The Protected Vista: An Intellectual and Cultural History, As Seen from Richmond Hill

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation studies how the protected vista exerts power over urban form by examining aspects of its intellectual and cultural history. The focus is the picturesque view from Richmond Hill, which was celebrated by leading artists and writers in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and is the earliest vista to have been afforded statutory protection as we now understand it.[1] It is argued here that the values informing global view protection policies remain, in no small part, the values of the eighteenth and nineteenth English landscape movement as produced by, and which contributed to the production of, the view from Richmond Hill. It is important to appreciate the picturesque origins of this view in order to appreciate how protected view policies continue to overlay eighteenth century picturesque values onto contemporary world cities.

Beginning with a broad exploration of view protection policies worldwide, this research demonstrates the diverse nature of view protection, which exerts considerable power over numerous world cities. While those contexts are diverse, the values at work in the idea of the view, and the idea of view protection, derive in no small part from a highly particular physical and intellectual context; not just Western, not just British, but from a landscape along a few miles of the Thames river bank to the West of London and the values associated with it. Through a detailed study of the intellectual history of the view from Richmond Hill, and the role it played as a model English picturesque landscape, this dissertation traces the values inherent in that view. It follows its colonial export to the landscape of Richmond, Virginia, in the eighteenth century, and its subsequent influence over that American landscape. In doing so, it illustrates how the intellectual and cultural history of the view from Richmond Hill has shifted in parallel with increasingly kinetic and technologised ideas of the view, as seen from the train window, the car windscreen and on the cinema screen, absorbed and disseminated by each technological advance. In this way, this dissertation shows how the values originating from London's first protected vista maintain their power in increasingly systematised contemporary policies of view protection.

[1] Certainly, it was the first view to be afforded statutory protection for public benefit within the Anglo-American context, though private views protected by legal covenants may be traced to earlier periods.

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Note:

This dissertation should be read with reference to an interactive spatial rendering of the vista from Richmond Hill, produced by the author to accompany this dissertation with Photosynth software and freely available to view at the following web address:

http://photosynth.net/userprofilepage.aspx?user=tbrig&content=Synths

CONTENTS:

		Page:
ABSTRACT		
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS		i
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS		viii
1.0 INTRODUCTION		1
1.1	Research Aims & Method	2
1.2	Outline of Structure	6
2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW		9
2.1	Five Themes: The Gaze, The Picturesque, Nostalgia, Authenticity and Identity	11
2.2	Concluding Observations	55
3.0 LONDON'S ORIGINAL PROTECTED VISTA: Richmond Hill		57
3.1	Early History	58
3.2	Royal Retreat	59
3.3	Richmond Hill: The Oblique Aerial View	61
3.4	Terrace Walk	67
3.5	'Scopic Regimes' and 'Cartesian Perspectivalism'	70
3.6	Prince Henry, Solomon de Caus and the Renaissance Gardens of Richmond-upon-Thames	73
3.7	Perspective and the Theatre: Richmond Hill Theatre	77
3.8	Theatre of Human Interaction: Richmond Hill Pleasure Garden	78
3.9	Richmond Hill Villas	81
3.10	Alexander Pope and the Naturalistic Garden	84
3.11	Kent, Burlington and the Influence of the Italian Landscape	89
3.12	Richmond's Poetic Landscape	92
3.13	Theorising a Picturesque Convention	94

3.14 Gothic's Absorption of the Picturesque 102

3.15 Centering the Imperial Landscape in Richmond 105

3.16 The Railway, Suburbia and the Persistence of the Picturesque 108

3.17 'Indignation' 120

4.0 TRANSLATING THE VIEW: Richmond, Virginia 132

4.1 The Appeal of 'Richmond': Richmonds Worldwide 133

4.2 Translating the Richmond Landscape: The Founding of Richmond, Virginia 137

4.3 The View as Symbol of American Nationalism: Church Hill, Richmond, Virginia 145

4.4 The View, and its Manipulation, in the Work of Benjamin Henry Latrobe 149

4.5 Latrobe and the Picturesque 152

4.6 Latrobe's Virginia Villas 154

4.7 Thomas Jefferson in Richmond 158

4.8 Libby Hill's Greek Revival Villas: Richmond as Classic City 162

4.9 The Literary Portrayal of Libby Hill and the Construction of Southern Regional Identity 166

4.10 Richmond's Municipal Park System: Institutionalisation of the View 172

4.11 Richmond's 'Rural Cemeteries' 175

4.12 The American Picturesque in Landscape Art and Architecture 177

4.13 Scenic Architecture and the Invention of Photography 180

4.14 Making a Monument of the View: Libby Hill as Memorial to the Confederate Cause 184

4.15 Libby Hill and the Origins of the American Parkway 187

4.16 Photography, Outdoor Pursuits and the Perception of National Landscapes 190

4.17 Windsor Farms: Projecting 'Old England' upon Richmond, Virginia 192

4.18 William Lawrence Bottomley and the Re-Imagining of 'Colonial' Richmond 199

4.19 Thomas Tileston Waterman: Historicising Suburban Richmond 202

4.20 The Enduring Re-inscription of Richmond's Romantic Image 208

5.0 CINEMATIC ITERNERARIES IN THE NOSTALGIC PICTURESQUE: Colonial Parkway 212

5.1 Development of the Parkways 213

5.2 Colonial Parkway & Williamsburg: The Romantic Image Materialised 216

5.3 The Moving Image: Parkways and Cinema 219

5.4 Scenic Byways: Projecting the Romantic Vision 222

5.5 Interstate Image Corridors: The Persistence of Parkway Vision 226

6.0 HOW CONTEMPORARY PROTECTED VIEW POLICIES OPERATE: 232

6.1 The London View Management Framework 233

6.1.1 Development of Current Policy 235

6.1.2 Parallel Documents 236

6.1.3 A Single Vista: King Henry's Mound, Richmond Park 240

6.1.4 Components of a Vista: King Henry's Mound, Richmond Park 243

6.1.5 The Effect of London's Protected Vistas on Development 244

6.1.6 The London Vista as Picturesque Landscape 248

6.1.7 Concluding Observations 251

7.0 CONCLUSION 253

BIBLIOGRAPHY 271

APPENDICES

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Fig. 1.0 Marble Hill House, Twickenham.
Screen print by author.

2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW

Fig. 2.0 Quinlan Terry's Richmond Riverside development.
Screen print by author.

3.0 LONDON'S ORIGINAL PROTECTED VISTA: Richmond Hill

Fig. 3.0 The View from Richmond Hill.
Screen print by author.

Fig. 3.1 Mapping the works of renowned architects and landscape architects.
Image by author, adapted from K. Wilkie, M. Battaggia, M. Batey, D. Lambert, H. Buttery, J. Pearce, D. Goode and D. Bentley, *Thames Landscape Strategy* (Thames Landscape Steering Group, 1994) p. 10

Fig. 3.2 Mapping the works of renowned artists.
Image by author, adapted from K. Wilkie, M. Battaggia, M. Batey, D. Lambert, H. Buttery, J. Pearce, D. Goode and D. Bentley, *Thames Landscape Strategy* (Thames Landscape Steering Group, 1994) p. 10

Fig. 3.3 The Thames at Richmond.
Anon., seventeenth century. Image courtesy of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

Fig. 3.4 Two views of Richmond Palace.
Sketch by Antonis van Wyngaerde. Image from J. Cloake, *Richmond Past* (Historical Publications Ltd, 1991).

Fig. 3.5 Hampton Court.
Painting by Leonard Knyff (c. 1702). Image courtesy of the Royal Collection.

Fig. 3.6 Henry, Prince of Wales.
Robert Peake (c. 1610). Image courtesy of the National Portrait Gallery.

Fig. 3.7 Designs for fountain and giant, Richmond Palace.
Solomon de Caus (1611). Image from J. Cloake, *Richmond Past* (Historical Publications Ltd, 1991) p. 16

Fig. 3.8 Hampton's vistas.
Drawing by author.

Fig. 3.9 Plan from Andre Mollet's *Le Jardin Plaisir* (1651). Image from R. Strong, *The Renaissance Garden in England* (W W Norton & Co Inc, 1979).

Fig. 3.10 Ham House.
Oil painting by Henry Danckerts (c. 1675). Image from J. Cloake, *Richmond Past* (Historical Publications Ltd, 1991).

Fig. 3.11 Plan of Twickenham Park and Gardens.
Robert Smythson (c. 1609). Image from R. Strong, *The Renaissance Garden in England* (W W Norton & Co Inc, 1979).

Fig. 3.12 Richmond's vistas.
Drawing by author.

Fig. 3.13 Plan of Richmond Hill.
Drawing by author.

Fig. 3.14 Plan and section of Richmond Hill's Terrace Gardens.
Drawing by author.

Fig. 3.15 Photosynth model of Richmond Hill.
Model by author. http://photosynth.net/userprofilepage.aspx?user=tbrig&content=Synths

Fig. 3.16 Photosynth model of Richmond Hill.
Model by author. http://photosynth.net/userprofilepage.aspx?user=tbrig&content=Synths

Fig. 3.17 View of the Thames from Terrace Walk, Richmond Hill.
Postcard by David Hankin 2009.

Fig. 3.18 Daytrippers at Terrace Walk.
Image from M. Batey, H. Buttery, D. Lambert, K. Wilkie, *Arcadian Thames: The River Landscape from Hampton to Kew* (London: Barn Elms Publishing, 2000).

Fig. 3.19 *A View of Richmond from the Top of the Hill.*
Anon. nineteenth century aquatint from sketch by Wenceslaus Hollar (c. 1630s). Image from J. Cloake, *Richmond Past* (Historical Publications Ltd, 1991).

Fig. 3.20 *View from Richmond Hill along the Thames towards Twickenham.*
Jan Siberechts (1677). Image from J. Bryant, *Finest Prospects: Three Historic House: a study in London Topography* (English Heritage, 1986) p. 62

Fig. 3.21 *A Prospect from Richmond Hill towards the West.*
Leonard Knyff (c.1650-1720).

Fig. 3.22 *The Terrace and View from Richmond Hill.*
Leonard Knyff (c. 1650-1720). Image courtesy of the London Borough of Richmond-upon-Thames.

Fig. 3.23 Marshgate House, Richmond-upon-Thames.
Image from J. Cloake, *Richmond Past* (Historical Publications Ltd, 1991).

Fig. 3.24 *The Terrace, Richmond Hill*.
Augustin Heckel (1749). Image courtesy of the London Borough of Richmond-upon-Thames.

Fig. 3.25 Brunelleschi's perspective experiment.
Image from http://maitaly.wordpress.com [Accessed 07/12/2012]

Fig. 3.26 *The Ideal City*.
Pierro della Francesca.

Fig. 3.27 Stage set design for the 'House of Oceanus.'
Inigo Jones. Image from R. Strong, *The Renaissance Garden in England* (W W Norton & Co Inc, 1979).

Fig. 3.28 Plan of Ham House and Gardens.
Robert Smythson (c.1609). Image from R. Strong, *The Renaissance Garden in England* (W W Norton & Co Inc, 1979).

Fig. 3.29 Plan for post-fire London.
Christopher Wren (1666). Image from *The Picture Magazine* (1894).

Fig. 3.30 Plan of Chiswick House and Gardens.
John Rocque. Image from R. Strong, *The Renaissance Garden in England* (W W Norton & Co Inc, 1979).

Fig. 3.31 View of the 'Patte d'Oie,' Chiswick House.
Pieter Rysbrack (1728-9). Image from R. Strong, *The Renaissance Garden in England* (W W Norton & Co Inc, 1979).

Fig. 3.32 Survey of London.
John Rocque (1744-6). Image from J. Cloake, *Richmond Past* (Historical Publications Ltd, 1991).

Fig. 3.33 Bird's-eye view of New Park, Petersham.
Johannes Kip (1708). Image from J. Cloake, *Richmond Past* (Historical Publications Ltd, 1991).

Fig. 3.34 Playhouse on Richmond Hill.
Image from J. Cloake, *Richmond Past* (Historical Publications Ltd, 1991).

Fig. 3.35 Richmond Theatres.
Images from J. Cloake, *Richmond Past* (Historical Publications Ltd, 1991).

Fig. 3.36 Bird's-eye view of Vauxhall pleasure gardens.
Samuel Wale (c.1751). Image courtesy of the Victoria & Albert Museum.

Fig. 3.37 Admission ticket to Vauxhall pleasure gardens (1783).
Image courtesy of the Victoria & Albert Museum.

Fig. 3.38 View of Vauxhall pleasure gardens.
Engraving after Thomas Rowlandson. Image courtesy of the Victoria & Albert Museum.

Fig. 3.39 Two song sheets for *The Lass of Richmond Hill.*
(c. 1820 and 1794). Images courtesy of the Museum of Richmond-upon-Thames.

Fig. 3.40 View of Terrace Walk.
Alfred Mudge (1883). Image from www.wikigallery.com [Accessed 07/12/2012].

Fig. 3.41 Terrace Walk, postcard c. 1910.
Image from author's personal collection.

Fig. 3.42 Terrace Walk, postcard c. 1910.
Image from author's personal collection.

Fig. 3.43 *The Terrace and View from Richmond Hill.*
Leonard Knyff (c.1650-1720). Image courtesy of the London Borough of Richmond-upon-Thames.

Fig. 3.44 View of Cholmondeley Walk, Richmond-upon-Thames.
Augustin Heckel (1749). Image from J. Cloake, *Richmond Past* (Historical Publications Ltd, 1991) p. 111

Fig. 3.45 *Panorama of the Thames from London to Richmond.*
Samuel Leigh (c. 1830). Image from J. Cloake, *Richmond Past* (Historical Publications Ltd, 1991) p. 61

Fig. 3.46 *The Thames from Richmond Hill.*
Sir Joshua Reynolds (1788). Image from the Tate Collection.

Fig. 3.47 A view of Richmond Hill's villas.
Watercolour by J. L. Richards (c.1800). Image from J. Cloake, *Richmond Past* (Historical Publications Ltd, 1991) p. 63

Fig. 3.48 Richmond Hill villas.
Images by author.

Fig. 3.49 *The Terrace, Richmond Hill.*
George Hilditch (1837). Image from J. Bryant, *Finest Prospects: Three Historic Houses: A Study in London Topography* (English Heritage, 1986) p. 89

Fig. 3.50 *A View from Richmond Looking towards Twickenham.*
William Marlow (1776). Image from J. Cloake, *Richmond Past* (Historical Publications Ltd, 1991) p. 34

Fig. 3.51 Nineteenth-century sale catalogue images.
Images from B. Gascoigne, *Images of Richmond* (Saint Helena Press, 1978).

Fig. 3.52 Buccleuch House.
Image from E.W.A. Brayley's *A Topographical History of Surrey.*

Fig. 3.53 Grotto in Buccleuch Gardens.
Image by author.

Fig. 3.54 *The Thames at Twickenham.*

Peter Tillemans (1725). Image from S. Liddell, *Sotherby's Art at Auction 1988-89.* (London: Sotheby's Publications, 1989).

Fig. 3.55 Sketch and plan of Alexander Pope's Grotto.
Samuel Lewis (1786). Images courtesy of Pope's Grotto Preservation Trust.

Fig. 3.56 View of Alexander Pope's Shell Temple.
William Kent (c. 1725-30). Image courtesy of the British Museum.

Fig. 3.57 View of Alexander Pope's villa, Twickenham.
Engraving by Nathaniel Parr after Pieter Rysbrack (c. 1735). Image courtesy of the London Borough of Richmond-upon-Thames.

Fig. 3.58 Plan of Alexander Pope's Garden, Twickenham.
John Serle (1745). Image courtesy of the Pope's Grotto Preservation Trust.

Fig. 3.59 Two views of Hermitages.
William Kent. Images from J. Cloake, *Richmond Past* (Historical Publications Ltd, 1991).

Fig. 3.60 Reconstructed plan of Pliny's 'Tusculum.'
Illustration from Robert Castell's *Villas of the Ancients Illustrated* (1728).

Fig. 3.61 Plan of Marble Hill House and Gardens, Twickenham.
Image from M. Batey, H. Buttery, D. Lambert, K. Wilkie, *Arcadian Thames: The River Landscape from Hampton to Kew* (London: Barn Elms Publishing, 2000).

Fig. 3.62 Designs for Marble Hill House, Twickenham.
Colen Campbell after Lord Herbert and Roger Morris (1724-9). Image courtesy of the RIBA Library Drawings Collection.

Fig. 3.63 *The Countess of Suffolk's House at Twickenham.*
Engraving after Augustin Heckel (1749). Image courtesy of the London Borough of Richmond-upon-Thames.

Fig. 3.64 *The Thames near Marble Hill.*
Richard Wilson (1762). Image from www.artfund.org [Accessed 08/12/2012].

Fig. 3.65 Plan and elevation of Whitton Park, Twickenham.
Images courtesy of the Twickenham Museum.

Fig. 3.66 Elevation of White Lodge, Richmond Park.
Engraving by T. Miller, after drawing by J. Gandon. Image from Volume VI of Colen Campbell's *Vitruvius Britannicus* (1767).

Fig. 3.67 Keys and admission tickets to Richmond Park (c. 1740s).
Image courtesy of the Museum of Richmond-upon-Thames.

Fig. 3.68 *The 'Bounds Beating Party.'*
Frontispiece to M. Cooper, *Two Historical Accounts of…New Forest…and Richmond New Park* (1751).

Fig. 3.69 *An Exact Plan of the Royal Palace Gardens and Park at Richmond.*

J. Rocque (1754). Image from M. Batey, H. Buttery, D. Lambert, K. Wilkie, *Arcadian Thames: The River Landscape from Hampton to Kew* (London: Barn Elms Publishing, 2000).

Fig. 3.70 Bird's-eye view of Richmond Lodge.
Engraving by I. Van de Gucht (c. 1725). Image from J. Cloake, *Richmond Past* (Historical Publications Ltd, 1991) p. 30

Fig. 3.71 *View from the Middlesex Bank of Richmond Lodge.*
Engraving by Chatelain after Marco Ricci (1736). Image from T. Badeslade & J. Rocque, *Vitruvius Brittanicus,* Volume VI (London, 1739) pl. 8

Fig. 3.72 View of Richmond Lodge.
Thomas and Paul Sandby (c. 1770). Image from D. Watkin, *The Architect King: George III and the Culture of the Enlightenment* (Royal Collection Publications, 2004) p. 25

Fig. 3.73 Frontispiece to James Thompson's *The Seasons* (1730).
William Kent. Image from M. Batey, H. Buttery, D. Lambert, K. Wilkie, *Arcadian Thames: The River Landscape from Hampton to Kew* (London: Barn Elms Publishing, 2000).

Fig. 3.74 View of the river from Terrace Gardens.
Image by author.

Fig. 3.75 Vista plan of the gardens at Stowe.
Drawing by author.

Fig. 3.76 *The Thames at Syon.*
Richard Wilson (c. 1760s). Image courtesy of the Neue Pinakothek Gallery, Munich.

Fig. 3.77 *Syon House from Richmond Gardens.*
George III (c. 1760). Image from D. Watkin, *The Architect King: George III and the Culture of the Enlightenment* (Royal Collection Publications, 2004) p. 66

Fig. 3.78 *Design for a Temple based on Chambers's Temple of Victory, Kew.*
George III (c. 1759). Image from D. Watkin, *The Architect King: George III and the Culture of the Enlightenment* (Royal Collection Publications, 2004) p. 71

Fig. 3.79 *A View of the Seat of the Late David Garrick Esq.*
Engraving from *The Modern Universal British Traveller* (1779).

Fig. 3.80 Plan of Garrick's villa and garden at Hampton.
Image from sale catalogue (1822), courtesy of the Museum of Richmond-upon-Thames.

Fig. 3.81 *Mr and Mrs Garrick by the Shakespeare Temple at Hampton.*
Johann Zoffany (1762). Image from the collection of Lord Lambton.

Fig. 3.82 *A View in Hampton garden with Mr and Mrs Garrick taking tea.*
Johann Zoffany (1762). Image from the collection of Lord Lambton.

Fig. 3.83 Plan of Strawberry Hill House and Garden.
Image courtesy of the Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University.

Fig. 3.84 *View from the Holbein Chamber at Strawberry Hill.*
Image courtesy of the Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University.

Fig. 3.85 *Horace Walpole in his Library at Strawberry Hill.*
Joseph Müntz (1756). Image courtesy of the Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University.

Fig. 3.86 View of Strawberry Hill, Twickenham.
Paul Sandby (1775). Image courtesy of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

Fig. 3.87 View of Hollyhock Teahouse, Terrace Gardens, Richmond.
Image by author.

Fig. 3.88 *The View from Richmond Hill.*
John James Chalon (1837). Image from J. Bryant, *Finest Prospects: Three Historic Houses: A Study in London Topography* (English Heritage, 1986) p. 89

Fig. 3.89 Design for a rustic cottage.
Robert Adam (1768). Image courtesy of the Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University.

Fig. 3.90 View, and plan, of Strawberry Hill House, Twickenham.
Image by author, plan courtesy of the Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University.

Fig. 3.91 Pear wood model for a new palace at Richmond.
William Kent (c. 1735). Image courtesy of the National Monuments Record, English Heritage.

Fig. 3.92 Designs for a new royal palace at Richmond.
Robert Adam (c. 1762) and George III, Sir William Chambers (c. 1765). Images from D. Watkin, *The Architect King: George III and the Culture of the Enlightenment* (Royal Collection Publications, 2004) p. 103

Fig. 3.93 Elevation for a royal palace at Richmond.
Sir William Chambers (1765). Image from D. Watkin, *The Architect King: George III and the Culture of the Enlightenment* (Royal Collection Publications, 2004) p. 105

Fig. 3.94 Elevation for a royal palace at Richmond.
Sir William Chambers (c. 1775). Image from D. Watkin, *The Architect King: George III and the Culture of the Enlightenment* (Royal Collection Publications, 2004) p. 105

Fig. 3.95 *The Palace of His Majesty George the Third at Kew.*
Image from G. Cooke, *The Beauties of England and Wales* (1806).

Fig. 3.96 'Before-and-after' fold-out images of White Lodge, Richmond Park.
Humphrey Repton (1805). Images courtesy of the Museum of Richmond-upon-Thames.

Fig. 3.97 View of Queen Charlotte's cottage, Kew Gardens.
Image by author.

Fig. 3.98 Examples of the fanciful gothic style, Richmond Hill.
Images from J. Cloake, *Richmond Past* (Historical Publications Ltd, 1991) p. 65

Fig. 3.99 The Park Keeper's Hut, Terrace Gardens.
Image by author.

Fig. 3.100 *A View of the Wilderness with the Alhambra, the Pagoda and the Mosque.*
Engraving from Sir William Chambers's *Designs for Kew* (1763). Image from M. Batey, H. Buttery, D. Lambert, K. Wilkie, *Arcadian Thames: The River Landscape from Hampton to Kew* (London: Barn Elms Publishing, 2000).

Fig. 3.101 Design for George III's observatory, Richmond Old Deer Park.
James Adam (1770). Image courtesy of the British Library.

Fig. 3.102 View of the observatory, Richmond Old Deer Park.
Image from Rev. D. Lyson, *Environs of London* (1791).

Fig. 3.103 The Richmond Meridian.
Image by author.

Fig. 3.104 Details from *Panarama of the Thames from London to Richmond.*
Samuel Leigh (c. 1830). Image from J. Cloake, *Richmond Past* (Historical Publications Ltd, 1991) p. 61

Fig. 3.105 View of the steamboat service, Richmond.
Engraving by W. B. Cooke, from a drawing by J. D. Harding. Image from W. B. Cooke, *Views of Richmond* (1832).

Fig. 3.106 Design for a new bridge at Richmond.
James Paine (c. 1774). Image courtesy of the RIBA Drawings Library.

