. Louis Greville’, *Country Life*, Vol. 37, Feb 27th 1915, pp. 272-277.

Greville's plans and vision for the garden rather than to provide any original input into the design. This was a further attempt to create a Japan Garden to remind Greville of his time in Japan, rather than to follow Japanese design principles.



Copyright.

THE NIKKO BRIDGE.

“COUNTRY LIFE.”

Figure 49 – Heale House, Wiltshire Japanese Garden with imitation *Nikko* bridge

Source - Weaver, L. 'Country Homes Gardens old & New: Heale House, Wiltshire, the Seat of the Hon. Louis Greville', *Country Life*, Vol. 37, Feb 27th 1915, pp. 272-277.

Harold Peto used his reputation and work at Heale House in securing another Japanese style garden commission at Easton Lodge, Essex for the Countess of Warwick who was a relative of Louis Greville. As with his earlier projects, Peto was required to integrate Japanese ornaments into an English garden setting. A statue of a Japanese figure was placed next to a lakeside pergola and rustic teahouse.⁴¹⁷ This was added later by the Countess as the statue only appears in slightly later images.⁴¹⁸ The overall design, as at Heale House was largely centred on a teahouse, this time next to a lake and with numerous Japanese stone lanterns. Compared with prior projects, Peto seemed to have had a little bit more creative

⁴¹⁷ Magnus, I. & Spencer-Jones, R. 2002, *The History of Easton Lodge*, Great Britain: Friends of the Gardens of Easton Lodge.

⁴¹⁸ Holme, C. 1908, *The Gardens of England in the Midland and Eastern Counties*, London: The Studio, Plates LVI & LVII.

license at Easton Lodge, incorporating the stone lanterns into a rockery with dwarf shrubs away from the teahouse.

Describing the gardens, Alfred Lys Baldry wrote that;

“The Japanese garden is a more freakish addition, but it justifies itself by its quaintness, and in its details it shows that the designer has studied Japanese methods with intelligence. There is certainly no reason why the Japanese style of gardening, which can often be employed where limitations of space make a larger manner of treatment practically impossible, should not be considered by designers in this country—it is capable of adaptation in many ways, and it represents the conviction of an exceedingly artistic nation.”⁴¹⁹

Baldry’s comments here were informed by his artistic background with his description of the Japanese as an ‘exceedingly artistic nation’. The use of the term ‘freakish addition’ implies that the Japanese garden style was still viewed as an unusual addition to estate landscapes. He also praised of Peto’s skill in blending Japanese garden ideas with English ones, a theme further in evidence at later Peto commissions.

As Peto’s reputation for creating Japanese style gardens grew he seemed to gain more license to design gardens based on blending Japanese ideas with English ones which was apparent at Wayford Manor and his own home at Iford Manor, both in Somerset. Here there was a greater emphasis on the plants of Japan rather than solely on aesthetic ornamentation. Peto once more utilised family connections for business, with Wayford Manor’s owner Lawrence Ingham Baker his brother-in-law.⁴²⁰ He designed a woodland garden rather than a lake-side water garden and incorporated numerous Japanese species of plants such as maples and wisteria into the scheme. Set within woodland walks around ponds and streams, this bore more in common with Japanese ideals, but blended with the English idea of a woodland garden. A few aesthetic features common to Peto gardens were integrated, in the form of a stone lantern and a Buddha statue indicating the continued presence of tourist memorabilia.

⁴¹⁹ Holme, C. 1908, *The Gardens of England in the Midland and Eastern Counties*, London: The Studio.

⁴²⁰ Whalley, R. 2007, *The Great Edwardian Gardens of Harold Peto: from the Archives of Country Life*, London: Aurum Press.

Overall, Harold Peto always seemed to strive to hybridise the Japanese elements within English gardens, with varying results. At Sedgwick Park the stone lantern is a lone ornament amidst a formal setting. While Heale House endeavoured to recall *Nikko* with its red bridge, Easton Lodge was somewhere between the two previous attempts with its pavilion by the lake and Oriental figure statue, an unusual inclusion in both Japanese and English gardens. It was at Peto's later gardens with their more naturalistic blend of aesthetic features amidst planting schemes, woodlands and rockeries that the hybridity of Japanese and English garden ideas was most well combined. Perhaps at his own and at his brother in law's residence he was at liberty to act more freely than for his stately-home clients. As a collective though, the main motive behind the design of all these gardens was the desire to recall travelling experiences which resulted in Japan Gardens. In Harold Peto's case he had his own direct experiences of having visited Japan to guide him, in addition to that of his employers. But it was the role of his employer's desires which were the stronger guiding factor for Peto's earlier commissions and the resulting Japan gardens.

Family links such as Louis Greville and his cousin the Countess of Warwick, in addition to Peto's own brother in law hiring him shows the importance of these connections for driving business. However, a reputation of expertise in making Japanese style gardens was also key factor for gaining work and Peto utilised both of these avenues to great success. Fellow rival gardeners and companies with the experience of having seen the gardens of Japan first-hand were a sought after commodity. Artist Alfred Parsons took a similar route into garden construction to Harold Peto setting out for Japan in 1892. He painted the sights and scenes he saw there, apparent in the numerous illustrations in his 1896 book *Notes in Japan* (see Fig 50).⁴²¹ Parsons was a keen admirer of Japanese art and garden style, which ultimately led to his career as a garden designer.⁴²² His reputation as possessing a keen knowledge of Japanese gardening was forged through his art and writings.

On his return to England he struck up a partnership with Captain Walter Partridge designing numerous gardens as Parsons & Partridge from 1895. Their Japanese expertise led them to sharing parts of the commission for the Countess of Warwick

⁴²¹ Parsons, A. 1896, *Notes in Japan*, New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers.

⁴²² Millette, N. 1997, *Landscape-Painter as Landscape-Gardener: The Case of Alfred Parsons R.A. Volume 1*, (PhD Thesis) *The University of York: Institute of Advanced Architectural Studies*.

with Harold Peto. Nicole Milette transcribed some of Parsons & Partridges personal correspondences, one of which read;

“Lady Warwick wired to him [Parsons] just before he started to say she was "charmed with the Down Hall garden alterations & wanted him to come & work at her garden". Peto is doing the work there so of course till we knew what she meant we couldn't go down there.”⁴²³

Milette goes on to suggest that Parsons & Partridge always held a great respect for Harold Peto, and even shared workers for their garden commissions. Here we can see the interlinked network of garden designers, often working in tandem with each other as in this instance. It is also of significance that Alfred Parsons was aware of Harold Peto’s work as he may have been partly influenced by his Japanese style gardens while working on his own projects.



A LITTLE TEMPLE AT NIKKO

Figure 50 – Alfred Parsons sketch of Temple at Nikko

Source - Parsons, A. 1896, *Notes in Japan*, New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, p. 91.

Parsons consistently kept tabs on competitors and nursery company prices such as those of Waterers & Son and Thomas Mawson.⁴²⁴ These garden designers were

⁴²³ Milette, N. 1997, *Landscape-Painter as Landscape-Gardener: The Case of Alfred Parsons R.A. Volume 1*, (PhD Thesis) *The University of York: Institute of Advanced Architectural Studies*, p. 211.

⁴²⁴ Milette, N. 1997, *Landscape-Painter as Landscape-Gardener: The Case of Alfred Parsons R.A. Volume 1*, (PhD Thesis) *The University of York: Institute of Advanced Architectural Studies*, p. 221.

also significant suppliers and creators of Japanese plants and Japanese style gardens in Britain. This itself is the biggest indicator of the thriving network of ideas, influences and garden services that grew to incorporate and accommodate Japanese gardening ideas. One garden design project for Parsons & Partridge was undertaken near Cardiff, Wales in 1905. Described as a 'Dell Garden' in a *Gauntlett & Co. Nursery catalogue*, the gardens at Coedarhydyglyn contained some Japanese themed elements.⁴²⁵ A Japanese style teahouse near a bridge over a stream was included, although unusually the teahouse was on raised legs like a tree house, amidst the woodland setting.

Parsons & Partridge were also credited with work at Llewellyn Edmund Traherne's brother Captain Onslow Powell Traherne's estate in nearby Bryngarw House, Bridgend. The motif here is very similar with a bridge over the pond, overlooked by a teahouse (this time not raised). Overall, the emphasis here is not too dissimilar to Harold Peto's designs, based around the big structures and ornamental artefacts. This however owes more to the garden's owner Captain Traherne, to the apparent distaste of Alfred Parsons writing in 1905,

"Traherne arrived here yesterday afternoon & has given us the job which he wants done bit by bit, & the valley part first - I am afraid he will want it much overplanted - eventually turned into a collector's garden which to my mind is usually most depressing & uninteresting".⁴²⁶

Parsons it seems wanted to create a water garden at the site, however Traherne was evidently intent on making of the site a Japan Garden. That Parsons used the term 'collector's garden' indicated Traherne's desire to furnish the garden with Japanese souvenirs. Here we see clear evidence of conflicting desires of the gardener with direct knowledge of gardens in Japan, and that of the owner wishing to create a garden to represent Japan on their estate.

It was the popularity of Japanese ornamentation and garden style which was evident in all of the examples discussed. The touristic experiences and mementos gathered were the key driving force behind creating these Japan Gardens to remind their owners of their travels. While not exclusively limiting themselves to projects of

⁴²⁵ *Hardy Plants Worth Growing*, V.N.Gauntlett & Co., Ltd., Japanese Nurseries, Chiddingfold, Surrey, Catalogue NO. 98 (c1928), p. 330.

⁴²⁶ PGW (Gm) 5 (BRI), *CADW/ICOMOS Register of Landscapes, Parks and Gardens of Special Historic Interest in Wales: Bryngarw*, (accessed online at: <http://orapweb.rcahms.gov.uk/coflein//C/CPG195.pdf>).

singular garden styles, Japanese garden and garden architecture were produced by many British garden, nursery or garden furniture firms, no doubt adapting and responding to customer demands. While this was limited solely to stocking Japanese plants at the end of the Victorian era, many companies soon provided landscape gardening services.

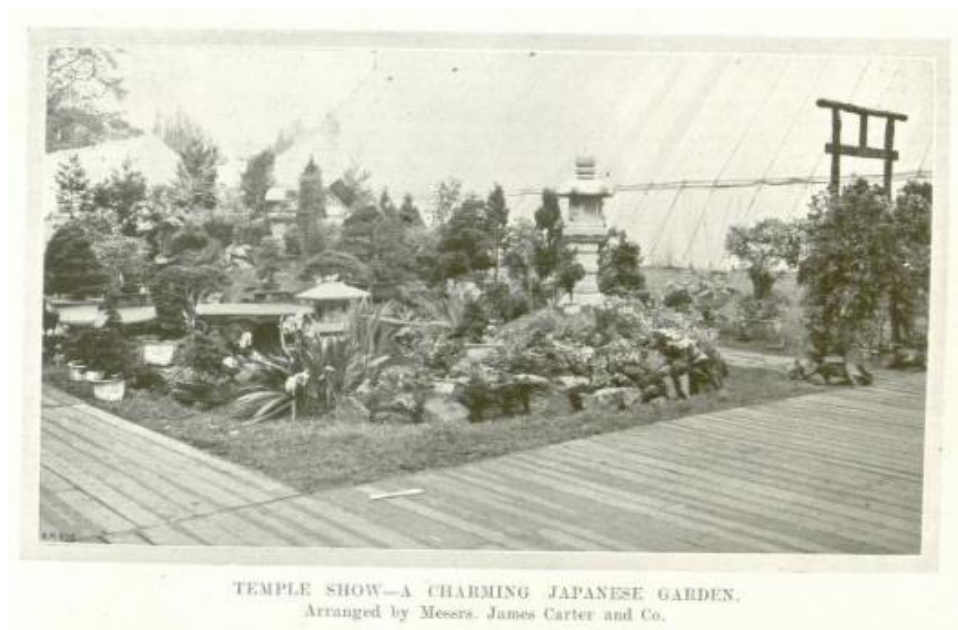


Figure 51 – Carters & Co. Japanese Garden at the Temple Flower Show 1909

Source - 'Temple Show – A Charming Japanese Garden' (image), *The Gardeners' Magazine*, June 5th 1909, p. 439.

Carters & Co. of Raynes Park in London began selling numerous Japanese plants, *bonsai* trees and ornaments during the 1900s. This evolved through that decade and by 1909 they were presenting full Japanese style gardens at national horticultural events such as the *Temple Flower Show*. Their displays included all the features most strongly associated with that country; stone lanterns, miniature *bonsai* trees, *Tori* gateways and bronze storks (see Fig 51).⁴²⁷ Even a miniature bridge over a pond was included to complete this typical scene. By 1912 Carters and Co. were including pagodas, a teahouse and numerous Japanese artefacts on a bigger and more elaborate scale. Even after the 1910 Japan-British Exhibition, one writer described the garden as “one of those curious scenes for which the Japanese are famous”.⁴²⁸ This indicates the Japanese garden was still an exotic visage in Britain

⁴²⁷ 'Temple Show – A Charming Japanese Garden' (image), *The Gardeners' Magazine*, June 5th 1909, p. 439.

⁴²⁸ 'Japanese and Tudor Gardens', *The Gardeners' Magazine*, May 25th 1912, p. 9.

and Carters were cashing in on what was still a niche market that could draw in crowds.

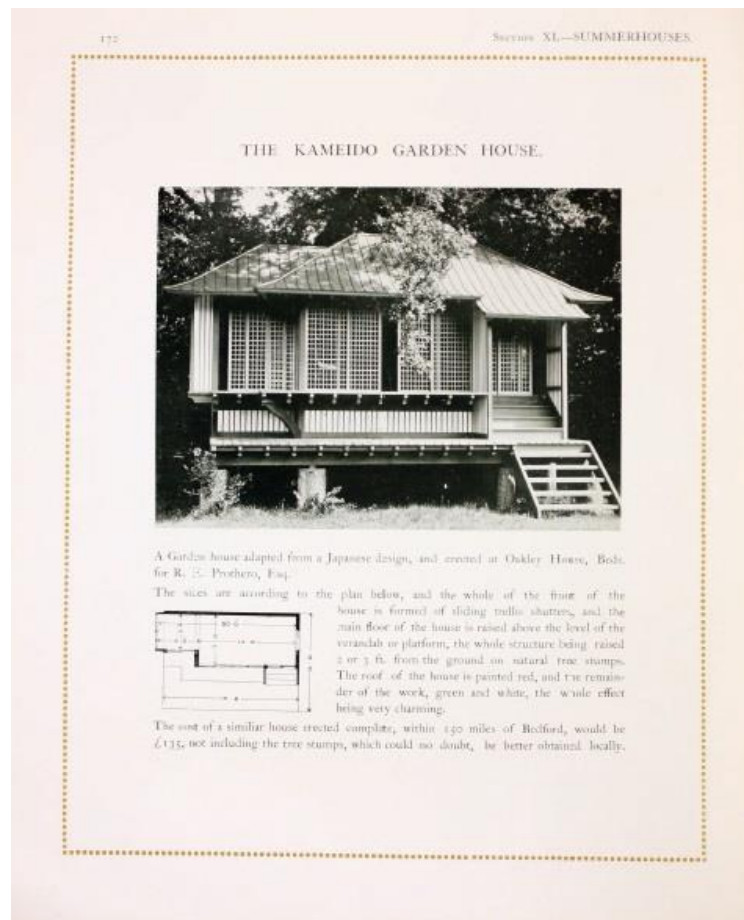


Figure 52 – ‘Kameido House’ inspired by the Kameido Shrine in Japan

Source - White, J.P. c1907, *Garden Furniture and Ornament*, Bedford & London: The Pyghtle Works, p. 172.

Garden structures and architecture in a Japanese style were similarly well marketed to meet demand. John P. White & Sons, a company based in Bedford produced a catalogue of their garden furniture and ornaments (circa 1907), which included Japanese designs. One such design was “The Kameido Garden House” which was “an adapted Japanese design, and erected at Oakley House, Beds. For R. E. Prothero Esq” (see Fig 52).⁴²⁹ This structure was created in imitation of a traditional Japanese house, miniaturised to create a summerhouse in a Bedfordshire garden. The Kameido shrine on which this house was based is a famous tourist spot in Tokyo, more commonly associated with the sketches and photos of the red arched

⁴²⁹ White, J.P. c1907, *Garden Furniture and Ornament*, Bedford & London: The Pyghtle Works, p. 172.

drum bridge with wisteria arbours, widely circulated in the late 1800s and early 1900s. Interestingly White's company opted to paint the roof red and main building green and white, in contrast to the actual temple, which had a green roof and red and white main building. Perhaps this was done to taste rather than in keeping with the actual Japanese model. The shrine building being used in imitation does show the continued growth of Japan gardens in Britain, designed to resemble some aspect or image of Japan – in this case, a popular tourist spot.

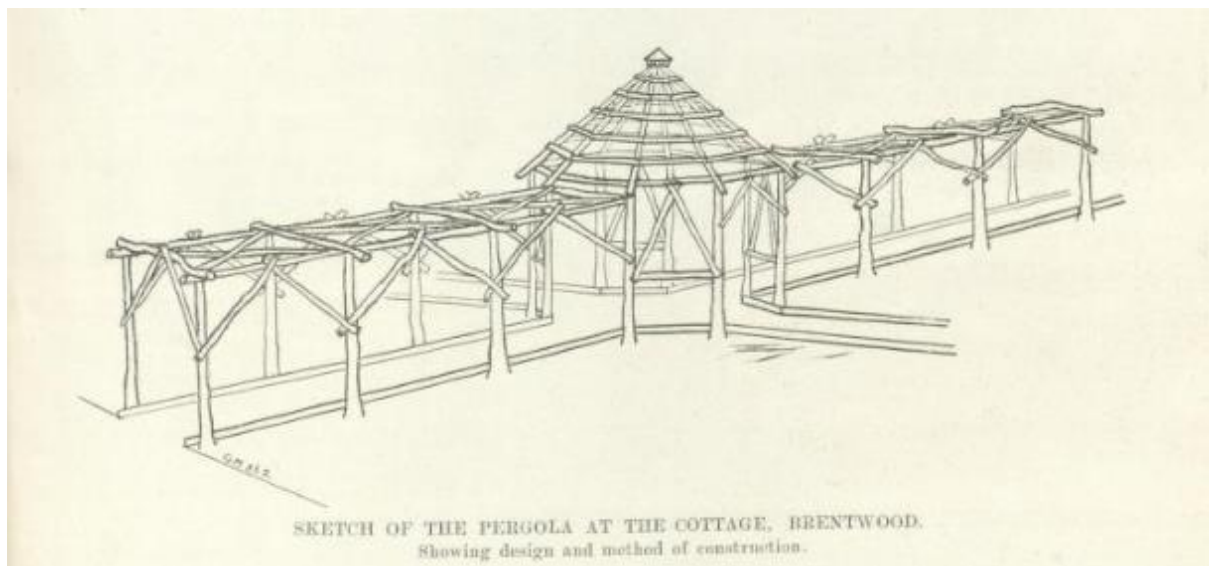


Figure 53 - Brentwood Pergola Inspired by a Japanese model

Source - 'A Simple Pergola', *The Gardeners' Magazine*, September 26th 1908, p. 729.

The success of their 'Kameido garden house' looks to have prompted White to draw up additional Japanese sketches in the form of "The Fuji-Yama summerhouse" and "Oak Pergola" designed as a succession of Japanese *tori* gates, this time advertised as a 'designs and quotes provided on request' basis.⁴³⁰

These designs were a more creative take on Japanese style and design in comparison to the literal translations from the *Kameido* shrine. These aesthetic designs were clearly marketed to be pleasing to the British consumer. A similar style approach was taken by a garden owner in Brentwood who provided a sketch for *The Gardeners' Magazine*, describing how he based a rose bower adjoined to his pergola on an engraved sketch he recalled seeing in a Japanese text some years previously

⁴³⁰ White, J.P. c1907, *Garden Furniture and Ornament*, Bedford & London: The Pyghtle Works, p. 173 and 187.

(see Fig 53).⁴³¹ These attempts to infuse Japanese style in garden structures were not always literal attempts to create replicas. The accompanying image attests to this, showing the pergola within a more formally arranged rose garden.⁴³²

White & Sons also designed and erected many Japanese style bridges, including one at Eaton Hall, Chester. Interestingly the design of this bridge was not from a Japanese source but those of a Mr C. E. Mallows.⁴³³ Again this shows British designers adapting the Japanese style to suit British tastes. More clearly imitative bridges entitled the 'Tokio Bridge' and 'Osaka Bridge' were represented in sketches with accompanying photos of the famous bridges at *Kameido* and *Nikko* in Japan.⁴³⁴ All aspects of Japanese garden architecture appeared to gain the treatment of British hybridisation, within existing frameworks of summerhouses, pergolas and garden bridges which were common additions in British gardens. At Eaton Hall, the bridge was the only part of the gardens with any design basis from Japanese aesthetic. The aim here was seemingly to construct a bridge with a different, exotic style rather than to build a Japanese style garden. As was the pergola at Brentwood, set within a rose garden. The process of incorporation of Japanese design principles, rather than mimicking of Japanese gardens or their style in their entirety was attempted by many gardeners. This ran parallel and in reaction to those who attempted to mimic Japanese garden aesthetics.

The appropriation of Japanese style by British garden designers and firms demonstrated a viable new business market to serve estate owners by creating physical mementos or places to home a multitude of travel curios. Harold Peto and Alfred Parsons used their reputations as Japanese garden experts gained via actual travels there. In addition to this, the utilisation of family connections served to boost business and fostered further garden commissions. The preference for the Japanese aesthetic over blending garden design principles was evident in the majority of these gardens. This was an ethic which encouraged the mimicking of Japanese style by architectural firms such as J.P. White & Sons, who designed teahouses and bridges based on images of famous examples (see Fig 54). The Japanese garden was

⁴³¹ 'A Simple Pergola', *The Gardeners' Magazine*, September 26th 1908, p. 729.

⁴³² 'A Light and Tasteful Rose Arbour at the Cottage, Brentwood', *The Gardeners' Magazine*, August 22nd 1908, p. 643.

⁴³³ White, J.P. c1907, *Garden Furniture and Ornament*, Bedford & London: The Pyghtle Works, p. 193.

⁴³⁴ White, J.P. c1907, *Garden Furniture and Ornament*, Bedford & London: The Pyghtle Works, pp. 196 and 198.

consumed by British tourists and recreated as Japan gardens in the estates of Britain, to serve as a physical travel souvenir.



PATENT ANGLO - JAPANESE PORTABLE GARDEN HOUSE

The back and sides are fitted with Japanese Bamboo Blinds. The roof is of weather-proof English Sail Cloth, and being open on all sides renders the house delightfully cool and perfectly ventilated. Its simple construction makes the fixing, or unfixing, an easy matter

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Sizes denote floor measurements Platform, in sections, can be fitted at small extra charge

New Booklet, "Cane Chairs," Free

MAPLE & CO **LONDON PARIS**

Figure 54 – Maple & Co, Anglo-Japanese Portable Garden House 1908. The Japanese aesthetic saw many creative translations.

Source – Maple & Co. 'Patent Anglo-Japanese Portable Garden House', *The Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*, May 9th 1908, p. 369.

5.3. The Royal Connection: King Edward VII & Japanese Garden Style

Prior to 1901 and the Edwardian era Japanese style gardens while not completely absent were less common in Britain. It seems no coincidence that the marked rise in the amount of Japanese style garden sites across Britain came about after King Edward VII ascended the throne. It was during his reign that Japan took its biggest strides towards achieving a place of respect and prosperity on the global stage. Positive links between the two royal families were not always so cordial. For example, at the celebrations for the fiftieth anniversary of Queen Victoria's ascension to the throne in 1887, Prince Komatsu felt insulted by the inadequate reception he received by the British royalty. Incidents such as this strained the relationship between the two royal families and the Queen evidently did not hold any special regard for Japan. However, with the ascension of King Edward to the throne this relationship changed dramatically, as the new monarch was highly favourable to a close alliance with Japan.⁴³⁵

This was exemplified and solidified by the first Anglo-Japanese Alliance which was signed on the 30th January 1902. The Anglo-Japanese Alliance has been described as the most important relationship that Britain had in the first half of the twentieth century.⁴³⁶ Added to this was the cordial and active relationship between the royal families of Britain and Japan, with King Edward sending Prince Arthur of Connaught and Lord Redesdale to bestow the high honour of the Order of the Garter on Emperor Meiji in 1906.⁴³⁷ Prince Fushimi of Japan's royal line reciprocated honours back in London in 1907, thus sealing the ties between the two royal families. Additionally, important Japanese figures from the financial world were hosted at Buckingham Palace such as Count Matsukata in 1902, a figure who worked to improve Japan's financial standing.⁴³⁸ The Royal connection was a big factor in the

⁴³⁵ Best, A. 2007, 'A Royal Alliance: Court Diplomacy and Anglo-Japanese Relations, 1900-41', from: Cortazzi, H. 2007, *Japan and Britain: Biographical Portraits (volume 6)*, Folkestone: Global Oriental, pp. 63-70.

⁴³⁶ Best, A. 2007, 'A Royal Alliance: Court Diplomacy and Anglo-Japanese Relations, 1900-41', from: Cortazzi, H. 2007, *Japan and Britain: Biographical Portraits (volume 6)*, Folkestone: Global Oriental, pp. 63-70.

⁴³⁷ Hotta-Lister, A. 'The Japan-British Exhibition of 1910: The Japanese Organizers', from; Nish, I. 1994, *Britain & Japan: Biographical Portraits*, Folkestone: Japan Library, c1994, pp. 146-158.

⁴³⁸ Tamaki, N. 'Japan's Adoption of the Gold Standard and the London Money Market 1881-1903: Matsukata, Nakai and Takahashi', from; Nish, I. 1994, *Britain & Japan: Biographical Portraits*, Folkestone: Japan Library, c1994, pp. 121-132.

success of Japan's international ventures and was vital in progressing the Meiji government's promotion of Japan overseas. The prestige of gaining honorary titles and the inter-nation support gained through the Anglo-Japanese Alliance during King Edward's reign cemented a positive reputation for Japan in Britain, and vice versa.

This new prestige was evident in many avenues such as the financial circles of London, but also in the new influx of Japanese style gardens that proceeded to be built around Britain. As will be discussed, the British and Japanese royal connection was an important factor involved in their spread and popularity. In addition to the political factors of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance it is not widely known that King Edward was a keen horticulturalist and admirer of many of the Japanese gardens built around Britain. With the interest of King Edward, we see how far up the echelons of the aristocracy the appreciation of Japanese Garden style was and this is frequently alluded to in writings about King Edward both in the press and aristocratic biographical memoirs. It is highly significant that King Edward was seen to be a keen admirer of Japanese garden design, as this greatly boosted the spread of this style across Britain during his reign between 1901 and 1910.

King Edward's favourite Japanese style garden appeared to have been one laid out at Rufford Abbey in Nottinghamshire which the royal party frequently visited. The site contained a garden laid out in spring 1903, a year after the signing of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. Rufford Abbey was a frequent stop for the royal party on visits to the Midlands with Lord and Lady Savile old friends of King Edward and Queen Alexandra.⁴³⁹ Lady Savile was credited with instructing the layout of the garden, but John Doe appears to have been the head gardener at Rufford Abbey who carried out these plans.⁴⁴⁰ The key features of the garden were a rustic arched bridge of twisted branches, a stone bridge further up, a few winding paths and a rustic house at the top of a hill, partially obscured by trees (see Fig 55).⁴⁴¹ It was described as; "being a wonderful pleasance in miniature, with paved walks and toy lake and waterfall."⁴⁴² This combination of a rustic house and bridge, winding paths around a lake and the

⁴³⁹ 'His Majesty at Rufford', *The Lincolnshire Chronicle*, September 9th 1904, p.8.

⁴⁴⁰ Nottinghamshire County Council, 1980, *Rufford Past and Present*, Nottinghamshire: The Quoin Press Limited, pp. 9-10.

⁴⁴¹ 'Rufford Abbey Garden Photos', *The Bystander*, February 21st 1906, pp. 380-381.

⁴⁴² Haslehurst, E., & Murray-Gilchrist, R. 1913, *The Dukeries*, London, Glasgow and Bombay: Blackie and Son Ltd, p. 54.

addition of a few stone lanterns became the archetypal Edwardian Japanese style garden design.