Fig. 3.107 View of Richmond Bridge under construction.
Engraving by V. Green and F. Jukas after W. Hodges. Image from J. Cloake, *Richmond Past* (Historical Publications Ltd, 1991) p. 57

Fig. 3.108 *Richmond from Beneath the Railway Bridge.*
George Hilditch. Image from J. Cloake, *Richmond Past* (Historical Publications Ltd, 1991) p. 59

Fig. 3.109 *A View of the Thames from Richmond Hill.*
T. C. Hofland (c. 1823). Image from M. Batey, H. Buttery, D. Lambert, K. Wilkie, *Arcadian Thames: The River Landscape from Hampton to Kew* (London: Barn Elms Publishing, 2000).

Fig. 3.110 *Thompson's Aeolian Harp.*
J. M. W. Turner (1809). Image courtesy of the City of Manchester Art Galleries.

Fig. 3.111 *View of Pope's Villa at Twickenham During its Dilapidation.*

J. M. W. Turner (1808). Image from M. Batey, H. Buttery, D. Lambert, K. Wilkie, *Arcadian Thames: The River Landscape from Hampton to Kew* (London: Barn Elms Publishing, 2000).

Fig. 3.112 *Nuovo Pianta di Roma* (2012). A vista map of the city of Rome, author's own pen and graphite drawing exhibited at the exhibition *I Have Lived,* British School at Rome, December 2012.

Fig. 3.113 *A Distant View of Rome from Monte Mario.*
Richard Wilson (1763-1765).
Image courtesy of the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.

Fig. 3.114 *England: Richmond Hill, on the Prince Regent's Birthday.*
J. M. W. Turner (1819). Image courtesy of the Google Art Project.

Fig. 3.115 View of Sandycombe Lodge, Twickenham.
Engraving by W. Havell, from *Picturesque Views on the River Thames* (1829).

Fig. 3.116 Extracts from historic Ordnance Survey maps.
Images courtesy of the Ordnance Survey.

Fig. 3.117 *Rain, Steam and Speed.*
J. M. W. Turner (1844). Image courtesy of the National Gallery.

Fig. 3.118 *Bath Road, Bedford Park.*
Camille Pissarro (1897). Image from N. Reed, *Pissarro in West London: Kew, Chiswick and Richmond* (Folkestone: Lilburne Press, 1997).

Fig. 3.119 *Lordship Lane Station.*
Camille Pissarro (1871). Image from N. Reed, *Pissarro in West London: Kew, Chiswick and Richmond* (Folkestone: Lilburne Press, 1997).

Fig. 3.120 Designs for Bedford Park Housing.
Richard Norman Shaw. Images courtesy of the RIBA Drawings Library.

Fig. 3.121 Three railway posters: *Knaresborough* (LNER, 1928), *Felixstowe* (LNER, 1934) and *Great Yarmouth* (LNER, c. 1930). Images courtesy of the National Railway Museum.

Fig. 3.122 *Valley of the Thames,* London Underground poster.
Charles Sharland (1908). Image courtesy of the London Transport Museum.

Fig. 3.123 *Too Much of a Good Thing*, London Underground poster.
John Henry Lloyd (1910). Image courtesy of the London Transport Museum.

Fig. 3.124 Two London Underground posters: *Richmond* and *The Silver Thames.*
Alfred France (1910) and Thomas Robert Way (1910). Images courtesy of the London Transport Museum.

Fig. 3.125 *Richmond for Walking…and Other Jollities,* London Underground poster (1908). Image courtesy of the London Transport Museum.

Fig. 3.126 *Richmond Park,* London Underground poster.
Arthur G. Bell (1913). Image courtesy of the London Transport Museum.

Fig. 3.127 Three London Underground posters: *Kew, Chiswick House* and *To the River.* Trerick John Williams (1929), Vera Ross (1937), Alan Sorrell (1938). Images courtesy of the London Transport Museum.

Fig. 3.128 *View from the Terrace, Richmond,* postcard (1906). Image from author's personal collection.

Fig. 3.129 *Terrace Gardens, Richmond,* postcard (c. 1909). Image from author's personal collection.

Fig. 3.130 Two postcard views of Terrace Walk, Richmond Hill (c. 1910). Images from author's personal collection.

Fig. 3.131 Cartoon depicting the Lass of Richmond Hill, from *Punch Magazine.* Image from *Punch* (9 October, 1886) p. 170

Fig. 3.132 *Richmond Hill, viewed from the open ground between Wick House and The Star and Garter.* Jasper Francis Cropsey (1862). Image courtesy of the Google Art Project.

Fig. 3.133 Joseph Glover, extract from the *Twickenham Times* (1 October, 1898). Image courtesy of the Library of Richmond-upon-Thames.

Fig. 3.134 Glover's Island sale card (c. 1890s). Image courtesy of the Library of Richmond-upon-Thames.

Fig. 3.135 Max Waechter, newspaper extract. Image courtesy of the Library of Richmond-upon-Thames.

Fig. 3.136 Lebanon Park, Twickenham, newspaper extract. *Westminster Budget* (26 July, 1901). Image courtesy of the Library of Richmond-upon-Thames.

Fig. 3.137 *The Richmond Hill View*, newspaper extract. *Westminster Budget* (26 July, 1901). Image courtesy of the Library of Richmond-upon-Thames.

Fig. 3.138 *The Richmond Hill View,* newspaper extract. *Twickenham Herald* (2 July, 1910). Image courtesy of the Library of Richmond-upon-Thames.

Fig. 3.139 *Everybody Knows This View*, newspaper extract. *Thames Valley Times* (30 September, 1953). Image courtesy of the Library of Richmond-upon-Thames.

Fig. 3.140 *Richmond Terrace.* Oskar Kokoschka (1962). Image from www.artvalue.com [Accessed 09/12/11].

4.0 TRANSLATING THE VIEW: Richmond, Virginia

Fig. 4.0 Skyline of Richmond, Virginia. Screen print by author.

Fig. 4.1 *Richmond Yorkshire.*
J. M. W. Turner (1817). Image courtesy of the Google Art Project.

Fig. 4.2 *View of Richmond, near Brunswick.*
Caroline, Princess of Wales (1810). Image from D. Watkin, *The Architect King: George III and the Culture of the Enlightenment* (Royal Collection Publications, 2004) p. 190

Fig. 4.3 "All Roads Lead to Richmond," extract from the *Daily Mail* (2008).
Image from www.dailymail.co.uk [Accessed 10/12/12].

Fig. 4.4 Map of North American Richmonds and Richmond Hills.
Drawing by author.

Fig. 4.5 Comparative maps of North American Richmonds: British Columbia and Ontario.
Drawings by author.

Fig. 4.6 Comparative maps of North American Richmonds: Quebec and Indiana.
Drawings by author.

Fig. 4.7 Comparative maps of North American Richmonds: Texas and Virginia.
Drawings by author.

Fig. 4.8 Comparative maps of North American Richmonds: Georgia.
Drawings by author.

Fig. 4.9 View of Richmond, Tasmania.
Image from www.discovertasmania.com [Accessed 10/12/12].

Fig. 4.10 View of Westover Plantation, Virginia.
Image by author.

Fig. 4.11 Plan of Richmond, Virginia.
William Mayo (1737). Image from M. Tyler-McGraw, *At the Falls: Richmond, Virginia and its People* (UNC Press Books, 1994) p. 46

Fig. 4.12 Watercolour sketch of *Belvidere*, Richmond, Virginia.
Benjamin Henry Latrobe (c. 1790s). Image from M. Tyler-McGraw, *At the Falls: Richmond, Virginia and its People* (UNC Press Books, 1994) p. 47

Fig. 4.13 Sketch and plan of Westover Plantation, Virginia.
Thomas Lee Shippen (1783). Images from T. O'Malley, M. Treib, *Regional Garden Design in the United States* (Dumbarton Oaks, 1995) p. 136-7

Fig. 4.14 View of a Virginian plantation.
Anon. Image from T. O'Malley, M. Treib, *Regional Garden Design in the United States* (Dumbarton Oaks, 1995) p. 136-7

Fig. 4.15 Map of the 'Land of Eden.'
Image from W. Byrd, *A Journey to the Land of Eden Anno 1733*.

Fig. 4.16 Plan of Mount Vernon plantation, Virginia.

Samuel Vaughan (1787). Image courtesy of the Digital Archaeological Archive of Comparative Slavery.

Fig. 4.17 Watercolour sketch of Mount Vernon.
Benjamin Henry Latrobe (1796). Image courtesy of the Prints and Drawings Collection, Library of Congress, Washington D.C.

Fig. 4.18 Watercolour sketch of Mount Vernon.
Benjamin Henry Latrobe (1796). Image courtesy of the Prints and Drawings Collection, Library of Congress, Washington D.C.

Fig. 4.19 Watercolour sketch of the view from Mount Vernon.
Benjamin Henry Latrobe (1796). Image courtesy of the Prints and Drawings Collection, Library of Congress, Washington D.C.

Fig. 4.20 Virginia State Capitol, Richmond, Virginia.
Screen print by author.

Fig. 4.21 Postcard view of St. John's Church, Richmond, Virginia.
Image courtesy of Virginia Commonwealth University's *Rarely Seen Richmond* digital postcard collection.

Fig. 4.22 View of Richmond-upon-Thames.
F. Jukas (1795). Image courtesy of the British Library.

Fig. 4.23 Three villas by architect Sir Robert Taylor: Asgill House, Richmond; No. 3 The Terrace, Richmond Hill and Harleyford Manor, Marlow.
Images by author.

Fig. 4.24 View of the James River from Church Hill, Richmond, Virginia.
Anon. (c. 1790s). Image courtesy of the Valentine History Centre, Richmond, Virginia.

Fig. 4.25 Watercolour sketch of the view from Church Hill, Richmond, Virginia.
Benjamin Henry Latrobe (c. 1795). Image courtesy of the Prints and Drawings Collection, Library of Congress, Washington D.C.

Fig. 4.26 Watercolour sketch of Richmond, Virginia, from Church Hill.
Benjamin Henry Latrobe (c. 1795). Image courtesy of the Prints and Drawings Collection, Library of Congress, Washington D.C.

Fig. 4.27 View of the Virginia State Penitentiary, Richmond, Virginia.
Image from J. A. Cohen, C. E. Brownell, *The Architectural Drawings of Benjamin Henry Latrobe* (Yale University Press, 1994).

Fig. 4.28 Watercolour perspective sketch of the Virginia State Penitentiary, Richmond, Virginia.
Benjamin Henry Latrobe (1797). Image from J. A. Cohen, C. E. Brownell, *The Architectural Drawings of Benjamin Henry Latrobe* (Yale University Press, 1994).

Fig. 4.29 View of the Virginia State Penitentiary (c. 1920).
Image from J. A. Cohen, C. E. Brownell, *The Architectural Drawings of Benjamin Henry Latrobe* (Yale University Press, 1994).

Fig. 4.30 *A Front View of the Penitentiary at Richmond.*
Image courtesy of the Valentine History Centre, Richmond, Virginia.

Fig. 4.31 Elevation and plans for the Virginia State Penitentiary, Richmond, Virginia. Benjamin Henry Latrobe (1797). Images courtesy of the State Library of Virginia.

Fig. 4.32 Title page from B. H. Latrobe's *Essay on Landscape* (1798-9).
Image from *The Virginia Journals of Benjamin Henry Latrobe* (Yale University Press, 1977).

Fig. 4.33 Watercolour sketch of Kirkstall Abbey from B. H. Latrobe's *Essay on Landscape* (1798-9).
Image from *The Virginia Journals of Benjamin Henry Latrobe* (Yale University Press, 1977).

Fig. 4.34 Watercolour view of Hammerwood Park, East Sussex.
Image courtesy of the Pinnegar family.

Fig. 4.35 Perspective, elevation and plans of the 'Irregular Villa,' Richmond, Virginia. Benjamin Henry Latrobe (1797). Image from B. H. Latrobe, *Designs of Buildings Erected or Proposed To Be Built In Virginia 1795-1799*.

Fig. 4.36 Title page from B. H. Latrobe's *Designs of Buildings Erected or Proposed To Be Built In Virginia 1795-1799*. Image courtesy of the Prints and Drawings Collection, Library of Congress, Washington D.C.

Fig. 4.37 Elevation of the Harvie-Gamble House, Church Hill, Richmond, Virginia. Benjamin Henry Latrobe, (1798-9). Image from W. Fazio, P. Snadon, *The Domestic Architecture of Benjamin Henry Latrobe* (John Hopkins University Press, 2006).

Fig. 4.38 Section through the Harvie-Gamble House, Church Hill, Richmond, Virginia. Benjamin Henry Latrobe, (1798-9). Image from W. Fazio, P. Snadon, *The Domestic Architecture of Benjamin Henry Latrobe* (John Hopkins University Press, 2006).

Fig. 4.39 Watercolour perspective of 'Clifton', Church Hill, Richmond, Virginia. Benjamin Henry Latrobe, (1798-9). Image courtesy of the Prints and Drawings Collection, Library of Congress, Washington D.C.

Fig. 4.40 Landscape plan for 'Clifton', Church Hill, Richmond, Virginia.
Benjamin Henry Latrobe, (1798-9). Image courtesy of the Prints and Drawings Collection, Library of Congress, Washington D.C.

Fig. 4.41 Elevation, plan and sections for an ornamental dairy/summerhouse.
Benjamin Henry Latrobe, (1798-9). Images courtesy of the Prints and Drawings Collection, Library of Congress, Washington D.C.

Fig. 4.42 Drawing for Mr Tayloe's Dining Room, Washington D.C.
Benjamin Henry Latrobe, (1796-7). Image from W. Fazio, P. Snadon, *The Domestic Architecture of Benjamin Henry Latrobe* (John Hopkins University Press, 2006).

Fig. 4.43 Plan and elevations for Mr Tayloe's house and garden, Washington D.C.

Benjamin Henry Latrobe, (1796-7). Image from W. Fazio, P. Snadon, *The Domestic Architecture of Benjamin Henry Latrobe* (John Hopkins University Press, 2006).

Fig. 4.44 Plan, section and image of the Pope Villa, Lexington, Kentucky. Benjamin Henry Latrobe. Image from W. Fazio, P. Snadon, *The Domestic Architecture of Benjamin Henry Latrobe* (John Hopkins University Press, 2006).

Fig. 4.45 Section through proposed theatre, Richmond, Virginia. Benjamin Henry Latrobe. Image from J. A. Cohen, C. E. Brownell, *The Architectural Drawings of Benjamin Henry Latrobe* (Yale University Press, 1994).

Fig. 4.46 Section through proposed theatre, Richmond, Virginia. Benjamin Henry Latrobe. Image from J. A. Cohen, C. E. Brownell, *The Architectural Drawings of Benjamin Henry Latrobe* (Yale University Press, 1994).

Fig. 4.47 Elevation for proposed church, Richmond, Virginia. Benjamin Henry Latrobe. Image courtesy of the Prints and Drawings Collection, Library of Congress, Washington D.C.

Fig. 4.48 View of the Virginia State Capitol, Richmond, Virginia. Anon., undated. Image courtesy of the State Library of Virginia.

Fig. 4.49 Watercolour sketch of Bushrod Washington's Island, Richmond, Virginia. Benjamin Henry Latrobe (c. 1795). Image courtesy of the Prints and Drawings Collection, Library of Congress, Washington D.C.

Fig. 4.50 Watercolour sketch of Richmond from Bushrod Washington's Island. Benjamin Henry Latrobe (c. 1795). Image courtesy of the Prints and Drawings Collection, Library of Congress, Washington D.C.

Fig. 4.51 View of Richmond, Virginia from the West. Lewis Clover (1834). Image courtesy of the Prints and Drawings Collection, Library of Congress, Washington D.C.

Fig. 4.52 The View from Libby Hill Park, Church Hill, Richmond, Virginia. Screen print by author.

Fig. 4.53 Panoramic view from Libby Hill Park, Church Hill, Richmond, Virginia. Images by author.

Fig. 4.54 Plan of key landscape feature, Richmond, Virginia. Drawing by author.

Fig. 4.55 Vista plan of Libby Hill Park, Church Hill, Richmond, Virginia. Drawing by author.

Fig. 4.56 Plan of Libby Hill Park, Richmond, Virginia. Drawing by author.

Fig. 4.57 Aerial view of Richmond, Virginia. J. Wells and R. Hinshelwood. Image courtesy of the State Library of Virginia.

Fig. 4.58 Lithographic view of Richmond, Virginia from Church Hill.
Edward Sachse (c.1851). Image courtesy of the Virginia Historical Society.

Fig. 4.59 View of the Brockenbrough House, Richmond, Virginia.
Image by author.

Fig. 4.60 View of the Wickham-Valentine House, Richmond, Virginia.
Image by author.

Fig. 4.61 Elevation of Thomas Jefferson's Monticello.
Robert Mills (c. 1830). Image from J. M. Bryan, *Robert Mills: America's First Architect* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2001) p. 22

Fig. 4.62 Engraving for proposed Monumental Church, Richmond, Virginia.
William Strickland (1812). Image from J. M. Bryan, *Robert Mills: America's First Architect* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2001).

Fig. 4.63 Interior view of the Valentine Museum, Richmond, Virginia.
Image courtesy of the Valentine History Centre.

Fig. 4.64 *Richmond, The City on the James,* poster.
Image courtesy of the Valentine History Centre, Richmond, Virginia.

Fig. 4.65 Photographic view of the Adams-Van Lew House, Church Hill, Richmond, Virginia (c.1920). Image from M. Wingfield Scott, *Houses of Old Richmond* (Richmond, VA: The Valentine Museum, 1941).

Fig. 4.66 Designs for Waterloo Row, Baltimore, Maryland.
Robert Mills (1817-9). Image from J. M. Bryan, *Robert Mills: America's First Architect* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2001).

Fig. 4.67 Daguerreotype view of Richmond, Virginia, from Church Hill.
Image courtesy of the State Library of Virginia.

Fig. 4.68 View of Richmond, Virginia (c. 1822).
Image from A. W. Weddell, *Richmond, Virginia, in Old Prints 1737-1887* (New York: Johnson Publishing Company, 1932).

Fig. 4.69 View of the Fairmount Waterworks, Philadelphia (c. 1822).
Image courtesy of the Library of Congress, Washington D.C.

Fig. 4.70 View of the Fairmount Waterworks, Philadelphia.
J. T. Bowen (1838). Image courtesy of the Library of Congress, Washington D.C.

Fig. 4.71 Stereographic view of the Richmond Waterworks (c. 1877).
Image from T. Tyler Potterfield, *Nonesuch Place: A History of the Richmond Landscape* (Charleston & London: The History Press, 2009).

Fig. 4.72 View of Richmond, Virginia from the West.
Herman Boye (1827). Image from T. Tyler Potterfield, *Nonesuch Place: A History of the Richmond Landscape* (Charleston & London: The History Press, 2009).

Fig. 4.73 Plan for New Reservoir Park, Richmond, Virginia.
Anon. (c. 1875). Image courtesy of the State Library of Virginia.

Fig. 4.74 Richmond from Hollywood Cemetery.
William McLeod (1854). Image from A. W. Weddell, *Richmond, Virginia, in Old Prints 1737-1887* (New York: Johnson Publishing Company, 1932).

Fig. 4.75 Gothic carriage entrance, Hollywood Cemetery, Richmond, postcard (1895).
Image courtesy of Virginia Commonwealth University.

Fig. 4.76 View in Hollywood Cemetery, Richmond, Virginia, 1867.
Image courtesy of Virginia Commonwealth University.

Fig. 4.77 View of the gothic pump house and assembly rooms, Richmond.
Image by author.

Fig. 4.78 *Starrucca Viaduct.*
Jasper Francis Cropsey (1856). Image from J. A. Mott, ed., *Jasper F. Cropsey: Artist and Architect* (New York: The New York Historical Society, 1987) p. 82

Fig. 4.79 *Days of Elizabeth.*
Jasper Francis Cropsey (1853). Image from J. A. Mott, ed., *Jasper F. Cropsey: Artist and Architect* (New York: The New York Historical Society, 1987).

Fig. 4.80 *Richmond Hill and the Thames, London.*
Jasper Francis Cropsey (1862). Image from J. A. Mott, ed., *Jasper F. Cropsey: Artist and Architect* (New York: The New York Historical Society, 1987).

Fig. 4.81 *A Bend in the River.*
Jasper Francis Cropsey (1892). Image courtesy of the Google Art Project.

Fig. 4.82 Design for 'Aladdin', near Warwick, New York State.
Jasper Francis Cropsey. Image from L. S. Ferber, The *Hudson River School: Nature and the American Vision* (The New York Historical Society, 2009) p. 145

Fig. 4.83 'Pratt's Castle', Richmond, Virginia, postcard (c. 1917).
Image courtesy of Virginia Commonwealth University.

Fig. 4.84 Two Kodak Company posters (c. 1920s).
Images from N. M. West, *Kodak and the Lens of Nostalgia* (Charlottesville & London: University Press of Virginia, 2000).

Fig. 4.85 Cover of *Harper's Weekly Magazine* (c. 1870s).
Image from T. Tyler Potterfield, *Nonesuch Place: A History of the Richmond Landscape* (Charleston & London: The History Press, 2009).

Fig. 4.86 View of the James River from Libby Hill, Richmond, Virginia.
Lefevre Cranstone (1859). Image courtesy of the Valentine History Centre.

Fig. 4.87 Photographic images of the destruction of Richmond (1865).
Images courtesy of the Virginia Historical Society.

Fig. 4.88 View of Libby Hill Park, newspaper extract.
Image from "How It Was All Done: A History of the Confederate Soldiers and Sailors Monument," *Richmond Times-Dispatch* (30 May, 1894).

Fig. 4.89 Advert for the Richmond Exhibition (1892), newspaper extract.
Image from "Welcome Friends!: Richmond Throws Open Her Gates to the Exposition Visitors," *The Richmond Dispatch* (6 October, 1892).

Fig. 4.90 Design for carriageways, Libby Hill Park.
Image courtesy of the State Library of Virginia.

Fig. 4.91 Two postcard views of Libby Hill Park (1909).
Images courtesy of Virginia Commonwealth University.

Fig. 4.92 Two postcard views of Libby Hill Park (1912).
Images courtesy of Virginia Commonwealth University.

Fig. 4.93 Designs for viewing pavilion, Libby Hill Park (1911).
Image courtesy of the State Library of Virginia.

Fig. 4.94 Postcard view of the Confederate Soldiers and Sailors Monument, Libby Hill Park.
Undated. Image courtesy of Virginia Commonwealth University.

Fig. 4.95 Plan of Windsor Farms Estate.
Image courtesy of Virginia Commonwealth University.

Fig. 4.96 View of the James River, Virginia.
Wallace Nutting (1930). Image courtesy of the Library of Congress, Washington D.C.

Fig. 4.97 *Trimming the Pie Crust.*
Wallce Nutting (1915). Image courtesy of the Library of Congress, Washington D.C.

Fig. 4.98 Wallace Nutting photograph and catalogue exert.
Images courtesy of the Library of Congress, Washington D.C.

Fig. 4.99 Aerial photograph of Windsor Farms, Richmond, Virginia (1928).
Image courtesy of Virginia Commonwealth University.

Fig. 4.100 View of Agecroft Hall.
Carnegie Survey of Architecture of the South. Image courtesy of the Library of Congress, Washington D.C.

Fig. 4.101 Views of Warwick Priory and Sulgrave Manor.
Images from J. Taylor, "Virginia House: The Reconstruction of Social and Historical Narratives" in R. G. Wilson, S. Eyring, K. Marotta eds., *Re-creating the American Past: Essays on the Colonial Revival* (Charlottesville & London: University of Virginia Press, 2006).

Fig. 4.102 Virginia House, Richmond, postcard (c. 1920s).
Image courtesy of Virginia Commonwealth University.