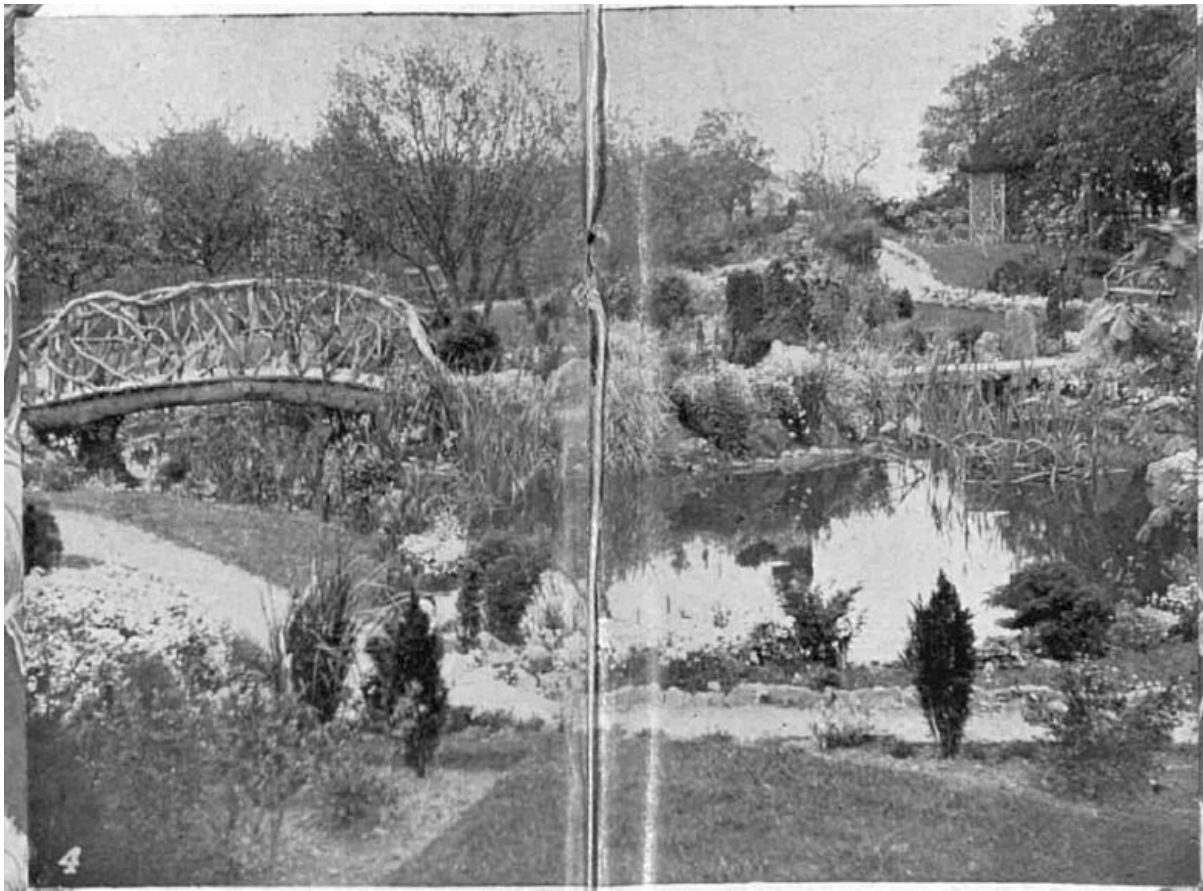


Figure 55 –Japanese Garden at Rufford Abbey, Nottinghamshire, with basic layout of rustic bridge and teahouse

Source - ‘Rufford Abbey Garden Photos’, *The Bystander*, February 21st 1906, pp. 380-381.

Rufford Abbey was frequently reported in glowing terms and was often described as being laid out “in the correct Japanese fashion” and “considered to be the most perfect specimen in England.”⁴⁴³ King Edward’s high regard for the site lent weight to this reputation of being ‘correctly Japanese’, although this was mere praise rather than an incisive assessment. Edward’s active appreciation was exemplified during one visit to the Abbey where;

“the King was early in the grounds at Rufford, having commanded the head gardener from Sandringham, whom his majesty had telegraphed for the previous day, to go round the gardens with him at half-past eight, thus

⁴⁴³ ‘The King at Rufford Abbey’, *The Nottingham Evening Post*, September 11th 1907, p.3; ‘Heir to Lord Savile: The Rufford Succession Secured’, *The Nottingham Evening Post*, January 28th 1919.

manifesting to an abundant degree the King's appreciation of the appearance of the gardens at Rufford during the present visit."⁴⁴⁴

This implied that he wanted the royal gardener to make notes for guidance to improve his own gardens at Sandringham. Additionally, Queen Alexandra had thought about the idea of constructing a Japanese style garden at Sandringham however this idea never came to fruition.⁴⁴⁵

King Edward's love of horticulture and gardening was a frequently reported characteristic in many memoirs of wealthy landowners, friends and acquaintances. In the Earl of Sandwich's biography, he described how his close friend; "The King took me all over his gardens, and I was astounded at his knowledge of horticulture, and the great interest he took in all his works in the garden and farm."⁴⁴⁶ The Earl of Sandwich also had a Japanese Garden built at his Hinchingsbrooke House estate in Huntingdonshire, completed around 1906. This was partly inspired by his trip to Japan where he took in the touristic sights at Kobe, Yokohama, Tokyo, Osaka, Nara, Nikko and Kyoto – which he described as the most interesting town he had ever visited. He saw many temples and gardens of the wealthy on his visit and "was taken with the little landscape of the Japanese gardeners".⁴⁴⁷ However this was not reflected in the garden he created back in England. His garden was reflective of those favoured by King Edward in its simplified composition.

The garden was a typical example of the early hybrid Anglo-Japanese garden, similar to the one at Rufford Abbey with its use of bronze storks, stone lanterns, thatched teahouse and bridges (see Fig 56). Although a water fountain set in the pond is a jarring European garden element in this supposed vision of Japan, in addition to the rolling lawns and absence of stone or rock arrangements. If ever a garden was merely "speaking with a Japanese accent" as the famous quote goes, Hinchingsbrooke's Japanese garden certainly was.⁴⁴⁸ It was the Earl of Sandwich's close affiliation with King Edward that explained the closer resemblance to the

⁴⁴⁴ 'The King in Notts – Visit to Newstead Abbey – Service at Rufford', *The Nottingham Evening Post*, September 18th 1905, p.3.

⁴⁴⁵ 'The Queen at Sandringham', Jessop, E.M., *The Pall mall magazine*, February 1903, pp. 195 – 205.

⁴⁴⁶ Montagu, E.G.H., & Mrs Erskine, S. (Beatrice Strong, editor) 1919, *Memoirs of Edward Earl of Sandwich 1839-1916*, London: John Murray, p. 242.

⁴⁴⁷ 'Country Homes Old & New: Hinchingsbrooke, Huntingdonshire, The Seat of the Earl of Sandwich', *Country Life*, November 2nd 1907, p. 636.

⁴⁴⁸ Weaver, L. 'Country Homes Gardens old & New: Heale House, Wiltshire, the Seat of the Hon. Louis Greville', *Country Life*, Vol. 37, Feb 27th 1915, p. 277.

Rufford Abbey Japanese style gardens. This was despite of him having seen gardens in Japan, to which Hinchingsbrooke House's bore scant resemblance. The intent here was to create a garden to the fashion approved of by King Edward rather than to replicate Japanese garden style in any elaborate form. At Hinchingsbrooke House, the direct Japanese knowledge of the owner seemed to have made way for the style in trend at the time, as discussed this incorporated a level of Kingly influence. The style also reflected the experience of the Earl's head gardener James Barston who laid out the site with the assistance of his subordinates and many unemployed labourers brought in to dig out a large lake.⁴⁴⁹ These gardeners will have had little knowledge of Japanese garden design principles with which to guide them.



Copyright.

JAPANESE GARDEN.

"COUNTRY LIFE."

Figure 56 – The Earl of Sandwich's Japanese Garden at Hinchingsbrooke House

**Source – 'Country Homes Old & New: Hinchingsbrooke, Huntingdonshire, The Seat of the Earl of Sandwich',
Country Life, November 2nd 1907, p. 636.**

Further visits of King Edward to other notable gardens with Japanese areas provided further evidence of his appreciation of Japanese themed aesthetics. This was detailed in Lord Redesdale's Memoirs (1915) where he described King

⁴⁴⁹ 'The Earl of Sandwich's Sympathy', *The Morning Post*, December 1st 1905, p. 4.

Edward's passion for gardening and his own personal garden accolade from the visit;

“But my triumph as a gardener was complete when on the Monday the King put off his return to London till midday so that he might once more walk up the hill, which, at first, he had declared to be tabu.”⁴⁵⁰

Lord Redesdale was another close associate of King Edward's and is credited with advising him for improvements to the grounds at Buckingham Palace, as “the late King had great confidence in the taste and judgement of Lord Redesdale where landscape gardening was concerned”.⁴⁵¹ These royal seals of approval gave much credit to those who owned an estate containing gardens worthy of such praise the Countess of Warwick even went so far as to credit King Edward with inciting a movement stating that; “I think, that the revival of interest in gardens, was due, in great measure, to his influence.”⁴⁵² Many of these attributions were made about King Edward by close friends and acquaintances, but the indication remains that his enthusiasm for horticulture was strong and clearly influential amongst the aristocracy of Britain. With many gardens such as those at Hinchingsbrooke House and Rufford Abbey being built in the same mould, this influence was even more pronounced.

The royal interest in gardening was not limited to King Edward. Equally of significance was that his wife Queen Alexandra also had a keen interest in Japanese horticulture. She is cited in both Carters & Co. (see Fig 58) and Gauntlett's Japanese Nursery catalogues as having ordered Japanese specimens from their collections.⁴⁵³ As was King Edward who possessed some unique *bonsai* dwarf trees, of which “he is greatly interested”.⁴⁵⁴ *The Gardeners' Magazine* similarly cited Queen Alexandra's admiration for a Carters & Co. exhibition garden at the Ranelagh Grounds in Chelsea which were on a grand scale.⁴⁵⁵ In fact it was they who built a Japanese style garden at the behest of King Edward at Royal Ascot two years prior to this exhibit (see Fig 57).⁴⁵⁶ This commission was a further example of King Edward's

⁴⁵⁰ Redesdale, L. 1915, *Memories*, New York: E.P. Dutton & Co, pp.764 - 766.

⁴⁵¹ ‘Lord Redesdale – Gardener’, *The Manchester Courier*, October 28th 1913, p. 6.

⁴⁵² Greville, F.E.D. 1931, *Afterthoughts*, London, Toronto, Melbourne and Sydney: Cassell and Company Ltd, pp. 15-16.

⁴⁵³ Carters & Co. *1909 Catalogue*, High Holburn: London, p. 252; *Hardy Plants Worth Growing*, V.N.Gauntlett & Co., Ltd., Japanese Nurseries, Chiddingfold, Surrey, Catalogue NO. 98 (c1928), p. 5.

⁴⁵⁴ Maumerne, A. 1908, *The Japanese Dwarf Trees: Their Cultivation in Japan and their use and Treatment in Europe*, *Journal of the Royal Horticultural Society*, Vol. 33, pp. 53-70.

⁴⁵⁵ ‘Japanese and Tudor Gardens’, *The Gardeners' Magazine*, May 25th 1912, p. 9.

⁴⁵⁶ ‘The Sportswoman’, *The Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*, July 18th 1910, p. 670.

preference for the simplistic Japanese style in evidence at Rufford Abbey and Hinchingsbrooke House. The garden comprised of the usual pond with winding stepping stone pathways, waterfall and adorned with Japanese stone lanterns.⁴⁵⁷



Figure 57 – Carters & Co. Japanese Garden at Ascot as ordered by King Edward VII

Source - Postcard – ‘A Japanese Garden Constructed by *Carters* at Ascot’, c1910, accessed online at: <https://www.hippocard.com/listing/br67325-japanese-garden-japan-carters-ascot-london-raynes-park-uk-14x9cm/18368670>.

While King Edward and Queen Alexandra did not have a Japanese style garden laid out at the royal residences, the commission at Ascot showed that they held a concerted desire to have one built.

With the active roles played by King Edward and Queen Alexandra we can see how Japanese Garden Style was approved of and deemed an acceptable trend amongst the aristocracy of Britain during the Edwardian era. The gardens at Ascot solidified this approval to the wider British society via the social setting of the

⁴⁵⁷ Postcard – ‘A Japanese Garden Constructed by *Carters* at Ascot’, c1910, accessed online at: <https://www.hippocard.com/listing/br67325-japanese-garden-japan-carters-ascot-london-raynes-park-uk-14x9cm/18368670>.

racecourse. Albeit, the Japanese garden was finished after King Edward's death in 1910, which will have limited the wider impact of his approval to the viewing public. The royal endorsement of Japanese garden style was however certainly a motivating factor for those wanting to seek favour with King Edward and Queen Alexandra. With the enthusiasm of King Edward adding a layer of prestige to having a Japanese style garden at country estates, the ground was paved for the ensuing fashion and great number to be constructed across Britain. Clearly King Edward's approval of the gardens at Rufford Abbey were not based on having seen actual gardens in Japan, rather they were based on an idea or preconceived image of Japanese gardens.



Figure 58 – Queen Alexandra in Carters & Co. catalogue

Source - *Carters & Co. 1909 Catalogue*, High Holburn: London, p. 252.

It is significant that King Edward's friend the Earl of Sandwich had created a hybridised Japanese style garden of a similar style to those at Rufford Abbey despite having been to Japan himself. One would think he would have been more influenced by having seen gardens in Japan for himself, but this evidently was not the case. With the garden at Hinchingsbrooke House bearing greater resemblance to Rufford Abbey, the trend and desire to have a garden pleasing to King Edward outweighed any desire to recreate a garden based on his own experiences in Japan. As with the example of Hinchingsbrooke House and the Earl of Sandwich, having visited Japan did not always mean that gardens constructed in Britain would bear greater resemblance to their Japanese counterparts.

King Edward's approval of Japanese garden style was born out of the combination of his general interest in horticulture and the politics of alliance with Japan. Japanese imperialism was in its beginnings with victories over China and Russia and the acquisition of Korea and Formosa as territories. In contrast British imperialism was well established but in need of support against other European nations. Within the Edwardian era's Japanese garden craze, the political motive of both Japan and Britain to forge an alliance created an environment where Japanese culture was seen in a positive light. With King Edward at the top of the hierarchy of the aristocracy, this lent a huge weight of endorsement to a Japanese style which became a widespread feature in British estates. This was a simplistic, aesthetic style based on a few scant Japanese ornamental features, but it served the purposes of both the British and Meiji Japanese governments in fostering cordial relationships between the two nations.

5.4. Aristocratic links: Meiji Garden Parties

Cordial relationships were cemented by official visitations to estates of the aristocracy both in Japan and Britain. Many high-status British figures of political importance visited Japan and the gardens of similarly high-ranking Japanese figures. These exchanges and interactions of British in Japan and Japanese in Britain will be explored to show the links between the Anglo-Japanese Alliance and garden construction. As will be seen, the gardens British aristocrats visited in Japan would affect their perception of them, as they were modern examples of Meiji era style. Aside from his links to King Edward, this in part explains the Earl of Sandwich's simplistic garden in Huntingdonshire. He was involved in the process of good relation building and visited Japan in 1901, where he met with a great many dignitaries and officials. Significantly, he visited Baron Aritomo Yamagata's recently constructed gardens at Murin-an in Kyoto which were designed to be a hybrid European-Japanese blend.⁴⁵⁸ Murin-an's key European feature of open lawns perhaps gave the Earl the impression that Japanese gardens sometimes featured them traditionally. Hinchingsbrooke's gardens similarly placed emphasis on the lawns, infused with Japanese features, reflecting this modern Japanese style over traditional models.

In addition, the Earl of Sandwich was hosted by Count Matsukata on his visit to Japan, exposing him to the Count's gardens.⁴⁵⁹ Matsukata was a former prime minister and led the adoption of the gold standard which drove Japan's modernisation forward into the twentieth century. Intertwined with the political motive of modernising Japan was the adoption of European styles and features. As examined already, many high-ranking Japanese figures incorporated these features into their estates.⁴⁶⁰ Indeed, many of the garden parties and events increasingly began to feature the adoption of foreign styles of dress and dancing. These functions allowed the interaction and integration between foreign and Japanese officials alike, with the *Japan Weekly Mail* reporting that their Princes and Princesses were joined by a large number of foreign ladies and gentlemen at garden party hosted by

⁴⁵⁸ Montagu, E.G.H., & Mrs Erskine, S. (Beatrice Strong, editor), 1919, *Memoirs of Edward Earl of Sandwich 1839-1916*, London: John Murray, p. 237.

⁴⁵⁹ Nish, I. 1994, *Britain & Japan: Biographical Portraits*, Folkestone: Japan Library, pp. 122-123.

⁴⁶⁰ *See chapter 2*

Marquis and Marchioness Maeda.⁴⁶¹ However it was the signing of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance in 1902 which really saw a significant improvement in the relations between Japan and Britain. Celebrations for the coronation of King Edward at the British Legation in Tokyo, hosted by Sir Claud and Lady MacDonald was attended by numerous Imperial Princes, Princesses and Counts Okuma and Matsukata.⁴⁶²

At Waseda in Tokyo, Count Shigenobu Okuma had a dual residence of Western and Japanese style buildings side-by-side in the same vein as Aritomo Yamagata's at Murin-an. Okuma was another former prime minister and influential figure who enacted the Meiji era blend of foreign and Japanese styles of architecture and garden. He frequently held garden parties for traditional events such as the chrysanthemum season.⁴⁶³ His gardens, like Yamagata's, were a fusion of European open lawns, crossed by paths and clipped shrubs placed here and there in an attempt to harmonize foreign and indigenous styles.⁴⁶⁴ (see Fig 59)

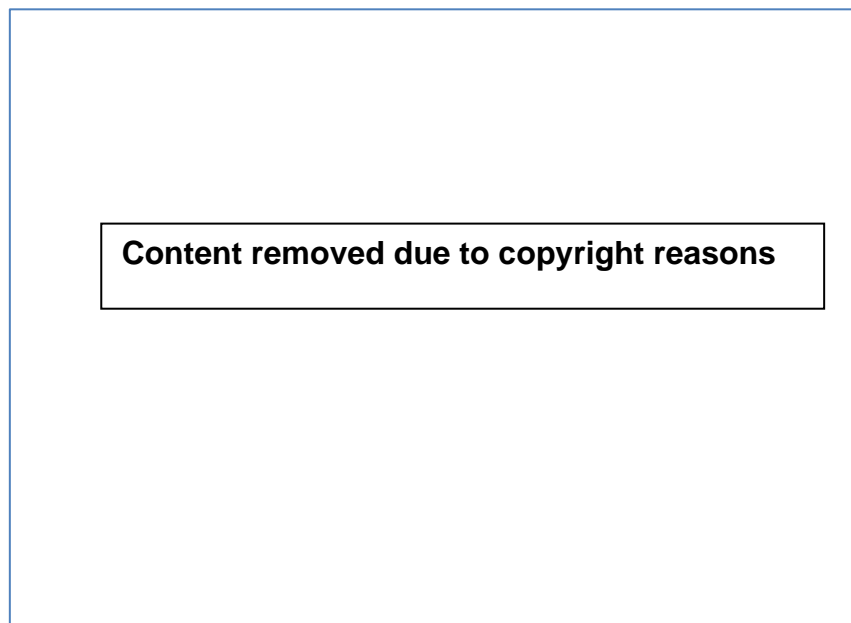


Figure 59 – Okuma garden, Tokyo: A Western Hybrid Garden

Source - Newsom, S. 1955, *A Thousand Years of Japanese Gardens (2nd edition)*, Tokyo: Tokyo News Service, Ltd, p. 301.

⁴⁶¹ *The Japan Weekly Mail*, November 17th 1888, p. 460.

⁴⁶² 'King Edward VII', *The Japan Weekly Mail*, November 15th 1902, p. 534.

⁴⁶³ *The Japan Weekly Mail*, November 17th 1888, p. 461.

⁴⁶⁴ Newsom, S. 1955, *A Thousand Years of Japanese Gardens (2nd edition)*, Tokyo: Tokyo News Service, Ltd, p. 301.

The lawns provided an open vista for hosting parties for dignitaries and diplomats alike, much in the English garden party format. This was a uniquely late Meiji era style of garden which moved away from the showy and over-ornamented Japanese gardens popular elsewhere. In fact, there was a distinct scaling back of the use of Japanese emblems such as stone lanterns which were peripheral in this garden scheme.⁴⁶⁵ Like the Earl of Sandwich at Hinchingsbrooke House, a combination of these European inspired gardens and the more ornamented touristic gardens appeared to inspire many of the Japanese style gardens of the British aristocracy. The blend of lawns with the Japanese stone lanterns attested to this mix of design inspirations.



THE JAPAN SOCIETY'S GARDEN PARTY.

Rear-Admiral Ijuni will be seen in the centre; standing on his left is General Sir Alfred Gaselee; while the Consul-General, Mr. M. Arakawa, is on the extreme right of the illustration.

Figure 60 – Japan Society Garden Party in the Botanical Gardens, Regents Park, London

Source - 'The Japan Society's Garden Party', *The Anglo-Japanese Gazette*, August 1902, pp. 25-26.

⁴⁶⁵ 'A Walk in the Past in Okuma Garden', *Waseda University News*, October 17th 2018, (accessed online at: <https://www.waseda.jp/top/en-news/61823>).

The Japan Society in London played host to many garden parties of Japanese and British dignitaries. As established, the society was a key component in the spread of pro-Japanese sentiment and a place for Japanese and British to socialise.⁴⁶⁶ Garden parties at venues such as Regent's Park in London presented positive images of English park and garden spaces to the Japanese visitors (see Fig 60).⁴⁶⁷ Similarly, Japan Society member and British legate Arthur Diosy was much enamoured with the gardens at Shinjuku in Tokyo, where he and his wife were invited by 'The Old Country Club', a local Tokyo based Society made up of Japanese former residents in Britain for a party.⁴⁶⁸ Shinjuku possessed a combination of Japanese and European gardens sitting in a more separated fashion with English lawns and a French garden distinct features. Diosy's pro-Japanese stance and affiliation with the Japan Society in London was reportedly much celebrated by the Japanese, which was spoken about with great warmth by Emperor Meiji himself who endorsed the society's aims.

The Emperor bestowing approval on official matters provided validation for both Japanese and Foreigners of Japan's position. Japanese governmental figures established this further at their private estates which were in turn visited by British governmental figures. This had a profound effect on the gardens of both countries with a mirror image of Japanese and European styles being infused outside of their native origins. This was a very aristocratic cultural exchange that was endorsed by both reigning monarchs in King Edward VII and Emperor Meiji. The Japanese garden craze of the Edwardian era was not formed in isolation, rather it represented a cultural exchange which was in evidence both in Britain and Japan. The gardens of both nations displayed the effects of these exchanges as horticultural traditions became hybridised and infused with foreign elements.

⁴⁶⁶ *see chapter 4*

⁴⁶⁷ 'The Japan Society's Garden Party', *The Anglo-Japanese Gazette*, August 1902, pp. 25-26.

⁴⁶⁸ Cortazzi, H., & Daniels, G. 1991, *Britain and Japan, 1859-1991: themes and personalities: published on the occasion of the centenary of The Japan Society 1891-1991*, London: Routledge, p. 8.

Conclusion

The networks and interconnectivity of the horticultural and aristocratic worlds served the creation of souvenir gardens representing images of Japan and memories of travels. With wealthier members of British society travelling to Japan, the popularity of its garden style and ornamentation grew. This in turn afforded commercial opportunities for garden designers and architectural firms to cash in on an emerging market in Japanese style. These British interpretations more commonly reflected the well beaten tracks of tourist trails as exemplified by the popularity for the gardens of *Nikko*. With Broughton House, Hornel's active avoidance of these well-trodden routes went against this in his more thought out Scottish-Japanese blend of inspirational sources.

The common assumption that Japanese gardens were born out of mere Victorian and Edwardian whimsy have been shown to be false notions. There was a huge element of political influence in their spread, design and infusion of foreign elements. It was no coincidence that high ranking Japanese and British figures were the chief proponents of these gardens, not simply owing to their vast wealth, but also their political agenda. While a liking for Japanese or European styles may have afforded a portion of the impetus to create these gardens, it was the Anglo-Japanese Alliance which really hastened the garden craze. A combination of the societies promoting and engaging with Japan and the active relationship between the royal and aristocratic families of both nations created a wave of positive accord. This served both in a touristic sense as well as for political motives.

The Edwardian Japanese style gardens created in Britain were overall an evolution of the Victorian era (and earlier) Japan gardens with their clusters of native plants. Indeed, these earlier gardens bore more in common with interpretations of Chinese style gardens from earlier centuries. During King Edward VII's reign the stone lanterns, ornaments, bridges and teahouses appeared on a widespread scale, developing the Japan garden into a more ornamental and architectural entity. Japan's relentless promotion of its culture and gardens through exhibitions, together with the diplomatic and political relationships forged, finally culminated in the mass spread of Japanese style gardens in this period. This incorporated business

opportunities for garden designers fuelled by the aristocratic approval that reached all the way up to the figures of the King and Queen (see Fig 61).



Figure 61 –Emperor Meiji and King Edward VII (and the Queen and Empress)

Source - Mochizuki, K. 1910, *Japan To-Day: A Souvenir of the Anglo-Japanese Exhibition Held in London 1910*, The Liberal News Agency: Tokyo, 1910.

Chapter 6: In Search of Authenticity: Japanese Gardeners in Britain and Hidden Gardens



Figure 62 – Batsford Park, Gloucestershire garden with Buddha and Bronze deer statues

Source - Redesdale, L. & Gosse, E. 1917, *Further Memories*, London: Hutchinson & Co., p. 6.

Introduction: Reactions against the 'inauthentic'

As the Japanese style garden became a more common sight in private estates and public parks around Britain, critiques of their design and resemblance to native models also became a common rhetoric. This chapter will address the numerous ways in which a sense of authenticity was strived for by those who created them. At Gunnersbury Park in London, Leopold De Rothschild proclaimed that he and head gardener James Hudson had created a Japanese garden, based on a wide range of inspirational sources such as the inclusion of native plants. Contrasted to this was Lord Redesdale's garden at Batsford in Gloucestershire which incorporated Japanese features and designs but denied the Japanese garden label. Whether either garden could ultimately be described as a Japanese garden will be assessed.

The citation of a native Japanese gardener constructing a British-Japanese garden such as at Holland House in London, or gardens designed to 'genuine Japanese plans' as at Fanhams Hall in Hertfordshire will be investigated. Raggett described these Japanese as 'Shadowy Figures' owing to their citation with little evidence and absence of named attribution.⁴⁶⁹ It will be argued that a great many of these ascriptions were fabricated and came long after the gardens original construction serving to attempt to imbue the site with a stamp of Japanese authenticating input. This was a common theme that was born out of the growing critique of replicating Japanese style in British gardens. A native gardener's involvement in these projects or the association of them with a Japanese style garden was a way to make them appear constructed on knowledgeable lines.

While many gardens were made with little or no Japanese native gardener's input, there were a few such as at Cowden Castle and Tully in Ireland that did procure their services. Whether this significantly authenticated the gardens Japanese-ness will be assessed to ascertain if authenticity could ever truly be achieved. Several gardens such as Tully obtained the services of Saburo Eida via the Japan Society in London which acted as network for procuring Japanese native gardeners. However, this did not necessitate the appropriation of traditional Japanese garden designs. Rather, these Japanese individuals were self-styled gardeners who did not possess a long

⁴⁶⁹ Raggett, J. 2010, *Shadowy Figures: Early Japanese Garden Designers in Britain and Ireland*, from: Cortazzi, H. 2010, *Japan and Britain: Biographical Portraits (volume 7)*, Kent: Global Oriental, pp. 501-513.

and studied grasp of their nation's gardening traditions. They were more akin to the unstudied *niwashi*, who spread false ideologies around gardening from nineteenth century Japan. In this case the contemporary era gardens were recreated through a combination of these inexperienced *niwashi* and their employer's own experiences of Meiji Japan.

The next section will detail the garden trends in the Meiji era and how these new styles had a big impact on the way gardens were viewed and transmitted to British garden sites. These new fashions are highly significant in viewing the gardens of Victorian/Edwardian Britain, as often visitors to Japan would be observing new styles of Japanese garden rather than traditional examples. For foreign tourists, this will have narrowed the scope of their exposure away from historical Japanese garden forms to the contemporary late Edo and Meiji era gardens. This demonstrates that the Meiji era had impact not just in Japanese parks and gardens, but also those in Britain and abroad. In addition, the government's reinstatement of Shinto as the national religion and persecution of Buddhism significantly affected the development of garden developments and trends in Japan.

Lastly, the reaction against the desired 'authentic' mimicry of replicating a Japanese garden in Britain will be explored. Some garden designers such as Reginald Farrer proclaimed a meshing of Japanese ideas of garden design in other styles of garden such as rock and water.⁴⁷⁰ Building on this idea, the final section will assess others who infused rather than mimicked Japanese garden style such as P.S. Hayward, who like Farrer, created rock gardens with Japanese garden techniques in mind. It was this philosophy of blending Japanese gardening ideas with British ones that would produce gardens with a more authentic air than those that focussed on the aesthetic results. Ultimately, whether a Japanese garden outside of Japan could ever achieve authenticity will be interrogated.

⁴⁷⁰ Tachibana, S. 2000, *Travel, Plants and Cross-cultural Landscapes: British Representation of Japan, 1860-1914*, PhD Thesis, *University of Nottingham Thesis Collection: School of Geography*.

6.1. When a Japanese garden, is not a Japanese garden

Akin to the travel souvenir gardens introduced in the previous chapter Algernon Bertram Freeman-Mitford, later known as Lord Redesdale, bought numerous artefacts from and laid out Japanese inspired areas at Batsford Park. Redesdale was an attaché to the British Embassy in Tokyo and wrote several books on Japanese culture under his untitled name A.B. Freeman-Mitford.⁴⁷¹ Having lived and worked in Japan and learned about its culture clearly influenced both his views of gardening, and their replication in Britain. Despite his experiences and extensive knowledge, Redesdale's opinion of many Japanese gardens was very negative. He described them as "a mere toy that might be the appanage of a doll's house" and disparagingly deconstructed the "wasted labour" of modern gardeners. He reflectively claimed that this was not always the case stating that;

"Attached to some of what were the Daimios' palaces in the old days there were some fine pleasure grounds, well laid out, rich in trees, and daintily kept. The gardens of the Mikado, by the shore of the bay of Yedo, are beautiful. But the average Japanese garden is such as I have described it, a mere whimsical toy, the relic of an art imported from China, and stereotyped on the willow pattern plate."⁴⁷²

This reflected his negative opinion of the showy style prevalent in newer Meiji era garden designs. He was complementary of the Emperor's gardens and those of the Buddhist priests which is reflected in the way he created a more shrine inspired garden-scape at Batsford. His deeper study of Japanese gardening traditions evidently provided him with a perspective that saw beyond the superficial Edo and Meiji era trends with their over ornamentation.

Further supporting his disdain for the contemporary Japanese garden, Redesdale himself disclaimed the 'Japanese Garden' tag in his 1917 book *Further Memories* where he stated that;

"One thing I wish to disclaim. I am often told that people believe that I have a Japanese garden. I have nothing of the kind. A Japanese garden is a mystery hard to be understood; it is a work of art depending upon

⁴⁷¹ *This included *The Bamboo Garden* in 1896 and he published many translated Japanese traditional stories such as *The Tale of the Forty-seven Ronins**

⁴⁷² Freeman-Mitford, A.B. 1896, *The Bamboo Garden*, London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd, p. 201.

certain fixed laws and canons prescribed, many centuries ago, by a school of Aesthetes, whose lives were spent in the punctilious observance of the rules prescribed for tea-drinking and incense-burning and the writing of sonnets, in grounds laid out upon principles, of which the slightest violation would be an outrage upon the decencies of culture.”⁴⁷³

Here Redesdale asserted that Japanese gardening traditions were not so simple as to be picked up by the casual gardener. He maintained that laws and practices shaped by centuries of past master gardeners made the suggestion that he had successfully created a Japanese garden preposterous. By actively denying these claims he rejected the widespread Victorian/Edwardian view that a garden containing ornaments or plants from Japan or China must therefore be a Japanese garden. Lord Redesdale was clearly wanting to evoke memories of his time in Japan by creating a garden space with ornaments and plants procured on his travels (see Fig 62). But he also acknowledged that this could not represent a Japanese garden. Rather, he knowingly created a Japan Garden to represent his connection with and experiences there.

The gardens at Batsford benefitted from a blending of Japanese design principles, under Lord Redesdale’s direction during the 1890s and early 1900s. There are many descriptions which indicated his use of Japanese gardening principles such as *shakkei* (borrowed scenery), with additional elements such as a teahouse, stepping stones, bamboos and a water garden. Without explicitly labelling this area of Batsford Park a ‘Japanese garden’, these descriptions indicated Redesdale possessing such gardening knowledge.⁴⁷⁴ Redesdale himself would have approved of the absence of the Japanese garden tag in this article. The gardens likely acquired the Japanese garden tag via the endorsement of his friend King Edward VII as Batsford was often linked to him in press accounts, with one describing;

“a wonderful Japanese garden, which was much admired by the King when his majesty visited the place not long ago.”⁴⁷⁵

⁴⁷³ Redesdale, L., & Gosse, E. 1917, *Further Memories*, London: Hutchinson & Co, p. 2.

⁴⁷⁴ ‘Country Homes: Gardens Old and New – Batsford Park, Moreton-in-March, the seat of Lord Redesdale’, *Country Life*, July 4th 1903, pp. 18-28.

⁴⁷⁵ ‘In the Public Eye’, *The Beverly Recorder and General Advertiser*, December 28th 1907, p. 6.

This was picked up on by many other writers in the press, spreading the descriptor that so irritated Redesdale.

Not all were so dismayed with the 'Japanese garden' tag. In fact, a great many gardens with a significantly less studied approach than Redesdale actively appropriated the title of Japanese garden. A good example of this was Leopold De Rothschild's garden at his Gunnersbury Park estate in London. The garden was constructed just after 1900 by head gardener James Hudson who sourced as many Japanese plants as possible and he was cited as having 'ransacked the country' for plants of Chinese or Japanese origin to give a supposed authentic effect.⁴⁷⁶ Plants not native to either country were rigidly excluded, although this step would still imply a pseudo-Asian garden, rather than affirm the Japanese garden tag which was proclaimed for the site.

The plants Hudson selected require some further scrutiny as it seems his only guiding criteria was their native origin, not whether they were usually used in Japanese gardens. Of the Japanese originating flora some of those included were; *Zizania aquatica* (rice), *rodgersia podophylla* (saxifrages), *Hydrangeas*, Japanese *convolvulus*, Japanese lilies, *Myriophyllum proserpinacoides* (watermilfoils), and a variety of bamboo species.⁴⁷⁷ While these are plants found in Japan, the listing of plants such as rice in Gunnersbury's garden was a curious selection and would imply that knowledge of the uses of plants in Japanese gardens was lacking given the applications described here. Although, the subordination of flowers to foliage was in keeping with traditional Japanese gardens which are less centred on copious numbers of flowers as preferred in Britain.

The garden was described by Hudson in a paper read before the *Royal Horticultural Society* as having been further guided by Lionel De Rothschild's (Leopold's father) photos of a 'similar garden' at Lake Como, Bellagio in Italy.⁴⁷⁸ Hudson further described that a bamboo avenue was given the most formal attention in the planning of the garden, as this was a distinct feature at Bellagio. However, the use of a bamboo avenue is not a practice commonly used in Japanese gardens. Most similarities to Japanese gardening techniques were coincidental, with the stone

⁴⁷⁶ 'The Japanese Garden, Gunnersbury House, Acton', *The Gardeners Chronicle*, Aril 5th 1902, p. 228.

⁴⁷⁷ 'The Japanese Garden, Gunnersbury House, Acton', *The Gardeners Chronicle*, Aril 5th 1902, p. 228.

⁴⁷⁸ Hudson, J. 1907, A Japanese Garden in England, *Journal of the Royal Horticultural Society*, Vol. 32, pp. 1-10.

paths being laid out before the plants, owing less to formal Japanese designs and 'setting-stones' as in the traditional *Sakuteiki* Japanese garden manual and more to the necessity of seasonal directive.⁴⁷⁹ Similarly, this method of sourcing stones from an outside supply in Tunbridge Wells is reminiscent of the methods of stone selection in Japan. But once again, this was purely coincidental, and in this case, it was the stepping stones and walkway stones which were sourced, rather than standing stones to be used in any symbolic or religious way as would be the practice in Japan. In fact, it was the lack of stones in this garden which flagged up its deviation from resembling a Japanese garden, rather it resembled a garden containing Asian plants and a pretence of Japanese-ness.

The plants were selected for their Japanese connotations, but the overall design inspiration for the Gunnersbury garden was made up of a very eclectic mix of sources. The second criteria deemed essential for an 'authentic' Japanese garden (after using 'solely Japanese plants') was that it looked like images of gardens elsewhere as at Lake Como. Hudson further detailed his familiarity with numerous photographs which give him an apparent 'insight into what constituted a Japanese garden'. Photographs by Hon. Miss Roche (Countess Hochberg) and paintings by Ella Du Cane both taken, or created in Japan were some of the images cited as to give extra credence to Hudson's designs. Some plants which he admitted were not strictly Japanese but of Chinese or Eastern origin were used due to what Hudson described as being more suitable to the English climate.⁴⁸⁰ These plants were selected on an experimental basis, to see which would survive, indicative of the early phase for Japanese horticulture in Britain.

The experimental approach continued with further Japanese signifiers of the teahouse and rustic bridge which were designed and constructed by Hudson. The Japanese style summer-house was erected using only bamboo and was thatched with palm leaves (*Cocos Yatai*, sent from Japan as packing material).⁴⁸¹ A rustic bridge was placed over part of the lake, again constructed of entirely bamboo. These were designed with images of Japanese gardens in mind but without literal design models. To complete the scene, two Japanese stone lanterns of different designs

⁴⁷⁹ Takei, J. & Keane, M.P. 2001, *Sakuteiki: Visions of the Japanese garden*, Boston: Tuttle Publishing.

⁴⁸⁰ Hudson, J. 1905, A Japanese Garden in England, *Journal of the Royal Horticultural Society*, Vol. 32, pp. 1-10.

⁴⁸¹ Rothschild, M. 1996, *Rothschild Gardens*, London: Gaia Books Ltd, 2000, pp. 48-53.

were placed in the garden to 'add to the effect' as they were acknowledged to be present in every Japanese garden. Along with the plants as Japanese indicators, these ornamental and architectural elements were added aesthetic markers to signify the garden's authenticity (see Fig 63). However as with the tourist souvenir gardens at places like Lowther Castle, this was a tributary Japan garden, although in the case of Gunnersbury, created with second hand images of Japan.



Figure 63 – Gunnersbury House Japanese Garden

Source – 'The Bamboo Bridge at Gunnersbury House', *The Garden*, December 7th 1901, p. 379.

This even extended to third hand images, with Leopold Rothschild drawing inspiration from his father Lionel De Rothschild's photos of a Japanese style garden at Lake Como in Italy. The problem was that they were essentially copying a copy. By replicating an Italian interpretation of a Japanese garden into an English setting resulted in a distorted representation. As has been often noted in descriptions of

British-Japanese gardens of this era, while very pretty, they represented an entirely British idea of what a Japanese garden would look like. While the gardens at Lake Como in Italy inspired the garden at Gunnersbury in London, neither can be classed as a Japanese garden. They mark instead a late addition to the Oriental, Chinese inspired garden design that was already at its zenith towards the end of the nineteenth century in Europe. It seemed the aristocracy who owned Villa Melzi at Lake Como were keen acquirers of exotic and foreign artefacts and styles as was a trend in Europe at the time. However, the garden is referred to as 'Oriental' rather than 'Japanese' in most descriptions, therefore Rothschild and Hudson were creating a copy of an Oriental inspired garden, rather than a Japanese garden.⁴⁸² It was they who labelled the Como gardens as Japanese, which was an error that showed their ignorance.

Gunnersbury Park represented another example of an Oriental hybrid garden. As previously discussed this conclusion draws heavily from the very first source of inspiration in its design; the photos of an Oriental garden in another European Country. Head gardener James Hudson was keen to point out that all plants and materials used in the garden were of Japanese or Chinese origin. But it could be argued the result is more akin to cultural theme parks and parkscapes which Joy Hendry discusses; an exhibition of the foreign outside of its native origin.⁴⁸³ In this case, a collection of Japanese and Chinese plants and structures, arranged in an English garden setting, without the adjoining context, cultural knowledge or historical perspective. Hudson and Rothschild were experimenting to a large degree with new species, of which cultivation and ability to survive in the British climate was still a very much a novelty. For them, the goal was to create a garden that they felt looked Japanese.

Unlike Lord Redesdale's garden at Batsford, Hudson was keen for Gunnersbury's garden to be perceived as authentically Japanese. Both gardens contained plants and ornaments from Japan and were designed with some Japanese design inspiration. Both were also labelled as Japanese gardens in horticultural and press descriptions of the sites based on these features. However as discussed, neither

⁴⁸² Watkins, J. & Wright, T. 2007, *The Management & Maintenance of Historic Parks, Gardens & Landscapes: The English Heritage Handbook*, London: Frances Lincoln.

⁴⁸³ Hendry, J. 2000, Foreign Country Theme Parks: A New Theme or an Old Japanese Pattern?, *Social Science Japan Journal*, Vol. 3 (2) (Oct. 2000), pp. 207-220.

garden can actually be termed Japanese, as Gunnersbury was based largely on an Oriental garden model, while Lord Redesdale actively disclaimed the tag. Therefore, the two gardens offer a dichotomy whereby they were both designed with Japan in mind, but neither resulted in Japanese gardens.

Perhaps unlike Leopold De Rothschild and James Hudson at Gunnersbury Park, who were actively proclaiming their creation of a Japanese garden, Lord Redesdale wanted to distance his gardens from those with a less studied or knowledgeable origin of creation. These two gardens show that in the quest for an authentically styled garden in Britain, not everything labelled as Japanese was astutely referenced. Simply adding ornaments or plants from Japan into a British garden scheme would not result in a Japanese garden. Rather, it resulted in Japan gardens which strove (or did not in Lord Redesdale's case) to emulate certain images or perceptions held by the garden's owners.

6.2. In search of Authenticity: Crediting native Japanese Gardeners



Figure 64 – Holland House, London Japanese Garden

Source – ‘Japanese Garden, Holland House’, *The Journal of the Royal Horticultural Society*, Volume XXVII (1902-03), p. 444.

With large numbers of gardens being constructed in the Edwardian era with the Japanese garden tag bestowed upon them, the criticism of lacking authenticity became a preoccupation of critics and garden makers alike. By 1901, examples of Japanese style gardens in Britain were deemed common enough that Lady Violet Greville, writing for *The Graphic* magazine, felt it was sufficient to term them having become ‘the rage’. She bemoaned that “It is a pity the English can never be original”, and that the same motifs were used with no personal taste adhered to.⁴⁸⁴ Lady Greville’s reaction was to the miniature Japanese garden craze that preceded the largescale landscape gardens in Britain, but the sentiment still applied.

This was apparent in Alicia Amherst’s critique of the authenticity of the gardens at Holland House in London. The gardens were made up of Japanese, American and French plants together with stone lanterns, rustic bridges, streams and rolling lawns. She asserted that it was;

⁴⁸⁴ Greville, V. ‘Place aux dames’, *The Graphic*, August 10th 1901, p. 187.

“extremely pretty, but is entirely an English idea of what a Japanese garden is like, and, however pleasing it may be to the uninitiated, would probably shock the Japanese gardener, who is guided by as precise rules in his garden, as the painter in his art.”⁴⁸⁵

Amherst’s evaluation echoed those of Greville regarding the hybridised British attempts to infuse Japanese style into English gardens. Perhaps she went a bit far when she claimed that the Japanese gardener would be ‘shocked’, although she was correct in her observation that the site was a hybrid blend with its English lawns, American and French plants (see Fig 64). Indeed if the supposed quote (alleged against at a host of possible garden sites) that a Japanese gentlemen being led around a Japanese style garden in Britain exclaimed; “beautiful, we have nothing like it in Japan!” is to be believed, it may not even have been recognisable enough to shock them.⁴⁸⁶ The garden would have been shocking to a Japanese garden master, but welcomed by visiting Japanese ministers and officials who desired a positive reaction to Japanese culture.

There was further criticism of the gardens at Holland House, similar to Alicia Amherst’s assessments. William Beach Thomas was critical of Holland house’s Japanese garden and ironically chided that, “has it not a stone lamp and little stepping-stones, and a certain “Japanesey” Mien?”, and deplored how these features were superficially transplanted, with the garden itself barely Japanese in design or construction.⁴⁸⁷ Tellingly, Beach Thomas was writing after having seen the gardens presented at the 1910 Japan-British Exhibition, so his critical view of these earlier gardens was in part informed by having seen gardens constructed by native gardeners from Japan. By 1910 this rhetoric was even stronger as Japanese style gardens became more elaborate and increasingly included the services of Japanese individuals. The criticisms of the Japanese style gardens at Holland House were mostly levelled at a perceived lack of authentic design basis. To Amherst and Beach Thomas, Lord and Lady Ilchester had been too wanton with their designs of the garden to warrant their garden being seen as reminiscent of Japan. The simplistic

⁴⁸⁵ Amherst, A. 1907, *London Parks and Gardens*, New York: E.P. Dutton & Company, pp. 342-343.

⁴⁸⁶ Chrystie, I. 2016, “We have nothing like this in Japan”, *Shakkei: The Journal of the Japanese Garden Society*, Vol. 23 (2) (Autumn), pp. 32-33.

⁴⁸⁷ Beach-Thomas, W. ‘Japanese Gardens’, *British architect*, June 10th 1910, p. 402.

and aesthetic qualities rather than design rules or principles were followed here, much to the dissatisfaction of viewers with any knowledge of Japanese gardening.

It was these criticisms of lacking authenticity which prompted many desiring to replicate Japanese style to seek other forms of verification other than the aesthetic markers of plants, ornaments and architectural structures. It was the involvement of Japanese native gardeners that became the next prerequisite of validation for a garden's authenticity. Even at Holland House one article claimed that "the Japanese gardens were laid out by gardeners specially imported from Japan for the purpose", although there is little evidence that this was the case.⁴⁸⁸ The more likely candidate is a Mr Dixon who was head gardener at the time. It is probable the article citing Japanese gardeners creating the garden was a later attempt to lend some air of authenticity to Holland House's garden. This is a theme that appeared frequently, often a considerable time after a garden's creation, in descriptions of Japanese style gardens in the press and horticultural magazines. As at Holland House, these attributions were often either misinformed or false.

The mere suggestion of a Japanese gardener working at British site was a way to attempt to imbue a garden with a sense of authenticity. Further to this, claims of gardens being created to 'genuine Japanese plans' was another approach towards achieving this. In this vein, the Japanese style gardens at Heale House in Wiltshire laid out by British gardener Harold Peto, have often been bestowed with the attribution of being designed to 'genuine Japanese plans'. It has been alleged that Heale House owner Louis Greville, who worked for a time in the diplomatic service in Tokyo; "worked out the scheme of ponds, rills and rocks from his remembrance of Japan, fortified by a plan prepared by a Japanese gardener".⁴⁸⁹ Although, again there is not much evidence of any Japanese garden design basis with Arthur Hellyer later attributing the layout to Greville's memories of Japan alone.⁴⁹⁰

However, the teahouse was purchased by Greville and made to order in Japan. This was then shipped over to Wiltshire and erected by two Japanese carpenters. Therefore, while the plans were likely of Greville's own devising in conjunction with garden designer Harold Peto, the teahouse was the source of Japanese native

⁴⁸⁸ 'Tea Table Talk', *The Diss Express, and Norfolk and Suffolk Journal*, December 29th 1916.

⁴⁸⁹ Weaver, L. 'Country Homes Gardens old & New: Heale House, Wiltshire, the Seat of the Hon. Louis Greville', *Country Life*, Vol. 37, Feb 27th 1915, pp. 272–277.

⁴⁹⁰ Hellyer, A. 'Where King Charles His: the Gardens of Heale House, Wiltshire', *Country Life*, November 29th 1984, pp. 1682-1686.

workmen being associated with the project. There were indeed reports in a 1904 edition of *The Builder* magazine, of a Japanese native coming to a garden near Salisbury from London, drawing up a design and leaving.⁴⁹¹ This incident was the precursor to the teahouse being delivered and constructed on site. That there were Japanese individuals involved, even if only for one aspect of the garden in the teahouse, their association bestowed upon Heale House's garden a stronger reputation of authenticity.

The citation of native workmen or firms working at British sites has proven a widespread rhetoric in accounts of Edwardian Japanese style gardens. While in the case of Holland House these claims were fictitious, and at Heale House the gardens themselves were not of Japanese design, at Kildrummy Castle in Aberdeenshire it was a Japanese firm which was credited with having created the gardens there around 1904.⁴⁹² Commissioned by Colonel James Ogston, these were actually rock gardens laid out in an old quarry, supposedly by a firm of Japanese landscape architects.⁴⁹³ The planting was carried out by nursery company Backhouse of York under the direction of nurseryman David Peary. In addition, W.A. Clarke a nurseryman at Jasmine House in York, who worked on various Japanese style gardens around Britain was involved at the site.⁴⁹⁴ It was his reputation as a Japanese garden designer that falsely drew attributions to Kildrummy Castle's rock gardens. It was only by the association of a Japanese firm (Clarke) being employed that the garden had these connotations.

Similarly, at Stobo in Peeblesshire, the water gardens had a few Japanese features incorporated into them such as an arched bridge. This was reportedly at the behest of owner Hylton Phillipson's brother in law, Sir Robert Harvey, who had incorporated Japanese artefacts into his garden at Langley Park in Buckinghamshire, and encouraged Phillipson to do the same.⁴⁹⁵ Neither of these gardens therefore had any associations with the Far East from the owners, or any evident Japanese garden design influence in their layouts. Rather the Stobo gardens

⁴⁹¹ 'Books: European and Japanese Gardens', *The Builder*, October 9th 1904, pp. 443-444; Also mentioned in: Conway, J. 1988, *Japanese Influences on English Gardens* (volume 2), *Architectural Association*, 1988, p. 62.

⁴⁹² Kildrummy Castle Gardens, Alford, from: <https://www.greatbritishgardens.co.uk/scotland/item/kildrummy-castle-gardens.html> (17/07/18).

⁴⁹³ DSA Building/Design Report: Kildrummy Mansion House, from: http://www.scottisharchitects.org.uk/building_full.php?id=209881 (17/08/18).

⁴⁹⁴ Clarke, W.A. 1906, *Alpine Plants* (2nd edition), London: L. Upcott Gill.

⁴⁹⁵ 'Golden Moment', *The Scotsman*, 21st October 2006.

had a water garden with some Japanese artefacts and Kildrummy Castle had a rock garden, supposedly built in part by a Japanese firm.

Like Clarke, many British businesses branched into Japanese landscaping which gave them the misleading title of a 'Japanese firm'. These were Japanese gardening firms rather than a company originating from Japan. Edinburgh based garden firm R.B. Laird & Son are an example of this and they displayed Japanese gardens for Scotland's *Caledonian Horticultural Society* show in 1904.⁴⁹⁶ British firm Pulham & Sons similarly took on Japanese style garden projects. Having created a Japanese style garden for the 1912 Chelsea Exhibition, it was then purchased and relocated to Barrow Hills in Chertsey, Surrey.⁴⁹⁷ These gardens would often later be attributed to 'native workmen' from Japan in spite of British design origins.⁴⁹⁸ This myth likely stemmed from the reports of a Japanese native who apparently tended to the garden for Lord and Lady Mullens after its relocation from the exhibition grounds at Chelsea.⁴⁹⁹ As has been found to be the case with these references and articles in the press, these Japanese individuals remained anonymous. Even if a Japanese gardener did tend the site, this was after its creation by a British firm. What is clear to see is how easily and readily the involvement of Japanese individuals, however limited or incorrectly associated became a focal point towards a garden's authenticity. As Heale House and Barrow Hills exemplify, it was British firms and gardeners whom were creating these gardens. That Japanese individuals only erected a teahouse or tended the finished garden seemed to be irrelevant. These gardens were deemed the authentic work of Japanese individuals in the eyes of those reporting on the gardens.

Prior to the 1910 Japan-British Exhibition which cast its own legacy on garden design, there were only a few Japanese native designers creating gardens in British estates. One such individual was Jiju Soya Suzuki (self-titled as a Professor) who was credited with input at several British Japanese style garden sites, the earliest of which was at Fanhams Hall in Hertfordshire. Judith Conway dated the gardens at Fanhams Hall as being constructed between around 1901 and 1905, which was

⁴⁹⁶ 'Flower Show in Edinburgh', *The Evening Telegraph*, May 25th 1904, p. 4.

⁴⁹⁷ Hitching, C. & Lilly, J. 2012, *Rock Landscapes: The Pulham Legacy*, Suffolk: The Garden Art Press.

⁴⁹⁸ 'Surrey Gardens', *Surrey Mirror and County Post*, May 22nd 1931, p. 3; 'A Japanese Garden', *The Times*, July 30th 1936, p. 25.

⁴⁹⁹ De Cordova, R. 'Women in the News', *Eve*, June 9th 1926, p. 500.

similarly dated by Jill Raggett as c1901-1910.⁵⁰⁰ However these dates require some scrutiny, as there is some confusion and contradiction within the writings around Fanhams Hall's Japanese style garden. This has resulted in exaggerations as to Suzuki's actual involvement, in keeping with the theme of limited associations with sites imbuing a disproportionate level of credit to a Japanese native gardener. The issue with the earlier dating arises from Professor Suzuki's supervision being credited before he actually arrived to work in Britain around 1910.⁵⁰¹

It was an even more elusive Japanese individual that is cited as designing the plans for the garden, a Mr Inaka.⁵⁰² In the case of Inaka, it is likely that this was an individual that never came to Britain himself, rather the plans were acquired by either Suzuki or, more likely given their desire to have a Japanese garden constructed, Lady Brocket and Captain Richard Page-Croft. Either way, no clear evidence remains to show who Mr Inaka was, what his connection was to Brocket and Page-Croft, and what his plans were. Judith Conway even suggested that work may have begun on the site by British firm William Wood & Sons who were employed in the grounds at Fanhams Hall in this period.⁵⁰³ William Wood & Sons were a company that branched in to creating Japanese gardens in addition to their other garden and architectural commissions. What is clear is that Professor Suzuki directed later work on this site sometime after 1910. He is a figure associated with many Japanese garden sites around Britain from 1910 to the 1930s and he also advised Ella Christie at Cowden Castle some years after Taki Handa had constructed the garden there, altering one of the bridges to incorporate a zigzag style *yatsushashi* bridge.⁵⁰⁴

All of these examples show that a Japanese gardener working on a garden site in Britain was uncommon enough to produce a disproportionate association with their involvement. These were Japan gardens which attempted to gain authentication via native Japanese links. As highlighted, often these links were limited, posthumous or

⁵⁰⁰ Conway, J. 1988, Japanese Influences on English Gardens (Volume 2), *Architectural Association*, 1988, p. 43; Raggett, J.Y. 2002, The Japanese-style garden in the British Isles, 1850-1950: introduction, application and significance (2 volumes), *University of York Thesis Collection*.

⁵⁰¹ Fanhams Hall, Hertfordshire (c.1901-1910), Suzukikyoyu 2010, from: http://www.geocities.jp/kita36362000/hertfordshire_english.htm (20/05/18).

⁵⁰² McDonald, F. 'The Gardens of Fanhams Hall, Ware', *Herts Memories: Hertfordshire County Council*, 15th May 2011.

⁵⁰³ Conway, J. 1988, Japanese Influences on English Gardens (Volume 2), *Architectural Association*, 1988, p. 43.

⁵⁰⁴ Tachibana, S. 2014, The "Capture" of Exotic Natures: Cross-cultural Knowledge and Japanese Gardening in Early 20th Century Britain, *Japanese Journal of Human Geography*, Vol. 66 (6), pp. 492-506.

even false. The criticism of lacking authenticity being levelled at Japanese style gardens in Britain elicited responses and counter claims of a native's involvement whether partial or incidental. That many gardens such as those at Holland House bore false claims, or at Heale House only the teahouse was constructed by Japanese native workmen suggests that there was a strong weight attached to Japanese gardeners as the ultimate authenticators. However as discussed, most gardens created in Japan's image were done so by British gardeners and firms. The work of Japanese individuals was wholly exaggerated in most cases.

6.3. *Niwashi* in Britain: Japanese gardens created by Native Gardeners

Having a native from Japan work on a garden in Britain did not facilitate the authenticity desired by their employers. This section will explore the idea that these Japanese gardeners in Britain were an extension of the *niwashi* who spread fixed and false ideas of gardening practice in nineteenth century Japan.⁵⁰⁵ Here these self-styled garden experts perpetuated these ideas outside of Japan, direct to British gardens. The Japan Society has also been found to have been a key link for those who desired to procure the services of native Japanese workmen for garden projects in Britain. With the society's Meiji endorsement this further disseminated the modern Japanese style of gardens direct to British estates.

With so many false associations with Japanese native gardeners working at sites in Britain, the actuality that there were only a small number creating them before the 1910 exhibition has been hard to distinguish. Their limited numbers can be attributed to several factors, with Keiko Itoh's survey of Japanese residing in Britain suggesting only five hundred by 1911, of which gardeners will have made up a very small proportion.⁵⁰⁶ The vast distance and cost of passage involved, especially travelling by sea would have been enough to put off most Japanese from making the journey to Britain. While mostly well received by British society, a Japanese gardener would have to work much harder to procure a garden project commission in competition with a native English speaking firm. It was the involvement of many British landscape gardening companies, taking on Japanese style projects that was the biggest factor in the lack of Japanese individuals creating gardens in Britain.

Of those few Japanese individuals in Britain who found success as gardeners, the extent of their addition to a garden's authenticity was marked, but still ultimately tributary towards Japan. The gardeners employed at these sites were often not wholly responsible for the overall design and layout, acting at the behest of the owner's desires. This was true of a garden site in Scotland where John Henry Dixon reportedly brought a team of five Japanese gardeners and four craftsmen to build a

⁵⁰⁵ *For discussion on *niwashi* see chapter 4*

⁵⁰⁶ Itoh, K. 2001, *The Japanese Community in Pre-war Britain: From Integration to Disintegration*, Surrey: Curzon Press.

Japanese garden at his recently acquired Dundarach House in Pitlochry.⁵⁰⁷ Dixon spent time with the indigenous *Ainu* in Japan's northern island of Hokkaido, amongst his other ventures in the country. His enthusiasm for the culture and gardens of Japan was evident in his immediate attempt at having one created at Dundarach. John Henry Dixon was also a member of the Japan Society, in London where he read a paper on contemporary Japanese artists.⁵⁰⁸ The society was most likely where he made the connections to hire Japanese gardeners to work at Dundarach.

The Japan Society was set up to further promote Japanese culture, but also played an active role in networking for those who wished to procure the services of Japanese native gardeners. It is likely that John Henry Dixon met later renowned writer Natsume Soseki through the Japan Society, as he was living in London at this time. He invited Soseki to come and stay at Dundarach in October 1902.⁵⁰⁹ With Dixon having only acquired the property earlier that year, it is assumed that he helped with the creation of the Japanese style garden there.⁵¹⁰ There is no direct evidence for this, and it appears as one more example of false credit being given to a Japanese native. However, Soseki's stay at Dundarach showed Dixon's lingering interest in Japan on his return and suggests he had wider connections with natives from that country. It is also highly plausible that the garden was constructed after Soseki's departure, with him arranging for gardeners to go to Pitlochry for Dixon. The connection between Dundarach's Japanese style garden and workmen hired through links in the Japan Society shows the lasting effect of the Japan societies for Japanese garden design in Britain.

Dixon wrote a 1906 guidebook to Pitlochry in which he credits the design to a Tsunesuke Tanaka.⁵¹¹ Once again this accreditation is not backed up by much further evidence, with Tanaka remaining a mysterious figure. A photo of the garden itself showed an oversized Japanese stone lantern, with Dixon, Osgood Mackenzie

⁵⁰⁷ 'Opening of the Japanese Garden at St Columba's High School', 25th August 2006, *Consulate General of Japan in Edinburgh*, Accessed online at: <http://www.edinburgh.uk.emb-japan.go.jp/speechstcolumba.htm> (05/05/18).

⁵⁰⁸ Dixon, J.H. 1903, 'Some Japanese Artists of Today', *Transactions and Proceedings of The Japan Society, London*, Vol. 6, pp. 151-166.

⁵⁰⁹ Kidoura, T., Cheney, K., & Ogawa, T., 2013, Natsume Sōseki, the Greatest Novelist in Modern Japan, *Tohoku University Library and UCL Library Services*, pp. 1-20.