Fig. 4.103 Landscape plan of 'Nordley', Windsor Farms, Richmond, Virginia.

Image from S. H. Frazer, *The Architecture of William Lawrence Bottomley* (Acanthus Press, 2007).

Fig. 4.104 Elevation of 'Nordley', Windsor Farms, Richmond, Virginia.
William Lawrence Bottomley (1923). Image from S. H. Frazer, *The Architecture of William Lawrence Bottomley* (Acanthus Press, 2007).

Fig. 4.105 'Before and After' images of Ampthill Plantation, Virginia.
Image from the Historic American Buildings Survey, Library of Congress, Washington D.C.

Fig. 4.106 Elevation for Wilton, Windsor Farms, Richmond, Virginia.
Thomas Tileston Waterman. Image courtesy of the Prints and Drawings Collection, Library of Congress, Washington D.C.

Fig. 4.107 Working drawings for Wilton, Windsor Farms, Richmond, Virginia.
Thomas Tileston Waterman. Image courtesy of the Prints and Drawings Collection, Library of Congress, Washington D.C.

Fig. 4.108 Survey drawings of St. John's Church, Richmond, Virginia.
Historic American Buildings Survey (1934). Image courtesy of the Library of Congress, Washington D.C.

Fig. 4.109 Comparative images from T. T. Waterman, *Dwellings of Colonial America* (1950).

Fig. 4.110 Two views of 'Nordley' (c. 1928).
Images from the Carnegie Survey of Architecture of the South, Library of Congress, Washington D.C.

Fig. 4.111 Photographic view of the Hayes McCance House, Richmond, Virginia.
Image from M. Wingfield Scott, *Houses of Old Richmond* (1941).

5.0 CINEMATIC ITINERARIES IN THE NOSTALGIC PICTURESQUE: Colonial Parkway

Fig. 5.0 Colonial Parkway, Virginia.
Screen print by author.

Fig. 5.1 Landscape plan of the George Washington Memorial Parkway, Washington D.C.
Image from P. Kelsch, "Cultivating History, Modernity, and Nature: the Planting Design for the Mount Vernon Memorial Highway" (Virginia Tech. unpublished, 2011).

Fig. 5.2 Vista plan of the George Washington Memorial Parkway, Washington D.C.
Image from P. Kelsch, "Cultivating History, Modernity, and Nature: the Planting Design for the Mount Vernon Memorial Highway" (Virginia Tech. unpublished, 2011).

Fig. 5.3 View of the George Washington Memorial Parkway, Washington D.C.

Image from P. Kelsch, “Cultivating History, Modernity, and Nature: the Planting Design for the Mount Vernon Memorial Highway” (Virginia Tech. unpublished, 2011).

Fig. 5.4 Historic views of the George Washington Memorial Parkway, Mount Vernon, Virginia.
Images courtesy of the National Park Service Archives, National Archives, Washington D.C.

Fig. 5.5 Cover image from R. R. Sterling, *Scenic and Historic Old Virginia* (1930).

Fig. 5.6 Comparative elevations of the Capitol building, Williamsburg, Virginia.
Images from C. Lounsbury, *The Reconstruction of Williamsburg's First Colonial Capitol, 1928-1934: A Critique*, (1989).

Fig. 5.7 Governor’s Palace, Williamsburg, Virginia, sketch.
Elizabeth O’Neill Verner (1936). Image courtesy of the Prints and Drawings Collection, Library of Congress, Washington D.C.

Fig. 5.8 Blueprints for the Colonial Parkway project.
Image courtesy of the National Park Service Technical Information Centre, Denver.

Fig. 5.9 *Brick Veneer Bridges.*
Historic American Engineering Record, Library of Congress, Washington D.C.

Fig. 5.10 *Parkway Views.*
Historic American Engineering Record, Library of Congress, Washington D.C.

Fig. 5.11 Sketch view of the C&O railroad bridge, Colonial Parkway (1934).
Historic American Engineering Record, Library of Congress, Washington D.C.

Fig. 5.12 Photographic view of the C&O railroad bridge (c. 1968).
Historic American Engineering Record, Library of Congress, Washington D.C.

Fig. 5.13 Unfolding views of Colonial Parkway.
Images by author.

Fig. 5.14 *West End of Yorktown’s Main Street.*
Sidney E. King (1958). Image courtesy of the National Park Service.

Fig. 5.15 *Typical Brick Residence, Jamestown.*
Sidney E. King (1958). Image courtesy of the National Park Service.

Fig. 5.16 Map of Tidewater Virginia.
Drawing by author.

Fig. 5.17 Unfolding views of Scenic Byway No. 5, Virginia.
Images by author.

Fig. 5.18 Views of ‘historic’ signposts, Richmond, Virginia.
Images by author.

Fig. 5.19 Richmond Auto Court, postcard (c.1960s).

Image from author's personal collection.

Fig. 5.20 Two postcards of 'colonial' motels, Virginia (c. 1950s).
Images from author's personal collection.

Fig. 5.21 Bellwood Drive-In Theatre, Richmond, Virginia, newspaper extract.
Image from Image from S. Bell, "From Ticket Booth to Screen Tower: An Architectural Study of Drive-In Theatres in the Baltimore-Washington-Richmond Corridor," in A. K. Hoagland and K. A. Breisch, eds., *Constructing Image, Identity, and Place: Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture IX* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 2003) p. 221

Fig. 5.22 Richmond's 'Interstate Image Corridors', map.
Image from the Planning and Development Review, *Richmond Master Plan* (City of Richmond, 2010).

Fig. 5.23 View of the stage-set for *John Adams* (2008), Richmond, Virginia.
Image by author.

Fig. 5.24 'Colonial' homes at West Broad Village, Richmond, Virginia.
Image from www.westbroadvillage.com [Accessed 22/12/2011].

Fig. 5.25 Double exposure photograph.
Image by author.

Fig. 5.26 Richmond-upon-Thames Riverside, watercolour and ink sketch.
Frances Terry (c. 1984-7). Image from *View: An Exhibition about Richmond Hill,* held at Waterstone's, Piccadilly and the Orleans House Galley, Twickenham (2003).

Fig. 5.27 Richmond-upon-Thames Riverside, watercolour and ink drawing.
Quinlan Terry Architects (c.1984-7). www.qftarchitects.com [accessed 03/03/20113].
Retail buildings, Colonial Williamsburg, VA, watercolour and ink drawing.
Quinlan Terry Architects (c.2001-3). www.qftarchitects.com [accessed 03/03/20113].

6.0 HOW CONTEMPORARY PROTECTED VIEW POLICIES OPERATE

6.1 The London View Management Framework

Fig. 6.0 View of St. Paul's Cathedral from Richmond Hill.
Screen print by author.

Fig. 6.1 "A New View of London."
2007 London Underground Poster by Paul Catherall. Image courtesy of the London Transport Museum.

Fig. 6.2 "Seeing the History in the View."
Image from English Heritage, *Seeing the History in the View* (2011).

Fig. 6.3 Diagram showing the effects of development.

Image from English Heritage, *Seeing the History in the View* (2011) p. 23

Fig. 6.4 Vistas and landscapes of the River Thames between Hampton and Chiswick. Image by author, adapted from K. Wilkie, M. Battaggia, M. Batey, D. Lambert, H. Buttery, J. Pearce, D. Goode and D. Bentley, *Thames Landscape Strategy* (Thames Landscape Steering Group, 1994) p. 10

Fig. 6.5 Vista diagram, Ham reach. Image from K. Wilkie, M. Battaggia, M. Batey, D. Lambert, H. Buttery, J. Pearce, D. Goode and D. Bentley, *Thames Landscape Strategy* (Thames Landscape Steering Group, 1994) p. 122

Fig. 6.6 Plan of the Protected Vista from King Henry's Mound, Richmond Park. Image from *Revised Supplementary Planning Guidance: The London View Management Framework* (Greater London Authority, July 2010) p. 252

Fig 6.7 Keyhole view from King Henry's Mound, Richmond Park. Image from *Revised Supplementary Planning Guidance: The London View Management Framework* (Greater London Authority, July 2010) p. 84

Fig. 6.8 Assessment image for King Henry's Mound, Richmond Park. Image from *Revised Supplementary Planning Guidance: The London View Management Framework* (Greater London Authority, July 2010) p. 86

Fig. 6.9 King Henry's Mound. Engraving by Johannes Kip after Leonard Knyff. Image from *Britannia Illustrata, or Views of Several of the Royal Palaces as also of the Principal Seats of the Nobility and Gentry of Great Britain* (London: Paradigm Press, 1984).

Fig. 6.10 "Saved for the Nation." Newspaper extract from the *Evening Standard* (23 February, 2004).

Fig. 6.11 Components of a Protected Vista. Diagram from the *Revised Supplementary Planning Guidance: The London View Management Framework* (Greater London Authority, July 2010) p. 19

Fig. 6.12 Key points of the vista. Diagram from the *Revised Supplementary Planning Guidance: The London View Management Framework* (Greater London Authority, July 2010) p. 253

Fig. 6.13 Assessment equipment. Image from the *Revised Supplementary Planning Guidance: The London View Management Framework* (Greater London Authority, July 2010) p. 253

Fig. 6.14 The 'Shard,' London. Image by author.

Fig. 6.15 Broadgate Tower, London. Image from R. Moore, "A Towering Compromise," *Architects' Journal* (19 March, 2009) p. 29

Fig. 6.16 Broadgate Tower plans.

Images from R. Moore, “A Towering Compromise,” *Architects’ Journal* (19 March, 2009) p. 31

Fig. 6.17 One New Change, London.
Image from R. Olcayto, “French Etiquette,” *Architects’ Journal* (11 November, 2010) p. 22

Fig. 6.18 One New Change plan.
Image from R. Olcayto, “French Etiquette,” *Architects’ Journal* (11 November, 2010) p. 24

6.2 View Preservation Policies Worldwide

Fig. 6.19 Protected Vistas of London.
Drawing by author.

Fig. 6.20 ‘View cones’ of Vancouver.
Drawing by author.

Fig. 6.21 Dresden bridge proposal images.
Images from the *Visual Impact Study of the ‘Verkehrszug Waldschlosschenbrucke’ on the UNESCO World Heritage Site ‘Dresden Elbe Valley’* (Institute of Urban Design, RWTH Aachen University) pp. 104

Fig. 6.22 “Preserve World Cultural Heritage!”
Image from *Life Magazine.*

7.0 CONCLUSION

Fig. 7.0 Westover Plantation, Virginia.
Screen print by author.

Fig. 7.1 *The View that Named the City*, commemorative signboard, Libby Hill.
Image by author.

Fig. 7.2 Comparative views of Richmond, Virginia, and Richmond-upon-Thames.
Camden Whitehead. Images from *View: An Exhibition about Richmond Hill,* held at Waterstone’s, Piccadilly and the Orleans House Galley, Twickenham (2003).

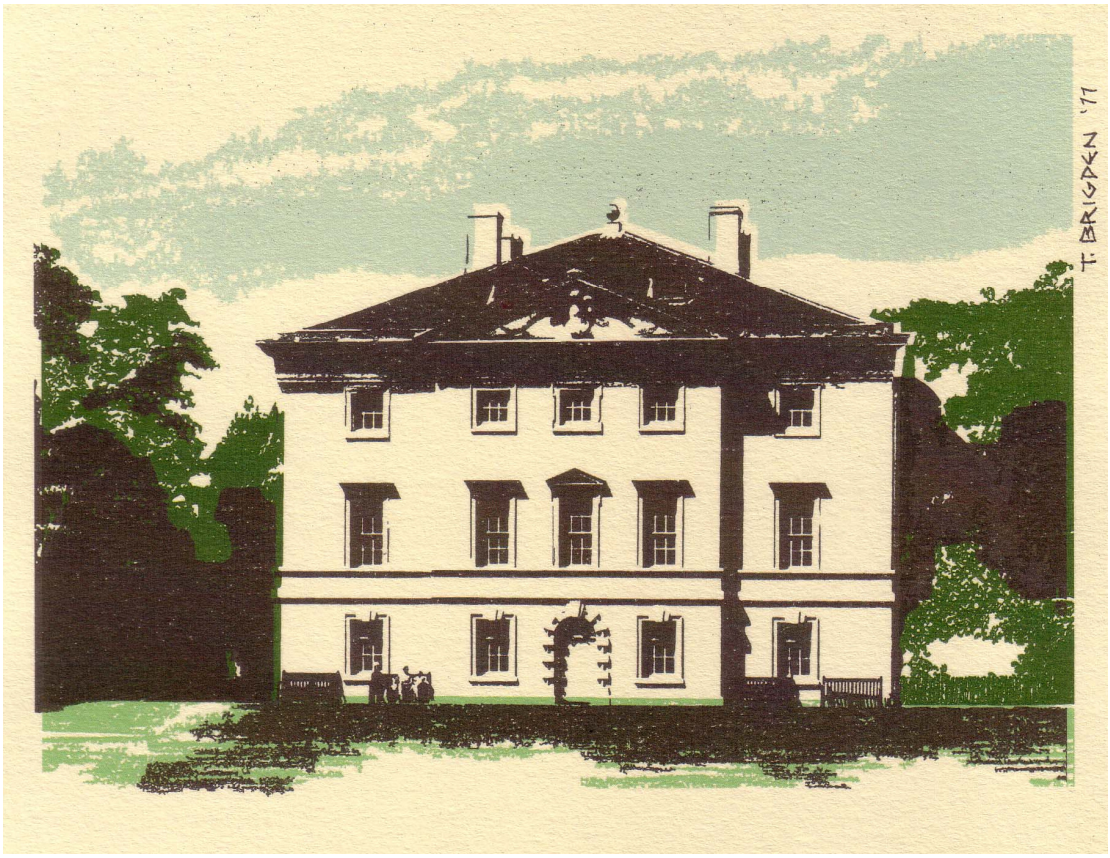
Fig. 7.3 Four paintings of the view from Libby Hill: *View from Richmond; View of James from the Hill; The View – Evening; Richmond from Libby Hill.*
E. Hatch (2011); L. Johnson (2011); S. Masters (2011); J. Burrough (2011).
Images from the catalogue to ‘Celebrating the View: The River View Event’ silent art auction, Richmond, Virginia, 2011.

Fig. 7.4 Photosynth model of Richmond Hill.
Model by author. http://photosynth.net/userprofilepage.aspx?user=tbrig&content=Synths

Fig. 7.5 Photosynth model of Richmond Hill.
Model by author. http://photosynth.net/userprofilepage.aspx?user=tbrig&content=Synths

Fig. 7.6 Photosynth model of Richmond Hill.
Model by author. http://photosynth.net/userprofilepage.aspx?user=tbrig&content=Synths

Fig. 7.7 Photosynth model of Richmond Hill.
Model by author. http://photosynth.net/userprofilepage.aspx?user=tbrig&content=Synths



Chapter 1.0
Introduction

This dissertation examines aspects of the intellectual and cultural history of the protected vista to show how it exerts power over urban form. The focus is the picturesque view from Richmond Hill, which was celebrated by leading artists and writers in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and is the earliest vista to have been afforded statutory protection as we now understand it.[1] It is argued here that the values informing global view protection policies remain, in no small part, the values of the eighteenth and nineteenth century English landscape movement as produced by, and which contributed to the production of, the view from Richmond Hill. It is important to understand the historical development of this specific vista in order to appreciate how protected view policies continue to overlay eighteenth century picturesque values onto contemporary world cities.

This dissertation will provide a detailed intellectual history of the values inherent in the view from Richmond Hill, understood as a model of the English picturesque landscape. It will follow its colonial export to the landscape of Richmond, Virginia, in the eighteenth century, and its subsequent influence over developing conceptions of American natural and urban landscapes. In doing so, it illustrates how the intellectual and cultural history of the view from Richmond Hill has shifted in parallel with increasingly kinetic and systematised understandings of the view, as seen from the camera's viewfinder, the train window, the car windscreen and on the cinema screen. Both Richmonds studied here are at once exceptional and typical: unusual examples which explicitly indicate the integration of English landscape values, and yet also representative of the protected vista's absorption of picturesque values more generally. This dissertation will argue that the values originating from London's first protected vista maintain their power in increasingly systematised contemporary policies of view protection.

1.1 Research Aims & Method:

The primary aim of this dissertation is to present evidence which shows that London's contemporary policies of view protection, and similar policies in diverse cities, can be positioned within a history of picturesque vision. Thus, the picturesque mode of vision, typically regarded as 'quaint', naïve and innocuous, is shown to play a very real and powerful role within policies which determine the urban and architectural form of

[1] Certainly, it was the first view to be afforded statutory protection for public benefit within the Anglo-American context, though private views protected by legal covenants may be traced to earlier periods.

the contemporary city. Influenced by the work of Christopher Hussey, Nikolaus Pevsner and John Macarthur among others – each of whom have observed elements of the picturesque preserved in the experience of modernity – this thesis develops the argument for the continuity of the picturesque mode of vision beyond the movement's assumed climax in eighteenth century landscape art and architecture.

The City of London is a powerful example, its skyline is determined by "protected vistas" – lines of sight from Primrose Hill, Hampstead Heath, Richmond Park and other famous prospects, as described by planning policy guidance, including the Mayor of London's *View Management Framework*. The City of London now recognises 26 protected vistas and 52 designated viewing points. London's sightlines determine the profile and location of many of the city's buildings, exerting power over the economic value of real estate and the sites of commerce. These vistas act to shape the city aesthetically, by preserving and enforcing particularly admired visual compositions, as well as historically and politically, by promoting certain landmarks and associated narratives. Where development has been perceived as 'damaging' to views deemed to be of cultural and/or historical value, controversy has followed. London has been a hotbed of such controversy, from UNESCO's threats to remove the Tower of London from its list of World Heritage Sites – a reaction to surrounding commercial developments – to criticism over the effect of Renzo Piano's 'Shard' upon views of St. Paul's Cathedral. In each case, development has been perceived to 'damage' vistas, visual environments or settings invested with values beyond the purely intrinsic.

The second aim of this dissertation is to unpick the intellectual construction of the protected vista – i.e. *what values* are associated with particular vistas, *by whom*, and *how* are they observed and interpreted? What does the act of view protection say about the society that enforces it, and how is this message disseminated? In short, I aim to illustrate how the protected vista is loaded with shifting historical and political narratives, which can be 'read' by the observer. These narratives will be explored here, first through an analysis of view protection policies worldwide, then via the close study of a single vista of London – the view from Richmond Hill – demonstrating, via the view's transposition onto the landscape of Richmond, Virginia, how the simple composition of a river's bend, glimpsed obliquely from a wooded hilltop, has come to symbolise a complex, apparently contradictory, and shifting series of historical and political narratives. By following the evolution of these narratives and the emergent

preservation movement, I will demonstrate that the very act of a vista's protection serves to reinforce particular dominant interpretations of cities and landscapes.

This dissertation relies on 'material culture,' drawing upon a wide variety of sources, from fine art and literature to popular media such as postcards, posters, advertisements, novels and newspaper articles. This range of sources demonstrates the widespread and ongoing reproduction of picturesque images of Richmond Hill, and illustrates the addressing of this imagery to multiple and diverse audiences. The intellectual histories of each Richmond given here are necessarily detailed and occasionally repetitive, as it is only through tracing the recurring details of imagery and language that the recycling, absorption and development of specific values may be highlighted. From its development in the mid-eighteenth century, the image of Richmond has been transposed through shifting media technologies, whilst its continued reproduction has rendered it familiar; capable even of self-perpetuation without acknowledgment of its presence or influence. Thus, images of Richmond Hill cease to function simply as pictorial representations of a physical location but, via our saturation in a 'mediascape' composed of thousands of images, have become symbols of a landscape paradigm, a model that may be translated from any one landscape or location to any other.

This dissertation expands the history of the view from Richmond Hill and links it, for the first time, to its reproduction in Richmond, Virginia, and the parallel story of that view. It is the first attempt to connect this history with the intellectual history of the picturesque landscape, and the so-called 'English Landscape movement'. It is also the first substantial account of how contemporary view protection policies remain saturated with the values of the picturesque.

In situating the protected vista within an intellectual history of the picturesque visual convention this dissertation develops both John Macarthur's *The Picturesque: Architecture, Disgust and Other Irregularities* and Robert Tavernor's writings on the protected vista, in which Tavernor links contemporary policy to the aesthetic perception of, among others, Viennese urban planner Camillo Sitte.[2] Further works that seek to understand the power of the vista tend to come from the academic fields of cultural studies and sociology rather than architecture or planning. They include, notably, David Matless's *Landscape and Englishness* (1998), W. J. T. Mitchell's *What do Pictures*

[2] Including R. Tavernor, "From Townscape to Skyscape," *Architectural Review* (1 March, 2004); R. Tavernor, G. Gassner, "Visual consequences of the plan: managing London's changing skyline." *City, culture and society*, 1 (2) (2010). pp. 99-108.

Want? (2005) and John Urry's *The Tourist Gaze* (2002). In terms of the power of visual conventions in landscape architecture, Christopher Hussey's *The Picturesque: Studies in a Point of View* (1927) stands out, but this dissertation goes beyond this by discussing the vista's power over urban form. Gordon Cullen's *Townscape* (1961) and Kevin Lynch's *Image of the City* (1960), while still standard texts regarding the aesthetic perception and visualisation of urban form, pre-date much contemporary protected vista policy. It is my belief that the apparent lack of recent scholarship tackling the protected vista and its theoretical understanding has led to widespread confusion about *which* views of cities, landscapes and historic sites should be protected, *why* they are protected, what vistas *mean* to society, *how* they are viewed or read, and by which conventions they should be assessed or monitored.[3]

To summarise, this dissertation will argue that the origins of view protection lie in the emergence of picturesque visual conventions. At Richmond-upon-Thames, the coincidence of these ideas may be seen as both temporal, developing from the early eighteenth-century onwards, and geographical: the Richmond landscape served as both model and test-bed for a fledgling Picturesque Movement and fittingly became home to Britain's first statutorily protected vista. The campaign to protect this view, deemed to be a component of Britain's shared national and cultural heritage, may also be viewed in relation to this particular landscape's role in the development of a national trope: the idea of the 'English Landscape.'

If views of Richmond have, since at least the early eighteenth-century, been increasingly layered with such cultural meanings (including, but not limited to concepts of the *gaze,* the *picturesque, nostalgia, authenticity* and *identity* explored later in this introduction), their subsequent protection may be interpreted as the reinforcement of embedded narratives. Thus, despite common perceptions of the picturesque as "a synonym for aesthetic failure, trivial cultural products and naïve tastes",[4] one could argue that contemporary view protection policy continues to be informed by the picturesque, inscribing visual traditions, and their associated discourses, into the urban and architectural form of contemporary cities.

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[3] This is particularly marked in my practical experience, having worked on a number of Views Assessments in architectural practice, where, despite guidance documents produced by English Heritage and other bodies, considerable debate surrounds the selection of views for analysis – *which* views, *how many*, and crucially, *why*? In some cases, lack of clarity in the selection process, accompanied by disagreement between planning officers and developers, has resulted in unwieldy assessments (60+ viewpoints) for single proposals of limited or negligible impact.

[4] J. Macarthur, *The Picturesque: Architecture, Disgust and Other Irregularities* (Routledge, 2007) p.1

1.2 Outline of Structure:

Following this introduction Chapter Two's literature review develops five themes, the *gaze,* the *picturesque, nostalgia, authenticity* and *identity,* which inform subsequent discussions on the intellectual and cultural history of the protected views to follow. Chapter Two therefore situates this dissertation within a complex body of existing literature on the visual sense, the idea of the view and associated concepts.

Chapters Three and Four are arranged as a tour through the picturesque landscapes of the Thames, and of colonial Virginia. This tour observes the development of visual technologies from the camera to cinematography, alongside advances in transport and infrastructure. Together, these developments allowed for new visual experiences, along with the ability to capture and distribute images. As such, conceptually speaking the structure of the dissertation traces an acceleration of both image and viewer.

The focus of Chapter Three will be the story of London's first protected vista, the view from Richmond Hill. Intriguingly, this view, preserved by the 1902 *Richmond, Petersham and Ham Open Spaces Act* forms one half of the panoramic view observed from the so-called 'King Henry's Mound' in Richmond Park, while, turning through one-hundred and eighty degrees, the observer surveys a key vista protected by the contemporary *London View Management Framework*. The apparent opposition of these views, one rural, one urban; one expansive, one narrow; one seemingly defined by the physical boundaries of the landscape, one by a series of ephemeral sightlines, is undermined by the coincidence of their viewing positions and the values they promote. In fact, this coincidence of position (both geographical and ideological) offers a tantalising link between the two, superficially opposing, systems of protection. Thus, the structure of this dissertation is designed to demonstrate common linkages between the *London View Management Framework* and the Richmond Hill view. These linkages are recognised as elements of the five themes previously identified: an understanding of the *gaze,* the *picturesque, nostalgia*, *authenticity*, and *identity*. An understanding of the 'Indignation' campaigns which brought about the 1902 Act, and more importantly, the cultural and political discourses surrounding such movements, will underpin an understanding of the values and narratives attached to London's contemporary *View Management Framework*.

The intellectual history of the Richmond Hill prospect developed throughout Chapter Three demonstrates how this particular view became invested with such

national, and international significance as to warrant its statutory protection. As we shall see, it was in this landscape that the influential pioneers of the Picturesque Movement, including Alexander Pope, Lord Burlington, Henrietta Howard and Queen Caroline, first set themselves up in opposition to the 'outmoded' formal styles of landscapes such as those at Hampton Court, Ham House and Petersham's New Park. It was also in this landscape that the picturesque received, arguably, its first physical manifestation in the gardens of Pope, as well as its first manifestation in literature, in the words and poetry of Pope, James Thompson, Jonathan Swift and John Gay among others, and in the art of Sir Joshua Reynolds, Jasper Francis Cropsey and Joseph Mallord William Turner. Finally, it was in this landscape that the Picturesque Movement reached its practical and theoretical apogee, in the landscape remodelling of Humphrey Repton and 'Capability' Brown; in the romantic architecture of Horace Walpole at Strawberry Hill and William Chambers at Kew Gardens; in the theoretical writing and satirical etchings of William Hogarth; and in the pattern books of Batty Langley and others. Thus, ideas first formed by the landscape, here began to re-form that very landscape.

Chapter Four develops the history of the Richmond Hill view by following eighteenth century etchings of the Richmond landscape across the Atlantic Ocean to the American colony of Virginia. The naming of Richmond, Virginia, on the basis that the town's view bore an uncanny resemblance to the famed view from Richmond Hill, England, is a remarkable demonstration of the hold that early mass-produced images, could have over the minds of settlers encountering landscapes for the first time. Richmond, Virginia's subsequent embellishment with public buildings, villas, gardens, parks and cemeteries has consistently reinforced a particular compositional form in the visual perception of the city. In particular, the view from Libby Hill Park, which bears such a striking resemblance to that from England's Richmond Hill, has played an important role in shaping perceptions of the city's political and cultural identity. It might even be suggested that Richmond's strong visual composition played a certain role in the cultivation of a Southern cultural identity, the 'Old South,' during its time as Capital of the seceded Confederate States.

In parallel to the exploration of the intellectual and cultural history of the Richmond Hill view this dissertation traces the increasing speed of travel, coupled with advances in visual technologies. Both Richmonds were experienced in new ways via improved river and rail travel, the camera lens and the automobile. With each technological advance picturesque vision was redefined and established visual

conventions reinforced. Taking physical form in the curious American invention of the Scenic Parkway, the kinetic visual experience of urban and natural landscapes quickly turned to the protection, then deliberate staging or 're-creation', of views. Chapter Five examines the National Park Service's Colonial Parkway, Virginia, a highway scheme designed to enable the motorist to drive through twenty-three miles of 'authentic' eighteenth-century landscapes. Contemporary developments in both Richmonds seem to have been influenced by this nostalgic and picturesque vision, including Quinlan Terry's speculative re-creation of Richmond-upon-Thames's riverfront, and to Richmond, Virginia's Disney-esque West Broad Village.

Returning to Richmond-upon-Thames and Richmond Hill's intriguing King Henry's Mound, Chapter Six concludes this dissertation with an attempt to close the apparent gulf between the 1902 Act's preservation of Richmond Hill's naturalistic river view and the *London View Management Framework's* city vista. The physical coincidence of these two viewpoints, I argue, shows the common intellectual origins of each policy and the values they promote. The complexities of contemporary policy and the scientific accuracy by which vistas are now defined will be explored in juxtaposition to the apparent values and narratives attached to vistas by their observers and societies more generally. Chapter Six will demonstrate that the protected vista cannot simply be understood as an object of aesthetic and/or amenity value, but is laced with a series of narratives to be 'read.' Just as the American parkway projects successfully united experimentation in highway engineering and technology with a nostalgic picturesque vision, so too the nostalgic picturesque is inevitably absorbed into contemporary policy, as views of our cities have become important factors in the touristic and economic potential of cities. It seems no wonder, then, that we seek to engineer 'historic' and 'scenic' views of cities, defining them with increasing technological precision. The view becomes a series of lines, angles and coordinates inscribed onto the city plan, as in the *London View Management Framework*. Intensified by the collective gaze of millions of citizens, tourists, their cameras, and the images they make, urban development pressures are forced into submission by the overwhelming power of the narratives inscribed in these lines, angles and coordinates.



Chapter 2.0
LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Literature Review

This literature review aims to locate this dissertation in relation to other bodies of work, and to identify a number of research themes which repeatedly coincide with understandings of the vista, the view, and vision more generally.

In his influential book *The Picturesque: Studies in a Point of View* (1927) Christopher Hussey gives an arresting and revelatory account of his 'discovery' of the picturesque taste at work in the gardens of his grandfather's country house at Scotney Castle, Kent. In many ways, this dissertation is intended to be equally revelatory, presenting the argument that the specific landscape vista from Richmond Hill came to influence conceptions as diverse as 'Englishness', 'authentic' society, noble rusticity and what it was, or is, to be English, American, southern 'cavalier' or northern 'yankee'. Hussey's argument is that the picturesque and its various conventions became so pervasive during the early nineteenth century, not limited to landscape gardening alone but ubiquitous in landscape art, architecture and literature, that its presence goes largely unnoticed by the contemporary observer trained in this form of visual perception. In a continuation of Hussey's thesis, this dissertation will set out to demonstrate that not only do picturesque conventions continue to operate in the language of contemporary planning policies, but that the Richmond Hill vista itself continues to have tremendous, and largely unrecognised, influence in shaping the visual form of cities and landscapes all over the world.

One could argue that Hussey's description of the picturesque's continued prevalence opened up the field for a number of scholars to follow with accounts of the convention's influence over contemporary architecture and urban planning. This is reflected in the writing of Nikolaus Pevsner, in particular *Townscape: Visual Planning and the Picturesque*, as well as his peers at the *Architectural Review* who wrote extensively on the potential for a return to picturesque principles of planning. To Pevsner and his colleagues picturesque visual planning offered a peculiarly 'English' twist on global modernist architecture. This would be extended by John Macarthur in his authoritative account of *The Picturesque: Architecture, Disgust and Other Irregularities* (2007), in which Macarthur demonstrates picturesque convention at work in even the most contradictory of examples, from eighteenth century depictions of extreme poverty to 1960s brutalist architecture. Similarly, this dissertation seeks to demonstrate that particular visual conventions popularly perceived as quaint or

innocuous continue to operate in the most contradictory of situations, influencing the form and composition of the city's centres of commerce and its glassy towers.

If, as described above, this dissertation can be located against a discourse of the picturesque as a continuing cultural phenomenon, it achieves this through a close comparison of images and texts, from eighteenth century landscape art through to twentieth century travel posters and postcards. In doing so, this dissertation sits alongside works such as Nancy Martha West's *Kodak and the Lens of Nostalgia* (2000), in which West traces the gradual shifts which have occurred in the presentation and perception of photographic images. In contrast, W.J.T. Mitchell suggests in *What Do Pictures Want?* (2007) that we should not only question what pictures do, or what they mean, but what they *want*. Mitchell's suggestion is that pictures in fact have lives of their own, living "in genealogical or genetic series, reproducing themselves over time, migrating from one culture to another,"[1] with the agency to both establish new and change existing societal values. In discussing the ways in which the Richmond Hill vista seemingly continues to demand its own reproduction, shaping society according to its own engrained values, this dissertation might therefore be said to share Mitchell's belief in the agency of the image itself.

As noted previously, a key aim of this dissertation is to demonstrate that picturesque values continue to overlay contemporary policies of view protection. In discussing contemporary planning policy, this dissertation should therefore also be viewed in relation to an emerging body of literature and policy documentation on the topic of view protection and the visual settings of historic monuments. In particular, English Heritage's *Guidance on Tall Buildings* (2007), *Seeing the History in the View* (2011) and *The Setting of Heritage Assets* (2011) should be viewed as evidence of a growing discourse to which this dissertation aims to contribute.

2.1 Five Themes: The Gaze, The Picturesque, Nostalgia, Authenticity, Identity

Having positioned this dissertation between the cultural histories of Hussey, Macarthur and West, the media theory of Mitchell and contemporary planning policy, five themes are introduced here which inform the intellectual basis of the protected vista as understood in this dissertation. These five themes repeatedly surface in the

[1] W.J.T. Mitchell, *What Do Pictures Want?* (University of Chicago Press, 2006) p. 93

aforementioned works, demonstrating common linkages between the works and important fascets of images, views and vision more generally. These are: an appreciation of *the gaze*, the vista as a manifestation of panoptic surveillance and power; the aesthetic conventions of the *picturesque*; a sense of *nostalgia* for some perceived 'golden age'; the view or image imagined as an expression of *identity*, regional, national or cultural; and the question of *authenticity,* which seems to arise wherever supposedly 'original' images are manipulated. These five themes are not exhaustive but they are mutually reinforcing. In charting these thematic understandings of the view this literature review also serves to establish a detailed glossary of terms which repeatedly surface in tracing the narratives underlying the view from Richmond Hill, and demonstrates that these narratives are subject to continuing debate and evolution.

The Gaze

In its most basic form, the vista functions primarily through the visual sense – the view perceived as an image on the retina – secondarily reproduced in various representations – pictures, prints and photographs. It is important to define the word 'image' in opposition to 'picture'; a subtle but important distinction which sheds light on the power relations between image and viewer manifest in the viewer's *gaze*. As W. J. T. Mitchell has written:

> "You can hang a picture, but you cannot hang an image. The image seems to float without any visible means of support, a phantasmatic, virtual, or spectral appearance. It is what can be lifted off the picture, transferred to another medium, translated into verbal exphrasis, or protected by copyright law. […] The picture is the image plus the support; it is the appearance of the immaterial image in a material medium."[2]

Mitchell's definition of the image as "phantasmatic, virtual, or spectral" dematerialises it, peeling it away from the physical, material, object of the picture. In *Camera Lucida,* Roland Barthes similarly characterises the production of an image via an object's emission of 'eidolons,' fragments which together form the 'Spectrum' of the image, projected into the eye.[3] In this way, the image appears as it does in the drawings of renaissance optical instruments, a ghostly spectre transferred into the eye via the forceful

[2] W. J. T. Mitchell, *What Do Pictures Want?* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005) p. 85
[3] R. Barthes, *Camera Lucida* (New York: Hill & Wang, The Noonday Press, 1980) p. 9

diverging lines of the viewer's 'gaze.' It follows that the idea of vision, deriving its power from the force of the preceding gaze, is located externally to the viewer, prompting the argument that vision is decentred from within the eye of the self to the space between object and eye – the 'space of the gaze.' As Norman Bryson has written "when I see, *what* I see is formed by paths and networks laid down in advance of my seeing. […] It may […] be that I always feel myself to live at the centre of my vision […]; but, that vision is decentred."[4]

Equally, there is an important distinction to be made between 'image' and 'representation' in relation to the function of the gaze. In a prize-winning dissertation by Eugene Fink (a student of philosopher Edmund Husserl) entitled *Representation and Image,* Fink clarifies 'representation' as "what comes at the place of the thing, in form of ideas, beliefs, fictions, etc."[5] On the other hand, an 'image' is the "reproduction of the thing in a mirror, in the eye of a viewer, on a screen, on a photographic film or digital chip. The image witnesses an immediate contact between the body and the world of things."[6] Thus, one could argue that the gaze, unpeeling as it does the image from the material object, is a bodily force located in the world of things, concerned with the image and not with the ideas, beliefs and fictions of representation.

The notion of the gaze has been a major preoccupation of twentieth century continental philosophy, where it has been addressed by Jean-Paul Sartre, Maurice Merleau-Ponty, Michel Foucault, Jacques Lacan and Roland Barthes among others. This preoccupation with the gaze reflects a more general priority afforded to the visual sense – described as the 'occularcentrism' of Western culture. Mitchell has connected the priority afforded to this one sense with the conflation of vision and cognition, noting that "Idea" derives from the Greek verb meaning "to see." Chris Jenks adds that, in consequence, "looking, seeing and knowing have become perilously intertwined."[7]

To Michel Foucault, the privileging of vision in Western thought is demonstrated by supposedly enlightened, detached scientific disciplines rooted in the

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[4] N. Bryson, "The Gaze in the Expanded Field" in H. Foster, ed., *Vision and Visuality* (DIA Art Foundation, 1988) p. 94
[5] M. F. Lanfant, "The Purloined Eye: Revisiting the Tourist Gaze from a Phenomenological Perspective," in M. Robinson, D. Picard, *The Framed World: Tourism, Tourists and Photography* (Ashgate Publishing Company, 2009) p. 244
[6] Ibid.
[7] L. Wittgenstein, *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus* (London: Routledge, 1961) p. 19 Quoted in C. Jenks, ed., *Visual Culture* (London: Routledge, 1995) p. 1

power of *le regard* (the gaze or the look). For example, his book *The Birth of the Clinic: An Archaeology of Medical Perception* (1963) follows the development of the doctor's medical gaze, the expert who observes the physical manifestations of disease from a detached position of power.[8] Foucault's use of the term *le regard* inherits powerful negative connotations in French thought from Jean-Paul Sartre's *Being and Nothingness* (1957). As Martin Jay points out, Sartre is not mentioned as a source in Foucault's work, though "it is difficult to avoid hearing echoes of [Sartre's] chilling description of the alienating and objectifying power of the Other's gaze in Foucault's historical account of the rise of the specific medical practice in the classical age."[9] To Foucault, the advent of the medical gaze represented "the belief [in][…] the gaze as a way of initiation to the truth of things. […] Above all efforts of clinical knowledge floats the big myth of the pure Gaze, pure Language, the eye that talks by itself."[10] Foucault terms this unshakable faith in the 'truth' of vision as the "sovereign power of the gaze," and he attributes to this event "the advent of scientific positivism."[11]

Following on from *Birth of the Clinic,* Foucault's *Discipline and Punish* (1975) implicates the gaze in the construction of power relationships between individuals or agents, most notably manifest in the panopticon prisons of the nineteenth century, though the principal of surveillance could be extended to factory and even school buildings. In the much cited example of the panopticon prison, Foucault famously writes that "visibility is a trap";[12] the prisoner "is seen, but he does not see; he is the subject of information, never a subject in communication."[13] To him, this goal of absolute visibility reversed the idea of the traditional prison or infirmary, which was to "deprive of light and to hide,"[14] capturing the prisoner, or the contagious, in the constant glowing gaze of the observer. This illustrates Foucault's understanding of the power of the gaze: whether the prisoner, factory worker, or schoolchild is actively watched or not, a sense of ever-present panoptic surveillance maintains control.[15]

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[8] M. Foucault, *The Birth of the Clinic: An Archaeology of Medical Perception* (London: Vintage, 1994)
[9] M. Jay, quoted in A. Barry, "Reporting and Visualising," in C. Jenks, ed., *Visual Culture* (London: Routledge, 1995) p. 181
[10] Foucault, *The Birth of the Clinic,* p. 109
[11] Ibid., p. 200
[12] M. Foucault, 'Panopticism' in *Rethinking Architecture: A Reader in Cultural Theory*, ed. by N. Leach (London: Routledge, 1997) p.361
[13] Ibid., p.362
[14] M. Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, (London: Penguin Group, 1977) p.200
[15] Or as Jeremy Bentham even argued, could be harnessed to increase the speed of a prisoner's reform, or the productivity of a factory worker.

The idea that the gaze might possess a socially controlling and/or constructive power elevates the viewer, as Jenks has written, "from the status of the messenger of nature into the status of the theoretician. In this way, sight becomes properly recognised as artful."[16] It is, of course, a recognition that vision, that the gaze, and the power relationship between self and other, object and subject, may be manipulated. To Foucault, the technological development of surveillance, via reforms in prison design, had enabled institutions to harness the power of the gaze, thus shifting the balance of the prisoner-guard relationship. Others, such as Marshall McLuhan, have built upon Foucault's discourse, suggesting that technological advances from the printing press to the telescope, photography and microscopy, have all played a part in the manipulation and shift of power relations and the reinforcement of Western occularcentrism from the Renaissance onwards.[17] The revolutionary nature of technological advances upon the function of the gaze is echoed by McLuhan's suggestion that the invention of photography mirrored the Gutenberg break between the Middle Ages and the Renaissance: "photography was almost as decisive in making the break between mere mechanical industrialism and the graphic age of electronic man."[18]

If Foucault's interest in the gaze lay in its institutional manipulation of power relationships, Jacques Lacan's interest lay in the personal and psychological effects of the gaze. To Lacan, infants first conceive of themselves as autonomous individuals through a coordination of their movements with their reflection in a mirror, well-known as Lacan's theory of the "mirror stage." As the child develops, so they begin to develop an understanding of the gaze of the Other, whether that 'other' is a person or even an inanimate object, thus recognising themselves as an object within a 'world of things.'[19] Unlike Foucault's prisoner, moulded by the supposed gaze of the prison guard, Lacan insisted that the gaze belongs not to the subject but to the object. In this respect, Lacan was influenced by his antecedents, writing of Maurice Merleau-Ponty that:

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[16] C. Jenks, ed., *Visual Culture* (London: Routledge, 1995) p. 10

[17] For example, philosopher Hannah Arendt has written, in *The Human Condition* (1958), that while we still gaze at the stars from earth, the invention of the telescope destroyed the certainty of the senses, which informed us that it is the sun that moves about the earth; thus, the telescope revealed a new heliocentric perspective, allowing us to observe "nature from a [privileged and powerful] point in the universe outside of the earth." H. Arendt, *The Human Condition* (1989) p. 262

[18] M. McLuhan, *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1994) p. 190

[19] Gender also has important implications for the construction and understanding of the gaze. See L. Mulvey, "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema", in L. Braudy, M. Cohen, eds., *Film Theory and Criticism : Introductory Readings* (New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999) pp. 833-44

> "Phenomenologists have managed to assert with most clarity that perception is not located in the self but that it is "upon" the objects it apprehends, in contrary to the conception of the naïve conscience assuming that representation belongs to the self of the observer. We are facing a philosopher [Merleau-Ponty] who seizes something that is one of the essential correlates of consciousness and its relation to the unconscious."[20]

Lacan identified Merleau-Ponty's belief in a gaze belonging to the object apprehended. For example, to Lacan, a portrait possesses its gaze *before* we look at it and, as a result, it is our own sense of lacking which may explain the apparent process of 'desire' involved in observing objects. It is this sense of desire which powers Lacan's 'scopic drive,' a force which might be represented by a projected geometry of sightlines, which themselves "allow the reestablishment of the presence of the percipient himself within the field in which he, seemingly unnoticed, is nevertheless perceptible."[21]

Lacan's work on the gaze has been reinterpreted in film theory from the 1960s to the present day, where Lacanian psychoanalysis has become a tool to understand the appeal of, and processes of desire involved in cinema. Film-theorists Christian Metz and Jean-Louis Baudry, among others, have applied Lacan's theory of the "mirror stage" to cinema, interpreting the screen as the mirror in which the observer identifies him/herself as an autonomous being, i.e. recognising the self's 'ego.'[22] A sense of omnipotent power is achieved chiefly as a result of the observer's identification of the self with the viewpoint of the camera, where the camera is ever-present yet seemingly unacknowledged by those on screen. Thus, the observer, seated passively and 'hidden' from view in a darkened auditorium, possesses Foucault's all-seeing and all-powerful 'sovereign gaze'.[23] To this end, a chief tenet of Western cinematography has been the attempt to render the camera invisible, as Louis Althusser has discussed, in an attempt

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[20] J. Lacan, *Les quatre concepts de la psychanalyse* (1973) p. 68

[21] J. Lacan, quoted in M. F. Lanfant, "The Purloined Eye: Revisiting the Tourist Gaze from a Phenomenological Perspective," in M. Robinson, D. Picard, *The Framed World: Tourism, Tourists and Photography* (Ashgate Publishing Company, 2009) p. 251

[22] C. Metz, *The Imaginary Signifier: Psychoanalysis and the Cinema* (London: John Wiley & Sons, 1986)

[23] This is highlighted by cinema's failure where the camera ceases to be invisible or omnipotent. In this case, the observer no longer identifies with the camera but sees it as an object of production. Thus, the film ceases to be perceived as a witnessed series of 'real events', but as an object of artifice to be looked *at*. J. Baudry, "The Ideological Effects of the Basic Cinematographic Apparatus," in *Film Quarterly,* vol. 28, no. 2 (Winter 1974-5), pp. 39-47

to deceive the viewer into regarding themselves, mistakenly, as the creative agents behind their experiences.[24]

This deception, that the viewer possesses *agency,* may also be observed in Guy Debord's bemoaning of what he calls the *Society of the Spectacle* (1967). Debord argues that "all that once was directly lived has become mere representation"[25] and that current society reflects a "decline of being into having, and having into merely appearing."[26] In this spectacular society then, Debord argued that images have come to mediate in social relationships, most obviously manifest in consumer culture's fetishistic obsession with visual advertising. To Debord, it is Walter Benjamin's flâneur, whimsically strolling through a landscape of images, whom is most easily swayed by the 'spectacle' – one might even say the manipulating *gaze* - of society and its structures, contrary to any notion of one's individual agency. Jenks has echoed Debord's criticisms, arguing:

> "What we see, and the manner in which we come to see it, is not simply part of a natural ability. It is rather intimately linked with the ways that our society has, over time, arranged its forms of knowledge, its strategies of power and its systems of desire. We can no longer be assured that what we see is what we should believe in. There is only a social not a formal relation between vision and truth."[27]

Where, as Foucault suggested, the visual sense had been conflated with 'truth' in the development of the medical gaze, it is within these bodies of criticism, as Nancy Martha West has noted, that advertising has been repeatedly presented "as corrupt and all-powerful, the consumer as passive and hapless, consumer culture as wasteful and doomed."[28]

Following Martin Jay in his tracking of the denigration of the visual sense from Sartre to the film theorists,[29] vision, and the notion of the gaze in particular, continue to be interpreted widely. Where Foucault recognised power relationships in the gaze, and Lacan its psychoanalytical development, others have traced diverse discourses. A number of critics, from the 1960s onwards, have shared McLuhan's conviction that

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[24] J. Heartfield, *The 'Death of the Subject' Explained* (Perpetuity Press, 2002)
[25] G. Debord, *The Society of the Spectacle* (London: Zone Books, 1994)
[26] Ibid.
[27] Jenks, *Visual Culture,* p. i
[28] N. M. West, *Kodak and the Lens of Nostalgia* (Charlottesville & London: University Press of Virginia, 2000) p. xiii
[29] See M. Jay, *Downcast Eyes: The Denigration of Vision in Twentieth-Century French Thought* (University of California Press, 1994)

technological shifts in the function of the gaze play a part in the reinvention of visual culture.[30]