⁵¹⁰ 'Extraordinary Ainu strut their stuff in Scotland', *The Japan Times*, May 14th 2005.

⁵¹¹ Dixon, J. H. 1906, *Japanese Garden, Dundarach, Pitlochry*, Private Publication, copy from Dundarach Hotel Archive, (cited in Raggett, J. 2013, *Shadowy Figures: Early Japanese Garden Designers in Britain and Ireland*)

(of Inverewe) and a Japanese guest next to what appears to be a rocky stream (see Fig 65).⁵¹²



Figure 65 – Dundarach, Pitlochry Japanese Garden with oversized Japanese stone lantern

Source - Soseki, N. & Tsunematsu, I. (Translator) 2002, *Spring Miscellany and London Essays*, London: Tuttle Publishing Ltd.

The design was reportedly “Built round a pond, the garden used stepping stones, a large stone lantern, a Shinto gateway or Torii and contained a representation of mount Fuji”.⁵¹³ The oversized stone lantern pictured does somewhat mock the intended authenticity of the garden, as this example was very unusual even for Japanese gardens. It seems more reflective of the Meiji era extravagant ornamentation and perhaps Dixon’s Japanese garden knowledge was not as keen as his knowledge of Japanese art or the *Ainu* people. The overall appearance of the garden was more akin to the tributary Japan gardens like Holland House that sought to refer to Japan through aesthetic markers. In this case, the stone lantern, *Fuji*-Mound and *tori* gate. The use of Japanese gardeners looks to have been embellished here to once again imbue authenticity by association, rather than through any true design involvement.

⁵¹² Soseki, N. & Tsunematsu, I. (Translator) 2002, *Spring Miscellany and London Essays*, London: Tuttle Publishing Ltd.

⁵¹³ ‘Scottish Japanese Gardens’, accessed at: <http://fdrummond.www2.50megs.com/scottish.htm> (10/04/18).

The earliest verified Japanese gardener to work on a site in Britain was Saboru (Tass) Eida. Eida was a Japanese native who travelled to Britain to ply his trade as a landscape gardener and propagator of *bonsai* trees. He supplied examples of these trees and a miniature Japanese garden to the Japan Society for an April 1901 meeting, no doubt as a way to advertise his wares to a wealthy and interested audience.⁵¹⁴ Eida steadily gained a reputation for himself, and was awarded silver medals at the *Temple Flower Show* for his Dwarf trees. He advertised his services as a “Japanese Landscape Gardener” based on Regent Street in London, in the press (see Fig 66).⁵¹⁵



Figure 66 – Saboru Eida advert as a ‘Japanese Landscape Gardener’

Source - ‘Xmas gifts: Japanese Dwarf Trees’, *St. James’s Gazette*, December 8th 1902, p. 16.

Through his self-promotion and utilisation of the Japan Society as a platform to advertise his services, Eida gained work as a gardener. Eida’s most famous commission was to construct the Japanese style gardens at Tully, Kildare in Ireland for Colonel William Hall-Walker (later Lord Wavertree), who had visited Japan. The gardens at Tully marked a rare attempt to infuse some symbolism and story into a British Japanese style garden’s layout.⁵¹⁶ This marked a move away from the common rhetoric of gardens built with purely aesthetic goals in mind and towards a

⁵¹⁴ ‘General News’, *The Homeward Mail: from India, China and the East*, April 22nd 1901, No. 2230, p. 493.

⁵¹⁵ ‘Xmas gifts: Japanese Dwarf Trees’, *St. James’s Gazette*, December 8th 1902, p. 16.

⁵¹⁶ *At this time the British owned all 32 states of Ireland, hence its inclusion as a British rather than Irish garden*

more Japanese idea of meaning imbued in the garden. The 'story' of Tully's garden was symbolic of 'the Life of Man', with areas named 'The gateway of oblivion' or themed to represent childhood, light and darkness.⁵¹⁷ It was likely Tully's owner, Lord Wavertree who devised this back story for his garden rather than Eida himself, as this represented a Christian, religious themed story. This would have better placed the gardens within the heavily Catholic Irish setting and helped remove any conflicting Buddhist or Shinto connotations from Japan.

While worked on by Eida and his family between 1906 and 1910, the project took forty Irish labourers to complete the landscaping process over this four year period. The resulting garden however contained many features endemic within British Japanese style garden attempts such as the red *Nikko* arched bridge and an abundance of *bonsai* trees in containers.⁵¹⁸ It is clear that beyond Eida's role as overseer, this was Lord Wavertree's project and design overall. Arthur Hellyer supports this view writing that;

"How could so skilful a craftsman produce yet one more example of mock Japanese garden making? I believe the explanation is to be found in an inscription for the garden which states that it "was devised by Lord Wavertree and made by Eida and his son Meiroru between 1906 and 1910. From this I conclude that it was Lord Wavertree who determined the broad outline of design leaving his Japanese expert to construct it and give it a convincing Japanese flavour."⁵¹⁹

As with the earlier authenticators of Japanese individuals, erecting teahouses or tending the finished gardens, Eida was employed here as an overseer, rather than as the designer of the garden. This is reflected in the use of the oft imitated red lacquered *Nikko* arched bridge, a symbol of Lord Wavertree's touristic preferences. However, there is more to Tully's garden to suggest Eida's influence, such as a few Buddhist stone arrangements so often absent from British examples of Japanese gardens. What Hellyer labelled as 'mock Japanese garden making' indicated that the hybridity of British and Japanese garden ideas still jarred the intended 'authenticity'

⁵¹⁷ Mannin, E. 'Through the Eastern Window: Japanese Gardens in Ireland', *Japan Quarterly*, January 1st 1861, (8), pp. 481-485.

⁵¹⁸ Colleran, J. & McCracken, E. 1977, *The Japanese Garden: Tully Kildare*, *Garden History*, Vol. 5 (1) (Spring 1977), pp. 30-41.

⁵¹⁹ Hellyer, A. 'Pilgrimage to Eternity: The Japanese Garden at Tully House, Kildare', *Country Life*, July 13th 1978, pp. 86-87.

of the garden as Japanese. Eida and his son as supervisors of the forty Irish workmen worked as another superficial means to this end. It was Lord Wavertree's Japan garden, designed to reflect the image of *Nikko* and the Meiji era garden style. As with other natives associated with Japanese style garden sites in Britain, their influence was largely subordinate to the desires of their employers.

There are however examples where a Japanese native did have more of an impact on the design and layout. Of the gardens in Britain designed by Japanese individuals prior to the 1910 exhibition, Taki Handa at Cowden Castle in Scotland represents an unusual example (see Fig 67). Handa was a female gardener employed to design and implement a Japanese style garden at a British estate, which would have been unusual in the male dominated profession in Japan at this time. Tachibana detailed Handa's route into Britain as a student of horticulture at Studley College in Warwickshire from 1906-1908, before being commissioned by Cowden Castle's owner Ella Christie to create the gardens.⁵²⁰ It is alleged that it was through a Miss Denton who arranged her route to Britain that Ella Christie was made aware of Handa as a potential garden designer for Cowden Castle.

Christie travelled to Japan in 1907 and desired the creation of a garden at Cowden Castle to remind of her journey and the sights she saw there. She met the Du Cane sisters (authors of the 1908 book *The Flowers and Gardens of Japan*) while in Japan who told Christie they knew of a Japanese gardener in England who could possibly work for her.⁵²¹ She also contacted Josiah Conder, influential writer on Japanese gardens, for advice on the best way to go about creating a Japanese style garden outside of Japan. He recommended that she gain the services of a Japanese native, and Taki Handa, already in Britain fit the bill.⁵²² Christie also likely instructed Handa using Conder's *Landscape Gardening in Japan* of which an annotated copy is still held by her descendants and further supported by the garden's resemblance to Plate: XXXIV – 'Large Lake Garden' from Conder's book (see Fig 39).⁵²³

⁵²⁰ Tachibana, S. 2014, The "Capture" of Exotic Natures: Cross-cultural Knowledge and Japanese Gardening in Early 20th Century Britain, *Japanese Journal of Human Geography*, Vol. 66 (6), pp. 492-506.

⁵²¹ Swan, A. 'Where the Ochils met the Orient', *The Scots Magazine*, Volume 132 (1), 1989, pp. 88-94.

⁵²² Tachibana, S. 2014, The "Capture" of Exotic Natures: Cross-cultural Knowledge and Japanese Gardening in Early 20th Century Britain, *Japanese Journal of Human Geography*, Vol. 66 (6), pp. 492-506.

⁵²³ Raggett, J., Kajihara-Nolan, Y., & Nolan, J. 2013, 'Handa Taki (1871-1956)', from: Cortazzi, H. 2013, *Japan and Britain: Biographical Portraits (volume 8)*, London: Global Oriental, pp. 332-350; Conder, J., & Brown, A. 1893, *Landscape Gardening in Japan*, Tokyo: Kodansha International Ltd, 2002, Plate: XXXIV.



Figure 67 –Cowden Castle Japanese Garden

Source – Author’s own Photo, 03.04.18

While not a gardener by trade, Taki Handa used what she knew of the gardens of her home country and designed the elaborate landscape garden in keeping with Christie’s wishes. Like the gardens at Tully in Ireland, the gardens at Cowden were imbued with attempts at Japanese symbolism with Buddhist stone arrangements, although in this case, steering clear of anything akin to the Christian ‘life of man’ story.

The garden at Cowden Castle was named *Sharakuen* meaning ‘a place of pleasure and delight’ as indicated by the three Japanese *kanji* characters inscribed at the Western entrance (see Fig 68).⁵²⁴ The naming of a garden was another way to further cement authenticity or Japaneseness, as it imbued the site with a sense of insider knowledge of Japan through its language. Fanhams Hall was similarly entitled as *Korakuen* which is also the name one of ‘the three most celebrated gardens in Japan’, situated in Tokyo.⁵²⁵

⁵²⁴ Stewart, R. 1955, ‘The Japanese Gardens at Cowden’, *Pamphlet: Produced by the Episcopal Church of ST James, Dollar, on the Occasion of a Special Opening of the Garden in aid of Church Funds, 28th May 1955*, pp. 1-9.

⁵²⁵ *The two sites do not really resemble one another in any meaningful way, but the association with such a famous and revered garden would have added a genuine air to Fanhams Hall’s Japanese style garden. This



Figure 68 – ‘Sharakuen’ entrance Gateway to Cowden Castle Japanese Garden

Source – Author’s own Photo, 03.04.18

Professor Suzuki worked mostly in an advisory role at existing garden sites including Cowden Castle, playing on his title as professor and former role as Master of the *Soami School*, one of the oldest Buddhist flower arranging schools in Japan.⁵²⁶ He was not a landscape garden design master, rather he was a self-styled garden consultant when he arrived in Britain. This was true of virtually all the gardeners who worked in Britain such as Suzuki and Eida who held more in common with the *niwashi* who spread garden knowledge not approved of by Japanese masters of the art.⁵²⁷ By self-styling themselves as garden experts or garden designers, Suzuki and Eida were further spreading the false ideologies of the Japanese secret gardening texts, with neither having studied garden design thoroughly. Even Taki Handa was heavily influenced by the garden owner’s plans and Josiah Conder’s *Landscape Gardening in Japan*. With this combination, the resulting gardens were crafted with strong inspirational links to non-traditional or

together with the associations with plans by a Japanese designer and the services of Professor Suzuki supervising the site added up to a tour-de-force of attempted authenticating of the garden*

⁵²⁶ Raggett, J. 2010, *Shadowy Figures: Early Japanese Garden Designers in Britain and Ireland*, from: Cortazzi, H. 2010, *Japan and Britain: Biographical Portraits (volume 7)*, Kent: Global Oriental, pp. 501-513.

⁵²⁷ Harada, J. 1956, *Japanese Gardens*, London and Boston: The Studio Limited, c1920.

contemporary Meiji era gardens. This significantly removed any endowment of authenticity that the estate owners had desired a native Japanese gardener to instil.

The common rhetoric of citing Japanese involvement, no matter how small, to imbue authenticity to a garden's Japanese nature was evident at places like Kildrummy Castle and even Dundarach House. Giving the gardens a Japanese name or incorporating a story into the garden were other ways that authenticity was sought. However, the lack of Japanese native gardeners working in Britain was easily remedied by the readiness of British landscape gardening firms and nursery companies to branch into constructing Japanese style gardens. It was often these firms that were confused or incorrectly cited as the Japanese firm responsible for creating a site as at Barrows Hill in Chertsey. Arguably, Japanese gardening practices of a nuanced and subtle variety remained in Japan, passed down as had been done for centuries via apprenticeships. Britain received the Edo and Meiji era secret text versions of information and design. This strongly supports the argument of the contemporary version of Japanese gardening being transmitted. In this case, directly by *niwashi* – self-styled garden experts such as Eida, Suzuki and Handa.

6.4. Edo and Meiji era styles of garden

The Meiji era was a period of marked industrialisation, modernisation and foreign intercourse in Japan's history. Internally, other means used by the new government to ease this new agenda was to alter religious power and its influence in state affairs. The impact of the Meiji government reinstating Shinto and beginning a repression of Buddhist influence was key to the changing ideas of garden design in the late nineteenth century. The Meiji government reinstated Shinto as the national religion from the 1860s onwards and state privileges for Buddhist temples were abolished.⁵²⁸ This removal of emphasis on Buddhist iconography and ideals had an impact on garden designs, being as they were entrenched within their composition. This in turn will have affected the way Europe and the US will have understood Japanese gardens.

Religion as followed in Japan places more emphasis on ritual and practice over belief or doctrine as associated with Christianity.⁵²⁹ Many festival and gala days already bore connections to these Shinto rituals making a transition from Buddhism as the main religion more fluid, whilst in keeping with how the government wanted to portray Japan as a nation of Shinto beliefs. This was a way to mark the new governmental direction through a connection with Japan's ancient religion, while simultaneously pushing an agenda of modernisation and international interaction. Therefore, Buddhist iconography and design principles were actively made to be seen in aesthetic rather than religiously relevant terms. This represents another way in which British-Japanese gardens were strongly influenced by contemporary Meiji ideals, rather than earlier historical Japanese garden designs. This is evident both in the use of a Shinto shrine garden at the Vienna 1873 International Exhibition, as well as the way Samuel Cocking was able to procure former Buddhist land for his gardens on the island of Enoshima.

The new emphasis on Shinto beliefs ran in line with the new progressive Japan, banishing the old reliance Buddhist institutions of the so-called medieval, Tokugawa era. It is argued by Watanabe et al. that the previous Tokugawa regime had no

⁵²⁸ Goto, S. 2005, The confrontation with Western culture: A new garden style in Kyoto—Murin-an, *Studies in the History of Gardens & Designed Landscapes*, Vol. 25 (3), pp. 244 – 253.

⁵²⁹ Shields, J.M. 2010, Beyond Belief: Japanese Approaches to the Meaning of Religion, *Studies in Religion/Sciences Religieuses*, Vol. 39 (2), p.135.

national religion.⁵³⁰ Therefore religion in gardens was not a symbol of the state, but a separate entity incorporating ideas of faith. This was reflected in the many gardens created for monasteries and temples by and for monks and religious figures. The nobles would have separated their sense of religion from state affairs. This contrasts diametrically with European and Western nations where religion and state were intertwined. Europe saw a lack of faith in a transcendent deity as a threat, whereas Japan saw the opposite to be the case. For Japan, the religion of Europe was used as a political tool and was dangerous to Japanese independence. Ironically this turn of face by the Meiji administration by infusing Shinto back into state doctrine saw this kind of tool used for state purposes, to remind the population of the divine and longstanding right of the Emperor to rule. Shinto, with its nature links and creationist imagery of the isles of Japan born from the sun goddess served as a reminder, rather than anything new or radical. New Japan was endorsed by old Japan, with the Tokugawa era of control merely an abhorrent from this divine lineage.

The Meiji Restoration had a lasting effect on garden design in Japan as new park spaces were created with European ideas borrowed and infused. There was a clear impact in Japanese parks and gardens that will have affected the way foreign visitors understood Japanese landscape traditions. The showy styles from the previous Edo era were advanced during the Meiji era resulting in contemporary trends and fashions. The late Edo era (c1779 – 1868) was a time of significant change in Japanese gardening. The *niwashi* from Edo (present day Tokyo) as introduced in chapter four, went from place to place in the country teaching what they called ‘the secrets of the art of garden making’. These *niwashi* “helped spread the mistaken idea that there were strict and fast rules for making a garden, the knowledge of which was essential to any who wished to do such work”.⁵³¹

Garden historian Jiro Harada felt that national economic difficulties paid the toll for a lack of gardens of merit in this era and offered that decadence in Japanese garden art was the result of the combination of economic plight and the belief in strict rules of garden construction, as spread by the *niwashi*. Progress in garden design stalled as traditional details were omitted, nature’s fundamental laws were ignored and a

⁵³⁰ Watanabe, H. & Noble, D. 2012, *A History of Japanese Political Thought, 1600-1901*, Tokyo: International House of Japan, pp. 45-46.

⁵³¹ Kuck, L. 1968, *The World of The Japanese Garden: From Chinese Origins to Modern Landscape Art*, New York & Tokyo: John Weatherhill, p. 241.

general simplification of Japanese garden design became the norm. Of these new styles of the Meiji era Harada broke them down into three categories;

“Imitative; either of European gardens, or the traditional style.

Idealistic; using a pictorial or symbolic style.

Naturalistic; combining eastern and western elements”.⁵³²

Of these styles, those described as of a ‘naturalistic’ Japanese flavour, particularly *shakkei-shiki* – a combination of borrowing surrounding scenery and a promenade design usually built around a lake – enjoyed the most favour in Japan. This style also gained huge popularity in Britain.

In the mid Edo era, many of the religious connotations in Japanese gardens lost much of their meaning in favour of aesthetics. Governmental policies subduing extravagances in gardens were enforced strongly in the early to mid-1700s due to economic necessity. In addition to this, traditional elements from previous periods began to become seldom used such as waterfalls, in favour of stream and rock compositions. Other older features like the Crane and tortoise islands were often reduced in size or suggested by a peninsula, or just omitted altogether and small stones were used in large quantities rather than large, expensive stone arrangements.⁵³³ Also, the over-use of stone lanterns in gardens emerged in the middle Edo era purely for decorative effect. It is these showy features that became the idea of the norm for Japanese gardening both in Japan, and in the British gardens that were designed in imitation or reflection of them.

Harada alluded to the Meiji governments stripping back of Buddhism, saying that;

“Before the Restoration, all gardens were planned with a religious background, though it may have been merely in form and verging on the superstitious in many cases. After the Restoration, the religious background was abandoned, and efforts were made to base garden construction on aesthetics pure and simple.”⁵³⁴

This explains the way that many British-Japanese style gardens were so focussed on the aesthetic, as their Japanese counterparts were similarly disposed. There was a gradual decay of meaning in Japanese gardens which took an increasing emphasis towards an aesthetic result alone. This is evidenced by how the traditional

⁵³² Harada, J. 1956, *Japanese Gardens*, London and Boston: The Studio Limited, c1920, p. 114.

⁵³³ Tatsui, M. 1949, *Japanese Gardens (5th edition)*, Japan Travel Bureau: Tourist Library 5, pp. 25-26.

⁵³⁴ Harada, J. 1956, *Japanese Gardens*, London and Boston: The Studio Limited, c1920, p. 114.

Roji or Tea-garden style had, by the end of the Edo period, lost much of the original Buddhist symbolism in favour of the mostly decorative features like stone water basins and stone lanterns.⁵³⁵ Other modern methods were employed in the Meiji era such as lining pond bottoms with concrete rather than the centuries old method of coating it in clay. While a small change this demonstrates the willingness in the Meiji era for older methods to be supplanted by new or foreign ones.

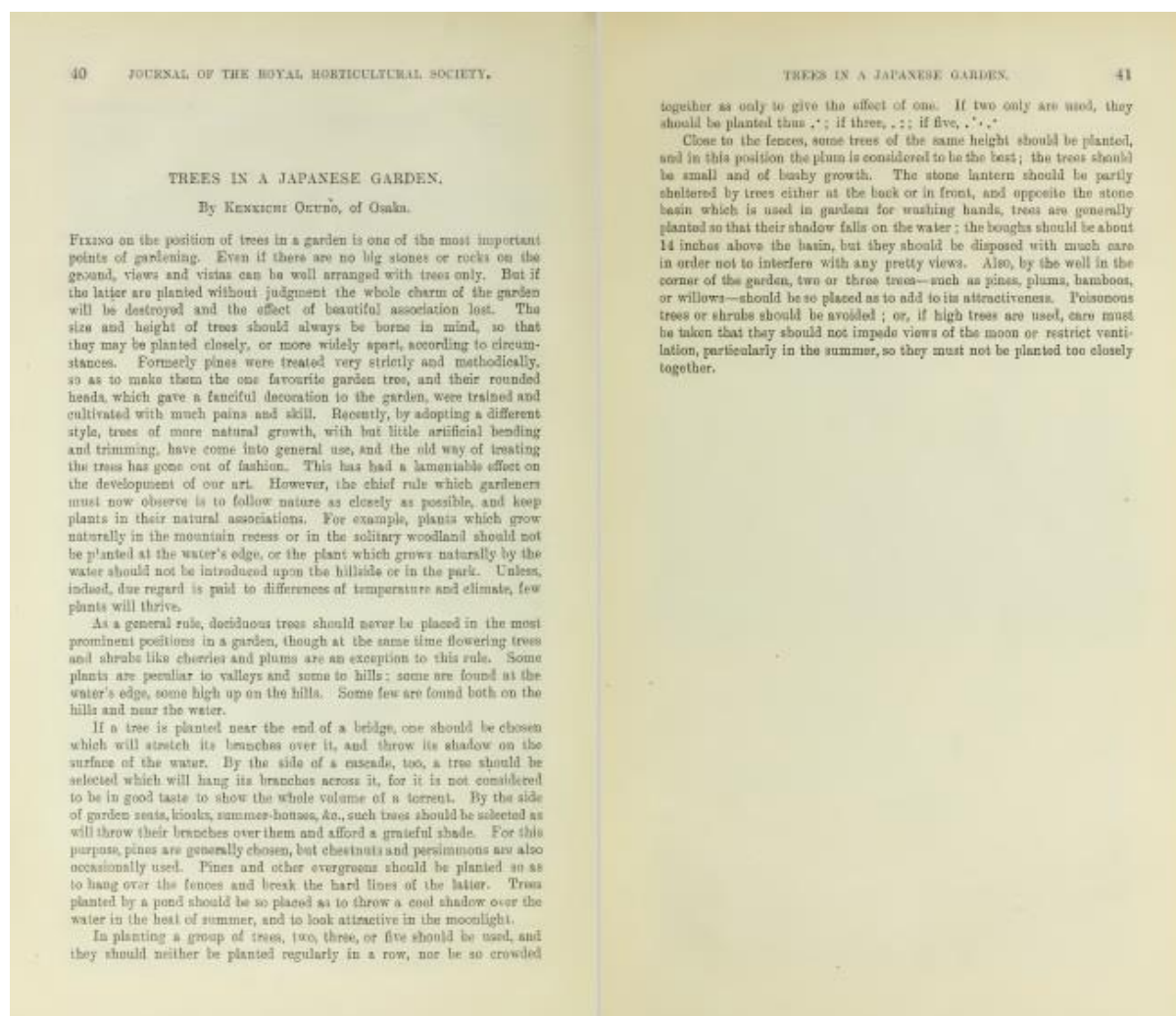


Figure 69 – Kenkichi Okubo article on fixing trees in a Japanese Garden

Source - Okubo, K. 1906, *Trees in a Japanese Garden*, *Journal of the Royal Horticultural Society*, Vol. 31, pp. 40-41.

Other aspects of traditional gardening were increasingly disregarded or ignored in the Meiji era. One such consideration was addressed in an article read before the *Royal Horticultural Society* by Kenkichi Okubo, who described how “Fixing on the position of trees in a garden is one of the most important points of gardening” (see

⁵³⁵ Tatsui, M. 1949, *Japanese Gardens (5th edition)*, Japan Travel Bureau: Tourist Library 5, pp. 25-26.

Fig 69).⁵³⁶ Okubo went on to warn that the whole charm of a garden would be lost if the placement of the trees were not carefully judged. Interestingly he lamented that in modern Meiji era Japanese gardens, new trends had supplanted the more traditional methods, resulting in a disregard for such care and judgement. This implication may well have been doubly evident in the British Japanese style gardens for which they served as blueprints. Many examples of extravagant Meiji era tastes in garden design are evident in Mary Fraser's articles, with the overuse of stone lanterns apparent in many of the images. This then contemporary Meiji era garden style thereby became the extended visual blueprint, beyond the written guides that detailed the more traditional nuances of Japanese gardening.

Okubo's emphasis on the care and attention paid to the trees and their placement may not have been always followed by the British elites in creating Japanese style gardens as their positioning of stone lanterns, bridges and teahouses demonstrates. Certainly, the pruning of trees was one aspect that escaped the attentions of the British garden makers, even with Kenkichi Okubo attempting to rectify this. Another feature often absent from the British-Japanese style gardens is the stone arrangements. As with Okubo's levelling of importance on the trees, the 'setting of stones' is a practice of Japanese landscape gardening that goes back to the thousand-year-old treatise on Japanese gardening, the *Sakuteiki*. The very first line of this ancient text indicates that a gardener when creating a garden should first consider the placement of the stones. This practice was born out of Buddhist principles, with set numbered groupings of stones which possessed religious connotations.⁵³⁷ Like the pruning and careful placement of the trees, these stone arrangements were more commonly absent from British-Japanese gardens.

With the contemporary Meiji era changes in Japanese gardening we can see how the Japanese garden had altered significantly by the time of Japan's opening in 1854. These gardens had overall become showy and aesthetically dominated at the expense of traditionally associated meaning and symbolism. The Japanese parks and gardens with European imitative elements in them are also highly significant, as any foreign or British visitors may not have recognised that there were any such elements infused within them. As previously discussed, the Japanese approach was

⁵³⁶ Okubo, K. 1906, Trees in a Japanese Garden, *Journal of the Royal Horticultural Society*, Vol. 31, pp. 40-41.

⁵³⁷ Takei, J. & Keane, M.P. 2001, *Sakuteiki: Visions of the Japanese garden*, Boston: Tuttle Publishing.

to infuse foreign ideas rather than mimic them. Together with the developments in Japanese gardening of the Meiji era, British visitors to Japan would likely have viewed many contemporary Japanese gardens constructed with some European design influences. This alone is problematic towards constructing what they believed was an authentic, traditional Japanese garden replica when back in Britain. The presence of European features will have been pleasing to the Western eye and lent some familiarity to the otherwise unfamiliar forms of gardening design to foreign visitors.

The focus on the aesthetic in then contemporary Japanese gardens was therefore correctly imitated by the British in their Japanese style gardens. As in Japan itself, gardens were increasingly becoming centred on the stone lanterns and bronze cranes based on this contemporary Japanese gardening shift. Therefore, the Japanese style gardens of Britain were based almost exclusively on the late Edo and Meiji era gardens, rather than earlier Buddhist or traditional gardens. A good example of this trend in Japan is at Mr Saigo's garden which had bronze crane statues in keeping with the Meiji simplification and pictorial tastes (see Fig 70).⁵³⁸

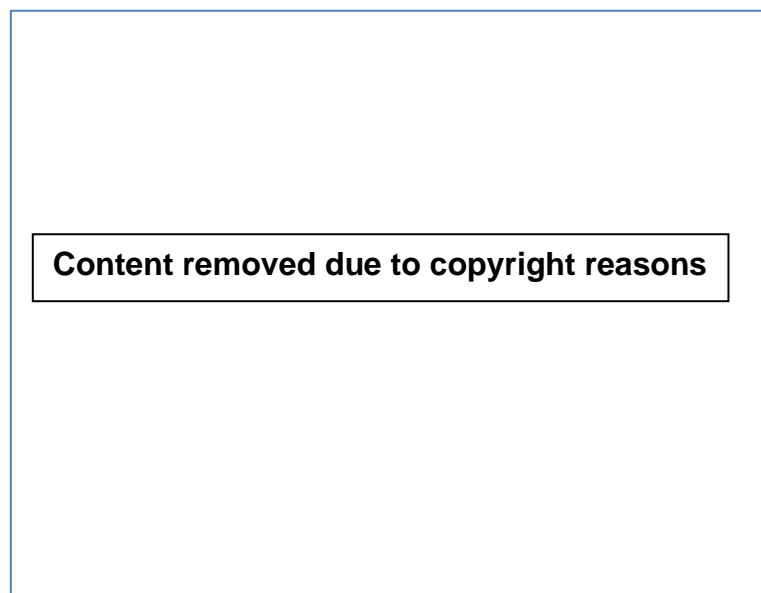


Figure 70 – Mr Saigo's garden with numerous ornamental bronze cranes

Source - Harada, J. 1956, *Japanese Gardens*, London and Boston: The Studio Limited, c1920, pp. 120-121.

⁵³⁸ Harada, J. 1956, *Japanese Gardens*, London and Boston: The Studio Limited, c1920, pp. 120-121.

It was statues and ornaments like these that were prominent features in many British Japanese style gardens such as at Tatton Park, in Cheshire. It is evident that criticisms both at the time of creation and posthumously, towards British-Japanese style gardens and their over emphasis on aesthetic features or misunderstandings of Japanese tradition, were overly harsh on the garden's creators. As has become apparent, the gardens many of these travellers to Japan were witnessing were set out in a similar vein in Japan's Edo and Meiji influenced gardens.