In *America* (1986), Baudrillard states that the United States "is the only country which gives you the opportunity to be so brutally naïve;" a land of the "just as it is," with "no past" which "lives a perpetual present,"[31] and where "things, faces, skies, and deserts are expected to be simply what they are."[32] Thus, Baudrillard sees America as an assemblage of autonomous images "which dominate the gaze, and which reduce visual experience to the uniform perception of 'pure appearances.'"[33] Similarly, Virilio argues that the acceleration of cinematic images undermined spatial orientation, "reordering visual experience around a temporally derived coherence inimical to the body's inhabitation of space."[34] While there are many differing critiques of vision, most share an underlying scepticism of the visual sense in relation to contemporary culture, regarded by critics as "irretrievably inert, disorientating or worthless."[35] If Baudrillard saw a schism between the detached utilitarian gaze (the basis of American naivity) and a former aesthetic mode, Jameson has argued that aesthetic perception could "no longer offer an alternative to the routinized perception of utilitarian vision because it has itself become routine."[36] To Jameson, our continual exposure to "simulacra" of the past, by which he means everything from historical reconstructions to the mass-production of images, mechanises the gaze: "we are condemned to seek History by way of our pop images and simulacra of that history, which itself remains forever out of reach."[37] Thus, "in being generalized in consumer society, the utopian potential of aesthetic perception is withdrawn and replaced by the "reified eye" of the consumer."[38]

One might draw a link between Jameson's conception of the 'consumer gaze' and John Urry's interpretation of the tourist industry as emblematic of Debord's society of the spectacle. Urry states:

> "the profusion of commodity signs, adverts, images of 'exotic otherness', filmic and televisual imagery, flow[ing] across space,

[30]G. McPhee, *The Architecture of the Visible* (London & New York: Continuum, 2002) p. 13
[31] J. Baudrillard, *America* (London: Verso, 1988) p. 76
[32] Ibid., p. 12
[33] McPhee, *The Architecture of the Visible,* p. 104
[34] Ibid.
[35] McPhee, *The Architecture of the Visible*, p. 8
[36] F. Jameson, *Postmodernism, or The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (London: Verso, 1992) p. 9
[37] Ibid., p. 25
[38] Ibid., p. 9

> detach any sense of meaning and belonging to place, flattening localities in an homogenising process which turns all situated cultures into spectacles and simulacra."[39]

Here, Urry highlights the tourist's susceptibility to the influence of the 'spectacle', stating that "a prevalent mode of tourist gazing is the 'mediatised gaze', shaped by rebranded places and re-presentations of heritage which draw upon films and television programmes."[40] To Urry, the tourist's experience of cities is always mediated in this way, whether the gaze is directed through a hotel window, car windscreen, or television set."[41] Urry's arguments can be linked back to Lacanian film theory. For example, R. Jackson writes:

> "Both tourists and film spectators/television viewers gaze. Tourists gaze at material reality, which in contemporary society is fundamentally influenced by mediated, virtual, metaphoric reality. Film spectators/TV viewers gaze at mediated, virtual, metaphoric reality, based on contemporary understandings of material reality."[42]

Similarly, one might also argue that Urry's tourist gaze is necessarily intertwined with Foucauldian notions of surveillance and power: the tourist perceives all that he/she sees as exotic, 'Other', consuming or possessing all that is gazed upon from a detached position of power.[43]

The implication that the gaze is bound up in a process of possession and/or colonisation, separating the self from the 'other,' has been explored by Paul Virilio in *The Vision Machine* (1988). Virilio proposes that "TV, film, video, photography and advertising provide our most immediate access to the 'other' through frozen, stored, contrived and re-presented images."[44] It is this system of generally accessible public imagery - referred to as 'the vision machine' - which is implicated in the moulding of our perceptions of the 'other.'[45] By extension, Virilio even suggests that the gaze plays a part in the process of war, in *War and Cinema* (1984), arguing not simply that the gaze

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[39] J. Urry, *The Tourist Gaze* (London: Sage Publications, 2002) p. 151
[40] Ibid.
[41] Ibid., p. 90-1
[42] R. Jackson, "Converging Cultures: Converging Gazes," in D. Crouch, R. Jackson, F. Thompson, eds., *The Media & The Tourist Imagination* (London: Routledge, 2005) p. 190
[43] Reflected in the adoption of a colonialist style of writing in much tourist literature.
[44] C. Jenks, "The Centrality of the Eye in Western Culture: An Introduction," in M. Robinson, D. Picard, *The Framed World: Tourism, Tourists and Photography* (Ashgate Publishing Company, 2009) p. 10
[45] This is echoed in McLuhan's description of the 'Graphic Revolution,' which he interprets as having "shifted our culture away from private ideals to corporate images. […] Instead of presenting a private argument or vista, it offers a way of life that is for everybody or nobody." McLuhan, *Understanding Media,* p. 230

contributes to the potentially hostile organisation of self and 'other,' but that the advanced visual technology of war upsets the "the stable co-ordinates of vision which the modern subject had inherited."[46] Faced with the terrifying and unfamiliar visuality of war, "the isolated subject feverishly presses its eye to the instrument's eyepiece, hoping that its "delocalizing geometrical optics" will bring the visual flux to order,"[47] thus, adopting a new "faith in the technical sightline."[48] For Virilio, the culture of accelerating mediatised imagery is produced by, and helps to produce, mechanised warfare.

As we shall see in a later chapter, contemporary view protection policies, including the *London View Management Framework*, seem to demonstrate an increasing degree of scientific precision which might be claimed to reflect such ideas about the detached, othering, technical sightline of the vista. The varied interpretations of the gaze explored here aid in the interpretation of the space between view and observer[49] and suggest that the protected vista exerts power over that observed.

The Picturesque

The prevailing contemporary interpretation of the picturesque as 'quaint' or 'naïve', in a derogatory sense, underestimates the seriousness with which the theoretical concept was debated and developed from the eighteenth century onwards. This section will survey briefly the concept's theoretical development and its subsequent uptake in art, architecture, urbanism, literature and other media well into the twenty-first century.

During the first half of the eighteenth century, a dramatic shift occurred in English landscape architecture, from the rigid and formal layouts of the proceeding centuries to a more naturalistic style. While some writers have argued against over-

[46] McPhee, *The Architecture of the Visible,* p. 97
[47] P. Virilio, *The Vision Machine* (Indiana University Press, 1988) p. 12
[48] Ibid., p. 13 As Gina McPhee has argued, the subject therefore invests faith in the very same technology which produces the sense of disorientation, mirroring Foucault's description of faith in the 'truth' of the 'sovereign gaze.' McPhee, *The Architecture of the Visible,* p. 97
[49] This repeated interest in the idea of the gaze reflects both the importance placed on the visual sense in Western thought and the fluidity of the perception of vision. Hal Foster writes that "Such questioning is not intended to correct modern analyses of vision but precisely to keep them critical – to *not* turn partial tendencies into whole traditions, plural differences into a few static oppositions […] so that different visualities might be kept in play, and difference in vision might remain at work." H. Foster, ed., *Vision and Visuality* (DIA Art Foundation, 1988) p. xiv

identification with England, citing French, German and Chinese influences,[50] the fashionable new irregularity of English landscape architecture came to be associated with British political liberalism in contrast to continental politics.[51] At the same time, theorists were beginning to unpick the philosophical understanding of vision, leading to the development of the study of 'aesthetics,' a term first coined by German philosopher Alexander Baumgarten to mean "received by the senses."[52] By the end of the century, the distinction of aesthetics had been extensively developed, principally in the philosophy of Immanuel Kant who reflected on aesthetic beauty as a matter of 'taste'.

Of course, Kant's idea that beauty is a matter of taste locates perception in the subjective mind of the viewer, as each individual's sensory perception must inevitably differ. Kant wrote that "the various feelings of enjoyment or of displeasure rest not so much upon the nature of the external things that arouse them as upon each person's own disposition to be moved by these to pleasure or pain."[53] Kant identified the contrasting tastes for the 'beautiful' and the 'sublime' in his treatise titled *Observations on the Feeling of the Beautiful and Sublime* (1764). Kant's argument may be seen as marking a move away from an understanding of the arts as disciplines towards the work of art as an effect upon the senses of the individual. To John Macarthur, this shift is reflected in the suggestion that English gardens of the early eighteenth century were increasingly reliant upon the visual effects of natural features upon the viewer, rather than upon formal elements of artifice (statuary and architectural features).[54]

Informal naturalistic gardens were developed from the early eighteenth century, initially as contrasting elements within larger scale formal plans – such as the work of Charles Bridgman at Stowe (1713-) and William Kent at Chiswick House (1715-). By the 1730s, this naturalistic style of landscaping – dubbed 'picturesque' – had become

[50] For examples, including Sir William Temple's frequently cited description of naturalistic Chinese 'Sharawadgi' landscaping see J. Dixon Hunt, *The Picturesque Garden in Europe* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2002)
[51] J. Macarthur, *The Picturesque: Architecture, Disgust and Other Irregularities* (London: Routledge, 2007) p. 3
[52] Theories of beauty prior to this, such as that of Roman architect Vitruvius mediated via Renaissance polymath Leon Battista Alberti, had been concerned with "the harmony of all parts in relation to one another," achieved through the arrangement and proportions of geometrical forms. With the arrival of Baumgarten's term 'aesthetics', a distinction arose of an aesthetic sense separate from those of mathematical reason, political order or morality. Macarthur, *The Picturesque,* p. 3
[53] I. Kant, *Observations on the Feeling of the Beautiful and Sublime* (University of California Press, 1961) p. 45
[54] Macarthur, *The Picturesque,* p. 3

the paradigm of English design expertise, exported to aristocratic estates all over Europe and beyond.

The term 'picturesque' has been traced to the Italian *pittoresco* or the French *pittoresque,* roughly translated as "painterly" or "in the manner of painters."[55] From its earliest usage in English, the term has been inseparably linked not only to the practice of painting but to the specific genre of 'landscape.' In fact, the Oxford English Dictionary defines 'landscape' either as "a pictorial representation of scenery," or as "an expanse of terrain which is visible from a particular place or direction."[56] Links between an aesthetic appreciation of the picturesque and the idea of landscape were reinforced by figures such as William Gilpin, a clergyman who undertook tours of celebrated English landscapes from 1768 to 1776, recording his observations in guides which taught the reader not only how to tour landscapes, but how properly to view and paint them too. Gilpin popularised the modern sense of the word 'picturesque,' defining it as "denot[ing] *such objects, as are proper subjects for painting*."[57] Gilpin's observations were widely read and disseminated, while a close friend of his, the poet William Mason, "was probably the first to connect the words 'picturesque' and 'garden' in *The English Garden* of 1772."[58]

Mason's use of the words 'picturesque garden' point to the fundamental issue of 'naturalistic' gardening, where nature and human artifice are regarded as mutually exclusive. The picturesque on the other hand, came to mean a simulation of nature through artifice, what Macarthur has called a term "of delay and compromise."[59] It could be argued that this compromise between the two poles of aesthetics and art is epitomised by the contemporary writings of Edmund Burke and Sir Joshua Reynolds (founder of the Royal Academy of Art). Burke's argument, set out in *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origins of Our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful* (1756), was that our neurological reactions may be explained by our visual perception of specific physical characteristics. To Burke, the sight of smooth and rounded objects causes our sensation of beauty, leading to love, while our perception of rough, angular and vast

[55] Ibid., p. 4
[56] R. Burden, S. Kohl, eds., *Landscape and Englishness* (Amsterdam, New York: Rodopi, 2006) p. 90
[57] W. Gilpin in D. Marshall, *The Frame of Art: Fictions of Aesthetic Experience 1750-1815* (Baltimore, MA: JHU Press, 2005) p. 18
[58] Macarthur, *The Picturesque,* p. 4
[59] Macarthur, *The Picturesque*, p. 5

objects excites the senses to that of sublime awe and/or fear.[60] If Burke argued for a subjective experience of art accessible to all, Reynolds on the other hand defended the opinions of his fellow academicians where specific 'genres,' or conventions, of paintings could be taught to a privileged few.

Satirical cartoonist William Hogarth took up Burke's conception, suggesting, in his *Analysis of Beauty* (1753), that a serpentine 'line of beauty' underlay many works of art considered to be beautiful.[61] In parallel, the early landscape works of William Kent, Alexander Pope and Lord Burlington preferred the serpentine lines of paths, streams and hillocks as a contrast to the classical symmetry of fashionable Anglo-Palladian country house architecture.[62] Thus, the picturesque garden immediately relayed to the viewer "the paired and parallel orders of nature and culture"[63] while acting as a suitable foil to the classical villa or folly, in the manner of continental artists of the previous century such as Claude Lorrain and Nicolas Poussin.

Though largely understood as a style of landscape gardening, the picturesque might also be called a 'mode of vision'[64] or, as Denis Cosgrove has suggested, "an encoded way of seeing".[65] This is most obviously manifest in its contemporary impact upon literature, particularly in the works of the pastoral poets such as James Thompson and John Dyer, who absorbed the model and aims of the artistic discipline of painting in their attempts to evoke in language their experiences of landscape.[66] Of course, this literature has roots in the classical pastoral: Theocritus's *Idylls* and Virgil's *Eclogues.* As Michael Bunce has written "the classical pastoral transcended actual landscapes […] combining a magical view of nature with a bucolic fantasy of rural life, [c]entral to this myth is the idea of a Golden Age both as present and future Arcadia."[67] Poetry played a key role in the popularisation of the picturesque arts at this time; early tourists were drawn to the landscapes described by Thompson and Pope while others sought out rural

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[60] E. Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origins of Our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful* (1756)
[61] W. Hogarth, *The Analysis of Beauty: Written With a View of Fixing the Fluctuating Ideas of Taste* (W. Strahan, 1772)
[62] As at Kent's Rousham, Oxfordshire; Pope's Villa, Twickenham; and Burlington's Chiswick House.
[63] Macarthur, *The Picturesque,* p. 6
[64] See W. Gilpin, *Observations relative chiefly to picturesque beauty, made in the year 1776: on several parts of Great Britain; particularly the High-lands of Scotland* (1776) p. 91
[65] D. Cosgrove in Burden, Kohl, eds., *Landscape and Englishness,* p. 23
[66] See in particular James Thompson's *The Seasons* (1793) and John Dyer's *The Fleece* (1757).
[67] For example, this perception permeates the poetry of Spenser, Sidney, Marlowe, Shakespeare's plays and Milton's *Paradise Lost* among others. M. Bunce, *The Countryside Ideal: Anglo-American Images of Landscape* (London & New York: Routledge, 1994) p. 39

communities, convinced of their rapid decline because of works such as Oliver Goldsmith's *Deserted Village* (1770). Attached to this picturesque literature was a great deal of nostalgic and political sentiment – picturesque English landscapes could at once be seen as an embodiment of Britain as the heir to classical tradition, as a symbol of stable British liberalism in contrast to the political fundamentalism of revolutionary Europe, or as a superficial masking of the nation's industrialisation, imagined as rapidly departing from an idealised, moral, agrarian society.

During the last decade of the eighteenth century, the picturesque became a topic of considerable debate amongst architectural, landscape and art practitioners and/or theorists. In particular, gentleman 'improvers' such as Sir Uvedale Price (1747-1829) and Richard Payne Knight (1751-1824) were outspoken in their derision of Lancelot 'Capability' Brown's work, which they saw as formulaic and banal, in preference for a wilder and more irregular picturesque in the manner of Gilpin. On the other hand, landscape architect Sir Humphrey Repton (1752-1818) saw himself as Brown's successor and was attacked as such in Knight's *The Landscape: A Didactic Poem* (1794). During 1795, both sides published a number of retorts, including Repton's *Letter to Uvedale Price* (1795), *Sketches and Hints on Landscape Gardening* (1795), and Knight's re-publication of *The Landscape.* By 1810, Knight had developed his argument against the works of Brown and Repton via a philosophical understanding of aesthetics in *An Analytical Inquiry into the Principles of Taste* (1805), while Price had redefined himself in agreement with Repton in his *Essays on the Picturesque* (1810).

Of the three principal protagonists in this debate, Macarthur considers Knight to have developed the deepest philosophical understanding of the picturesque, based upon Burke's connection between aesthetics and the senses. To Knight, a work of art was most pleasing when it drew out prior associations in the mind's eye of the observer. Thus, the art connoisseur achieved greater pleasure in the viewing of works as a result of the breadth and depth of the cultural associations available to them.[68] Though Knight's conception of the picturesque was deeply philosophical, Price's more practical guidance on landscape design was arguably more influential and widely read. At the core of Price's thought was an interest in the idea of the primitive – from the peasant farmer to the ramshackle hovel. To describe this, Price wrote about 'disgust' as "proof of disinterestedness"; i.e. the admiration of a painting of a butcher's shop demonstrates

[68] Macarthur, *The Picturesque,* p. 11

that art perception is above and beyond any perception of the objects represented.[69] Though Repton's writing is perhaps the least theoretical or coherent, he was highly influential and socially active, acting as consultant to both landed gentry and suburban gentlemen. Repton's principal asset to this end was his skill and fluency in the production of watercolour sketches which, with the aid of a theatrical paper 'flap', could demonstrate 'before-and-after' images of proposed scenic 'improvements.'[70]

While Repton has been criticised for the lack of theoretical coherence in his published works,[71] his practical commissions reveal much of importance to the development of the picturesque. Not least, Repton argued for a return to elements of formal landscape, pointing out the impracticalities of Brownian landscapes which marooned country houses in an ocean of lawn. The reintroduction of formal elements would form both a contrasting foreground and frame to the picturesque landscape beyond, while also allowing for the practical additions of kitchen gardens, greenhouses, driveways and attendant buildings. As such, Repton may be credited for his part in the development of a truly picturesque architecture, via his collaborations with James Wyatt, Jeffry Wyattville and John Nash, in which the asymmetrically-planned country house was developed in response to views from the house, as well as its practical and functional requirements.[72]

Throughout the nineteenth century, elements of picturesque theory may be detected as a theme underlying many attempts at the revival of historical architectural forms. For example, one may easily draw parallels between the irregularity advocated by Knight and the asymmetry of neo-gothic, baronial or Tudor and Queen Anne styles, developed in response to a diversity of new building scales and types. Meanwhile, John Claudius Loudon had begun publishing widely for a middle class audience, including the *Gardener's Magazine* and the *Architectural Magazine,* publications which achieved

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[69] Ibid.

[70] These were bound in red Moroccan leather, leading to their popular name of the 'Red Books.' Such was Repton's fashionable image, that he was frequently commissioned by those merely interested in obtaining such a Red Book as an object of status.

[71] W. Hipple, *The Beautiful, the Sublime and the Picturesque in Eighteenth-Century British Aesthetic Theory* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1957) p. 224

[72] Repton's other important contribution was his use of the term 'character' in reference to architectural styles. To Repton, Palladian villas in extensive parks possessed the characteristics of the *nouveau riche* while gothic or Tudor styles could be utilised to connote an understanding of ancient wealth. This idea was quickly absorbed by the publishers of architectural pattern books, whom mined the history of architecture for models of 'characterful' country cottages and farm buildings, producing around one hundred pattern books between 1775 and 1840. Macarthur, *The Picturesque,* p. 13

considerable success as far afield as America and the colonies. Loudon argued for a replacement of the picturesque with the 'gardenesque,' represented by a deeper understanding of the science of plants and horticulture. Connected to this interest in agriculture and self-sufficiency, Loudon published an *Encyclopaedia of Cottage Architecture* (1831), which served as a popular pattern book throughout many distant corners of the British Empire. Loudon's 'gardenesque' attracted many influential supporters, particularly in America, where it was taken up by, among others, Andrew Jackson Downing, whose *Cottage Residences* (1842) owes much to Loudon's *Encyclopaedia*. Downing's cottage designs immediately followed from his influential *Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening Adapted to North America* (1841), the first treatise on landscape to be written in America. The appreciation of the picturesque qualities of American landscapes had, however, already been established via William Cullen Bryant's wordsworthian poetry, the romantic tales of James Fenimore Cooper and the paintings of the Hudson River School, including works by Thomas Cole, Jasper Francis Cropsey and Asher Durand among others.[73]

In Britain, art critic John Ruskin wrote widely on the subject of the picturesque cottage, contributing to Loudon's *Architectural Magazine* from 1835. Our understanding of Ruskin's relationship to the picturesque may also be usefully informed by his *Stones of Venice* (1851), particularly his description of the 'changefulness' of Gothic architecture. To Ruskin, the aesthetic appeal of Venice lay in the way in which Gothic buildings had been successively adapted as a reflection of ever-changing social and economic conditions. To this end, Ruskin proposed that architects seek the input of a diverse variety of craftsmen and building users both during and after construction. This conception would merge with the writings of William Morris in the Arts and Crafts Movement, in association with a new importance placed on social inclusion and the search for regionally characteristic forms of architecture.[74] To Morris's followers, the firm belief in the skilled craftsman's artistic autonomy, and in "the isolated individual poet and the divinations of a refined poetic sensibility,"[75] would come to symbolise a peculiar form of English socialism.[76]

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[73] Bunce, *The Countryside Ideal,* p. 27
[74] Macarthur, *The Picturesque: Architecture,* p. 11
[75] R. Colls and P. Dodd, *Englishness: Politics and Culture 1880-1920* (London: Croom Helm, 1986) p. 122
[76] Ibid., p. 68

Ruskin's picturesque sentiments for the 'changefulness' of cities had become largely established in Britain, and elsewhere, by the early years of the twentieth century. In Germany, the picturesque aesthetic had been mediated through art historian Heinrich Wölfflin's use of the term *malerisch* to describe the perception of baroque architecture, often translated as 'painterly.' This conception, and particularly the idea that baroque architecture was perceived in motion, as opposed to being viewed from a single static point, would become embedded within urbanist Camillo Sitte's *City Planning According to Artistic Principles* (1889).[77] As Robert Tavernor has pointed out, Sitte opposed formal moves such as those of Baron Hausmann's Paris, arguing "that the intuitive creative drives that underlay medieval examples [of city planning] could be presented as principles."[78] Contemporary German research into the physiology of the eye was of major influence upon Sitte, including the work of architect Hermann Maertens whom proposed the most advantageous viewing angles of buildings and public squares.[79] Maertens argued that at a viewing angle of 17 degrees, the viewer could observe a building framed by its surroundings. From a greater distance, the silhouette and skyline become visually important. Maertens wrote "Just as everything in nature is organised by a higher Divinity in perfect harmony, the architect should similarly put all visible creations of men in the correct dimensional relationship."[80] Sitte's work combined with Ruskin's in the early formation of the professional discipline of British town planning, largely due to Raymond Unwin's absorption of Sitte's principles in his *Town Planning in Practice: An Introduction to the Art of Designing Cities and Suburbs* (1909).

If Sitte had been concerned with the aesthetics and morphology of urbanism, Sir Ebenezer Howard was more concerned with social principles, land reform and utopian settlements. Published in 1898, Howard's proposal for a 'garden city' entitled *Tomorrow, A Peaceful Path to Real Reform* proposed a city encircled with publicly

[77] Akos Moravanszky has suggested that Sitte was influenced by the application of Hermann Helmholz's research on the physiology of the eye to urban design – for example in Hermann Maertens's *The Optical Scale or the Theory and Practice of Aesthetic Vision in the Arts on the Basis of the Physiological Optics* (1877). A. Moravanszky, "The Optical Construction of Urban Space: Hermann Maertens, Camillo Sitte and the Theories of 'Aesthetic Perception", *The Journal of Architecture* (Routledge, 2012), 17(5), pp. 655-666

[78] R. Tavernor, "From Townscape to Skyscape," *Architectural Review* (1 March, 2004) pp. 78-83

[79] This influence is made apparent by Sitte's essay "Observations on the Fine Arts, In Particular on Architecture, From the Standpoint of Perspective", undertaken when he was still a student of Vienna University. Moravanszky, *The Journal of Architecture,* pp. 655-666

[80] H. Maertens, cited in Moravanszky, *The Journal of Architecture,* pp. 655-666

accessible garden and productive agricultural zones.[81] These principles were partially realised and developed via pioneering suburban developments such as Bournville, promoted by George Cadbury, and landscape architects Calvert Vaux and Frederick Law Olmsted's Riverside, Chicago, an exercise in the "naturalistic softening of the artificial urban environment."[82]

In parallel to the emergence of the town and country planning professions on both sides of the Atlantic was a growing interest in the public conservation of scenic and/or historic landscapes. Both Ruskin and Morris were instrumental in the foundation of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings, in 1877. This would be followed in 1895 by the 'National Trust for Places of Historic Interest and Natural Beauty.' Elizabeth Helsinger has argued:

> "The aesthetics of landscape, and the activities of viewing and displaying English places through which it was experienced, created for those who could participate in it a claim on England as their national aesthetic property. What began in the eighteenth century with the improvement, display, and representation of private property, quickly gave birth to a concept of public property."[83]

In Britain, this concept was championed, among others, by geographer Vaughan Cornish and Arts and Crafts architect Clough Williams Ellis, both key figures in the development of the town planning professions and conservation movement. In *The Scenery of England: A Study of Harmonious Grouping in Town and Country* (1937), Cornish built his own 'aesthetic geography' around 'harmonies of scenery.'[84] To members of the Campaign for the Protection of Rural England (formed in 1926), including Williams Ellis and Cornish, Britain had reached the climax of scenic beauty during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries:

> "A hundred years ago, just before the railway age, this island was almost all beautiful, even more beautiful, perhaps, than it had been a thousand years further back […] not least the improvements that had

[81] Bunce, *The Countryside Ideal,* p. 160

[82] The Garden Cities Association of America was formed in 1906 and was influential in the development of Forest Hills Gardens, Long Island (1912-1915). Bunce, *The Countryside Ideal,* p. 156

[83] E. Helsinger, "Turner and the Representation of England" in W. J. T. Mitchell, ed., *Landscape and Power* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002) p. 105-6

[84] Compared, by the journal *Nature,* to harmonies in music and painting. "The Science of Scenery", *Nature,* cxxi (1928), pp. 309-11

been made in the eighteenth century, harmonising with the older parts in which they were set."[85]

This sense of the CPRE's broad overview of the nation's landscape, from an elevated position of authority - in comparison to the narrow minded and short-sighted vision of the developer on the ground - is common to much of the rhetoric surrounding the early preservation movement, demonstrating the importance of the picturesque prospect in the formulation of the CPRE's manifesto.[86] In support of the CPRE's concerns over rapid and unchecked urban expansion, Sir Patrick Abercrombie re-introduced the English landscape to the forefront of British urban planning via his *County of London Plan* (1943) which proposed a system of gardens and parkways enclosed by a preservationist 'green belt.'[87] The work of Abercrombie and the CPRE were instrumental in the formulation of the Town and Country Planning and the National Parks and Access to Countryside Acts of 1947 and 1949 respectively, fixing in statute this preservationist attitude towards the picturesque and/or historic attributes of landscapes.

Meanwhile, Nikolaus Pevsner (1902-1983), would strive to link definitively the picturesque with modernism in architecture and town planning. From the late 1930s to the 1950s, Pevsner would develop the idea of 'Townscape' via his writings in *The Architectural Review* in collaboration with fellow editor Hubert de Cronin Hastings and Gordon Cullen. To Pevsner, modernism could easily be absorbed into historic urban contexts if it explored the potential of the picturesque in its visual arrangement, as illustrated in the later sketch vignettes of Gordon Cullen's *Townscape* (1961). In this way, as Matthew Aitchison has explored in his edition of Pevsner's unpublished *Visual Planning and the Picturesque* (2010), modernism could be popularised,[88] while the underlying picturesque principles at work could tie international modernist architecture back to simplistic conceptions of 'Englishness.'[89] Pevsner is explicit in his claims for the sources of this vision, writing in his *The Englishness of English Art* (1964), "there is

[85] Proceedings of the Countryside and Footpaths Preservation Conference, 12-13 October 1928, CPRE Archive, Museum of English Rural Life, University of Reading, file DI 22, p. 4
[86] Also highlighted by the frequent use of technologically advanced oblique aerial photography in supporting arguments against ribbon development, which lends an air of scientific authority to the prevailing argument. See D. Matless, *Landscape and Englishness* (London: Reaktion Books, 1998) p. 38
[87] Though, beyond naturalistic parks and the green-belt, the urban planning of the *Greater London Plan* was largely formalist. Bunce, *The Countryside Ideal,* p. 152
[88] Others have traced the influence of the picturesque in the work of modernist architects such as Le Corbusier's use of the 'promenade architecturale.' See S. Giedion, *Space, Time and Architecture: The Growth of a New Tradition* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1967)
[89] See N. Pevsner, *The Englishness of English Art* (1964) and N. Pevsner, M. Aitchison, *Visual Planning and the Picturesque* (Getty Publications, 2010)

an English national planning theory in existence which need only be recognised and developed. It is hidden in the writings of the improvers from Pope to Uvedale Price and Payne Knight."[90] In this respect, Pevsner had been drawing upon a long tradition of the picturesque's supposed association with English national and cultural identity, exemplified by Christopher Hussey's contributions to *Country Life* and his seminal work *The Picturesque: Studies in a Point of View* (1927).[91]

Broadly speaking, Hussey's understanding of the picturesque as a 'mode of vision' is now its most widely accepted interpretation. In particular, David Watkin has expanded upon Hussey's work with his *The English Vision* (1982). At the same time, Watkin's work also built upon his former supervisor, Pevsner's, discussion of 'Englishness', positioning the picturesque as an elite mode of 'English vision.'[92] This is in contrast to other writers of the 1980s, including Raymond Williams and John Berger,[93] who were more dismissive of the picturesque in literature and painting as possessing "largely repressive political meaning," leading to the common view in contemporary studies of the picturesque as a bourgeois ideology of the English countryside, or as Denis Cosgrove has written "an ideologically charged and very complex cultural product."[94]

The picturesque continues to find support among influential patrons. In particular, the Prince of Wales rallied for a return to picturesque principles in his *Vision of Britain* (1989), and via the Prince's Trust, has enlisted various architect-theorists from Leon Krier to Robert Adam and Quinlan Terry in the design of communities such Poundbury, Dorset (1993-) and in the controversial re-masterplanning of Chelsea Barracks (2009-) along picturesque aesthetic lines,[95] a testament to the continued relevance of the picturesque mode of vision within contemporary architecture and urbanism.

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[90] Pevsner, *The Englishness of English Art,* p. 183

[91] Hussey's writing on the English country house and the English landscape garden make frequent connections between picturesque vision and notions of national and/or cultural identity.

[92] D. Watkin, *The English Vision: The Picturesque in Architecture, Landscape and Garden Design* (Harper & Row, 1982)

[93] See R. Williams, *The Country and the City* (Oxford University Press, 1975); J. Berger, *Ways of Seeing* (Penguin Books Ltd., 2008)

[94] D. Cosgrove in Burden, Kohl, eds., *Landscape and Englishness,* p. 22 Similarly, Don Mitchell has pointed out "landscape was and is a particularly *bourgeois* way of seeing, […] a means of representing status and wealth." D. Mitchell, *Cultural Geography: A Critical Introduction* (Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell) p. 116

[95] C. Windsor (Prince of Wales), *A Vision of Britain: A Personal View of Architecture* (London: Doubleday, 1989)

Nostalgia

As we have seen, the picturesque mode of vision is frequently associated with ideas of national and cultural landscapes, and is irrevocably entwined with the emergence of movements in scenic and historic conservation. The link between landscape and nostalgia is evident in the nineteenth-century *Dictionary of Psychological Medicine,* where nostalgia is described as "the abnormally exaggerated longing for his home of a man who lives away from it, whether it be that relatives or friends who were left behind, or the peculiarity of the home as regards landscape or climate, are the object of his longing."[96] From the Greek *nostos* ('homecoming') and *algos* ('pain'/'ache'), nostalgia as physiological disorder had been diagnosed since at least the seventeenth century, usually with regards to military units posted far from home for extended periods of many years. Symptoms of physiological nostalgia were described as sickness, lethargy, loss of appetite, and in extreme cases, even death. Suggested cures included restorative sojourns to the countryside, the sight of objects and landscapes associated with the homeland, and, in the most serious cases, a physical return home.

Michael S. Roth, in his article on nostaglia's nineteenth-century transition from physiological to psychological condition, has likened the condition to our "essentially Freudian understanding of desire as a manifestation of the death instinct, a longing to return to an initial, inorganic state".[97] Nostalgia then, is dependent on the conception of unrepeatable and irreversible time. Like death, the object of nostalgia is positioned as the 'other,' "beyond the present space of experience, somewhere in the twilight of the past."[98] By the 1870s, scientific insights into the cellular spread of disease had invalidated the physiological disorder of nostalgia, though it lived on throughout the nineteenth-century as a psychological illness that often did "not come into the circle of full consciousness."[99] Nostalgia at this time was generally accepted to be linked to memory, though the particular 'remembered' past may, in fact, have become a romantic fiction for the subject. More recently, critics of the "interiorising tendency" of Western thought have focused on the lived body as possessor of its own memory.[100] Of particular significance to this dissertation, Edward S. Casey has supported an *optical* process of

[96] A. Erlenmeyer in D. H. Tuke, ed., *Dictionary of Psychological Medicine* (J. & A. Churchill, 1892).
[97] M. S. Roth, "Dying of the Past: Medical Studies of Nostalgia in Nineteenth-Century France," *History and Memory,* vol. 3(1), (Indiana University Press, 1991)
[98] S. Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia* (New York: Basic Books, 2001) p. 13
[99] A. Erlenmeyer in Tuke, ed., *Dictionary of Psychological Medicine*.
[100] L. M. Austin, *Nostalgia in Transition: 1780-1917* (University of Virginia Press, 2007) p. 15

memory: "to remember, the subject becomes part of the scene, and from his/her roving eye objects unfold themselves."[101] Linda Austin clarifies that, to Casey, remembering is "a form of re-enactment," in which the observer re-lives a past visual experience.[102] In nostalgic remembering then, "*we can be thrust back, transported into the place we recall*."[103]

If nostalgic remembering allows us to be transported to other worlds via a visual construction, it also allows us to transport ourselves into the memories of others, building upon layers of remembered pasts. As G. W. S. Trow wrote wittily in a 1974 *New Yorker* article:

> "Remember remembering your first kiss? Remember remembering your first prom? Remember remembering your first name? […] Yes, those were the '70s – *innocent* days […] *simpler* days, when all you had to do for a good time was sit back and remember malt shops, doubledips, ponytails […]. You cherish the memory of remembering these memories […]. Yes you remembered it all in the '70s, the Golden Age of Nostalgia."[104]

One could argue that this layering of memories fuses numerous generic and vague episodes. Even if the reader has no personal memory of the 1970s, he or she may identify with the snippets of memories evoked here via a prior familiarity with images and/or verbal and textual accounts. As a result, Austin has argued that nostalgic memory "is particularly effective as a public form of remembering."[105]

Throughout the nineteenth century much expression of nostalgic sentiment took the form of a longing for a supposedly innocent childhood past. This is reflected in the contemporary explosion of children's literature, and the popular depiction of the child figure by prolific authors and artists of the romantic period.[106] According to David Lowenthal, "[F]ollowers of Rousseau and Wordsworth began to see their childhood selves forming their adult identity, and hence to view life as an interconnected

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[101] E. S. Casey, "The World of Nostalgia" in *Man and World,* vol. 20(4) (Dordrecht: Martinus Nijhoff, 1987) pp. 361-384
[102] Austin, *Nostalgia in Transition,* p. 15
[103] Casey, "The World of Nostalgia" in *Man and World,* pp. 361-384
[104] G. W. S. Trow, "Bobby Bison's Big Memory Offer," *New Yorker* (30 December 1974) p. 27
[105] Austin, *Nostalgia in Transition,* p. 87
[106] For example, literary works such as Charles Dickens' *Oliver Twist,* George Eliot's *Silas Marner,* Frances Hodgson Burnett's *Little Lord Fauntleroy* and *The Secret Garden* and L. M. Montgomery's *Anne of Green Gables* as well as works of art such as Joshua Reynold's *Age of Innocence* and Francis Cotes's *The Young Cricketer* among others.

narrative."[107] As has been pointed out by Svetlana Boym, "[T]oday when practically no emotion can be felt without some reference of it to earlier experience or to childhood, […] it is hard to realise that this sense of personal continuity was rare before the nineteenth century."[108] Austin has argued that as childhood experience was recognised as formative, so too a public collective memory of childhood could be socially formative. Austin writes:

> "an archive of "childhood" from ballads, novels, painting, and illustration, through their similarity and circulation, ensured predictability of thoughts and emotions in the performative practices of childhood they stimulated."[109]

It has also been suggested that much nostalgia for a romanticised vision of childhood might be explained by the vivacity of early cognitive development. Lowenthal has written that "[L]ife back then seems brighter not because things were better but because we lived more vividly when young; even the adult world of yesteryear reflects the perspective of childhood. Now unable to experience so intensely, we mourn a lost immediacy that makes the past unmatchable."[110] Significantly, Lowenthal's use of the vocabulary of vision –'brighter', 'vividly', 'reflects', 'perspective' – signifies the importance of the visual sense in this process of nostalgic memory.

Nostalgic sentiment towards childhood, nurtured throughout the romantic period, found special resonance at this time within the United States, which tended to be viewed as a youthful nation. Mid-to-late nineteenth century Americans "glanced backward, recalling the traditional space of the pre-industrial age with satisfaction and half-consciously ordering the spatial aesthetics of the future. What they remembered, or thought they remembered, blossomed in the prose, poetry, and painting of the American Renaissance."[111] The nation which emerged from the Wars of Independence and, later, the American Revolution, was viewed in hindsight as innocent, precious and child-like. At times, this was used, particularly in the southern states, as a justification for a sceptical view of industrial progress, which was interpreted as a corruption of the

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[107] See C. Salvesen, *Landscape of Memory: A Study of Wordsworth's Poetry* pp. 42-44; D. Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge University Press, 1985) p. 199
[108] S. Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia* (New York: Basic Books, 2001) p. 199
[109] Ibid., p. 87
[110] Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country,* p. 8
[111] The creation of Emerson, Hawthorne, Kennedy, Thoreau, Melville, Bancroft, Prescott, Parkman, Fitz Hugh Lane, Martin Johnson Heade, and others. J. Stilgoe, *Common Landscape of America, 1580-1845* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1982)

'original' American ideal. As James Cobb has written, southerners "were far more comfortable exalting a glorious, imagined past than celebrating a disturbing and undeniably real present that suggested […] how far the white South had actually strayed from its ancestral ideals."[112] In opposition, the north viewed nostalgia as counterproductive and chastised the south as a difficult child. Boym writes "lack of patrimony, legitimacy and memory [was] celebrated in the [north] as the spirit of the new, at once natural and progressive."[113]

On either side of the Atlantic, nostalgia has long been associated with a return to nature and to natural processes. Where the military doctor could not prescribe a return home for the sufferer of physiological nostalgia, he could send the patient for recuperation in the nearest available country retreat. It was believed that the restorative qualities of the country could cure the soldier's longing for his rural home, or at least serve as a visual reminder of the national homeland. This romantic approach to the natural world reached its peak with the rise of the Wordsworthian belief in the spirituality of nature. American transcendentalists, including Henry David Thoreau, "argued that by re-establishing contact with nature […] humankind could transcend physical existence and discover the perfection of the inner being."[114] Thus, a 'return' to natural environments and lifestyles has been associated with fundamental human values and psychological needs, in symbolic antithesis to the city.

Much of the discourse surrounding nostalgia is dependent upon a constructed opposition between accepted understandings of the 'country' and the 'city,' as explored in Raymond Williams' book of the same title (1973).[115] In this work, Williams sought the origins of the repetitive myth of prior 'Golden Ages,' associated with a conception of a pre-capitalist rural way of life and a sense of "lost human wholeness."[116] Rose-tinted visions of New York City's 'Gilded Age' glory prove, however, that nostalgia is multi-faceted and cannot be so easily reduced to longings for a pastoral past. Equally, though nostalgia has frequently been berated as anti-progressive – Eric Hobsbawm called it an "ideolog[y] of resistance to progress hardly deserv[ing] the name of [a]

[112] J. C. Cobb, *Away Down South: A History of Southern Identity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005) p. 46
[113] Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia,* p. 45
[114] Bunce, *The Countryside Ideal,* p. 27
[115] Williams, *The Country and the City*
[116] A. Bonnett, *Left in the Past: Radicalism and the Politics of Nostalgia,* (New York & London: The Continuum Publishing Group, 2010) p.45

system of thought"[117] – new additions to the literature have sought to demonstrate its creative and radical potential. For example, Alastair Bonnett has argued that the "memories and traditions of the people […] [have been] cast as the fertile ground of radicalism."[118] Though, at first, a form of radical nostalgia might seem paradoxical, Bonnett's work draws attention to the haunting sense of loss which infuses the socialist radicalism of Karl Marx[119] or William Morris.[120] Likewise, Bonnet traces a form of radical nostalgia in the fight of colonised nations for independence, concluding that "anti-colonialism provides the most vigorous example of radical nostalgia in the twentieth century",[121] and in the progressive ecological preservationism of the contemporary 'green' movement, which seeks to take us *back in order to take us forward,"* adding:

> "The green challenge to the ideology of progress is profound […] The idea that nature must be conquered and pushed aside […] has come to appear unsustainable and old-fashioned."[122]

Bonnett points out that this conception of a radical nostalgia relies on its separation from memory, where empirical facts are contrasted against the idealism and creative potential of nostalgia.[123]

The creative – even progressive – potential of nostalgia has been recognised by Yiannis Gabriel among others, who has stated that "whole sectors of the economy [including expanding global heritage and tourism industries] are fuelled by nostalgia."[124] Following Gabriel's argument, Peter Glazer has diagnosed what he sees as a "global epidemic of nostalgia."[125] This feeling of omnipresence is heightened by the ubiquity of the word 'nostalgia' which, as Boym has noted, "frustrates psychologists, sociologists, literary theorists and philosophers, even computer scientists who […] took

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[117] E. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Revolution, 1789-1848,* (New York: New American Library, 1962), p. 290
[118] Bonnett, *Left in the Past,* p.8
[119] Bonnett's argument builds upon Jacques Derrida's *Spectres of Marx* (1993), in which Derrida sought to reveal Marx's search for the revolutionary spirit built upon his sceptical relationship with the past.
[120] Bonnett, *Left in the Past,* p.69
[121] Ibid., p.89; see also, P. Gilroy, *After Empire: Melancholia or Convivial Culture?* (London: Routledge, 2004)
[122] Ibid., p.172
[123] Equally nostalgia, distinct from superior memory, has been charged with inaccuracy and irrationality. Bonnett, *Left in the Past,* p.43
[124] Y. Gabriel, 'Organisational nostalgia – reflections of "The Golden Age", in S. Fineman, ed., *Emotion in Organisations* (London: Sage, 1993), p. 119
[125] P. Glazer, *Radical Nostalgia: Spanish Civil War Commemoration in America,* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2005), p. 7

refuge in their home pages and the cyber-pastoral vocabulary of the global village."[126] The causes for this revival of nostalgia as a "habitual tendency of modern collective memory"[127] have been variously attributed to a change from a sense of cyclical temporality to a linear temporality, and to the accelerating speed of spatial connections from the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries.[128] As Bunce reminds us, by the 1750s, Britain, although still predominantly a rural nation, "was one in which virtually all vestiges of a peasant economy had disappeared."[129] By the middle of the nineteenth century Britain had become a thoroughly industrial nation, dominating the world in manufacturing and trade. In the process it became the first predominantly urbanised nation; up to the mid-eighteenth century, only London and Edinburgh had more than 50,000 inhabitants, by the end of the nineteenth, Britain had 30 cities with populations of more than 100,000.[130] Thus, at the same time that 'nostalgia' entered the *Oxford English Dictionary* in about 1920 as a "sentimental longing or wistful affection for a period in the past",[131] inter-war Britain seemed to be experiencing an ever-accelerating building boom which had turned swathes of agricultural land into housing estates and industrial sites. As Stephen Kohl has argued, "[T]he general feeling of the twenties and thirties was that the very existence of the countryside was at stake,"[132] or as J. B. Priestley complained in 1935: "A wonderful heritage of beauty, we feel, is being recklessly squandered."[133] To follow the argument of Trevor Blackwell and Jeremy Seabrook's *The Revolt Against Change: Towards a Conserving Radicalism* (1993), this deepening sense of loss no doubt encouraged discourses of anti-modernist thought as well as historical and natural preservationism which took root at this time.[134]

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[126] Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia,* p. xvii
[127] Austin, *Nostalgia in Transition,* p. 1
[128] For an in-depth discussion of the notion of collective memory, see M. Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992)
[129] Bunce, *The Countryside Ideal,* p. 10
[130] Bunce, *The Countryside Ideal,* p. 10 Equally, the number of private cars also increased from 110,000 to 2.3 million between the World Wars. S. Kohl, 'Rural England: An Invention of the Motor Industries?' In Burden, Kohl, eds., *Landscape and Englishness,* p. 194
[131] *Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford University Press, 2008).
[132] S. Kohl, 'Rural England: An Invention of the Motor Industries?' In Burden, Kohl, eds., *Landscape and Englishness,* p. 194
[133] J. B. Priestley, "The Beauty of Britain" in *The Beauty of Britain: A Pictorial Survey.* (London: Batsford, 1935) p. 9
[134] T. Blackwell, J. Seabrook, *The Revolt Against Change: Towards a Conserving Radicalism* (London: Vintage, 1993). See also, D. Lowenthal and M. Binney (eds.), *Our Past Before Us: Why Do We Save It?* (London: Temple, 1981), p. 114; P. Connerton, *How Modernity Forgets* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009) p. 99

An important argument of Richard Terdiman's *Present Past: Modernity and the Memory Crisis* (1993) is that anti-modernist thought was not simply a reaction to the spatial expansion and contraction of city and country respectively, but to the sensory "bombardment" that accompanied modernity.[135] Thus, "a vague sense developed that human memory [associated with the visual sense] couldn't possibly accommodate itself to such bombardment."[136] Of course, one must not forget that modernity on either side of the Atlantic was greeted with optimism and scepticism in something like equal measure. Rita Felski has written that "[I]f the experience of modernity brought with it an overwhelming sense of innovation, ephemerality, and chaotic change, it simultaneously engendered multiple expressions of desire for stability and continuity. Nostalgia, understood as a mourning for an idealised past, thus emerges as a formative theme of the modern."[137]

Since the nineteenth century, the work of several writers, most notably that of Charles Baudelaire, reflects the dissatisfaction felt by many artists and intellectuals with contemporary optimism in scientific and technological progress.[138] Writing of the destruction of medieval Paris to make way for the spacious boulevards of the new, Baudelaire commented that:

> "The familiar face of [old Paris] offered to its inhabitants not only a means of geographical orientation, but also a cartography of tradition, a semantic topography within which their own social, economic, and personal location was set within larger historical co-ordinates. With the destruction and rebuilding of Paris, the face of the city no longer bore the complex of urban histories embedded in the old city, but rather its appearance was formed by external dictates."[139]

In this passage, Baudelaire mourns the aesthetic experience and historical romance he associated with the destroyed city, replaced by the "external dictates" of the scientific, rational eye of the enlightenment. To Baudelaire, there are two radically different ways of seeing: an aesthetic vision "identified with those who are removed from the immediate concerns of practical industry and social action" (eg. the vision of the

[135] R. Terdiman, *Present Past: Modernity and the Memory Crisis* (Cornell University Press, 1993)
[136] Austin, *Nostalgia in Transition,* p. 157
[137] R. Felski, *Gender of Modernity* p. 40
[138] McPhee, *The Architecture of the Visible,* p. 32-33
[139] Ibid., p. 34

flâneur, or artist) and the "strict utility" of the businessman's gaze, in which "the fantastic reality of life becomes strangely blunted."[140] A number of other theorists, including Guy Debord, Jean Baudrillard, Paul Virilio, and Fredric Jameson, have equated the technological organisation of "utilitarian vision" with the fundamental character of modern visual culture.[141] To Virilio and Jameson, the invention of photography represents the "industrialisation of vision",[142] and therefore it marks a definitive break between two modes of vision: a "disparity between inherited configurations of vision and the new co-ordinates of technology."[143] However, Baudelaire refused "to accept that the photographic image escapes from the direction of aesthetic technique because of its production by a technological apparatus;"[144] the photographer still arranges the camera, and the world before it, in the production of a photograph. Thus, according to Baudelaire even "utilitarian vision" cannot escape from the nostalgic aesthetic.