Perhaps the moment in history when Japan's gardens became subjects of step-by-step guidebooks marked the moment when Japanese style became imitative. This was certainly the rhetoric of 'Master' garden designers in Japan because said texts encouraged copying, which encouraged stagnation and restricted the variety of gardens being constructed. In addition, although the guidebooks enabled a far wider proportion of Japanese to attempt to create gardens traditionally limited to the rich, landed aristocracy, they limited the scope and created the deplored myths of strict 'rules' for Japanese garden design. Once again, Britain began attempting the creation of Japanese style gardens at a time when imitative and strict style ideas were contemporary to Japan. Perhaps if Britain had had contact with Japan in an earlier era of history, the narrowed scope of Meiji era Japanese gardens would not have held such an indelible hold over the British imagination.

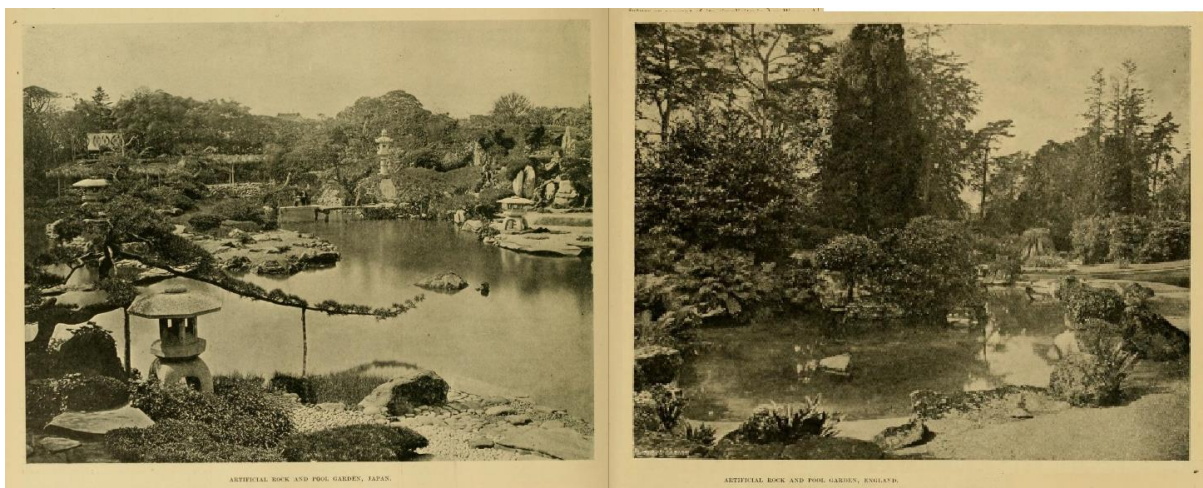


Figure 71 – Japanese and English Rock and pool garden comparison from *The Garden*

Source - 'Rock and Pool Gardens, Japanese and English', *The Garden*, May 26th 1900, pp. 378-379.

These ideas of the 'rules of Japanese gardening' which stemmed from the *niwashi* and the secret texts on gardening, bled into how Japanese gardening was

understood by British gardeners. An article in *The Garden* magazine demonstrated the effect these contemporary gardens had on this understanding. The article compared images of Japanese and English rock and pool gardens, stating this rigidity of rules in Japan. The writer goes on to congratulate British gardeners for apparently “following beauty for beauty’s sake” with a level of individual conviction and freedom not deemed present for the Japanese gardener.⁵³⁹ The accompanying images show an elaborate Japanese garden with numerous stone lanterns and bridges, in comparison to an English pond adorned with a few simple rocks and trees (see Fig 71).

The desired effect seems to have been designed to convey an image of English refinement in the face of Japanese extravagance. This was of course not representative of all Japanese gardening however the view of fixed laws or rules was a commonly held notion reflective of gardens in Meiji era Japan. Therefore, the distinction can be made that British-Japanese style gardens, while not correctly imitative when compared with age-old historical examples, were based on Japanese models – those of the contemporary period.

⁵³⁹ ‘Rock and Pool Gardens, Japanese and English’, *The Garden*, May 26th 1900, pp. 378-379.

6.5. Hidden Gardens: When a Japanese garden, is not a Japanese garden - part 2

Criticisms of lacking authenticity could be bypassed entirely by infusing Japanese garden design principles rather than recreating a garden that resembled visions of those in the Far Eastern nation. Reginald Farrer was a chief advocate of discouraging the vogue for Japanese garden copying in Britain. He encouraged the study of Japanese gardening for blending within British gardens, informed through travels in Asia.⁵⁴⁰ Farrer was chiefly interested in the applications for rock gardens such as the one he laid out at Ingleborough in Yorkshire. The use of Japanese design principles rather than aesthetic mimicry was in part a reaction to the number of gardens which were often lambasted for their lack of originality. By following Japanese philosophies and ideas on garden construction, this lack of authenticity could be bypassed as gardens could appear British, while being designed with Japanese techniques in mind. These hidden gardens avoided the 'Japanese garden' tag which brought so much scrutiny on a garden. Avoiding the Japanese garden markers of the stone lantern, tori gates, arched bridges or teahouses provided a subtler tribute to Japan.

Leading garden designer Thomas Mawson supported this ideology in his book *The Art and Craft of Garden Making* in which he commented;

"The Japanese cunningly contrive their streamlets and ponds in every garden with water-worn stepping stones and rocks interspersed with their miniature aged pine trees. Their gardens, which are wholly artificial, conform to one of several national conventions, and they, along with their planting and equipment, have a religio-natural significance. We can borrow ideas from their art and their simulation of nature."⁵⁴¹

The emphasis here was on the borrowing of Japanese ideas and practices, rather than on creating a wholly authentic Japanese garden. Although in the case of Thomas Mawson, his own advice was not heeded for later garden commissions such as at The Gatehouse, Eskdale Green in the Lake District which was a Japanese

⁵⁴⁰ Tachibana, S., Daniels, S. & Watkins, C. 2004, Japanese gardens in Edwardian Britain: landscape and transculturation, *Journal of Historical Geography*, Vol. 30, pp. 364–394; Tachibana, S. 2014, The "Capture" of Exotic Natures: Cross-cultural Knowledge and Japanese Gardening in Early 20th Century Britain, *Japanese Journal of Human Geography*, Vol. 66 (6), pp. 492-506.

⁵⁴¹ Mawson, T. H. 1926, *The Art and Craft of Garden Making (5th Edition)*, London: B.T. Batsford Ltd., p. 211.

style garden in keeping with other over-ornamented examples of the era and similarly, even his own Lakeland Nursery (see Fig 72).⁵⁴²



Figure 72 – Mawson’s Lakeland Nursery Japanese Garden

Source – Wright, W.P. 1913, *The New Gardening*, New York: Doubleday, Page and Company, p. 186.

This however reflected more on his working to the client’s wishes rather than for personal admiration of Japanese garden style.

Gardener P.S. Hayward who wrote prolifically for *The Gardeners’ Magazine* from 1908 onwards held a similar line of thinking to Mawson. However, Hayward practised what he preached with regards to Japanese gardening. His inclination was to incorporate Japanese gardening ideas into British gardens rather than imitate or recreate them. He was head gardener at Holland House (not to be confused with Lord and Lady Ilchester’s Holland House in London) in Southcliffe, East Anglia, creating gardens in the rock, water and rose styles, in addition to creating pergolas.⁵⁴³

Hayward wrote an article entitled *Japanese Art in English Gardens*, noting the contrasting spread of Western ideas in Japan, with Japanese ideas in English gardens. He saw the Japanese style as “silently and imperceptibly” transferring itself

⁵⁴² ‘Peer Must Sell’, *The Nottingham Evening Post*, May 9th 1949, p. 4.

⁵⁴³ ‘Mr P.S. Hayward’, *The Gardeners’ Magazine*, August 10th 1912, p. 606.

to the West which, “assisted in the overthrow of the stolid formal garden”. Hayward described the ‘mystic influence’ of Japan in its dainty charm and described Japan as ‘the flowery land’, recalling the romanticising of the Japanese garden common in Victorian perceptions of them. He saw resemblance between the rock and water gardens, with lily clad pools, many already with Japanese varieties of plant in place, and seemed to revere the use of stone in Japanese gardens. He ended by stating “certainly the outcome of this blending of East and West, will make for daintiness and simplicity in the garden, and furthermore it has considerably widened the scope of the landscape gardener.”⁵⁴⁴



Figure 73 – Hayward rock garden at Holland House, Southcliffe

Source - ‘Mr P.S. Hayward’, *The Gardeners’ Magazine*, August 10th 1912, p. 606.

The Japanese garden trend was acknowledged and predicted by Hayward to be a long and lasting one. This prediction coming in 1909 would indicate that the British garden maker still had a lot to learn about the intricacies within Japanese gardening tradition which would partly explain the lack of examples created before this date that

⁵⁴⁴ Hayward, P.S. ‘Japanese Art in the English Garden’, *The Gardeners’ Magazine*, March 6th 1909, p. 187.

could be categorised as being built on authentic lines. Hayward outlined the 'Japanese Ideal', which incorporated;

“bold, effective arrangements of rock, mound, and boulders, the artistic grouping of trees, shrubs and plants, the ever-recurring uses of pools, streamlets and swamps, and a completeness of detail which is such a marked feature of Japanese gardening”.⁵⁴⁵

His remarks here bring to mind the articles of Mary Crawford Fraser and Basil Hall Chamberlain mentioned in an earlier chapter and their emphasis on the placement of trees and groupings of stones. It seems likely that Hayward had read some of literature available on Japanese gardening at the time, as reflected in his knowledge.

Hayward's evaluation of Japanese gardening was highly romanticised, but he recognised that there was much to be learned from Japanese gardening beyond mere imitation so prevalent in a majority of the Japanese style gardens in Britain. In a later article entitled *The New Theory in Garden Design*, Hayward outlined how he saw synergies between Japanese and English gardening and recommended “combining the best features of the Japanese garden with our own naturalistic garden ideas”.⁵⁴⁶ Explicitly, these ideas were the 'scenic art' of Japanese gardens and the 'floral beauty' of English gardens. On this basis, Hayward would likely have been all for any hybrid Japanese style gardens in Britain which blended rather than imitated.

At Holland House, Southcliffe in East Anglia, Hayward demonstrated his blending of Japanese ideas in the Rock gardens he created for Mr and Mrs Lilley (see Fig 73). As advocated by Ella Du Cane towards Japanese gardens, Hayward asserted that “no two rock gardens need be alike”.⁵⁴⁷ In homage to the way a Japanese gardener would construct garden art, Hayward invited the reader to discard notions of geometry and try to recall natural formations and scenes, mountains, streams and glades. Although he warned against the Japanese imitation of nature writing “you may not copy them, as a Japanese landscape artist would. You add something here, delete something there, as fancy dictates, but your picture memory is not erased”.⁵⁴⁸ Here Hayward's preference for the simplicity rather than convoluted symbolism of

⁵⁴⁵ Hayward, P.S. 'The Japanese Ideal', *The Gardeners' Magazine*, July 10th 1909, p. 530.

⁵⁴⁶ Hayward, P.S. 'The New Theory in Garden Design', *The Gardeners' Magazine*, January 28th 1911, p. 68.

⁵⁴⁷ Hayward, P.S. 'The Charm of the Rock Garden', *The Gardeners' Magazine*, July 6th 1912, p. 503.

⁵⁴⁸ Hayward, P.S. 'The Charm of the Rock Garden', *The Gardeners' Magazine*, July 6th 1912, p. 503.

Japanese garden arrangements was blended into the English ideas of rock gardening. Hayward did not create a Japanese style garden at Holland House, rather he attempted to channel some of the design principles to create a new form of rock garden.

Like in Japan where European elements set within parks and garden spaces were hard to discern, Japanese gardening ideas infused within British gardens such as Holland House, hid the overt influences and their national origins. With the obvious synergies between rock and water gardens which had come into favour at around the same time as Japanese style in the late Victorian and Edwardian eras, the absence of markers or indicators such as stone lanterns and *bonsai* make it much harder to recognise the extent of the Japanese influence.

Contrast Holland House, Southcliffe with the better known Holland House in Kensington, London and the subtle blend versus obvious attempts to appear Japanese is wholly evident. By using more visually indicative markers such as the stone lantern, a garden could more readily be labelled 'Japanese' by the owner or garden visitor. Whereas the rock garden created by Hayward could similarly be classed as created in a Japanese style, given its conception based on knowledge and practice of their landscape garden design. However, it remained a rock garden because of the aesthetic results, rather than the substantive content or design basis. Perhaps adding a stone lantern would have remedied this, and placed it within the sphere of 'inauthenticity' branded at the Kensington, Holland House's Japanese style garden. This was clearly not Hayward's intent or desire, but the point to be drawn out is that Japanese designs and ideas had permeated much deeper than the mere imitation of existing gardens in Japan, or the ornaments and structures produced there.

Hayward was not alone in proclaiming the use of Japanese principles rather than aesthetic transplantation. Professor Robert H. Smith outlined his views on how Japanese gardening could be attempted outside of Japan. He wrote that "the general idea, purpose and method are alone of essential importance", citing Japan's geographical and historical connections with nature as specific for making up gardens in Japan. However he felt that that the principles of Japanese gardening could be attempted in any country;

“Again, one might wish in England a Swiss garden: it would be one to compel us to dream vividly of our rambles In Switzerland. The design and creation of such a garden requires inbred and cultivated technical skill and long experience of garden effects.... It is to be hoped that this exhibition will influence European garden art; but it is also to be hoped that our gardeners will not set themselves to precise copying of Japanese garden designs, and that they will not attempt to produce dreams of countries of whose natural scenery they have no personal knowledge.”⁵⁴⁹

This copying was of course fully evident at a vast majority of the Japanese style gardens that were attempted in Britain, even of those with the ‘personal knowledge’. Smith described how Swiss gardens in England, like Japanese gardens, could be designed to recall rambles in that country.

The approach of blending Japanese and British garden ideas together was a step on from Lord Redesdale’s gardens at Batsford, which while being designed with Japanese gardening philosophies, still contained physical emblems of Japan with the inclusion of Japanese ornaments such as the Buddha statue. This invited the tag of Japanese garden whether Redesdale desired it or not, whereas, Hayward’s garden design contained no emblems of Japan. These hidden gardens with Japanese inspiration would not be imbued with the Japanese garden tag owing to their lack of aesthetic markers. However, they represented a much more studied use of gardening techniques making them more akin to their Japanese counterparts than those that were travel souvenir gardens of ornaments.

⁵⁴⁹ Smith, R.H. ‘The Japanese-British Exhibition’, *The English Review*, August 1910, pp. 71-82.

Conclusion: New Japan gardens with added Japanese input

The notion of possessing an ‘authentic’ Japanese style garden in Britain appears to have been a growing preoccupation of those striving to have them created in British garden sites. More or less immediately after the early examples emerged, mostly in the Edwardian era (from c1900 onwards), the common critique was that of derision stating the gardens as ‘speaking in a Japanese accent’ or a mishmash of English gardens with Japanese ornaments. As discussed in the previous chapter, these comments were generally accurate given the nature of the basic layout and liberal application of Japanese aesthetic imagery at Gunnersbury for example. The desire for these Japanese style gardens to be seen as authentic however persevered, as even early 1900s gardens such as Holland House in Kensington had the claim of genuine Japanese gardeners working on the site without any evidence to suggest this.⁵⁵⁰ In this case the newspaper reporting was to blame for such an association, but this was seen as a way to imbue places like Holland House, with its Japanese style garden a degree of authenticity.

Trying to prove or disprove the supposed authenticity of a Japanese garden outside of Japan is fraught with difficulty. As even with the input of native gardeners, the site was still removed geographically and could only hope to emulate or represent an image of Japan. This is a huge reason why the notion of reclassifying these gardens as ‘Japan gardens’ has been put forward. Whatever the degree or extent of the inclusion of plants, ornaments, layout or native input, these gardens were designed to remind their owners of Japan for whatever motive they possessed. These Japan gardens drew from a variety of images as perceived by the owners and gardeners, which manifested in the resulting hybrid gardens of Victorian and Edwardian Britain.

The inclusion of Japanese individuals working on these garden projects most certainly resulted in Japan gardens of a much more elaborate scale, incorporating extensive landscaping as evidenced by Taki Handa’s work at Cowden Castle and Saboru Eida’s at the gardens in Tully, Ireland. These grander and more authentic looking garden sites were however still designed to remind of Japan, regardless of the attempts to imbue authenticity. By utilising Japanese individuals, a certain

⁵⁵⁰ ‘Tea Table Talk’, *The Diss Express, and Norfolk and Suffolk Journal*, December 29th 1916.

degree of authentic imagery was achieved for the garden's owners. But as to the gardens themselves being authentically Japanese, that is a particular accolade which was sadly always going to be out of the grasp of the owners from the very start. With the input of Japanese native gardeners, what was actually achieved was a new, more elaborate type of tributary Japan Garden.

The gardeners working on these sites were never free to create 'authentic' Japanese gardens, especially due to their lack of experience working as gardeners. Their gardens reflected the contemporary Meiji era gardens in conjunction with their British owner's ideas of Japanese gardens. Saboru Eida, Taki Handa and the other Japanese individuals became *niwashi*, spreading ideas of Japanese gardening which were removed from the studied traditions as handed down from garden masters to apprentices. Barring a foreigner living and studying as a garden apprentice for over a decade in Japan, the subtleties of this form of landscape gardening was always going to be difficult to achieve.⁵⁵¹ The key to creating a Japanese style garden which possessed synergies with those in Japan was better attempted by learning and infusing the principles as Hayward did, rather than imitating the aesthetics like Lord and Lady Ilchester at Holland House.

The Meiji legacy also encompassed a changing period of Japanese gardening preference, with the aesthetic triumphing over traditional forms and symbolism in Japanese gardens. This when blended with foreign ideas created a new Meiji era garden style which was subsequently imitated by British garden makers at their estates in Britain. With the heavy influence of the Meiji era and governmental policy, Japanese gardening traditions were enforcedly supplanted. The ramifications of this were that British-Japanese style gardens were reflections of Meiji Japan's gardens, which were in part formed with European ideas infused within them. This leads to the conclusion that Japanese gardens as transmitted to Britain can be viewed as 'British-Meiji style gardens'. While not authentic Japanese gardens, they were representative of styles and ideas from contemporary Meiji Japan.

⁵⁵¹ Suzuki, A. 2004, *The Learning Process of Japanese Gardens*, *Kyoto University Graduate School of Engineering: Urban Design Research Seminar Proceedings*, Vol. 2, pp. 1-6.

Chapter 7: Gardens at the Japan-British Exhibition 1910 and their legacy to garden design



Figure 74 – Mitsubishi Season gardens, ‘Spring’

Source - Japan-British Exhibition Postcards: ‘Spring’, accessed from: www.oldtokyo.com.

Introduction

With the Japanese garden craze in Britain very much in motion and Japan's increasing stature as an imperial power, the scene was set for the staging of the Japan-British Exhibition of 1910 in London. The event marked Japan's progress from a developing nation in the 1850s, to being perceived as a civilised world power by European nations in the 1900s. Given the enthusiasm for Japanese gardens in Britain, as evidenced by the numerous imitations created from the 1890s onwards, two large scale landscape gardens were created as centrepieces for the exhibition. The gardens offered visitors to the exhibition first-hand experience of walking amidst and viewing a Japanese garden, designed by gardeners from the Far East. As already established, it was mainly the aristocracy and landed gentry who were able to see Japan's gardens and the exhibition offered those without the wealth to travel an opportunity to see real examples beyond the British representations, images and paintings otherwise available. These gardens also helped to further boost the already popular Japanese garden trend even further after the exhibition.

The gardens were not wholly Japanese in their design and construction however, which will become apparent through a detailed study of their layout, inspirational sources and creators. The gardens at the exhibition bore the long legacy of Japanese exhibiting at world expositions throughout the Victorian and Edwardian eras. As such this was not a new venture for Japan, rather it was chance to step out from merely being a contributor at a world exposition to become the focal point of interest as co-host. This was the Meiji government's big chance to showcase their nation on the international stage and attempt to appeal to their audience which meant tailoring many exhibits to suit this purpose. The background of the gardens' creators will be explored, highlighting their stylistic influences from European and contemporary Meiji era gardens.

With the aim to promote a positive image of Japan as a modern nation to the world, the exhibition was an ideal forum for the Meiji government to achieve this goal. This continued the Meiji era casting off of many traditional Japanese practices deemed as 'backwards' or 'primitive'. As such the gardens were also a contemporary take on Japanese garden design. Their reception by the British public was mostly favourable but as will be seen, the gardens divergence from Japanese tradition

would rankle those familiar with Japan and its gardens. The politics of the exhibition entwined with the Anglo-Japanese Alliance forged in the 1900s also provided ample opportunities to boost trade and increase positive perceptions of the East-Asian nation. It is with the Anglo-Japanese Alliance between Great Britain and Japan that the conception of the 1910 exhibition began.

The exhibition was Japan's chance to solidify its world standing and status as an imperial empire on par with European counterparts. This chapter will demonstrate the links between the political motivations behind the exhibition and how this affected the designs of the gardens. Much of the existing literature on the subject is largely descriptive and offers no incisive critique or evaluation of the ways in which these gardens were different to traditional Japanese gardens. This will be addressed through a thorough evaluation of the gardens. Similarly, the overall reception of the gardens by visitors and the press will be better explored to ascertain the differing perceptions of the garden's authenticity. Finally, the legacy and influence of the exhibition gardens, given their politically motivated conception, will be discussed as the Japan garden reached a new stage of evolution.

7.1. The Politics of Exhibition

The Japan-British Exhibition of 1910 held at the White City, Hammersmith in London was largely fostered by the impetus of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, the first of which was signed in 1902. With victory for the Japanese against China in the 1895 Sino-Japanese war, Europe's leading powers began to take serious note of Japan as a potential rival and regional power. This was further bolstered by their victory against Russia – a big European and Central Asian power – in 1905, demonstrating that Japan had reached a point in its development whereby they were militarily as well as societally capable on the world stage. The signing of the original Anglo-Japanese Alliance in 1902 was forged with a few key factors in mind; to lend the support of the British to Japan's cause if she should go to war (and vice-versa) and to protect the political, trade and commercial interests in Asia of both parties; including Britain in India and China, Japan in Korea and Manchuria. The agreement was seen as a big success for both parties and was revised and renewed in 1905 to prevent Russia from launching any revenge attacks due to their military loss to the Japanese.⁵⁵²

Although neither country was called upon to assist or aid each other physically in any of their respective wars, their status as allies provided a strong front for protecting their territorial aspirations. Japan could protect Britain's interests in Asia, with similar backing for Japanese activities on the continent. Britain clearly had a lot to gain from having forged links with a new power in Japan. Similarly, the alliance enabled Japan to develop and protect political interests in Asia as much as offering protection for Britain's own colonies and interests from other European Countries with imperial aspirations, such as Russia. The 1910 exhibition was born out of the desire to promote the friendship and alliance between Japan and Britain to their respective publics. It was also to be the first exhibition held by an Asian nation outside of Asia. This marked the rapid rise of Japan in global terms in the little over fifty years from the Meiji restoration of 1858.

In the period of half a century prior to the 1910 exhibition, Japan exhibited at around thirty-six world exhibitions across Europe and the United States. This shows

⁵⁵² Nish, I., Steeds, D. & Hotta-Lister, A. 2002, *Anglo-Japanese Alliance*, *LSE STICERD Research Paper No. IS432*, from: [https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1162038.](https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1162038), p. 26.

that the Japanese government recognised early the importance of promoting their nation to the world, if they wanted to achieve respect and recognition as a modern nation. However, it was the hosting of an international exhibition that was important in global terms. Ayako Hotta-Lister described it as a “rite of passage” for an “aspiring power” to host an international exhibition.⁵⁵³ The Japanese were well aware of the way that aspirant global powers would utilise these events to showcase their industry, culture and heritage, whilst also promoting their imperial assets and trade prowess. For instance, Britain had displayed ‘native villages’ from its colonies including Africa and India at many global exhibitions. These were designed to demonstrate how the natives lived, implying that Britain was the civilised power, educating the barbarians and inferiors of the world.⁵⁵⁴ Japan mimicked this at the 1910 exhibition, displaying Formosan (Taiwanese) hamlets, Korean villages and the Japanese indigenous Ainu as acquisitions of their own growing empire.

It was not just assets of empire which Japan displayed, they also showed traditional Japanese style villages where there were artisans practicing crafts for the visitors to observe. This was a way to show Japan’s heritage of craft and artistry at the exhibition. The Japanese government also hoped to revise the trade imbalance that heavily favoured Britain through the exhibition. The president of the Anglo-Japanese Exhibition, Baron Kanetake Oura directly outlined Japan’s stance, writing a few months before the exhibition in 1910;

“The Empire of Japan with its rising influence bent its whole attention to the development of commerce and industry, which are weapons of peace. Among some foreign powers, Japan is grievously misunderstood so that frequently the voice of complaints is raised. The Anglo-Japanese Exhibition is to be held in London at this juncture. Both the people high and low in Japan are availing themselves of this splendid opportunity, by making endeavours to bring the real condition of Japan to the notice of the powers both in Europe and America.”⁵⁵⁵

⁵⁵³ Hotta-Lister, A. 2011, Japan Seeks an Image as an Emerging Colonial Empire: The Japan-British Exhibition of 1910 in London, *Questioning Oriental Aesthetics and Thinking: Conflicting Visions of “Asia” under the Colonial Empires*, Vol. 38, p. 117.

⁵⁵⁴ Lavine, S.D. & Karp, I. 1991, *Exhibiting cultures: the poetics and politics of museum display*, Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, pp. 65-66.

⁵⁵⁵ Mochizuki, K. 1910, *Japan Today: A Souvenir of the Anglo-Japanese Exhibition of 1910*, Tokyo: The Liberal News Agency.

It is highly significant that Oura refers to the exhibition as 'Anglo-Japanese' rather than 'Japan-British Exhibition' as was reported in the British press, as this indicates clearly the association between the Anglo-Japanese Alliance and the exhibition. It was to be a celebratory exhibition of the ties between Japan and Britain. The political motives of the 1910 exhibition are clear to see, as is the extent of Japan's rise in status on the global stage, a position the government had long worked to achieve. Baron Oura addressed directly the Japanese desire to change negative perceptions and present their country as was contemporary and here is revealed a big clue as to the design of the exhibition and its exhibits, including the gardens – they were designed to be representative of Meiji era Japan. A modern image rather than a presentation of old, traditional Japan per say.

This was also true of Japan's earlier exhibits at world exhibitions and the 1910 Japan-British Exhibition marked the peak of Japan's active participation at world exhibitions over the preceding half decade. Japan was increasingly self-exhibiting its own culture in addition to displays of how they had integrated Western/European technology to demonstrate they were a nation to be considered as civilised and advanced as the West. Joy Hendry pointed out that it was this ironic turn of fate, with Japan's ability to mimic and integrate so successfully which ultimately led to Western nations turning from admiration and curiosity, to fear and anxiety of Japan as a military and global power.⁵⁵⁶ However despite Japan's military and global successes, in 1910 the country was still seen more in terms of its exotic and curiosity values. The 1910 exhibition was the catalyst for these changing perceptions as Japan exhibited its imperial possessions through copying the British with their own 'native villages'. This was aimed at highlighting how Japan had lifted these cultures to an advanced level of civilisation, a sentiment that was shared by many commentators such as *The English Review's* Professor Robert H. Smith, who wrote that;

"The Ainu and the Formosan villages and the Korean exhibition illustrate the difficulties with lower, some of them even completely savage, races that this go-ahead Eastern Government has to deal with, and the statistics in another department of the exhibition prove that fairly satisfactory

⁵⁵⁶ Hendry, J. 2000, *The Orient Strikes Back: A Global View of Cultural Display*, Oxford: Berg, pp. 54-60.

success of their methods of gradually raising these races and introducing them to at least the beginnings of civilisation.”⁵⁵⁷

Japanese aspirations of empire were here approved of by the British commentator. Smith’s assertion that the ‘go-ahead’ Japanese government was performing this task well was testament to the perception of Japan as a civilised nation in their own right, with legitimate aspirations of empire.

The 1910 exhibition was Japan’s chance to demonstrate how civilised and advanced their nation had become, using the European forum of exhibiting industry, empire and culture. The Japanese and British governments had a good relationship in the early twentieth century based on the alliance and growing trade between the nations. But Japan was still in a position of slight inferiority and fighting to establish itself as an equal of Britain in terms of trade, power and aspirations of empire. The exhibition was the perfect opportunity to address this imbalance. The vast amount of planning and money allotted by the Japanese government for the exhibition starting in 1908 demonstrates the level of importance they lay on promoting themselves and fulfilling this ‘rite of passage’.⁵⁵⁸

The achievement of this aim was almost jeopardised by the death of King Edward VII on 6th May 1910. The King was a key figure in both appreciating Japanese gardens and fostering positive relations between the two nations through the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. His death, months before the exhibition opened, while not ultimately affecting the success of the event, is of significance because it removed the influential part he played in motivating Japanese style gardens in Britain. As such, the gardens at the exhibition and their legacy became separated from the Edwardian era and marked a new evolution of the Japanese garden for George V’s reign. This was more heavily influenced by the exhibition, its gardens and its gardeners. As will be explored, there was a lasting and immediate legacy from the exhibition in the field of Japanese landscape gardening in Britain.

⁵⁵⁷ Smith, R.H. ‘The Japanese-British Exhibition’, *The English Review*, August 1910, pp. 71-82.

⁵⁵⁸ Hotta-Lister, A. 2011, Japan Seeks an Image as an Emerging Colonial Empire: The Japan-British Exhibition of 1910 in London, *Questioning Oriental Aesthetics and Thinking: Conflicting Visions of “Asia” under the Colonial Empires*, Vol. 38, p. 117.