Nostalgia too has played an active role in the regeneration of what might be called the postmodern city. David Bayliss has written that because of "the collapse of the industrial base of their cities and the rise of the service sector, [governments have] prioritized economic development and turned to the arts and culture as one area with considerable potential."[145] In many of these cities, nostalgia for idealised former 'golden ages' has encouraged heritage and environmental preservation movements along with programmes of significant economic investment. Thus, the post-industrial city has become a carefully curated collage of historic and environmental sites, promotional images and marketing material. Lowenthal has described his own "image of London as a composite of personal experience, contemporary media, and historical images stemming from Hogarth and Turner, Pepys and Dickens."[146] This composite view of London fits into a genre which the journalist James Heartfield has dubbed 'Londonostalgia', in which 'Londonostalgics' "adore everything arcane and archaic about the city",[147] encompassing everything from the 'psychogeography'[148] of Iain

[140] C. Baudelaire, "The Painter of Modern Life, in C. Harrison, P. Wood, J. Gaiger eds., *Art in Theory* (London: Blackwell, 1998) p. 493-506
[141] McPhee, *The Architecture of the Visible,* p. 3-4
[142] P. Virilio, *The Vision Machine* (London: British Film Institute, 1994) p. 61
[143] McPhee, *The Architecture of the Visible,* p. 87
[144] Ibid., p. 46
[145] D. Bayliss, "Ireland's Creative Development: Local Authority Strategies for Culture-Led Development," *Regional Studies,* 38(7), (2004) p. 818
[146] D. Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge University Press, 1985) p. 40
[147] J. Heartfield, 'Londonostalgia', *Blueprint* (September 2004)

Sinclair's study of the M25, *London Orbital* (2003) or Peter Ackroyd's subterranean exploration *London Under* (2012), to Michael Moorcock's fictional novel *Mother London* (2000).[149] This renewed nostalgic sensitivity has been highlighted as evidence of a society which, by "seeking to create a warm and continuous narrative that neatly enfolds the past into the present, [has] turned utterly aesthetic."[150] Architectural critics have noted that the emergence of a so-called postmodernist aesthetic in the 1980s was a time of deep cynicism towards the "predominant form of public nostalgia in England: heritage."[151] As Robert Hewison notes, "the radical wing of postmodernism betrays a deep, if parodic, obsession with the past."[152]

According to Sven Birkerts's interpretation, post-modern visual culture of the 1990s "shifted from a simple, direct, unmediated sense of reality to one that is complexly mediated […] and virtual rather than 'real.'"[153] Similarly, history is now mediated in such complex ways that the we no longer truly believe in any particular 'golden age', but rather we long for a generalised and virtual past,[154] "generat[ing] an aesthetic pleasure that thrives, correspondingly, on copies and replicas."[155] The increasingly virtual dimension of nostalgic sentiment, reflected in the peculiar development of historical theme parks from Colonial Williamsburg to Disneyland, highlights the associated problem of authenticity inherent in any idealistic manipulation of the past. One might also detect this manipulation in the preservation of historic vistas of cities, for example in London, where acute development pressure is quashed by the artificial superimposition of viewing corridors designed to preserve vistas of landmarks associated with particular historical narratives of the city. While Nancy Martha West has perceived this artificiality as potentially positive, writing that "[I]f nostalgia does misrepresent the past […], it also makes the present bearable, usable, even

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[148] For a definition of 'psychogeography' see G. Debord's essay, "Intoduction to a Critique of Urban Geography," http://library.nothingness.org/articles/SI/en/display/2 [accessed 22/03/2013]
[149] I. Sinclair, *London Orbital* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 2003). Also, P. Ackroyd, *London Under* (London: Vintage, 2012); P. Ackroyd, *London: The Biography* (London: Vintage, 2002); P. Ackroyd, *Thames: Sacred River* (London: Vintage, 2008); M. Moorcock, *Mother London* (London: Scribner, 2000).
[150] Austin, *Nostalgia in Transition,* p. 156
[151] Ibid., p. 200
[152] R. Hewison, *The Heritage Industry: Britain in a Climate of Decline* (London: Methuen Publishing Ltd., 1987) p. 11
[153] S. Birkerts, "American Nostalgias," p. 27-28
[154] See Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country,* p. 372
[155] Austin, *Nostalgia in Transition,* p. 4

triumphant,"[156] Susan Stewart among others, has seen it as the internal paradox of nostalgia, describing it as "the repetition that mourns the inauthenticity of all repetition."[157]

Authenticity

As stated previously, the notion of 'authenticity' is linked to almost any study of the past or exercise in nostalgic sentiment. In probing the history of the 'original' artefact, the historian seems to imply a belief in the 'inauthenticity' of that which follows. Since we may never experience the past directly, it must always be mediated through a third party (such as the artefact or the historian), or via hegemonies of collective memory which can romanticise or distort the 'authentic' past in the manner typical of nostalgic memory. The imagery of the picturesque rural idyll too may be linked to themes of authenticity. Robert Colls and Phillip Dodd write "purity of produce [is linked] to a particular 'real' environment. […] Purity, decency, goodness, honesty, even 'reality' itself are closely identified with the rural."[158]

The importance of 'authenticity' in western thought is illustrated for example by the practice of collecting antiques, where the 'original' artefact is deemed to be of considerably greater value than its reproduction, even where the objects are indistinguishable in every aspect. With regards to the vista, the role of 'authenticity' may be better understood via its conception as antique object. In *The System of Objects* (1968), Jean Baudrillard argues that "[T]here are two distinctive features of the mythology of the antique object […]: the nostalgia for origins and the obsession with authenticity."[159] Going a step further, Baudrillard even sees inauthenticity in the antique object's dislocation from its physical, as well as temporal, contexts of origin. He writes that "no matter how fine it is, an antique is always eccentric [i.e. heterogeneous with its context]; no matter how authentic it is, there is always something false about it."[160] Baudrillard sees the antique as an object of proclaimed authenticity, despite its apparent contextual dislocation. If the antique is not 'authentic', it simply *connotes* its

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[156] N. M. West, *Kodak and the Lens of Nostalgia* (Charlottesville & London: University Press of Virginia, 2000) p. 11

[157] S. Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (Duke University Press, 1984) p. 23

[158] Colls, Dodd, *Englishness: Politics and Culture,* p. 63

[159] J. Baudrillard, *The System of Objects* (London: Verso, 1968) p. 80

[160] Ibid., p. 78

authenticity through visual references, or, as Roland Barthes has explored, a system of signs which *signify* age. Baudrillard writes:

> "[T]he antique object no longer has any practical application [it is 'mythological'], its role being merely to *signify.* […] Yet it is not afunctional, nor purely 'decorative', for it has a very specific function within the system, namely the signifying of time."[161]

As a signifier, Baudrillard sees the antique object only as a sign which points to a historical past, and thus, it "*is* false in so far as *it puts itself forward as authentic within a system whose basic principle is by no means authenticity but, rather, the calculation of relationships and the abstractness of signs*".[162] Baudrillard even argues for the inauthenticity of collecting antiques, writing "It is impossible not to draw a comparison between the taste for antiques and the passion for collecting. […] in both we find the same narcissistic regression, the same way of suppressing time, the same imaginary mastery of birth and death."[163]

If Baudrillard sees the de-contextualised antique object as inauthentic, he sees the collector's search for the 'authentic' antique as "a quest for an *alibi* (being-elsewhere)," in which he/she constructs his/her life in a special collector's "time-out-of-time."[164] There is an interesting parallel to this in the nineteenth-century origins of the Arts and Crafts Movement in Britain, in which artists, architects and designers sought a return to a craftsmanship imagined as representative of a former age.[165] In retrospect, much of the work of nineteenth century architects has been deplored for its destruction of 'authentic' historic fabric. For example, Lowenthal has noted that "restorers who purged medieval churches of later additions fancied they were reconstituting the true past. The purpose of many such alterations was ideological; in excising 'harmful' accretions and restoring 'pure' Gothic, ecclesiological reformers sought to retrieve the atmosphere and thereby rekindle the spirit of early Christian faith."[166] Opponents of

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[161] J. Baudrillard, *The System of Objects* (London: Verso, 1968) p. 78
[162] Ibid.
[163] Ibid., p. 80
[164] Ibid., p. 81
[165] To many, Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin's glorified medieval gothic, and his polemical work *Contrasts* in which he compared the industrial and medieval cityscapes of England, is regarded as laying the foundations for the movement. Following his belief in the 'authenticity' of medieval gothic architecture to its ultimate conclusion, Pugin even converted to the 'true' medieval Catholic faith, while others, such as architect William Burges, took to the wearing of medieval attire and to taking part in romantic pageantry.
[166] Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country,* p. 278

heavy handed 'restorations' of historic buildings aligned themselves against so-called 'scrape' techniques.[167] Morris soon joined Ruskin in his vociferous criticism:

> "the whole surface of the building is necessarily tampered with; so that the appearance of antiquity is taken away […], and there is no laying to rest in the spectator the suspicion of what may have been lost; and in short, a feeble and lifeless *forgery* is the final result"[168] [Emphasis added].

As Morris's comment here indicates, 'anti-scrape' campaigners saw much restoration work as tampering with the authenticity of antiquities, experienced as the '*appearance* of antiquity' via the 'spectator's' gaze.[169]

In time, the use of historical architectural forms would be deplored by modernists as inauthentic. Both might be called works of facsimile, where, according to Lowenthal, a facsimile may take one of three forms: "*copies* imitate existing or lost originals; *forgeries* pretend to *be* the originals; [and] *replicas* reproduce well-known prototypes in other locales."[170] If the facsimile may be viewed as inauthentic, the 'original' has been viewed as both an authentic object in its own right, and as the container of a form of *fundamental* authenticity, that may, somehow, be accessed by the individual. Describing a French modernist architect's restoration of a medieval farmhouse, Baudrillard writes that "by choosing not to raze the old farm and build on the site in accordance simply with his own need for comfort, by his insistence on saving old stones and beams, our architect betrays the fact that he experiences the refinement and flawless functionality of his house as *inauthentic*, that these characteristics do not satisfy his deepest wishes."[171] The architect's decision to retain the vernacular farmhouse reveals his affinity for the connotations of its rural aesthetic. To quote David Matless:

> "Traditional knowledge, unconsciously applied, is held to generate a productive beauty, a "rural aesthetics" with no division between beauty and use, embedded within everyday life rather than alienated via a fetishized commodity form. Here is a different kind of

[167] A reference to the brutal removal of historic finishes and accretions.
[168] W. Morris, "Restoration", in SPAB, *Manifesto* (1877)
[169] It follows that the debate surrounding historical authenticity encouraged a growing movement in historic and 'scenic' preservation; the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings was founded in 1877, followed by The National Trust for Places of Historic Interest or Natural Beauty in 1894. Bunce, *The Countryside Ideal,* p. 176
[170] Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country,* p. 290
[171] Baudrillard, *The System of Objects,* p. 84

> functionalism to that of modern design; non-commodified, undesigned."[172]

Baudrillard even goes as far as to equate this desire for the perceived 'authenticity' of the historic structure with the fundamental notion of *being,* writing that "the architect, now transformed into a gentleman farmer, has in actuality built himself the modern house that he wanted all along, but modernity of itself could not invest the place with value, could not make the house into a "dwelling-place": true *being* was still lacking."[173] At the heart of this argument is the normative assumption that humankind's 'authentic' or 'original' *being* is essentially rural in character, an assumption deployed by certain historians to make political arguments about the present. For example, in his *Short History of England* (1917)*,* G. K. Chesterton writes:

> "The ordinary Englishman [was] duped out of his old possessions, such as they were, and always in the name of progress […] They took away his maypole, and his *original rural life* and promised him instead the Golden Age of Peace and Commerce" [emphasis added].[174]

The complex relationship between authenticity and being has been tackled by a number of well-known twentieth-century philosophers. Perhaps the most influential of these, Martin Heidegger, saw the individual's life as "constituted entirely by the understanding of human being he [or she] inherits from the culture at large."[175] Thus, contrary to our general belief, Heidegger did not see the individual as the self-determining master of his or her own being, and even suggested that from society's point of view, the "well-lived life is one that renounces all attempts at self-determination."[176]

Daniel Boorstin writes that "The Graphic Revolution [from the printing press to the internet search engine] has multiplied and vivified images, by new machines to make accurate, attractive replicas, […] and by new machines to disseminate these images: newspapers, magazines, cheap books, telephone, telegraph, phonograph, movies, radio, television."[177] Boorstin's use of the word 'machine' here is illuminating. It was the very fact that the camera was perceived as a machine which ensured the

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[172] Matless, *Landscape and Englishness,* p. 140
[173] Baudrillard, *The System of Objects,* p. 82
[174] G. K. Chesterton, in *Short History of England* (1917)
[175] M. Wrathall, J. Malpas, eds., *Heidegger, Authenticity, and Modernity* (MIT Press, 2000) p. 31
[176] Ibid.
[177] D. J. Boorstin, *The Image, or What Happened to the American Dream* (New York: Atheneum, 1962) p. 198

supposed 'authenticity' of photographs. In *The Vision Machine*, Paul Virilio describes a conversation between sculptors Auguste Rodin and Paul Gsell, in which they discuss the relative merits of art and photography with regards to the capture of movement. According to Virilio, Gsell asserted "when art interprets movement and finds itself completely at loggerheads with photography, which is an *unimpeachable mechanical witness*, art obviously distorts the *truth*," to which Rodin replied:

> "No, it is art that tells the truth and photography that lies. For *in reality time does not stand still*, and if the artist manages to give the impression that a gesture is being executed over several seconds, their work is certainly much less conventional than the scientific image in which time is abruptly suspended."[178]

While Rodin argues for the inauthenticity of photography which cannot capture the movement of reality, Gsell's belief in the authenticity of the camera as vision machine, as Miles Orvell has argued, "became its most exalted characteristic, guaranteeing the authenticity of its productions and forming the basis of its appeal, among artists and intellectuals, as a model of the synthesis of science and art."[179] Thus, one might argue that photography's trait of staged authenticity was seamlessly absorbed by modernity, even at a time when discourses of 'truth' and 'authenticity' permeated modernist thought.

This tension between the image and authenticity is discussed in Baudrillard's *Simulacra and Simulation.* In this work, Baudrillard argues that technological change has created a world "sated with informational messages, in which everyday life is increasingly lived through mediated images."[180] The result is that we experience more in our daily life than simply the 'reality' of our being: we live in a heightened "hyper-reality," buffeted with images, some real, some virtual. In the ethereality of the internet the 'image' finds its home – as Daniel Boorstin has argued, the "*image is synthetic,"* separated from the 'authentic' object and always "hovering," as opposed to the physical nature of the 'picture.' If Boorstin views the 'picture' as 'authentic,' the 'inauthenticity' of the 'image' is suggested by our use of the term which implies "that something can be done to it: the image can always be more or less successfully synthesised, doctored,

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[178] Virilio, *The Vision Machine,* p. 2
[179] M. Orvell, *The Real Thing: Imitation and Authenticity in American Culture* (Chapel Hill: North Carolina Press, 1989) p. 198
[180] R. Voase, "Visualizing the Past: Baudrillard, Intensities of the Hyper-Real and the Erosion of Historicity, in D. Crouch, R. Jackson, F. Thompson, eds., *The Media & The Tourist Imagination* (London: Routledge, 2005) p. 105

repaired, refurbished, and improved."[181] In this respect, as Walter Benjamin has suggested, the value of the 'authentic' work of art in an age of mechanical reproduction is found in its use as the original matrix from which copies can be produced.[182] Associated with the act of copying 'authentic' works of art is, of course, the danger of fraudulent 'inauthenticity.' In a contemporary society of increasingly rapid exchange of virtual images, the question of authenticity, as associated with fraud, has taken on particular potency.

For Baudrillard, American culture represents a concentration of universal Western culture, a visual feast of *simulacra* and *simulations,* where "'signs of the real' are universally substituted for the real itself."[183] Virilio argues provocatively that "Disneyland is for Baudrillard 'a perfect model of all the entangled orders of simulation,' and in it the "objective profile of the United States […] may be traced."[184] Similarly, Boorstin has written "[Americans] suffer primarily not from [their] vices or weaknesses, but from [their] *illusions*. [They] are haunted, not by reality, but by those *images* [they] have put in place of reality."[185] Boorstin and Virilio share a particularly pessimistic view of the American theme park, which they see as symptomatic of a once 'authentic' culture progressively eroded by virtuality. Virilio describes the theme park as "on the point of becoming a stage for pure *optical illusions*, a generalisation of the non-place of simulation with its fictitious journeys offering everyone electronic hallucination or intoxication."[186] Equally, both Boorstin and Virilio see the American tourist, more than any other, as the definition of the individual whom experiences the world via a superimposed lens of mediated images. Boorstin writes:

> "The foreign country, like the celebrity, is the confirmation of a pseudo-event. Much of our [the tourist's] interest comes from our curiosity about whether our impression resembles the images found in newspapers, in movies, and on television. Is the Trevi Fountain in Rome really like its portrayal in the movie *Three Coins in the Fountain?* Is Hong Kong really like *Love is a Many-Splendored*

[181] Boorstin, *The Image, or What Happened to the American Dream,* p. 187
[182] W. Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," **Illuminations** (New York: Schocken Books, 1969)
[183] J. Baudrillard, *Simulacra and Simulations* (University of Michigan Press, 1994) p. 254
[184] P. Virilio, *War and Cinema* (London: Verso, 1984) p. 85
[185] Boorstin, *The Image, or What Happened to the American Dream,* p. 6
[186] P. Virilio, *Polar Inertia* (London: Sage, 2000) p. 19

> *Thing?*" We go not to test the image by the reality, but to test reality by the image."[187]

Boorstin terms the tourist's visit a "pseudo-event," by which he means the event itself is lessened, since the tourist has already lived the experience via a bank of mediated images. The tourist goes not so much in search of 'authentic' experiences, but to re-live favoured virtual ones, which may explain the tourist's propensity to seek out commonly depicted vistas and photographic hot spots.[188] Despite this, Robert Burden has argued that the Western tourist believes in the authenticity of his or her constructed reality.

For Burden, the tourist's 'real' landscape is the imagined one, constructed through engrained cultural paradigms. Sigmund Freud might have called the compulsion to repeat virtual experiences "*die Idee einer anderer Lokalitat*,"[189] which Jacques Lacan has described as "the idea of another locality, another space, another scene, the [space] between perception and consciousness."[190] One might argue then, that our visual perception of cities and their vistas, like the experiences of Maxine Ffeifer's 'post-tourist,' "combine the imagined […], the 'real' (actual travel, guides and themed experiences) and the virtual (myths, media, Internet) into a 'package', a collage-like [vision] of over-lapping and disjunctive elements that together construct [our] experience."[191]

The relevance of the idea of 'authenticity' to this dissertation lies in the recurring notion of some imagined 'authentic national landscape', within which one may recover an 'authentic' way of being. This has led to a search, on either side of the Atlantic, for landscapes, townscapes and vistas somehow representative of what it means to be 'authentically' American or English and characteristic of 'Americanness' or 'Englishness'. Picturesque and nostalgic vistas of natural scenery have played an important part in this romantic understanding of an 'authentic' landscape, highlighted by the supposed 'inauthenticity' of the industrial city and its technological processes of mass-production.

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[187] Boorstin, *The Image, or What Happened to the American Dream,* p. 116

[188] An interesting illustration of this is artist Eric Fischer's map of London, compiled using Flickr, the photographic website, which graphically demonstrates the city's photographic 'hot spots.'

[189] R. Burden, "Home Thoughts from Abroad: Cultural Difference and the Critique of Modernity in D. H. Lawrence's *Twilight in Italy* (1916) and Other Travel Writing," in Burden, Kohl, eds., *Landscape and Englishness,* p. 155

[190] J. Lacan, A. Sheridan trans., *The Four Fundamental Concepts of Psychoanalysis* (London: Penguin, 1987) p. 56

[191] D. Crouch, R. Jackson, F. Thompson, eds., *The Media & The Tourist Imagination* (London: Routledge, 2005) p. 203

Identity & Landscape

The notion of identity is fraught and multi-faceted, with personal, cultural, national and political dimensions. In this section, I will briefly survey the concept of national identity in the context of landscape imagery, and more specifically, within this category I will address ideas of 'Englishness' and 'Americanness.'

According to Anthony D. Smith, nationalism as an ideology and a discourse emerged relatively recently, during the eighteenth century, from the concept of national character.[192] Jean-Jacques Rousseau wrote, "every people has, or must have, a character; if it lacks one, we must start by endowing it with one."[193] In *Englishness: Politics and Culture* (1986), authors Robert Colls and Philip Dodd argue that 'Englishness', understood as a characteristic of the nation, its people or its culture, is in no way "an obvious or […] natural propensity of […] the territory that has come to be England."[194] In fact, they argue that Englishness has "had to be made and re-made in and through history, within available practices and relationships, and existing symbols and ideas." [195] As such, Englishness and its perception are fluid or negotiable and constructed from a generally accepted, though no less synthetic, canon of literature, art, architecture and popular media. Likewise, Anthony D. Smith has argued that national identity cannot simply be seen as "an ideology or form of politics" but must be viewed as a form of "cultural phenomen[on] as well."[196]

It is important to note here that I make an analytical distinction between national*ism* and a wider form of national identity. In this respect I share Smith's belief that to understand the immense ideological force of nationalist politics, one must ground one's analysis in the cultural phenomena of national identity.[197] The notion of national identity frequently makes reference to myths of origin and the claim to 'original' territorial or ancestral rights. As such, one may draw links between conceptions or symbols of national culture and associated claims of 'authenticity', where to re-discover

[192] Smith traces this to the Third Earl of Shaftesbury's writing on "the rising Genius of our Nation" (1712). For a full quotation see http://files.libertyfund.org/pll/quotes/300.html
[193] J. Rousseau, *Projet de Constitution pour la Corse* (1763)
[194] Colls and Dodd, *Englishness: Politics and Culture,* p. 1
[195] Ibid.
[196] A. D. Smith, *National Identity* (London: Penguin Books, 1991) p. vii
[197] Ibid.

one's national landscape is to 're-discover' the "authentic self."[198] As Smith writes, national landscapes:

> "must be the 'historic' land, the 'homeland' […], a repository of historic memories and associations […]. Its rivers, coasts, lakes, mountains and cities become 'sacred' – places of veneration and exaltation whose inner meanings can be fathomed only by the initiated."