7.2. The Exhibition Gardens and their creators

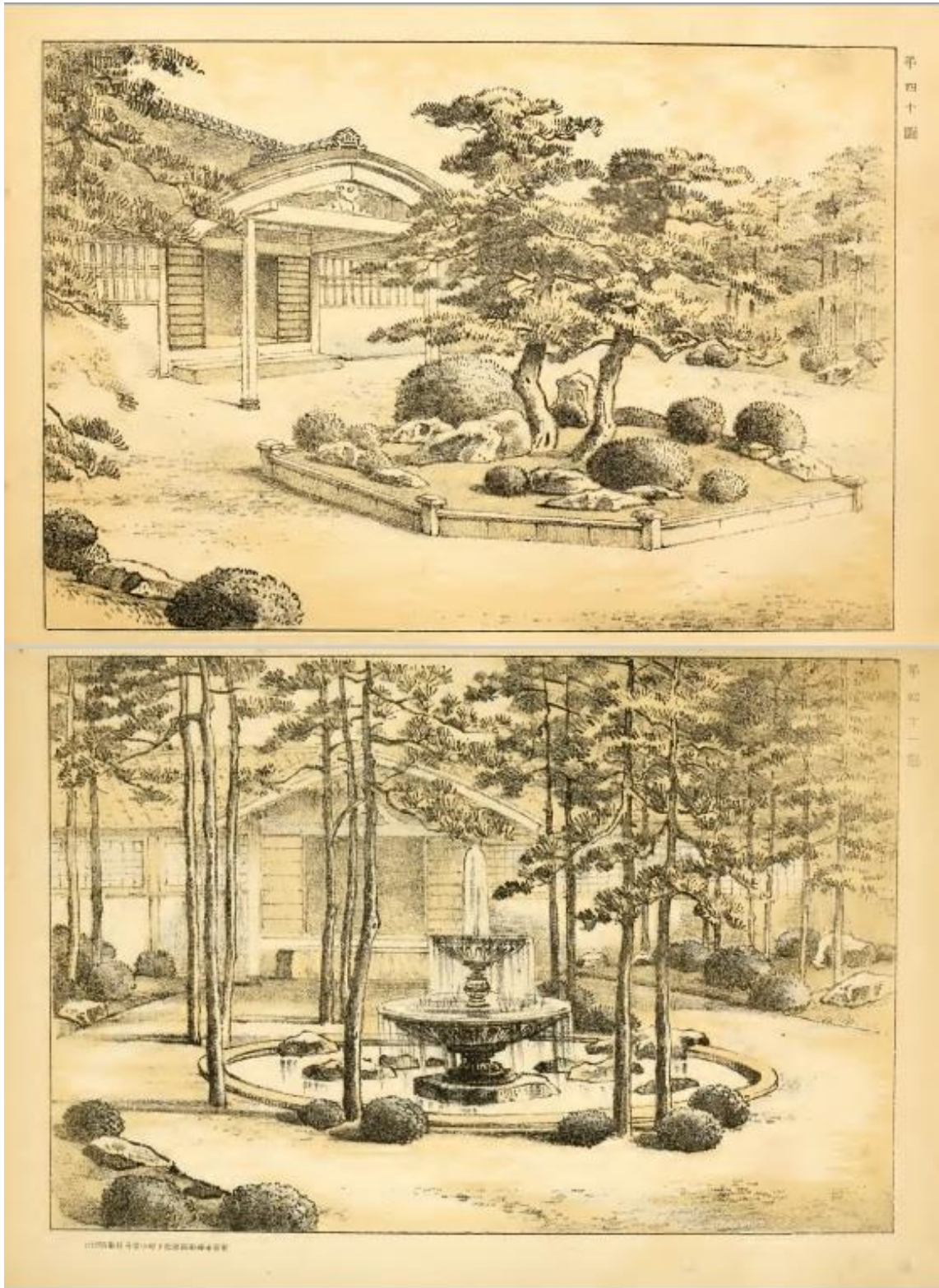


Figure 75 - Kinkichiro Honda Modern styles of Japanese Garden

Source - Honda, K. 1909, *Zukai Teien Zoho*, Published in Japan.

The exhibition was funded and organised by delegates from the Japanese government. Imre Kiralfy was the ambassador for Britain and Takaaki Kato acted as the ambassador for Japan. Kato was strongly pro-British and had held the positions of foreign minister and minister in London. His sound knowledge of world economics positioned him in good stead to adequately organise and promote Japan to best serve the government's financial interests. He built upon the initial groundwork of his predecessor Jutaro Komura who was equally pro-British, and a strong advocator of the exhibition and its role in maintaining the good relationship between Japan and Britain. Kato cited this as the main driving force behind the staging of the exhibition, but also conceded that improving trade inequality was of equal importance.⁵⁵⁹ It was within this highly pro-British environment that the 1910 exhibition took shape.

As mentioned, there were a host of varied exhibits and spaces created for the exhibition. Amongst these, a vast area was allocated for the construction of two Japanese landscape gardens. Kinkichiro Honda together with Keijiro Ozawa, designed two gardens for the 1910 Japan-British Exhibition. The two Japanese men were not seasoned, experienced garden designers, but held more of a theoretical knowledge. Ozawa was described as a man of letters, holding many artefacts and historical materials, where Honda was a painter who had written many books on gardening. The scholarly rather than veteran approach to garden design will have had a profound influence on the gardens they created and also on the imitations which followed. Wybe Kuitert alleged that Josiah Conder "borrowed scholarship" from Kinkichiro Honda for his 1893 book *Landscape Gardening in Japan* and indeed Honda provided illustrations from his 1890 *Zukai Nihon Tei zoho* for the book.⁵⁶⁰ This could in part explain the way gardens were designed in Britain as Conder was basing his work not on a Japanese garden master, but an artist and scholar.

If as Kuitert suggested, Conder was proclaiming Honda's style in his books, this could explain the proliferation of such gardens before, after and during the 1910 exhibition, which will be further investigated later in the chapter. That the two exhibition designers were Meiji era garden experts with a more scholarly approach rather than with seasoned practical experience will have certainly impacted the way

⁵⁵⁹ Hotta-Lister, A. 'The Japan-British Exhibition of 1910', from; Nish, I. (editor), 1994, *Britain & Japan: Biographical Portraits*, Folkestone: Japan Library, pp. 146-158.

⁵⁶⁰ Kuitert, W. 2002, Japonaiserie in London and the Hague: A History of the Japanese Gardens at Shepherd's Bush (1910) and Clingendael (c. 1915), *Garden History*, Vol. 30 (2) (Winter), pp. 221-223.

the gardens were designed. In fact, all the Japanese in Britain working on the exhibition helped create an image of Japan that they wanted the British to see. Meshing together historical heritage, with modern images of Japan and including modern ideas around landscape gardening. This is emphasised by Honda's 1909 book *Zukai Teien Zoho* which contained illustrations of modern styles of Japanese garden. Many of these illustrations displayed more geometric styles, for instance plate forty shows a hexagonal bed with rock and tree arrangements, while plate forty-one has an even less traditionally Japanese fountain on a circular pond (see Fig 75).⁵⁶¹ Honda was a keen proliferator of modern and European styles of Japanese garden.

It appears that Kinkichiro Honda only helped at the design phase of the gardens as he does not appear in any of the related documents around the exhibition in Britain, with Ozawa gaining the credits in the press and articles from the time. Keijiro Ozawa became a teacher at the *Tokyo Metropolitan School of Horticulture* and is described as basing his gardening knowledge on three books; *Sakuteiki* - the ancient gardening manual - and two other medieval manuscripts.⁵⁶² He believed that there were only three types of Japanese garden:

Hiraniwa – flat gardens. *Sansui* – Mountain water hill landscape gardens. *Karesansui* – dry stone gardens.

Of these three, only the abstract forms of the Karesansui drystone gardens were omitted from the exhibition. It is likely in keeping with the Japanese desire to present their culture to appeal to the Western eye that Karesansui was considered too far removed from what the Edwardian viewers would expect to see or even understand. Karesansui gardens are representations of water and pond flat gardens with traditional stone arrangements to represent the mythical Isle of the immortals (see Fig 76).⁵⁶³ They however contain no water, which is represented by small stones raked into wave patterns. This style of garden was born out of Buddhist ideology and are intended to be peaceful and contemplative in their simplicity. Only in recent history has this form of Japanese garden started to be seen in Britain. For an event

⁵⁶¹ Honda, K. 1909, *Zukai Teien Zoho*, Published in Japan.

⁵⁶² Koitabashi, F. & Sinji, I. 2009, Gardening Education by Keijiro Ozawa at Tokyo Metropolitan School of Horticulture, *Landscape Research Japan Online*, Vol. 2, pp. 36-45.

⁵⁶³ Nitschke, G. 2007, *Japanese Gardens*, Köln; London: Taschen, pp. 19-25.

such as the exhibition in 1910, the more showy and elaborate styles of hill and flat gardens were chosen to best showcase Japanese garden style.



Figure 76 – Karesansui abstract gardens: Ryoan-ji Temple, Kyoto

Source – Author’s own Photo, 21.04.17

Whilst Ozawa was referenced frequently as the designer and overseer of the gardens, it was another Japanese Hannosuke Izawa who was the head gardener who “guided three other Japanese gardeners and held command over the contracted British workers”.⁵⁶⁴ Izawa would follow and interpret the master-plans by Ozawa and Honda and direct the workers to achieve the desired effects. A discussion of the composition of these show gardens will now be undertaken with the aims of demonstrating the ways in which they were constructed along either traditional or contemporary Japanese lines. Through looking at the gardens themselves in depth, the aspects with politically based inclusions will become apparent.

The two landscape gardens were intended to represent traditional Japanese garden styles. Ozawa designed ‘The Garden of Peace’ – named to reflect the spirit in which Japan participated in the exhibition – in the *sansui* (*tsukiyama senzui*), hill garden style (see Fig 77).⁵⁶⁵ Takeo Shiota described this style in his book on Japanese gardens from 1916:

⁵⁶⁴ Kuitert, W. 2002, Japonaiserie in London and the Hague: A History of the Japanese Gardens at Shepherd's Bush (1910) and Clingendael (c. 1915), *Garden History*, Vol. 30 (2) (Winter), pp. 224-225.

⁵⁶⁵ Tachibana, S., Daniels, S. & Watkins, C. 2004, Japanese gardens in Edwardian Britain: landscape and transculturation, *Journal of Historical Geography*, Vol. 30, p. 368.

“Tsukiyama is the representative Japanese landscape garden. In its perfect form it has mountains, hills, lakes, islands cliffs, forests, waterfalls and rivers; and these, being properly arranged and artfully proportioned to one another, give the observer an impression of that grandeur which is the natural accompaniment of so much of the scenery of Japan. It is adorned with trees, rocks, pavilions, bridges, stone lanterns, shrines, etc. This is the fundamental type of landscape garden. It permits of unlimited variations in its treatment. There is no spot, however limited in extent, upon which it cannot be constructed and made to seem at once appropriate and impressive.”⁵⁶⁶



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Figure 77 – The Garden of Peace

Source - Japan-British Exhibition Postcards: ‘In the Japanese Gardens, Japan-British Exhibition, London, 1910’, accessed from: www.oldtokyo.com.

This is reflected in Ozawa’s designs for the one hectare site which incorporated a huge garden pavilion, with bridges and islands amid the lake created through

⁵⁶⁶ Shiota, T. 1916, *Japanese Gardens and Houses*, New York: The Alexander Press, pp. 12-13.

extensive earthwork. Wybe Kuitert considered the religious adornments and their connotations in the garden;

“There was an island, bridges of various designs, a small Shinto shrine with a gate, a Buddhist statue, and a five-storied stone pagoda. The contemporary Japanese explanation states that these more architectural decorations were required to have the garden understood as veritably Japanese with Western viewers”.⁵⁶⁷

Here the deviation from traditional Japanese gardening is apparent, with aesthetic triumphing over form or function. The mixing of Buddhist and Shinto iconography is significant as this encouraged the already muddled perception of these Japanese religions in the minds of the British public. The appeal of the gardens to foreign eyes was clearly the paramount goal of their designs rather than educating in Japanese culture.

The ‘Garden of Peace’ was the more favourably received of the two gardens, likely owing to the more lavish features described as archetypal by Kuitert. Although it was somewhat removed from the traditional elegance and simplicity of Japanese garden history. As previously discussed this owed to the modern ideas of the creators and the desires of the government who wanted a garden that would showcase Japan by presenting stereotypical and exuberant images, through which the ‘Garden of Peace’ served this purpose admirably. Kinkichiro Honda designed the second area; ‘The Garden of the floating isle’ in the *hiraniwa*, flat garden style (see Fig 78). Shiota described this style as:

“a garden built on the flat ground with a few rocks or trees as its principle features, these being notable for picturesqueness and beauty. It is always so arranged in part as to suggest the sea coast and an island. Gardens of this type are treated in a more idealistic and poetic way than are those of any of the other forms.”⁵⁶⁸

Hiraniwa gardens make use of a flat piece of ground, generally to represent a valley or moor. In this smaller garden of around 7300 square metres, Honda designed a much more elaborate imagining of a flat style garden;

⁵⁶⁷ Kuitert, W. 2002, Japonaiserie in London and the Hague: A History of the Japanese Gardens at Shepherd's Bush (1910) and Clingendael (c. 1915), *Garden History*, Vol. 30 (2) (Winter), pp. 224-225.

⁵⁶⁸ Shiota, T. 1916, *Japanese Gardens and Houses*, New York: The Alexander Press, p. 13.

“It again had several garden buildings set around a garden hill, stuffed with rocks around a waterfall of about 5 meters in height. This extraordinary arrangement in the middle had to function as a focal point when seen from the buildings set around it. Several stone lanterns were added.”⁵⁶⁹

The towering building atop the cascade was a scaled down replica of the *Chokushi-mon* gateway from Japan. This served as an impressive monument to draw the eye within the garden. Once again the traditional Japanese practices made way for a much more outlandish and showy scene, designed to impress visitors with bold visions.



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Figure 78 – Garden of the Floating Isle

Source - Japan-British Exhibition Postcards: ‘In the Japanese Gardens, Japan-British Exhibition, London, 1910’, accessed from: www.oldtokyo.com.

The intrusion of the towering waterfall with *Chokushi-mon* gateway atop it is particularly jarring for a flat style of garden. However Jiro Harada described how *sansui* and *hiraniwa* styles of garden are not always inseparable from each other.

⁵⁶⁹ Kuitert, W. 2002, Japonaiserie in London and the Hague: A History of the Japanese Gardens at Shepherd's Bush (1910) and Clingendael (c. 1915), *Garden History*, Vol. 30 (2) (Winter), p. 225.

Bigger gardens as those at the White City in the *tsukiyama (sansui)* style “may give up a part of itself to make a hira-niwa”.⁵⁷⁰ It seems like this was the case with the exhibition gardens, as the two gardens flowed into each other rather than being two distinct entities. The waterfall with the *Chokushi-mon* looming over it at the top formed a bisecting point between the two gardens. Therefore, while not necessarily traditionally formed, the flowing design of the gardens was not totally at odds with Japanese practices. Nevertheless, the two gardens were certainly crafted to be different to gardens in Japan, specifically to appeal to visitors of the exhibition.

The guidebook to the exhibition offers the notion that the gardens may well ‘whisk the viewer to the heart of Japan’ through their imagery. Although, Amanda Herries noted that in the book they do not attempt to describe the gardens thoroughly.⁵⁷¹ There are however, many articles, surviving photographs and postcards of the gardens with which to attempt to interpret their styles and features. In the January before the exhibition, Imperial Japanese Government Commissioner, Count Hirokichi Mutsu wrote an article discussing the forthcoming exhibition. On its gardens he wrote that;

“In the extensive grounds at Shepherd's Bush there will be two such gardens, both designed by the foremost artists in Japan, but materially differing in their respective styles, and each will cover some 190,000 square feet of land. Picturesque houses, stone lanterns, fanciful bridges, and even the very rocks and tall trees, which will grace the landscapes, are being brought over from Japan, in order to reproduce a true and typical effect. The skilful gardeners, and other experts, who are to come over from Japan to carry out the scheme, and some of whom are already here for this purpose, will doubtless work wonders and effect a complete transformation scene.”⁵⁷²

Based on Mutsu’s descriptions the gardens would be a literal translation of Japanese garden art, authentic and picturesque. This was true in part, as the gardens were heavily influenced by Meiji garden trends, but they were ultimately a new representation of Japanese gardening.

⁵⁷⁰ Harada, J. 1956, *Japanese Gardens*, London and Boston: The Studio Limited, c1920, p. 14.

⁵⁷¹ Herries, A. 2001, *Japanese Gardens in Britain*, Buckinghamshire: Shire Publications Ltd, p. 20.

⁵⁷² Mutsu, H. 1910, The Japan-British Exhibition 1910, *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, Vol. 58 (2983), pp. 232-243.

Count Hirokichi Mutsu's commentary on the intended uses of the two teahouses also makes for interesting reading;

“With the concurrence of the Government authorities, the *Central Tea Association of Japan* has decided to erect in the garden a true Japanese tea-house. The building is to be constructed in a most artistic style so as to enhance the typical atmosphere of the garden. In another part of the grounds, and on a more elaborate scale, will be erected a Formosan tea-house, where the famous Oolong tea will be delicately served to the visitors possibly by the natives - not by the savage tribesmen, as aforementioned, but by fair maidens of that distant isle!”⁵⁷³

As discussed, the Formosan hamlet was a feature elsewhere in the grounds, demonstrating the imperial aspirations of Japan. Here we see some disparaging comments alluding to the savage natives, with the promise that Japan will have civilised this scene by choosing more pleasing hosts – *geishas*. These teahouses were placed on the peripheries to afford views of the gardens, giving visitors an immersive experience within them.

This immersive experience was further bolstered by the addition of artificial landscape feature gardens commissioned by the *Mitsubishi Company*. The exhibit was constructed and designed as “artificial but realistic indoor Japanese gardens representing the floral glories of the four seasons - iris, cherryblossoms and peonies will vie with chrysanthemums, maples and wisteria.”⁵⁷⁴ These exhibits acted as representative walks through Japan and showcased the idealisation of Japanese scenic beauty through the seasons. These artificial constructions worked in combination with the two big landscape gardens and the functioning teahouses to create a space that intended to take the visitor away and imagine they were not in Hammersmith, but in Kyoto or Tokyo.

Like the two larger landscape gardens, the artificial gardens created by Mitsubishi reinforced the popular images of Japan to the Western/European audience at the time. For instance, the spring garden contained a replica of the famous red drum bridge from the *Kameido Shrine*, in addition to a *Yatsunashi* zigzag bridge,

⁵⁷³ Mutsu, H. 1910, The Japan-British Exhibition 1910, *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, Vol. 58 (2983), pp. 232-243.

⁵⁷⁴ Mutsu, H. 1910, The Japan-British Exhibition 1910, *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, Vol. 58 (2983), pp. 232-243.

numerous Japanese stone lanterns and red *tori* gates, all indicative marker images of Japan. Likewise, the autumn garden was designed to include further *tori* gates and wooden Japanese lanterns. Benches were set aside from the walkways, completing the walkthrough museum like display of Japanese scenic beauty.⁵⁷⁵ These gardens neither challenged nor extinguished the existing myths, ideas or misconceptions of Japanese gardens in the minds of the exhibition visitors. In fact they encouraged the romantic notion of Japanese gardens while cementing the indicative Japanese features to a wider audience. These presented images clearly had the desired effect as overall, the reception of the gardens by British visitors was highly positive.

⁵⁷⁵ Japan-British Exhibition Postcards: '*Autumn, The Four Seasons*'; '*Spring, The Four Seasons*'; '*Spring*' and '*Autumn*', accessed from: www.oldtokyo.com.

7.3. Critical reception and further evaluation of the exhibition gardens

Alfred Lys Baldry, an artist and art critic described the exhibition as “partially satisfying” to visitors seeking “the full flavour of the East”.⁵⁷⁶ By this he alluded to the expectations of an audience steeped in Orientalist ideologies as traditionally associated with the Victorian era. In fact, the perceived subtlety of tone taken by the Japanese in presenting their culture seems to have surprised him as he advised that those “ordinary sightseers” seeking the Eastern flavour would be disappointed. This shows how inaccurate and exaggerated the Oriental stereotypes were. It also highlights the ways in which the Japanese committee intended to downplay the Oriental views of Japan by showcasing their culture and achievements to Britain that shone a more positive and crucially, equal footing as a fellow world power. However, they also played to their audience in order to keep them engaged.

This is fully evident in the Japanese gardens they created for the exhibit. Wybe Kuitert echoes this, saying that the exhibition ambassador’s Takaaki Kato and Imre Kiralfy (responsible for the production of the fair) were not happy with the outspoken designs, but it was explained to them that the visitors would love the idea.⁵⁷⁷ Here we can see deviation from traditional designs in favour of outlandish schemes, made to capture the British public’s imaginations. This reveals many things about the Japanese intent at the exhibition. They wanted to present their culture to show their pride as a nation, but also to foster interest in commercial trade by cramming as much in as they could, regardless of the longstanding Japanese gardening traditions being ignored or jumbled up. The gardens were truly exhibitionist and cannot be seen to encapsulate representations of traditional garden practice. Rather, they crossed over from Japan’s art-garden links into theatre-garden links, as the whole arrangement became a performance designed to wow the audience, but not necessarily educate them.

Alfred Lys Baldry though, still described the gardens positively as “quaintly picturesque” and of “dainty charm”. Praise was given to the perceived long and artful history displayed through these gardens. Although he noted that the background of painted scenery against which this garden was set was “not very helpful”. The

⁵⁷⁶ Baldry, A.L. ‘The Japan-British Exhibition’, *Art journal*, September 1910, p. 257.

⁵⁷⁷ Kuitert, W. 2002, Japonaiserie in London and the Hague: A History of the Japanese Gardens at Shepherd’s Bush (1910) and Clingendael (c. 1915), *Garden History*, Vol. 30 (2) (Winter), p. 225.

painted background was an interesting inclusion as it suggests the creators wanted to encourage their viewers to imagine they were in Japan, rather than to attempt to imitate the gardens as subsequently occurred after the exhibition. Perhaps the painted background was merely there to mask the otherwise drab surroundings of the exhibition hall and grounds. Baldry perceived the Japanese as a highly intelligent and sophisticatedly artistic people and particularly (as an art lover himself) praised the Japanese art on display. He felt that although the British art also on display was by no means of inferior quality, the Japanese had excelled in demonstrating their own mastery of style. Through Baldry's commentary and critique we can see how the exhibition succeeded in showcasing Japan in a positive light, against the 'backwards' label so often thrown at the nation in the late Victorian era. Although Baldry's descriptions of quaint and dainty displays did play somewhat to the prevailing stereotype of Japan at the time.

There were of course harsher critics of the gardens at the exhibition. William Beach Thomas a journalist writing for the *Daily Mail* cited visitors complaining about the lack of flowers apart from azaleas in the 'Garden of the Floating Isle' at the exhibition.⁵⁷⁸ This was a critique more in keeping with English tastes which placed high regard for flower beds and groupings of flowers. As Japanese gardens place greater esteem on the rock, landscape and tree arrangements, this is understandable. Beach Thomas called for the British-Japanese garden makers to pay more attention to the construction and design techniques behind creating a Japanese garden, rather than just on the aesthetics. Reginald Farrer who wrote books on the topics of Asian horticulture and garden design in the early twentieth century felt strongly that the British based imitations were dumbing down the wealth of history and practices of their native origins; "The West copies by sitting in front of a model and imitating it soullessly, outward line by line. The East... 'copies' by sitting in front of an original, absorbing it, studying it, grasping its principles and its essential greatness thoroughly".⁵⁷⁹ Farrer, who spent a lot of time in various parts of Asia including Japan studying horticulture and procuring exotic plants gave this description:

⁵⁷⁸ Beach-Thomas, W. 'Japanese Gardens', *British architect*, June 10th 1910, p. 402.

⁵⁷⁹ Tachibana, S., Daniels, S. & Watkins, C. 2004, Japanese gardens in Edwardian Britain: landscape and transculturation, *Journal of Historical Geography*, Vol. 30, pp. 285-287.

“The ‘Japanese’ gardens at the White City [Exhibition of 1910] were quite the most cruel and insolent practical jokes that I have ever seen levelled at our native innocence—vast puddings of unrelated pebbles, shapeless, ridiculous, peppered with toys and bronzes and haphazard shrubs. How their creators must have laughed in the building...”⁵⁸⁰

Farrer appears to have believed that the exhibition gardens would encourage a wave of Japanese garden creation in Britain that would result in stale copies. His critique of the two exhibition gardens as ‘jokes’ playing to the British public’s stereotyping are supported by Wybe Kuitert’s observations about their conception.

Furthermore, Farrer’s interpretation of the exhibition gardens and argument that they were insufficiently traditional in design was even supported by Japanese observers. Dr Bunji Mano in a speech at a post exhibition commemorative luncheon held after the Holland House summer show emphasised that that; “The several gardens are not purely Japanese. They manifest the good feeling existing between the horticulturalists of England and Japan; equally they symbolize the alliance between our countries.”⁵⁸¹ He acknowledged that the gardens were not of pure traditional design and style. Mano goes as far as to allude to the political nature of the gardens at the exhibition, describing them as symbols of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. The gardens at the Japan-British Exhibition shared in some of the dual-nationality of the whole event – a hybrid symbol of the political alliance. A motivating factor which again shows the gardens significance not solely limited to their influence on the exhibition gardens, but on subsequent attempts to create Japanese gardens in Britain.

This notion of designing a Japanese garden on European lines is given even more credence from the ‘Garden of Peace’ designer Kinkichiro Honda. Honda read an article on Japanese gardens before the *American Institute of Architects* in December 1900, compiled in a book on European and Japanese gardens from 1902. The articles on Italian and French gardens show formal designs with cascades which Honda will have witnessed himself when the articles were presented.⁵⁸² Honda was

⁵⁸⁰ Tachibana, S., Daniels, S. & Watkins, C. 2004, Japanese gardens in Edwardian Britain: landscape and transculturation, *Journal of Historical Geography*, Vol. 30, pp. 285-287.

⁵⁸¹ Chittenden, F.J(ed). 1910, The Society’s Welcome to the Japanese Horticulturalists and Visitors in London for the Japan-Britain Exhibition 1910, *Journal of the Royal Horticultural Society*, Vol. 36, p. 418.

⁵⁸² Brown, G. (editor) 1902, *European and Japanese gardens: Papers Read Before the American Institute of Architects*, Philadelphia: Henry T. Coates and co, p. 40.

clearly a keen student of European garden design, exemplified in his own Japanese publications, such as *Zukai Teien Zoho* from 1909 previously mentioned with its Japanese formal designs. Honda's article appears to have been largely a reproduction of his earlier work, as borrowed by Josiah Conder for *Landscape Gardening in Japan*. The categorisation of the elements that made up a Japanese garden are all present and described, as Conder did for his texts.

Honda stated (like Keijiro Ozawa) that in general, Japanese gardens could be separated into two categories; flat and hill style gardens, which could then be further split into three designations of their elaborateness; rough, intermediary or finished styles.⁵⁸³ It is no coincidence that the flat and hill styles of Japanese garden were used for designs at the exhibition by Honda and Ozawa. These being elaborately set out in the finished style, reflecting the grandeur needed for an exhibition display. As previously stated, Honda's designs for his flat style garden were somewhat removed from Japanese conventions. For instance, Honda described that a flat garden is usually made up of symbolic stones that represent islands, cascades and hint at the presence of the sea. The plates he provides do not bear any resemblance to the 'Garden of the Floating Isle' designed for the exhibition. Rather, Honda designed a garden more elaborate and in keeping with the hill garden style, 'Garden of Peace' that flowed into it. If the 'Garden of the Floating Isle' was intended as a representation of a flat style garden, the result was far removed from any Japanese example.

The conscious efforts to make the gardens 'pleasing to the Western eye' threw up some interesting design similarities with some European garden counterparts. In particular, the large cascade waterfall was a feature that appeared in many European formal gardens as seen in Italy and France.⁵⁸⁴ The *Bois De Boulogne*, a famous park in Paris contains a lake with a huge cascade waterfall coming over large built up rockworks and fed by another lake via a stream, built in 1856 (see Fig 79).⁵⁸⁵ This scene is very similar to the 'Garden of the Floating Isle' at the 1910 exhibition, minus the towering *Chokushi-mon* and pagoda at the summit and the

⁵⁸³ Brown, G. (editor) 1902, *European and Japanese gardens: Papers Read Before the American Institute of Architects*, Philadelphia: Henry T. Coates and co, pp. 147-153.

⁵⁸⁴ Brown, G. (editor) 1902, *European and Japanese gardens: Papers Read Before the American Institute of Architects*, Philadelphia: Henry T. Coates and co.

⁵⁸⁵ 'Cascade Du Bois De Boulogne', from: Brown, G. (editor) 1902, *European and Japanese gardens*, Philadelphia: Henry T. Coates & co., p. 49.

Japan emblems such as stone lanterns placed into the scene. Even down to the tree lined background and rocky archway separating the ponds, the two gardens bear strong resemblance.



Figure 79 – Bois De Boulogne similar to the ‘Garden of the Floating Isle’

Source - ‘Cascade Du Bois De Boulogne’, from: Brown, G. (editor) 1902, *European and Japanese gardens*, Philadelphia: Henry T. Coates & co., p. 49.

The cascade at Bois De Boulogne was designed with Hyde Park’s English landscape style of lakes and streams in mind, but was altered to include the imposing waterfall after encountering planning issues.⁵⁸⁶ Here the resemblance to the ‘Garden of the Floating Isle’ takes a new twist, as we see an area of a French park space designed to resemble an English park, and this then being replicated with Japanese elements at the 1910 Japan-British Exhibition.

⁵⁸⁶ Pinkney, D.H. 1955, Napoleon III's transformation of Paris: The origins and development of the idea, *The Journal of Modern History*, Vol. 27 (2), pp. 125-134.

The direct link between the two is not clear cut, but the resemblance between the two sites is strong. Additionally, given the extensive study of European park spaces by Japanese on missions to aid Japan's modernisation and development of their own park spaces, and Japan's participation at the numerous Paris Expositions of the previous century, it is clear there was large scope for exposure to Japanese exhibition planners and garden designers prior to 1910. As mentioned, Kinkichiro Honda was heavily influenced by European garden models. When looking for a suitable model that would appeal to Western tastes – a European-English hybrid garden – together with a garden that could be hybridised with Japanese landscape ideals that traditionally include lakes and waterfalls, a garden like the *Cascade Du Bois De Boulogne* was an ideal model. The top of the waterfall allowed space for an imposing structure and pagoda, while the rockwork – over-elaborate by Japanese standards at the exhibition – was an element common in Japanese gardens.

Writing for the *English Review*, Professor Robert H. Smith offered evaluation of the exhibits at the Japan-British Exhibition that further many of the arguments put forward so far. He described the 'Garden of Peace' as a hillock garden in "true Japanese style", while labelling the supposed flat style 'Garden of the Floating Isle' as "another, smaller hill and lake garden of different form".⁵⁸⁷ Here Honda's deviation from Japanese flat garden style tradition is succinctly perceived by a visitor as indistinguishable from the hill garden. Smith goes on to lament that the hopes of the garden's designers were not fully realised owing to the detrimental effects of transporting many of the flowering shrubs and trees that would have aided the appearance of the gardens. This echoed Beach Thomas's comments of a perceived lack of Japanese plants or flowers in the gardens. While flowers and plants are generally subordinate in Japanese gardens, there was also a literal reason for their absence at the exhibition. The criticisms levelled at the exhibition gardens were not unfounded as can be discerned from the testimony of Japanese officials involved with the exhibition and also when looking at comparisons with a European garden example. The European flavour and design basis also adds another significant element when considering the legacy and influence of these gardens on later constructed Japanese style gardens in Britain after 1910.

⁵⁸⁷ Smith, R.H. 'The Japanese-British Exhibition', *The English Review*, August 1910, pp. 71-82.

As outlined, the exhibition and its gardens were well received by the British public on the whole. However, there were a few negative critics who possessed a more in-depth knowledge of Japan like Farrer. But these negative reviews by British visitors were much fewer than the positive. As Ayako Hotta-Lister emphasised, “The most vocal grievances of all were expressed by the westernized Japanese, residents or visitors from Japan who had come specifically to see the Exhibition.”⁵⁸⁸ The common complaints reported in the Japanese press from their visitors to the exhibition were aimed at the native villages which showed traditional crafts being made. The grievance was that these were no longer contemporary craft pursuits, and that the image of Japan as quaint and backwards would be reinforced. That it was traditional crafts and pursuits being objected to, mostly by high-ranking Japanese visitors, further demonstrates the desire to appear modern and contemporary. This was achieved in the gardens which combined European and Japanese design features to create tailor made showpieces. This desire would have further ramifications for the gardens constructed after, and often inspired by the two exhibition gardens.

⁵⁸⁸ Hotta-Lister, A. 2011, Japan Seeks an Image as an Emerging Colonial Empire: The Japan-British Exhibition of 1910 in London, *Questioning Oriental Aesthetics and Thinking: Conflicting Visions of “Asia” under the Colonial Empires*, Vol. 38, pp. 125-130.

7.4. Gardens inspired by the 1910 Exhibition

The exhibition gardens had a direct influence on Japanese style gardens built after 1910 in Britain. This is evidenced by the more elaborate gardens constructed in the aftermath of the exhibition, a selection of which will be discussed now. There was a growing demand for 'authentic' Japanese style, content and the involvement of native designers and gardeners in a bid to lend some credence to owning a Japanese garden on a British country estate. As previously discussed, the use of native gardeners, or Japanese firms was one way this notion of authenticity was attempted to be achieved. Gardens such as those at Tatton Park in Cheshire were inspired by Alan de Tatton's visit to the 1910 exhibition.

Even gardens in other parts of Europe were inspired by the exhibition gardens, with Wybe Kuitert suggesting that the Japanese garden at Clingendael in the Netherlands may have been based on the similarly designed Keijiro Ozawa and Kinkichiro Honda sketches for the gardens at the Japan-British Exhibition.⁵⁸⁹ Josiah Conder's *Landscape Gardening in Japan* is also referenced once again, showing his continued presence as a garden expert. The combination of plans from the book and the inspiration of having seen the exhibition gardens was used to design the gardens at Clingendael. That Clingendael resembles 'the Garden of Peace' from the exhibition is indicative of its likely inspiration. This also demonstrates the influence of the exhibition gardens extending beyond the British Isles.

Further demonstrating the extent of the visual impact they possessed, 'The Garden of the Floating Isle' and 'Garden of Peace' were both recreated at Ewell Castle in Surrey. Its American owner Captain Clarence Wiener wasted no time in procuring the services of "their chief native gardener, employed in laying out the grounds of the White City."⁵⁹⁰ This is most likely head gardener at the exhibition; Hannosuke Izawa and his team of workmen, as Izawa was chiefly responsible for directing the construction to Honda and Ozawa's plans. Captain Wiener, clearly enraptured by the gardens after seeing them at the exhibition procured Izawa's services at great cost. Photos of the gardens shortly after completion attest to the literal translations from

⁵⁸⁹ Kuitert, W. 2002, Japonaiserie in London and the Hague: A History of the Japanese Gardens at Shepherd's Bush (1910) and Clingendael (c. 1915), *Garden History*, Vol. 30 (2) (Winter), p. 225.

⁵⁹⁰ Grant, J. c1910, *Surrey: Historical Biographical and Pictorial*, London: The London and Provincial Publishing Co. Ltd, (accessed online at: <http://epsomandewellhistoryexplorer.org.uk/EwellCastle.html>).

the White City to Ewell Castle.⁵⁹¹ The differences lie in the scaling of the gardens, with Ewell castles significantly miniaturised forms of the originals at the exhibition, which were on a grand scale. Also, the towering Chokushi-mon gateway doesn't adorn the top of the waterfall-cascade, indeed there is no building atop it at all. Additionally, the stone pagoda is also absent from the scene. In the reproduction of the 'Garden of Peace' however, even the Japanese tea pavilion was present, again on a miniaturised scale (see Fig 80).



Content removed due to copyright reasons

Figure 80 - Ewell Castle 'Garden of Peace' Replica

Source - Grant, J. c1910, *Surrey: Historical Biographical and Pictorial*, London: The London and Provincial Publishing Co. Ltd, (accessed online at: <http://epsomandewellhistoryexplorer.org.uk/EwellCastle.html>).

Overall, Ewell Castle's Japanese garden was a tribute to the Japan-British Exhibition's gardens. Described as "The Most Beautiful Japanese Garden in England" by the *Pall Mall Gazette*, these replicas of the 1910 gardens show the

⁵⁹¹ Grant, J. c1910, *Surrey: Historical Biographical and Pictorial*, London: The London and Provincial Publishing Co. Ltd, (accessed online at: <http://epsomandewellhistoryexplorer.org.uk/EwellCastle.html>).

lasting positive reception of the exhibition.⁵⁹² As previously discussed, at Peasholm Park in Scarborough the exhibition gardens were similarly imitated, although in this case without any apparent input from any Japanese gardeners. In this way the 1910 exhibition was celebrated in the public domain, unlike at Ewell Castle's private estate. Both served as monuments to the exhibition and the visual impact of the gardens on their visitors. This shift was instigated by the 1910 Japan-British Exhibition gardens which further show their impact at William Lever's Japanese style garden at Roynton Cottage in Lancashire. Built by Mawson in the 1920s, this garden imitates the Japanese house atop the cascade waterfall which was the prominent feature at the exhibition (see Fig 81).⁵⁹³

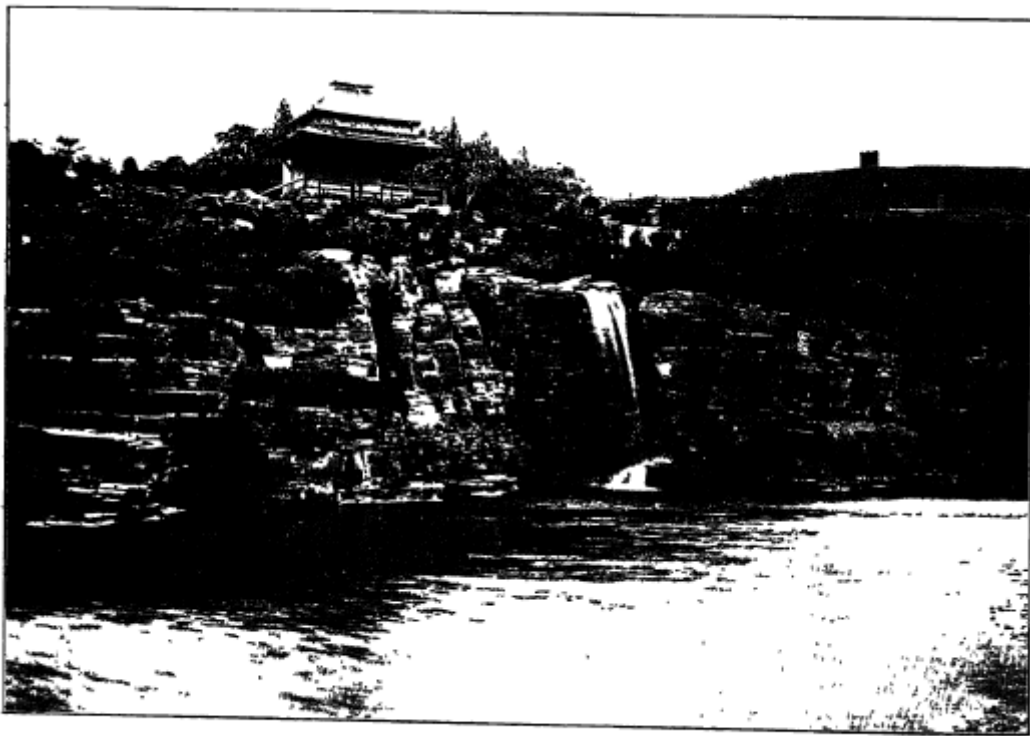


FIG. 312.—LAKE AND ROCKWORK IN JAPANESE GARDEN, ROYNTON COTTAGE.

Figure 81 – Roynton Cottage, ‘Garden of the Floating Isle’ Replica

Source - Mawson, T. H. 1926, *The Art and Craft of Garden Making (5th Edition)*, London: B.T. Batsford Ltd., p. 222.

⁵⁹² ‘A Romantic Retreat: The Most Beautiful Japanese Garden in England’, *The Pall Mall Gazette*, July 26th 1913, p. 5.

⁵⁹³ Mawson, T. H. 1926, *The Art and Craft of Garden Making (5th Edition)*, London: B.T. Batsford Ltd., pp. 222-223.

It is testament to the success of the Japanese government in hosting their exhibition in London that it created instant work opportunities for their gardeners at private estates in Britain. At Tatton Park in Cheshire, Alan De Tatton (Lord Egerton) commissioned a Japanese garden to be constructed soon after his visit to the 1910 Exhibition. In this case, a more original take on his inspiration was achieved, rather than simply copying the exhibition gardens as at Ewell Castle. Former Head Gardener at Tatton Park, Sam Youd has indicated that Lord Egerton hired a team of Japanese gardeners to construct the garden, with these gardeners living in nearby village cottages whilst undertaking the work.⁵⁹⁴ With Hannosuke Izawa and his gardeners similarly engaged at Ewell Castle, it stands to reason to suggest it is highly probable that his team of gardeners were also employed at Tatton Park. The community of Japanese in Britain at this time was quite low, as attested to be Keiko Itoh's survey of Japanese communities in Britain from Japan's opening, citing some five hundred residents by 1911.⁵⁹⁵ Therefore the number of Japanese native gardeners was relatively sparse. Given the opportunity of witnessing 'genuine' Japanese gardeners creating the White City gardens afforded Clarence Wiener and other wealthy estate owners the chance to procure their services.

As already alluded to, Tatton Park's Japanese gardens have less in common with the White City gardens and more in common with the showy Meiji era gardens of estates in Japan. Although in an interesting twist, a Shinto Shrine features at Tatton Park in addition to a teahouse and more Buddhist structures elsewhere in the garden. This mixing of Japan's two main religious iconographies was also evident in the exhibition gardens and also at Clingendael. Here we see the physical manifestation of the deviation from traditional gardening practice in subsequent Japanese style garden's created in, and outside of Britain. Together with the tea garden stylistic features, the overall layout at Tatton Park is that of a pond and water garden with winding walks, a landscaped hill 'Mount Fuji', and all the usual ornaments such as bronze cranes and stone lanterns.

Cheshire County Archive holds many of the original design plans for the garden's bridges, teahouse and Shinto shrine structures which were erected on site (see Fig

⁵⁹⁴ Tachibana, S. 2000, *Travel, Plants and Cross-cultural Landscapes: British Representation of Japan, 1860-1914*, PhD Thesis, *University of Nottingham Thesis Collection: School of Geography*; Beck, C., 'Tatton Park: A touch of Japanese style', *The Telegraph*, 2nd November 2007.

⁵⁹⁵ Itoh, K. 2001, *The Japanese Community in Pre-war Britain: From Integration to Disintegration*, Surrey: Curzon Press.

82).⁵⁹⁶ These were custom built on site and included the often-mimicked bracket bridge seen at *Nikko*. It was most certainly a hybridised fusion of traditional Japanese garden styles of tea garden, water garden, stroll garden and Shinto shrine garden but it was a marked improvement on the earlier, basic Japan Gardens with their grouped plantings or focus on the purely aesthetic ornaments. The involvement of Japanese individuals shone through, but even they were subject to the whims of Alan De Tatton, together with the Meiji government led mission to create gardens pleasing to the Western eye. For example, he dictated where certain statues such as a pair of *Inari* foxes were placed, separating them rather than placing them opposite each other at the entrance to the Shinto temple – as would be usual in Japan. The garden at Tatton Park was most certainly closer to resembling a Japanese garden, but still served the purpose of the Japan Gardens that came before it, as a physical ode to the land of the rising sun and the exotic. In this case a tribute to the gardens of the Japan-British Exhibition. The use of the native gardeners also added a weight and credence to the desired ‘authenticity’ of the gardens in reaction to the common critique of earlier style Japanese garden attempts in Britain.

The gardens for the 1910 exhibition were designed to appeal to the Western eye as well as to showcase Japanese design ideals in a museum-like display. Therefore, imitating or desiring to re-create these designs would result in a non-traditional, but exhibition style of garden. Perhaps then a portion of British-Japanese gardens like Ewell Castle, Tatton Park and even Clingendael in Holland can be considered a new type of ‘Japan-British Showcase garden’. This term better captures the essence of the inspirations behind the designs with their hybrid nature; incorporating showy Edo and Meiji era contemporary garden elements from Japan, in addition to having had intentions of being pleasing to the Western eye. The legacy of the Japan-British 1910 exhibition’s influence on garden design in Britain was to further bolster the growing idea that Japanese gardens could be created on its estates. The Meiji era Japanese government were less concerned with teaching the art of garden making and were more in favour of showcasing Japanese culture within the garden framework. Honda and Ozawa’s gardens were of course based on some traditional designs in terms of layout. But they were also lavishly adorned with over the top

⁵⁹⁶ DET2389/5a – f, (Plans of) Bridge Balustrades; Concrete Dam; Shintu Temple; Umbrella; Thatch roof entrance; Small Japanese House; *Cheshire Archives and Local Studies*, Chester.

decor as acknowledged by the ambassadors Imre Kiralfy and Takaaki Kato. But it was this very lavish influence that it seems the Edwardian British garden builders loved and strove to recreate. The few surviving gardens from this era therefore serve as monuments to the Anglo-Japanese Alliance and the Japan-British Exhibition of 1910, rather than as examples of traditional Japanese garden design in Britain. In this way, the Japan Garden reached its most elaborate imagining yet.



Figure 82 – Shinto temple at Tatton Park, Cheshire

Source – Author’s own Photo, 04.06.16

Conclusion: The legacy of the 1910 Exhibition and resulting evolution of Japan Gardens in Britain

The 1910 Japan-British Exhibition marked the culmination of the beginnings of interest in Japanese gardens in the late Victorian era, and the whole of the Edwardian era. The gardens at the exhibition also served as a physical representation of how to lay out Japanese gardens - even if they were showy and tailored to Western/European tastes. This started a whole new era of imitation as seen at Ewell Castle and Tatton Park. The Japanese style gardens of the Edwardian era were on the whole, limited to aesthetic mimicry and references to Japan through associated emblems such as the stone lantern. The Japan-British Exhibition encouraged a more expansive and largescale representation of Japanese landscape gardening. The result was a new era in George V's reign from 1910 that saw the Japan garden evolve, as at Tatton Park, to incorporate even more features reminiscent of Japan than Edwardian or Victorian garden attempts. It was no longer sufficient for those desiring to replicate an 'authentic' Japanese style garden in Britain to merely place a stone lantern, red bridge and a teahouse around an English rock or water garden. The checklist for 'authenticating' had grown, demanding genuine plans, plants, structures, ornaments and native gardeners or firms, all direct from Japan. As much Japanese content as could be procured was stuffed into these garden spaces, leaving little doubt as to their inspirational origins.

The aftermath of the exhibition also saw a rise in landscape gardening firms and nursery companies increasingly taking on Japanese themed projects for British clients. Like the native gardeners who found work after the exhibition, a number of the Japanese firms experienced increased sales and custom after the exhibition ended. The *Yokohama Nursery Company* with bases in Japan and London, exhibited thousands of Japanese plants and dwarf trees in pots at the exhibition. The company was already enjoying success as a supplier of Japanese plants in Britain and used the exhibition to further advertise its business. By handing out their elaborate and detailed nursery catalogues the Yokohama nursery company were able to showcase their horticultural skills and foster future business as suppliers to British-Japanese gardens.⁵⁹⁷

⁵⁹⁷ Yokohama Nursery Co., 1909. *1909-14 Descriptive Catalogues of the Yokohama Nursey Co. Ltd.*

As outlined in the previous chapter, British firms such as Carters & Co and White & Sons were already taking on Japanese style garden projects and themed garden architecture. This accelerated further after the 1910 exhibition as Japanese garden popularity grew even further. Garden and rockwork firm Pulham & Sons similarly branched into Japanese style garden projects as demand dictated, working on projects as at Friar Park in Henley-on-Thames and creating gardens for horticultural exhibitions and shows.⁵⁹⁸ These gardens and structures continued in a similar vein to the gardens of the Edwardian era. This perhaps best explains the perseverance of the earlier Edwardian model of Japan garden during George V's reign. The exhibition gardens had a dramatic, instant impact, but ultimately, their legacy was to either dull with time or become enmeshed with the existing British-Japanese garden ideas. The nature of the exhibition gardens which supported the visions of the British Japan garden also explains this minimal evolution.

The impact of presenting Japanese gardens partly inspired by political motivations and European aesthetic preferences, was seen in the gardens built after the exhibition. To make the exhibition gardens pleasing to the Western eye was made all the more easy given the British craze for Japanese style already underway. All Kinkichiro Honda and Keijiro Ozawa needed do was create Japan gardens on a grander scale, including all the key elements that signified Japan – the stone lanterns, bridges, pagodas, bronze cranes and teahouses. That Japanese garden designers created these gardens cemented their air of authenticity, although as with Taki Handa and Saboru Eida, Honda and Ozawa were *niwashi* gardeners without the studied practical knowledge. However, the native involvement still lent credence to those who designed gardens with the exhibition gardens as their model, while simultaneously approving the gardens already existing in Britain, designed with a Japanese style or image in mind.

It seems that Alicia Amherst's assertion that the Japanese gardener would be 'shocked' by Japanese style gardens such as those at Holland House was off the mark.⁵⁹⁹ The gardens were more shocking to any British individual who held any in depth knowledge of Japan, its culture and gardening traditions. Reginald Farrer represented one individual who was outraged by the Japan gardens in Britain which

⁵⁹⁸ Hitching, C. & Lilly, J. 2012, *Rock Landscapes: The Pulham Legacy*, Suffolk: The Garden Art Press.

⁵⁹⁹ Amherst, A. 1907, *London Parks and Gardens*, New York: E.P. Dutton & Company, pp. 342-343.

'soullessly imitated' rather than studied the original and learned the principals involved in creation. Whereas the Japanese ambassadors were keen for any positive appropriation of their culture in Britain, particularly by the powerful and influential aristocratic classes. As Dr Bunji Mano eloquently highlighted in his speech on the eve of the exhibition, these gardens were symbolic of the good political state between Britain and Japan. While in his speech he was referring mainly to the exhibition gardens, this can be extended to encompass all the Japanese style gardens in Britain, as they acted as horticultural ambassadors for Japan. In the eyes of the Meiji government, this was mission accomplished. The Japanese garden had travelled overseas and been translated as Japan gardens – monuments to positive images of Japan held by British estate owners and aristocrats. It was ultimately win-win for both parties.

Conclusion

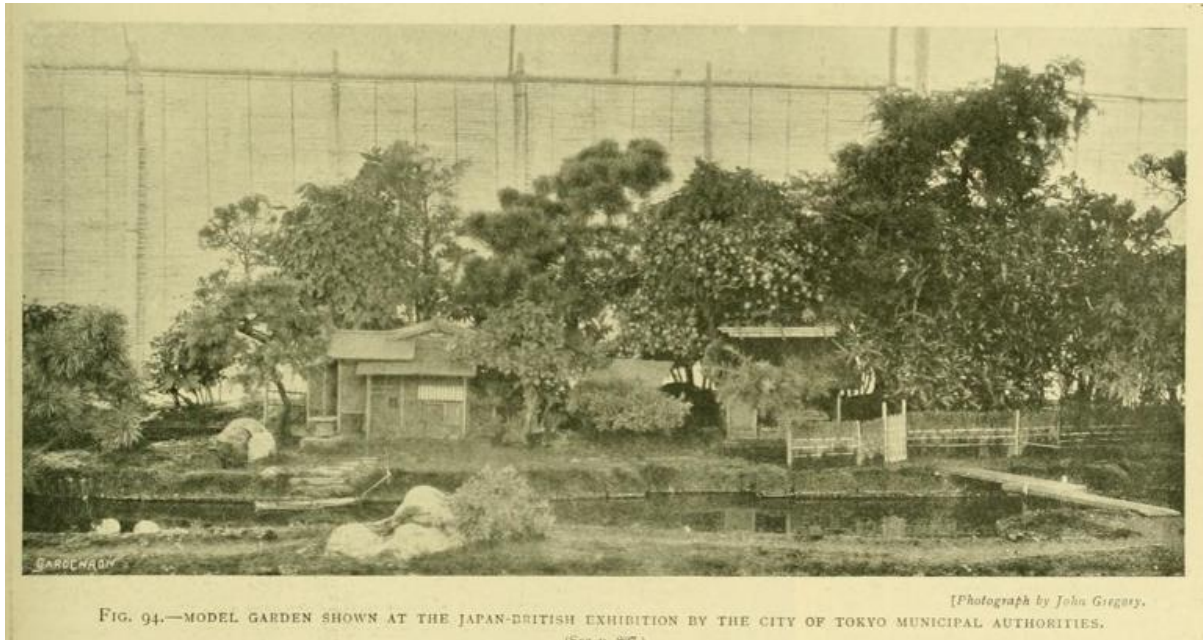


Figure 83 - Model Garden at the Japan-British Exhibition 1910: Later displayed at Hammersmith Park, London
Source: 'Model Garden Shown at the Japan-British Exhibition by the City of Tokyo Municipal Authorities', *The Gardeners' Chronicle*, September 24th 1910, p. 235.

The development and translation of Japanese garden style into British parks and gardens was a varied widespread phenomenon reaching its zenith in the Edwardian era. The period between 1850 to 1914 was chosen because it captures the cultural exchanges from Japan's opening and Meiji era, to Japanese garden styles being incorporated on an elaborate scale at the 1910 Japan-British Exhibition. In the immediate aftermath of the exhibition with gardens at Tatton Park or Ewell Castle, Japanese style gardens evolved into their most elaborate forms in Britain. In the 1920s and beyond while there were a few more examples of Japanese gardeners working in Britain and some *karesansui* dry-stone gardens were introduced, there were few major deviations from Victorian and Edwardian Japanese gardens forms.

After the 1910 Japan-British Exhibition most of the larger architectural structures from the gardens were gifted by the Japanese government to a few key benefactors involved with the event itself, as a way of cementing the political friendship of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. The four-fifths replica of the *Chokushi-Mon* a gateway to the temple *Nishi Hongan-ji* in Kyoto which sat towering over the garden exhibit space was donated to Kew Gardens in London.⁶⁰⁰ It was reported that the two exhibition Japanese gardens were "in very neglected condition" by 1914.⁶⁰¹ All of these gifts were victim to neglect once outside of their Japanese scope of care and attention and herein lay a problem facing those with aspirations of creating a British-Japanese style garden.⁶⁰² Employing the services of professional Japanese garden designers and landscape architects to maintain the site was one way this was addressed and in the short term, a Japanese style garden could be achieved.

A great many of the Japanese individuals who worked on British sites such as Professor Suzuki acted more in an advisory role at existing gardens such as Cowden Castle, rather than helping to create new gardens. In a similar vein in the 1920s,

⁶⁰⁰ *The gateway was initially set on its own without surrounding plants until the 1960s. Recently it has been renovated and a drystone karesansui garden built around the site* From: Desmond, R. 1998, *Kew: The History of The Royal Botanic Gardens*, London: Harvill, p. 324.

⁶⁰¹ 'White City £1,000,000 Claim: State of Japanese Garden', *The Times*, July 19th 1921, p. 7.

⁶⁰² *Another miniature model Japanese garden was donated to the city of London in Battersea Park from Tokyo. It consisted of trees around three feet in height, with a miniature lake and models of a medieval palace and shrines. It was raised on a stand near the parks Albert Bridge under a bamboo shelter and protected by a wire cage. A *Times* article commented that it looked "a little wind-bitten" but would "no doubt grow fresher after a few spring like days". It is likely that it was intended as a window for the British public to see a Japanese style landscape as presented in a public space. The age of some of the dwarf trees was quite old, one juniper tree alleged to be of eighty-five years, which would have made them very valuable specimens, as the older a dwarf tree is, the greater its monetary value. That they were subjected to some of the British weather elements perhaps belies knowledge of this and the inevitability that the dwarf garden should also fall into eventual disrepair* From: 'A Dwarf Japanese Garden', *The Times*, March 17th 1911, p. 7. (See fig. 83)

Seyemon Kasumoto added to the Japanese style garden already established from around 1905 at Cottered by merchant Herbert Goode and went on to work at a number of other British sites in the 1920s and 1930s.⁶⁰³ One legacy of the 1910 Exhibition was that it created enthusiasm for the use of Japanese native gardeners to maintain more elaborate British gardens. This was evident in how the exhibition's gardens and architectural features suffered without native Japanese to tend them. It was the role of maintenance which Japanese individuals were employed for more frequently than as garden designers.

After Emperor Meiji's death in 1912, Japanese international standing and imperial aspirations grew stronger which decades later had a negative impact on perceptions of Japan in Britain, especially between 1941 and 1945 when the two countries were at war. Japanese style gardens remained popular after the First World War, but it was the accumulation of horticultural knowledge and attempts at recreating Japanese garden style from the preceding sixty years which most significantly saw their development and evolution. Many post 1914 British gardens bear evidence of Japanese style elements and this study has found several examples previously unrecorded in academic scholarship providing much scope for future work. In addition, the study of the wider spread of European/Western elements in Japan's parks and gardens could further demonstrate more of the factors present in Japan's Meiji era spaces. Having focussed largely on central Japanese locations such as Tokyo, Kyoto and Osaka, a wider national survey would further establish the extent of Western/European style gardens across Japan and evidence of continuing cultural exchange.

Even during the supposedly closed *sakoku* period, there was some trade and exchanges of ideas between Japanese and European nations. While the Dutch East India Company provided a narrow conduit for this during the two centuries of closed policy, knowledge of Japanese plants and culture was still obtained in Europe. Similarly, the Japanese Shoguns continued to keep abreast of news and outside developments annually via reports from their Dutch trading partner. In Nagasaki there were direct exchanges between Dutch physicians and Japanese translators who learned from each other about horticulture and medicine. For example, Japanese Asiatic Society of Japan member Kakichi Mitsukuri detailed how the Dutch language

⁶⁰³ Conway, J. 1988, Japanese Influences on English Gardens (Volume 2), *Architectural Association*, p. 28.

had been learnt during *sakoku* by physicians' keen to translate European texts on medicine and natural history.⁶⁰⁴

The Japanese Shogunate exercised absolute control during *sakoku* which gave them the benefit of maintaining trade while restricting foreign interactions to the Dutch and Chinese. With the arrival of Mathew Perry and Japan's opening in 1854, this control was lost as Japan encountered the US and imperial Europe, who wasted no time in securing heavily imbalanced trading agreements. The initial imperialist imbalance is demonstrated by the approach of the Asiatic Society of Japan towards diplomacy and study in the country. The three decades succeeding Japan's opening encouraged Western/European visitors to consume Japanese culture and gain as many advantages in trade and resources as they could. However, the Meiji Restoration of the Emperor to governmental power hastened Japanese reaction against European imperial designs.

The Meiji era saw a more concerted approach of modernisation and Western/European learning conducted on a much more widespread scale than the limited *sakoku* era. In Japan's parks and gardens this took the form of European park functionality in recreational facilities as foreign ideas were infused within existing spaces. As highlighted in chapter two, there were existing public spaces in temple and shrine grounds in addition to gardens of the Japanese aristocracy which lent themselves to re-designation as public parks. Although sometimes perceived as western-style parks, they actually fused Japanese and European elements.

It has been argued that it was Japan's initial sense of inferiority to the United States and Europe and trading imbalance that hastened the adoption of Western gardening models in Japanese parks. This occurred before Japanese styles were adopted in Britain which was reflective of the relative position of these two empires. Britain had a strong and established empire, whilst Japan was striving to gain one. British recognition of Japan's growing strength was distinguished by the latter's naval and military successes and cemented by the Anglo-Japanese Alliance of 1902. Japan was seen as a new curiosity and tourist destination for wealthy British aristocrats who sought to emulate Japanese garden designs and features. The British imperial approach to consuming foreign ideas and products continued as

⁶⁰⁴ Mitsukuri, K. 1877, 'The Early Study of Dutch in Japan', *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, Vol. 5 (1876-77), pp. 207-216.

Japan grew more powerful fostered by the Meiji government's efforts to assert greater international influence.

A positive relationship between Japan and Britain was endorsed and reciprocated by the monarchies and upper classes of both nations. In Japan, key figures such as Aritomo Yamagata used European style buildings and garden elements to strengthen their commitment to promoting the government's agenda of modernising and Westernisation. Similarly, in Britain, King Edward VII's reign saw Japanese garden style become a highly popular addition to aristocratic estates. In terms of cultural exchange, the political motives of Japanese and British elites played a crucial part in how garden styles were interpreted and transmitted in both countries. Learning about each nation was taking place on both sides long before Matthew Perry's arrival off the shores of Japan. However, the legacy of the Meiji era politics directed how Japan was presented and interpreted by foreign nations. This was evident in the variety of Japan Gardens created in Britain, as tourists and visitors to Japan met various new garden styles of that era.

There was a significant variety and range of influences guiding the design of British-Japanese style gardens, however they all shared their creator's desire to recreate some aspect or image of Japan. A 'Japan garden' in Britain was designed to be reminiscent of images of Japan through memories or literal images from exhibitions, photos and books. This is juxtaposed against the gardens of Japan, which are *niwa* or *gyoen*, literally just a garden in Japan, often made up to resemble places such as Mount Fuji or the mythical islands of *Horai* from Chinese mythology, and sometimes other Japanese gardens, all derived from Japanese culture. The very use of the term 'Japanese garden' implies an external standpoint looking in at the examples of gardens in Japan. The desire to replicate these images in British gardens created a translation of Japanese gardening ideas and resulted in a kind of tributary space, a place designed to make the visitor think of Japan as a country whilst acting as a physical souvenir of personal travels, experiences in or sights seen at exhibitions.

Japan Garden Categorisation Table		
Category Name	Summary of Features	Chapter Discussion Reference
Gardens of Japanese Plants or <i>Bonsai</i>	Gardens comprised solely of Japanese plants to differentiate the area as distinctly Japanese	1
Willow-plate Pattern or Oriental inspired Gardens	Based more on Oriental or ornamental porcelain designs, not necessarily of Japanese origin	1,6
Exhibition or Exhibit inspired Gardens	National and International Exhibit Gardens which inspired replication in Britain	3
Travel Souvenir Gardens	Gardens created to house souvenirs from travels in Japan, or designed to recreate a Japanese scene	5
Anglo-Japanese Alliance Hybrid Gardens	Politically motivated, King Edwards VII inspired gardens; typically comprising of a pond, rustic bridge, summer house and stone lantern	5
<i>Niwashi</i> Japan Gardens	Gardens designed with or by Japanese Gardeners	6
Anglo-Japanese Showcase Gardens	Gardens inspired by those at the Japan-British Exhibition 1910	7
Blended Hybrids	Designed with a blending of Japanese aesthetic and principles/techniques	5, 6
Hidden Gardens	Designed with Japanese principles or techniques incorporated within a British garden style	6

Figure 84 - Table of Japan Garden Categories

Source – Created by Author

Figure 84 shows how nine distinct Japanese-style garden forms can be discerned in Britain between c1850-1914 based upon type of design, features, planting and uses. There were sets of distinct trends which differentiated Japan garden attempts from a single 'British-Japanese garden style', represented through the culmination of the themes and inspirational sources uncovered and elaborated on in this thesis. The intention is that these categories can also be utilised in future to analyse any Japanese-style gardens discovered in sources that are new to scholars. This typology is designed to help determine the level of Japanese aesthetics or design principles present in historical gardens. There were in fact, as we have seen, no fully authentic British-Japanese style gardens, rather there were Japan-themed gardens to varying degrees, with differing levels of Japanese signifiers or elements incorporated. This analysis in conjunction with the table of categorisation has been applied to all of the garden sites investigated in this thesis (see appendix).

At the most basic level in this typology are Gardens of Japanese Plants (or *bonsai*) as seen at Whiteknights in Reading and introduced in chapter one. Other than the plants, there was no evidence of knowledge of Japanese landscape gardening traditions, rather this reflected the Duke of Marlborough's desire to show off his wealth and exotics in a garden pre-dating Japan's opening. At Inverewe in Scotland, Osgood Mackenzie created a Japan garden (c1900) in a similar vein based solely on the plants.

This theme of plant grouping was equally evident in gardens composed of dwarf or *bonsai* trees to allude to Japan as at Lamport Hall and Dyffryn House. These were indicative of Japan solely through the veritably Japanese medium of *bonsai*. That they were labelled as 'Japanese gardens' demonstrates the desire of their owners to draw associations with Japan through the medium of *bonsai* trees. These gardens therefore had little resemblance to gardens in Japan and show little or no knowledge of Japanese gardening styles. Rather it was the techniques of dwarfing trees, exhibiting collections or experimenting with new exotic plants that were the goals in these basic Japan gardens. The plant-based Japan gardens reflected the imperialistic approach of viewing a foreign land as a location with resources to be harvested or experimented with.

Other Japanese style British gardens were based on the Willow-plate pattern or Oriental inspired gardens. The perseverance of 'Oriental' style which was itself a further representation of the Japanese/Chinese style seen on porcelain wares was evident in so-called Japanese garden areas in Britain. For example, Pittencrieff Park in Scotland had a Japanese style garden laid out (c1904) that was guided by the simple design of arched bridge, rustic teahouse and winding walks. The persistence of this Oriental representation of Japan into the Edwardian era reflected Japan's rise to prominence compared with China, which was why the 'Japanese garden' label came to be used rather than 'Chinese garden', despite continuing incorporation of elements from both countries.

As described in chapter three, displays of Japanese-style gardens provided a major impetus to the creation of such gardens in Britain. There was however a marked difference between the garden style that the British public were exposed to in 'Japanese Village' displays such as Tannaker's or the copycat ventures that appeared around Britain or in international exhibitions abroad. These villages were

initially inspired by the relocation of the Vienna 1873 exposition village and garden to Alexandra Park in London. This was the first Japanese designed representation of their gardens in Britain and exposed the wider public to such creations for the first time. These basic gardens constructed with bridges, torii gates, waterfalls and a scattering of Japanese plants (usually including palms) inspired gardens such as Shipley Glen which was a business venture.

Japanese-themed gardens abroad at international exhibitions had less of a public impact because only some individuals were able to afford to travel and observe them. However, there were ways in which they still impacted upon the British public through publications, newspaper accounts or transmission of elements to other locations. Bromborough Hall gardens for example, were originally inspired by the Japanese garden at the 1904 US exhibition at St. Louis. The gardens presented by Japan at these exhibitions from the first at Vienna in 1873 through to St. Louis in 1904 were largely variations on a similar theme. These were purposely showy Meiji era creations designed to highlight features indicative of Japan and showcase the national style globally. At Bromborough Hall Japanese gardens were invoked using stone lanterns, *yatsubashi* zigzag bridge and *bonsai* trees. The Meiji political elite intended these international exhibition gardens to garner positive reactions from North American and European audiences to enhance the position of Japan on the international stage and help promote potential alliances.

Chapter five introduced the travel souvenir type of Japan garden, a place for wealthy British to house their mementos from trips to the Far East. Guidebooks on Japan and increased freedom of movement combined to foster a huge influx of tourists, taking in the sights and gardens therein. Lowther Castle was designed and laid out as a memento garden, stuffed full of Japanese ornaments with little regard for technique or Japanese garden planning. Others such as Sedgwick Park merely housed a sole Japanese stone lantern acquired from the owner's travels in Japan. The guidebooks that helped to encourage tourism were the product of years of studying Japanese culture by the Asiatic Society of Japan. These led wealthy tourists to a limited array of what were presented as typical Japanese hotspots, giving exposure to a small range of showy Edo or Meiji era gardens.

There were differing approaches to the souvenir garden however, with Louis Greville desiring the replication of scenery at *Nikko* for his garden at Heale House.

The result was more a hybrid garden with features such as the red bridge and teahouse, merged with English lawns. However, this was clearly a souvenir garden created as a physical reminder of his time in Japan and love of the specific gardens and locale of *Nikko*.

Anglo-Japanese Alliance hybrid gardens were blends of English style with Japanese elements set side-by-side. The gardens at Holland House, Rufford Abbey and Hinchingsbrooke House for instance, fall into this category, with their use of English lawns and ponds, usually combined with Japanese stone lanterns, arched bridges and bronze crane statues. These places were willingly labelled as Japanese gardens by the owners and visitors, while not basing their designs or layouts on genuine blueprints, and they shared more in common with willow-plate pattern inspired examples while adding markers indicative of Japan.

As established in chapter five, this style of Japan garden gained popularity through a positive reputation attributed to visits and comments from King Edward VII and Queen Alexandra, serving as emblems of support for the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. The Earl of Sandwich's garden at Hinchingsbrooke House demonstrated his support of British and Japanese official relations. This was a simplified type of garden layout, typically with a rustic bridge and teahouse, set around a pond or streams and rolling English lawns. It was the hybridity between English and Japanese styles so evident in these gardens that so well represented the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, as they were designed with a fusion of both nations' garden styles, and King Edward ordered a 'Japanese garden' to be constructed at Ascot around 1910.

The desire to create an 'authentic' Japanese style British garden led to the creation of *Niwashii* Japan Gardens. In chapter six the role of these native Japanese as *niwashii* or unstudied garden practitioners was demonstrated. While the gardens they helped create were much more elaborate and aesthetically Japanese than other British examples, they were still heavily guided by the estate owner's desires for the layout. These typically stemmed from the owner's memories of Japan combined with desiring a souvenir garden for items collected during their travels, as Lord Wavertree dictated at Tully in Ireland. Other garden owners utilised British written literary sources to guide their Japanese gardener as evidenced by Ella Christie's annotated copy of *Landscape Gardening in Japan* which assisted in the layout at Cowden Castle.

None of these native Japanese gardeners were free from the biases of their employers, or their own lack of gardening knowledge as *niwashi*. While these elaborate gardens strove for authenticity, they were still in actuality products of Meiji era garden philosophies and misinterpreted Japanese styles by the uninitiated. They appeared more in keeping with Japanese garden aesthetics but were ultimately more akin to the souvenir gardens designed to remind their owner of travels in Japan and store the artefacts purchased therein. However, they typically involved a lot more landscaping in their construction and were set apart from other categories by the lengths taken to attempt an authentic Japanese effect, chiefly through employing a Japanese native.

Anglo-Japanese showcase gardens followed in the wake of the two examples presented at the Japan-British Exhibition of 1910. This exhibition in London offered visitors from all social classes a first glimpse of Japanese garden style as created by native gardeners. This was a highly ornamented and extravagant showpiece of two Japanese garden styles, landscaped on a large scale. The exhibition and its gardens were from the start designed to be emblems of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance and so were tailored to be as pleasing to the British audience as possible. This was achieved by the Meiji government drawing from decades of exhibiting and more recent positive diplomatic relations between the royal families and governments of both Japan and Britain.

The European influences guiding Honda and Ozawa in designing these gardens significantly altered their forms and created a new style. These gardens were well received by the viewing public and spawned many imitations such as Japanese-style gardens at Peasholm Park in Scarborough and Rivington in Lancashire. Clarence Weiner even hired the original exhibition gardeners to layout a replica at his estate at Ewell Castle in Surrey and they found further employment at Tatton Park in Cheshire where a more original design was laid out in keeping with other gardens created by Japanese individuals. These were elaborate but Meiji era inspired gardens with a significant degree of political motive, particularly in the case of those inspired by the 1910 exhibition.

Against the tide of those desiring to proclaim the Japanese tag for their garden were those who sought to create gardens which actively meshed together Japanese gardening philosophies, aesthetic and British gardening traditions in a category of

blended hybrids. At Broughton House, Edward Hornel created a Japan garden infused with Scottish or Celtic ideas such as stepping stones made from Celtic rocks. Lord Redesdale went a step further in this vein by creating a garden area with strong Japanese indications in layout and ornamentation, while denying that it was actually a Japanese garden. This was because he believed it was impossible for such a thing to be achieved in a British context. Like Hornel, his was a knowing hybrid garden rather than a Japanese garden, however both served as souvenir gardens for reminiscing about their travels in Japan. It was the blending of ideas which differentiated these from the travel souvenir category of Japan garden.

The final category in the typology is made up of gardens which did not outwardly appear alike Japanese gardens in their composition. These hidden gardens went a step further than the 'blended hybrids' category by completely bypassing the Japanese indicative ornamentation and focussing solely on the principles and techniques that were believed to underpin this. Reginald Farrer was a keen proclaimer of this approach which was similarly enacted by Hayward at the less famous Holland House rock gardens. These gardeners strove to infuse the principles and techniques that were used in creating Japanese landscape gardens within a British setting and were not limited solely to the use of native plants. Gardens without the visual Japanese elements to indicate anything other than a British garden usually remained hidden without published accounts such as Hayward's to indicate otherwise or visits from knowledgeable enthusiasts.

The most common style encountered was the travel souvenir garden as it encompassed the widest scope, from gardens with a single stone lantern like Sedgwick Park to those that were 'stuffed full of curios' like at Lowther Castle. These gardens varied the most depending on what experience or inspiration their creators had from their Japanese travels. The two categories linked to the Anglo-Japanese Alliance were also highly prevalent around Britain as encouraged by both governments. The hidden gardens remain the least common due simply to the difficulty in establishing their Japanese design inspirations and lack of visual Japanese markers. The typology overall demonstrates a linear progression from those that contained singular Japanese elements such as only Japanese plants at one end of the scale to those that only used Japanese design principles at the other end (see figure 84).

One aspect shared by all Japanese style British gardens was the Japanese political influence. This varied in extent, but even the hidden gardens were products of Japanese techniques and principles as understood in contemporary Japanese culture. Lord Redesdale's Batsford garden was created in opposition to the over-ornamented modern gardens of contemporary Meiji Japan. While a vast majority were created to actively endorse the political agenda of the government or by-products of those presented at exhibitions. The national drive to modernity was felt both within and external to Japan's parks and gardens. Finally, it is important to emphasise that many Japanese style gardens already established in Britain influenced the way the 1910 gardens were designed. The blueprint of what a popular Japanese garden might look like was embellished and exaggerated at the exhibition to create gardens which could wow their British audience and endear Japan as a political ally.

This thesis has demonstrated the wide-ranging impact of Meiji era politics on the cultural exchange of ideas around gardening between Japan and Britain. Through the forums of the Asiatic Society of Japan and Japan Society in London, a group of elite British Japanophiles were actively joined by Japanese members to foster positive relations between the two nations. This encouraged the spread of Japanese gardening in Britain, with key members of the societies such as Josiah Conder using them as forums for his research, although this was limited to scholarly rather than practical applications. In addition, the Edo and Meiji era *niwashis* were highly significant figures in how Japanese gardening was understood both within and outside of Japan. Their works guided Conder's which in turn influenced British writers on Japanese gardening. The emphasis on showy garden styles permeated gardens popular in Meiji era Japan and subsequently also British estates whilst tourists to Japan were exposed to these contemporary forms further extending their reach.

In Japan, the government's focus was on modernising and learning from Europe and the US which was seen in the changing Meiji era gardens and introduction of public parks infused with European features. Although a great many parks were integrated into existing Japanese spaces which retained most of their traditional gardens or prior functionalities. The royal connection was a highly influential component in the exchange of garden ideas. In many private gardens of Japan and

Britain, the political aspect became even more pronounced as the relationship between the monarchies of both countries improved exponentially with the ascension of King Edward VII to the British throne. His active accord for Japanese garden style helped foster the spread of this style of garden at sites around Britain. In a mirror image to this in Japan, many officials such as Aritomo Yamagata had Western/European style buildings and lawns incorporated into their private estates, cementing their support for positive relationships with foreign nations and the Anglo-Japanese Alliance.

While the Japanese garden craze was predominantly an aristocratic affair there was a greater exposure to Japanese garden style, albeit in a reductionist form, evident in the public parks and native village exhibits around the country. Groups of visitors to private estate open days also attested to this popularity, singling the Japanese areas out for particular praise as often reported in the press. Although the desire for more authenticity was a crucial driving force in these Japanese style gardens it has been assessed as an ultimately unachievable goal outside of Japan in this thesis. Instead, a variety of Japan Gardens were created reflecting perceived images of the country's gardens either in the tourist's eye or through second hand images.

This thesis has demonstrated how politics during the Meiji era affected garden styles inside and outside of Japan through the teachings of *niwashi*, reformation, modernisation, exhibiting, interaction with foreign nations and reaction against imperialism. The level of cultural exchange between Japan and Britain has been found to have been more prolific and the variety of Japanese style gardens have been shown to be more varied than previously known. Moreover, the significant role played by both European and Japanese parks and gardens in diplomatic relations and imperial aspirations has been revealed. The Japanese garden as interpreted abroad was heavily directed by Japanese political figures, as begun in the *sakoku* period and accelerated in the Meiji era.

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Appendix ⁶⁰⁵

Table of gardens researched in this thesis (1800-1920) and their Japan Garden category:

Garden	Location	Country	Date began	Japan Garden Category	Owner/funder	Designers and gardeners D = Designer G = Gardener A = Architect
Ascot	London	England	1910	Anglo-Japanese Alliance hybrid Gardens	King Edward VII	(D+G) Carters and Co.
Hinchingbrooke House	Huntingdon	England	1904	Anglo-Japanese Alliance hybrid gardens	Edward George Henry Montague (The Earl of Sandwich)	(D+G) James Barston (head gardener) + Team of Unemployed Labourers
Holland House	London	England	1901	Anglo-Japanese Alliance hybrid gardens	Lord and Lady Ilchester	(D) Lord and Lady Ilchester (G) Mr Dixon
Langley Park	Buckinghamshire	England	1901	Anglo-Japanese Alliance hybrid gardens	Sir Robert Harvey	(G) Mr Gillies, (Possibly Pulham and Sons)
Rufford Abbey	Nottinghamshire	England	Pre 1907	Anglo-Japanese Alliance hybrid Gardens	2nd Baron Savile - Lord Savile (John Savile Lumley Savile) and Lady Savile	(D+G) John Doe (possibly supplanted by later garden team)
Terrick, Ellesborough	Buckinghamshire	England	1903	Anglo-Japanese Alliance hybrid gardens	Comte Mauny de Talvande	(D+G) Comte Mauny de Talvande
Barrow Hills	Chertsey, Sussex	England	1912	Anglo-Japanese showcase garden	Sir John Mullens	(D+G) Pulham and Sons (not a 'A Team of Japanese Gardeners' as often cited)
Eskdale Green (The Gatehouse Estate, Giggie Alley)	Eskdale, Cumbria	England	1913	Anglo-Japanese showcase garden	James Rea	(D, G+A) James Rea + Thomas Mawson
Ewell Castle	Surrey	England	1910	Anglo-Japanese showcase garden	Captain Clarence Wiener	(D+G) White City 1910 Exhibition Japanese designers
Friar Park	Oxfordshire	England	1908	Anglo-Japanese showcase garden	Sir Frank Crisp	(D+G) Mr Knowles, James Pulham and son

⁶⁰⁵ *While many more gardens have been discovered during this research, the gardens in this appendix were those that had sufficient evidence to inform their designation to a particular Japan Garden category*

Gatton Park	Reigate, Surrey	England	1909	Anglo-Japanese showcase garden	Jeremiah Colman	(D+G) Edward White and H E Milner, (G) Pulham and sons, Assisted by 30 unemployed labourers
Hammersmith Park/Shepherds Bush/White City	London	England	1910	Anglo-Japanese showcase garden	Japanese Ambassadors: Takaaki Kato and Imre Kiralfy	(D) Keijiro Ozawa + Kinkichiro Honda (G) Hannosuke (Harry?) Izawa (+3 Japanese gardeners and British hired labourers)
Mount Ephraim Gardens	Faversham, Kent (Hernhill)	England	1912	Anglo-Japanese showcase garden	William Charles Dawes	(D) Waterer's Inc (Waterer's Nursery) (G) Waterers + The Dawes family
Peasholm Park	Scarborough	England	(1912?) 1929	Anglo-Japanese showcase garden	Scarborough Council	(D+G) Harry W. Smith
Tatton Park	Cheshire	England	1910	Anglo-Japanese showcase garden	Alan De Tatton	(D) Alan De Tatton (G) White City 1910 Exhibition Japanese designers
Batsford Park	Gloucestershire	England	1890 to 1900c	Blended Hybrids	Lord Redesdale	(D+G) Algernon Bertram Freeman-Mitford (Lord Redesdale)
Broughton House	Kirkcudbright	Scotland	1901	Blended Hybrids	Edward Atkinson Hornel	(D+G) Edward Atkinson Hornel
Iford Manor	Bradford-on-Avon	England	1905	Blended Hybrids	Harold Peto	(D+G) Harold Peto
Alexandra Palace	London	England	1876	Exhibition or Exhibit inspired gardens	Alexandra Palace Company (Founded by Christopher Dresser in 1873)	(D+G) Meiji Government
Aylestone Park	Leicester	England	1917	Exhibition or Exhibit inspired gardens	A. Herbert	A. Herbert
Bagshot Park	London	England	1910	Exhibition or Exhibit inspired gardens	Prince Arthur, Duke of Connaught	N / A
Bromborough Hall	Cheshire	England	1906	Exhibition or Exhibit inspired gardens	Sir William Forwood	(D) Sir William Forwood
Humphrey's Hall	London	England	1885	Exhibition or Exhibit inspired gardens	Tannaker Buhicrosan	(D+G) Japanese Gardeners and Workmen
Ivy House	ShIPLEY Glen, Bradford, Yorkshire	England	1887	Exhibition or Exhibit inspired gardens	Thomas Hartley	(D+G) Thomas Hartley

Kew Garden (Before Restorations)	London	England	1910	Exhibition or Exhibit inspired gardens	N / A	N / A
Otley Recreation Hall	Otley, Yorkshire	England	1895	Exhibition or Exhibit inspired gardens	Henry Dacre	(D+G) Henry Dacre
Dyffryn House	Cardiff	Wales	1906	Gardens of Japanese plants or bonsai	Reginald Cory	(D+G) Reginald Cory + Thomas Mawson
Hesketh Park	Southport	England	c1900	Gardens of Japanese plants or bonsai	Unknown	Unknown
Inverewe Gardens	Rosshire	Scotland	1900	Gardens of Japanese plants or bonsai	Osgood Mackenzie	(D+G) Osgood Mackenzie
Lampport Hall	Northamptonshire	England	1878	Gardens of Japanese plants or bonsai	Sir Charles Isham	(D+G) Sir Charles Isham
Myddleton House	Middlesex, Surrey	England	1914	Gardens of Japanese plants or bonsai	Edward Augustus Bowles	(D+G) E.A.Bowles
Southport and Churchtown Botanical Gardens and Museum	Southport	England	1875	Gardens of Japanese plants or bonsai	Botanic Gardens and Museum Company Limited	(D+G) John Shaw + Mr Fish (Head Gardener) (A) Messrs. Mellor & Sutton
The White-Knights Estate	Reading, Berkshire	England	pre1819	Gardens of Japanese plants or bonsai	Duke of Marlborough	Unknown
Wisley Japanese Iris Garden	Surrey	England	1893	Gardens of Japanese plants or bonsai	Mr G.F.Wilson	(D+G) Mr G.F.Wilson
Holland House	Southcliffe, East Anglia	England	1912	Hidden Garden	Mr and Mrs Lilley	(D+G) P.S. Hayward
Ingleborough	Yorkshire	England	1900's	Hidden Garden	Reginald Farrer	(D+G) Reginald Farrer
Cowden Castle	Perthshire	Scotland	1908	<i>Niwashi</i> Japan Garden	Ella Christie	(D+G) Taki Handa (advised by Josiah Conder and Professor Suzuki)
Dundarach House	Pitlochry, Perthshire	Scotland	1905	<i>Niwashi</i> Japan Garden	John Henry Dixon	(D+G) 5 Japanese Gardeners and 4 Craftsmen
Newstead Abbey	Nottinghamshire	England	1899	<i>Niwashi</i> Japan Garden	Ethel Webb	(D+G) Ethel Webb, (Conder's plan)
Shirenewton Hall	Monmouthshire	Wales	1903	<i>Niwashi</i> Japan Garden	Charles Liddell	(D) Conder's plan

Tully Estate	Kildare	Ireland (Rep)	1906	<i>Niwashi Japan Garden</i>	Colonel William Hall-Walker	(D+G) Tass Eida (Saburo Ida) (+wife and sons Minoru and Kaji)
Abbey Park	Leicester	England	1904	Travel Souvenir gardens	Leicester City Council	(D+G) Theodore Walker and Joseph Burton
Bryngarw Country Park	Bridgend	Wales	1910	Travel Souvenir gardens	Captain Onslow Powell Traherne	(D+G) Parsons & Partridge
Campsey Ashe Park	Ipswich, Suffolk	England	1900 c	Travel Souvenir gardens	Lord Ullswater	(D+G) Viscount Ullswater (Lord Ullswater's son)
Coedarhydyglyn	Cardiff	Wales	1905	Travel Souvenir gardens	Llewellyn Edmund Traherne	(D+G) Gauntlett Nursery company, Parsons & Partridge
Dalzell House	Motherwell	Scotland	1900 c	Travel Souvenir gardens	(2nd) Baron Gavin Hamilton and Lady Sybil Hamilton	(D+G) Lady Sybil Hamilton
Easton Lodge	Essex	England	1902	Travel Souvenir gardens	The Countess of Warwick	(D+G) Harold Peto
Fanhams Hall	Hertfordshire	England	1910	Travel Souvenir gardens	Lady Brocket (Anne Elizabeth Croft) and Captain Richard Page-Croft	(D) Mr Inaka, (G) Professor (Jiju Soya) Suzuki (Zen Soami School of Imperial Design in Nagoya) (It is possible work was begun by William Wood and Sons prior to the Japanese workmen (from Judith Conway)
Glen Hall / Great Glen Hall	Leicestershire	England	1903	Travel Souvenir gardens	Theodore Walker	(D+G) Theodore Walker
Heale House	Wiltshire	England	1901	Travel Souvenir gardens	Hon. Louis Greville	(D+G) Harold Peto
Lowther Castle	Cumbria	England	1904	Travel Souvenir gardens	Lord Lonsdale	(D+G+A) Mr F. Clarke + Messrs. T.R. Hayes & Sons
Ramster Hall (Rams Nest)	Chiddingfold, Surrey	England	1900's	Travel Souvenir gardens	Sir Harry Waechter	(D+G) Gauntlett Nursery company
Saumarez Park	Guernsey	British Isles	1890's	Travel Souvenir gardens	James de Saumarez	(A) A Japanese carpenter

Sedgwick Park	Sussex	England	1900	Travel Souvenir gardens	Emma Henderson	(D + G) Harold Peto
The New Place, Haslemere	Surrey	England	1907	Travel Souvenir gardens	Sir Alganon and Lady Methuen	(D+G) Japanese gardeners?
The Pleasaunce	Overstrand, Norfolk	England	1900's	Travel Souvenir gardens	Lord and Lady Battersea (Cyril and Constance Flower)	(D, G+A) Edwin Lutyens
Tranby Croft	East Riding, Yorkshire	England	1900's	Travel Souvenir gardens	A. Wilson	(D+G) W.A. Clark
Bestwood Lodge	Bestwood Country Park, Nottinghamshire	England	1910's	Willow-plate/Oriental inspired gardens	Duke of St Albans, (Frank Bowden in 1914. Sir Harold and Lady Bowden after 1922/3) or Thomas Isaac Birkin	Unknown
Chapelfield Pagoda	Norwich	England	1880	Willow-plate/Oriental inspired gardens	Norwich Council	(D+A) Barnard, Bishop and Barnard (D) Thomas Jeckyll
Cliveden House	Buckinghamshire	England	1905 (1890-1900's)	Willow-plate/Oriental inspired gardens	Lord William Waldorf Astor	(D) Lord Astor
Cottered	Hertfordshire	England	1905 (1923)	Willow-plate/Oriental inspired gardens	Herbert Goode	(D+G) Herbert Goode (1923, Seyemon Kasumoto)
Eaton Hall	Cheshire	England	1905	Willow-plate/Oriental inspired gardens	Duke of Westminster	(A) J.P. White
Gunnersbury Park	London	England	1900	Willow-plate/Oriental inspired gardens	Leopold Rothschild	(D+G) James Hudson
Kew Gardens	Southport	England	c1880	Willow-plate/Oriental inspired gardens	Unknown	(D+G) John Shaw
Kildrummy Castle	Alford, Aberdeenshire	Scotland	1904	Willow-plate/Oriental inspired gardens	Colonel James Ogston	(D+G) W.A. Clarke & David Peary and Backhouse Nursery (plants)
Kingston Lacy Gardens	Dorset	England	1910	Willow-plate/Oriental inspired gardens	Henrietta Banks	(D+G) Henrietta Banks
Pittencrieff Park	Dunfermline, Fife	Scotland	1906	Willow-plate/Oriental inspired gardens	Dunfermline Council	(D, G) James Whitton (additional designs by; Patrick Geddes & Thomas Mawson)
Warren House / Coombe Hill	Kingston, Surrey	England	1863 / 1918	Willow-plate/Oriental inspired gardens	James Veitch / Peregrine Elliott Gloucester Cumberland	(D+G) James Veitch & Pulham and Sons