The sense of community – political, cultural, social and territorial – engendered by shared values, symbols, practices and traditions, leads Smith to conclude that it is no wonder "the most bitter and protracted 'inter-national' conflicts derive from competing claims and conceptions of national identity."[199] It is this idea of a shared set of visual symbols representing a system of values claimed as 'ours' and not 'theirs' which is of utmost pertinence to the topic of this dissertation.

In David Matless's description of H. V. Morton's *In Search of England,* (1927). Matless argues that Morton viewed the nation as:

> "a highly theatrical place, a land consisting of […] "staged authenticity," […] [where] everything is to be consumed as a sign of itself; the village as village Englishness, the pub as typical village pub. Sites become archetypes, and if they are not archetypes they are not proper sites."[200]

Matless reminds us that Morton was not the first to see England as a system of signs and symbols. To an extent all early travel guides constructed a collage image of England by directing visitors to archetypal sites, from aesthetically pleasing landscape vistas to historical landmarks. However, Matless sees Morton's distinction "in carrying out this way of seeing on a national scale. *Searching for England* becomes a *national* movement"[201] [Emphasis added].

Among post-colonial theorists such as Edward Saïd, the search for symbols of Englishness during the late nineteenth century is illuminated by its coincidence with Britain's climax of imperial power. To Saïd, imperial responsibilities, and perceived threats, demanded a more stable understanding of the motherland's identity, as reflected

[198] Ibid. p. 17
[199] Smith, *National Identity*, p. viii
[200] Matless, *Landscape and Englishness,* p. 67
[201] Ibid.

by contemporary visual and literary arts.[202] National insularity therefore "was one response to the paradox of power and fear"[203] engendered by colonialism. Colls and Dodd argue that the formation of groups such as the Folk Lore Society (founded 1878), "represented a flight away from external threats deep into the nation's racial and rural essence."[204] The authors even suggest that, at its most serious, the teaching of English history as "public doctrine" advocated by the *English Historical Review* (f. 1886) and the *Historical Association* (f. 1906), influenced as they were by German precedent, very nearly matured into a form of English fascism.[205]

If the aforementioned national groups could be described as agents of national identity, albeit extreme ones, through their endorsement of particular symbols of Englishness, just what do we mean by these symbols? Certainly, symbols of national, cultural or regional identity could be said to include everything from the visual arts, to music, food, literature, law, religion, language and much more besides, but for the purposes of this dissertation it is the power of *images* to shape and define national and regional identities which will be explored. As we have seen, scholars such as Jean Baudrillard, Daniel Boorstin and Marshall McLuhan interpreted the world – post-Graphic Revolution – as saturated with imagery. The power that these images can wield over society is evident in the link between images, advertising, consumerism and, more generally, capitalism on the Western model. Boorstin identifies a form of consumerism at work in the imagery of national and cultural identities, writing:

> "If the right "image" will elect a president or sell an automobile, a religion, a cigarette, or a suit of clothes, why can it not make America herself – or the American Way of Life – a saleable commodity all over the earth?"[206]

But what are these images that 'sell' a country, a culture, or a community? To Matless, it is images of landscape that, more than any other category, come to be appropriated as signifiers of national identity. In his much-cited *Landscape and Englishness,* Matless points to the origins of this in the politicisation of space, as land is annexed or occupied

[202] E. W. Saïd, *Orientalism* (London: Vintage Books, 1979)
[203] Colls and Dodd, *Englishness: Politics and Culture,* p. 47
[204] Colls and Dodd, *Englishness: Politics and Culture,* p. 47
[205] Ibid., p. 48
[206] Boorstin, *The Image, or What Happened to the American Dream,* p. 183

as colonised territory.[207] Equally, with decolonisation, the territorial and ancestral rights of peoples to landscapes are restored.[208]

Identity and landscape are often fused during the process of colonisation to suggest that identity is cultivated within that landscape, i.e. it is a "native product."[209] However, as post-colonial theorist Simon Gikandi has written, the idea of 'Englishness' is constituted as much within the nation's former colonies, as it is from within the state, suggesting the constitution of identities is a "phenomenon produced in the ambivalent space that separated, but also conjoined metropole and colony."[210] Equally, Arjun Appadurai has seen the idea of America as "a mass-mediated imaginary that frequently transcends national space."[211] The accessibility to, and sharing of, diverse media, whether in physical form across political and cultural boundaries or via the virtual space of the internet, may thus be viewed as significant in the construction of national and cultural identities.

If, as Matless suggests, landscape has always been politically charged, it is reasonable to suggest that images of landscape incorporate residual political meaning. It has been suggested that this process might be observed in relatively youthful nations, where, liberated from colonial dominance, national identity is self-consciously consolidated or reformed via literature and the arts, with images of landscapes forming a critical visual component. For example, M. P. Conzen notes "there is a large literature on the American landscape as a focus for normative thought – that is, about what [the nation] ought to be."[212] Over the course of the past two centuries and more, writers, artists, architects, landscape architects and politicians have debated vociferously the American landscape and its identity. David Lowenthal has linked this outpouring of interest with "the American need to create its own visible landscape history" in the wake of independence from 'Old England.'[213] In more recent years there has been a movement to codify the aesthetics of American identity – particularly in the American Parkway projects of the 1930s, but also in the promotion of the idea of a shared 'cultural

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[207] Burden, Kohl, eds., *Landscape and Englishness,* p. 19
[208] For a discussion of the relationship between state and space refer to H. Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004) p.378
[209] Matless, *Landscape and Englishness,* p. 19
[210] S. Gikandi, *Maps of Englishness: Writing Identity in the Culture of Colonialism* (New York, 1996) p. xii
[211] A. Appadurai, *Modernity At Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996) p. 6
[212] M. P. Conzen, *The Making of the American Landscape* (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1990) p. 4
[213] Bunce, *The Countryside Ideal,* p. 198

landscape' by groups such as that around the American journal *Landscape*[214] – culminating in the increasing government involvement in landscape management and conservation.[215]

The definition of identity inevitably involves constructing an image of the self in opposition to the 'Other'. Thus, much of Western cultural identity has been defined against the backdrop of Oriental studies, where Egyptology, Chinese religion or middle eastern politics all serve to reinforce the imagined 'otherness' of the Orient.[216] Dennis Cosgrove has played an important role in reconnecting the study of landscape with this underlying understanding of culture and society, away from the relatively narrow focus upon aesthetics, design and taste. In summary, Cosgrove has written that landscape is critically important to "the myths and memories of a culture."[217] W. J. T. Mitchell has extended Cosgrove's thesis, focusing upon "landscape as a cultural force for the construction and maintenance of national and social identities."[218] In *Landscape and Power* (2002), Mitchell analyses the "vast network of cultural codes"[219] that comprise the semiotics of landscape, and discusses collective fantasies of place "as central to the 'national imaginary.'"[220] As Stephan Kohl has argued:

> "'Rural England' […] is not the countryside, or nature, but a representation of the country, constructed from traditional material along conventional lines of combination. […] In other words, they are signifiers in the context of a language the rules of which are known to painters and writers."[221]

If western culture has been defined against that of a generalised 'Orient', the 'collective fantasies' of national identity have been defined against the imagery of their neighbours. For example, Matless has argued that John Betjeman's idealised villages, and Vera Brittain's "fields and lanes of lovely countryside" both stood as idyllic visions contrasted against the images of death and destruction returning from the continent

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[214] The term 'cultural landscape' emerged from French regional geography, coined in 1925 by Carl Ortwin Sauer to describe a visual understanding of the human environment. E. Ghenoiu, "The Resurgence of Visual Urbanism in the American Architectural Discourse, 1954-1972", *The Journal of Architecture* (Routledge, 2012), 17(5), pp. 655-666

[215] Conzen, *The Making of the American Landscape,* p. 4
[216] Saïd, *Orientalism*
[217] D. Cosgrove, *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape*, 1998 p. xiii
[218] Burden, Kohl, eds., *Landscape and Englishness,* p. 24
[219] Mitchell, *Landscape and Power,* p.27
[220] Burden, Kohl, eds., *Landscape and Englishness,* p. 24
[221] Burden, Kohl, eds., *Landscape and Englishness,* pp. 186-7

during the Second World War.[222] While these may be regarded as personal responses to the imagery of War, the wartime British Government itself contributed to this perpetuation of the rural idyll, via its 'Recording Britain' project, in which artists fashioned rural scenes affected by war and urban development, producing "a deeply traditional watercolour memorial to an Englishness off the beaten track; eccentric, obscure, out of time."[223]

When it was not war on the continent that threatened the perceived sanctity of rural England it was supposedly dangerous continental precedent in urban design – or the lack of it. Patrick Abercrombie's essay, regarding Belgian modernist poet Emile Verhaeren's *Les Villes Tentaculaires,* most probably influenced Clough Williams Ellis's *England and the Octopus* – a manifesto against unchecked 'ribbon development' in rural areas, which Ellis saw as a threat even to the idea of England itself.[224] By the time Abercrombie came to compile the 1945 *Greater London Plan,* prepared for the Ministry of Town and Country Planning, this idealised vision of rural England had become thoroughly engrained, leading to its incorporation of preservationist measures such as the 'greenbelt' encircling London.[225]

This idealisation of rural imagery was, of course, not new but had been upheld throughout much of the proceeding century, in contrast to the industrial reality of much of nineteenth century Britain. This had been predominantly by the middle classes, whom, profiting from industry and commerce "worked hard – through the patronage of arts and literature – to get this image of England into common usage."[226] Examples of such imagery are too numerous to cover at any length here, but Helen Allingham's idyllic watercolours,[227] Gertrude Jekyll's cottage gardening,[228] Edwin Lutyens' eclectic architecture, as well as their numerous imitators, have all played their part in this imagined vision of Englishness. Michael Bunce reminds us that this commonality of the idealisation of rural England has been achieved chiefly via "images and values

[222] Equally, George Orwell's "deep meadows […] and slow moving streams bordered by willows" may be contrasted against his personal experiences of the Spanish Civil War. Matless, *Landscape and Englishness,* p. 277
[223] Matless, *Landscape and Englishness,* p. 193
[224] See also C. W. Ellis, *Britain and the Beast* (1937). D. Matless, *Landscape and Englishness* (London: Reaktion Books, 1998) p. 37
[225] Matless, *Landscape and Englishness,* p. 204
[226] Burden, Kohl, eds., *Landscape and Englishness,* p. 212

[227] See H. Allingham, *The Cottage Homes of England* (London: Edward Arnold, 1909)
[228] Also Jekyll's theoretical writing, for example her theory for designing with colour, based upon the theories of painter J. M. W. Turner.

presented […] by an increasingly dominant range of mass media," [229] or what Baudrillard terms, "the networks of influence."[230] One need only to think of television series such as *All Creatures Great and Small* (1978-90)*, Emmerdale* (1972-) or *Last of the Summer Wine* (1973-) to see this popular media perpetuation of a rural English identity. As Bunce points out, "Even somebody as cynical as the American travel writer Bill Bryson comes to the conclusion that "[England] is still the best place in the world […] to stand on a hillside and take in the view,"[231] while Salman Rushdie has identified "England as a pure, white Palladian mansion set upon a hill above a silver winding river." [232]

The most striking representation of rural symbolism in the construction, or reinforcement of, national and cultural identities must surely be the London 2012 opening ceremony of the Olympic Games. Filling the stadium with a patchwork of fields, complete with thatched cottage, heavy horses and flat-capped farm labourers, this idealised scene was broadcast live – in high definition – to a reputed worldwide audience of over four billion viewers.[233] Journalist Sarah Lyall of the *New York Times* described the symbolism of the opening ceremony as:

> "A wild jumble of the celebratory and the fanciful; the conventional and the eccentric; and the frankly off-the-wall, Britain presented itself to the world […] as something it has often struggled to express even to itself: a nation secure in its own post-empire identity, whatever that actually is."[234]

In a similar process, contrasts of landscape imagery have been used as a means of defining regional identities within nations – a process David Jannson has called a kind of "internal orientalism."[235] This has been pronounced in Britain where the Olympic scene of rolling hills and thatched cottages privileges the rural landscapes of the southern counties, while popular culture from stand-up comedy to television documentary contributes towards a picture of the north as industrial, bleak and deprived.

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[229] Bunce, *The Countryside Ideal,* p. 37
[230] J. Baudrillard, "The Ecstacy of Communication" in H. Foster, ed., *Postmodern Culture* (London: Pluto, 1985) pp. 133
[231] B. Bryson, *Notes from a Small Island* (London: Black Swan, 1995) p. 352
[232] S. Rushdie, *The Ground Beneath her Feet* (London: Ransom House, 1999) p. 86
[233] M. Hamilton, "Will Four Billion People Watch the Olympic Opening Ceremony?" *The Guardian* (27 July 2012)
[234] P. Harris, "Olympics Opening Ceremony: US Media Reacts to 'Peculiar' British Festival," *The Guardian* (28 July 2012)
[235] J. C. Cobb, *Away Down South: A History of Southern Identity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005) p. 3

On the other side of the Atlantic, James Cobb has argued that a process of internal orientalism allowed the American nation to locate all of its undesirable traits in the "imagined space called 'the South'."[236] This demonization of the American south as culturally barren, and based upon outmoded rural economies,[237] contributed to the animosity felt on either side of the north-south divide, which eventually ignited in the events leading to the American Civil War. Here too, images of landscape would play a crucial role in defining the identities of both north and south: the north defined by images of industrial modernity; the south defined by the English colonial plantation estate – a picture of social order and culture to southerners, barbaric symbol of slavery and economic stagnation to the north. Herein lies the danger associated with the construction of identities based on cultural and national boundaries; where one group's identity is consolidated, another group may be excluded or demonised.[238]

If landscape imagery has been instrumental in the aesthetic definition of national, regional and cultural identities, it is in the historical content of landscapes that much political narrative finds its voice. The example of the southern plantation mansion demonstrates how historic structures and landscapes may be viewed via a lens of nostalgic or romantic reflection; thus the eighteenth century plantation may be viewed as an idealised vision of the 'original' America; of the South as it was, is, or should be once more. On the other hand, the plantation may be interpreted as alien to the ideals of modernism, and representative of a decadent and immoral past to which the nation should never return. As Eric Hobsbawm has explained:

> "History is the raw material for nationalist or ethnic or fundamentalist ideologies, as poppies are the material for heroin addiction. The past is an essential element, perhaps *the* essential element in these ideologies […] the past legitimizes by giving a more glorious background to a present that doesn't have much to show for itself."[239]

[236] Ibid.
[237] Continuing today in northern characterisations of the southern 'redneck' or country and western music.
[238] For example, Theodor Adorno has noted Martin Heidegger's adoration of Germany's Black Forest farmhouses in *Building, Dwelling, Thinking* (1951), in the light of his previous membership of the National Socialist (Nazi) party. T. Adorno, *The Jargon of Authenticity* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1973); A. Sharr, *Heidegger for Architects* (London: Routledge, 2007)
[239] E. Hobsbawm, "The New Threat to History," *New York Review of Books* (Dec 16, 1993) p. 62 P. 73

Similarly, Simon Schama has written that "although we are accustomed to separate nature and human perception into two realms, they are, in fact, indivisible. […] scenery is built up as much from strata of memory as from layers of rock."[240]

Concluding his topical study, Smith posed the question "why does national identity remain so ubiquitous, multifaceted and pervasive?" To Smith, national identity in an increasingly secular age offers the tantalising possibility of surmounting the finality of death, of being a part of something that transcends the limits of one's own mortality. It allows us to re-connect with a community of ancestors through shared values, symbols and practices and to re-live the myth of a former golden age. Of critical importance to the construction of such notions of cultural, regional and national identity are the symbols of heritage, memory and nostalgia, qualities perceived in landscape vistas and their representations via the visual sense. According to Maxine Feifer's description of visual culture, the contemporary observer "mixes and matches from the *mediascape* forming their own virtual [identity], part mythic cliché, part surprising and hybrid invention, part narrative debris."[241] Thus, one might argue that despite the myriad of identity symbols the individual's interpretation is continually shaped in relation to the *mediascape* in which they are immersed: As Raymond Williams has written, any society "is an active debate and amendment under the pressures of experience, contact, and discovery, writing themselves into the land […] made and remade in every individual mind."[242] The forms of urban and natural landscapes thus continue to be shaped by images viewed with picturesque nostalgic sensibilities, tempered by notions of identity which make claims to an authentic past.

2.2 Concluding Observations

This literature review has surveyed briefly the theoretical territory of the protected vista, as I interpret it. The following chapter of this dissertation will describe the intellectual and cultural history of Britain's first protected vista, the view from Richmond Hill, demonstrating how particular values and narratives, including but not limited to notions of the aforementioned *gaze, picturesque, nostalgia, authenticity* and

[240] S. Schama, *Landscape and Memory* (London: Harper Collins, 1995) p.7
[241] Crouch, Jackson, Thompson, eds., *The Media & The Tourist Imagination,* p. 203
[242] Raymond Williams in Crouch, Jackson, Thompson, eds., *The Media & The Tourist Imagination,* p. 210

identity, have been attached to this particular landscape vista, and how these values have shifted and developed over time. The intention is to show that while the aesthetic quality of the landscape vista has been admired from an early date, it is these particular interpretations or readings of the landscape which have contributed to the enduring qualities and power of the vista, qualities which are themselves reinforced by the very act of protection.



Chapter 3.0

LONDON'S ORIGINAL PROTECTED VISTA:

Richmond Hill

This chapter should be read with reference to an interactive spatial rendering of the vista from Richmond Hill, produced by the author to accompany this dissertation with Photosynth software and freely available to view at the following web address:

http://photosynth.net/userprofilepage.aspx?user=tbrig&content=Synths

3.0 London's Original Protected Vista: Richmond Hill

It is the aim of this chapter to outline the complex history of London's original protected vista, that of the River Thames as seen from the terrace atop Richmond Hill, Richmond-upon-Thames. The idea of that view is produced by a series of narratives encoded within the Richmond landscape, which repeatedly re-surface in accounts of the view during the course of centuries. These narratives are decisive to any appreciation of the view, and - as the original protected view, in the sense that it is now understood – they are decisive in the conception of the idea of the protected view more broadly. This chapter will argue that the origin of the protected vista reflects a desire to reinforce, or to enforce, particular cultural and intellectual values within the representation of landscape and, subsequently, cityscape.

The structure of this chapter is chronological, beginning with an historical survey of the Thames landscape between Hampton and Kew. The intention of this is to set the Richmond Hill vista within its wider geographical, cultural and intellectual contexts. As we shall see, this landscape has for centuries been perceived as more than its physical topography, as the setting for Caesar's crossing of the Thames and the crowning place of Saxon kings, a history certainly not lost upon subsequent monarchs who located their courts here, each generation positioning themselves symbolically within a romanticised and apparently seamless historical lineage. This chapter will outline the evolution and development of this landscape and account for the ideas which form its cultural topography.

3.1 *Early History*

The Thames between Hampton and Kew suddenly enters written history with Caesar's account of the conquest of Britain.[1] At this time, the river acted as a natural boundary between a complex system of tribal territories.[2] The region stretching from the northern bank of the Thames as far north as East Anglia, was ruled over by

[1] G. J. Caesar, *The Conquest of Gaul*, trans. by S. A. Handford, rev. by J. F. Gardner, (Harmondsworth; New York: Penguin Books, 1951)

[2] The present course of the Thames is, in geological terms, relatively recent. The river was diverted, around half a million years ago, when the valley was blocked by a glacier. Along the edges of these ice flows, moraines or gravel terraces were formed. The promenade atop Richmond Hill is just one example of these gravel terraces. Alternating warm and cold periods formed new gravel terraces from previous floodplains. These flanking terraces provided flat, fertile agricultural land and pasture and would later prove ideal sites for the development of towns, palaces and landscaped gardens.

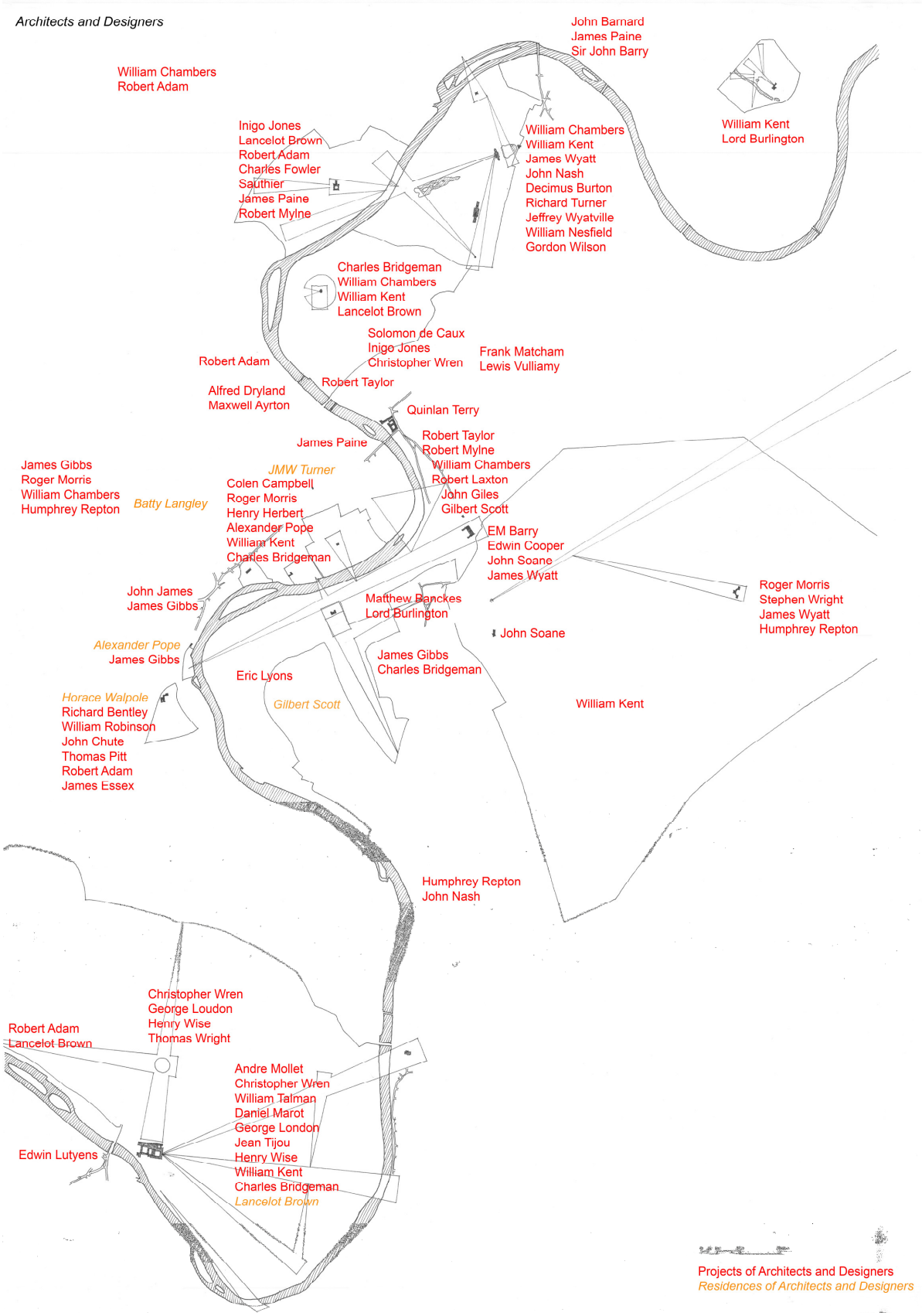


Fig. 3.1 Map showing the position of works by well-known architects and designers throughout the ages, and the location of the homes of many of local origin. Image by author, adapted from K. Wilkie, M. Battaggia, M. Batey, D. Lambert, H. Buttery, J. Pearce, D. Goode and D. Bentley, *Thames Landscape Strategy* (Thames Landscape Steering Group, 1994) p. 10

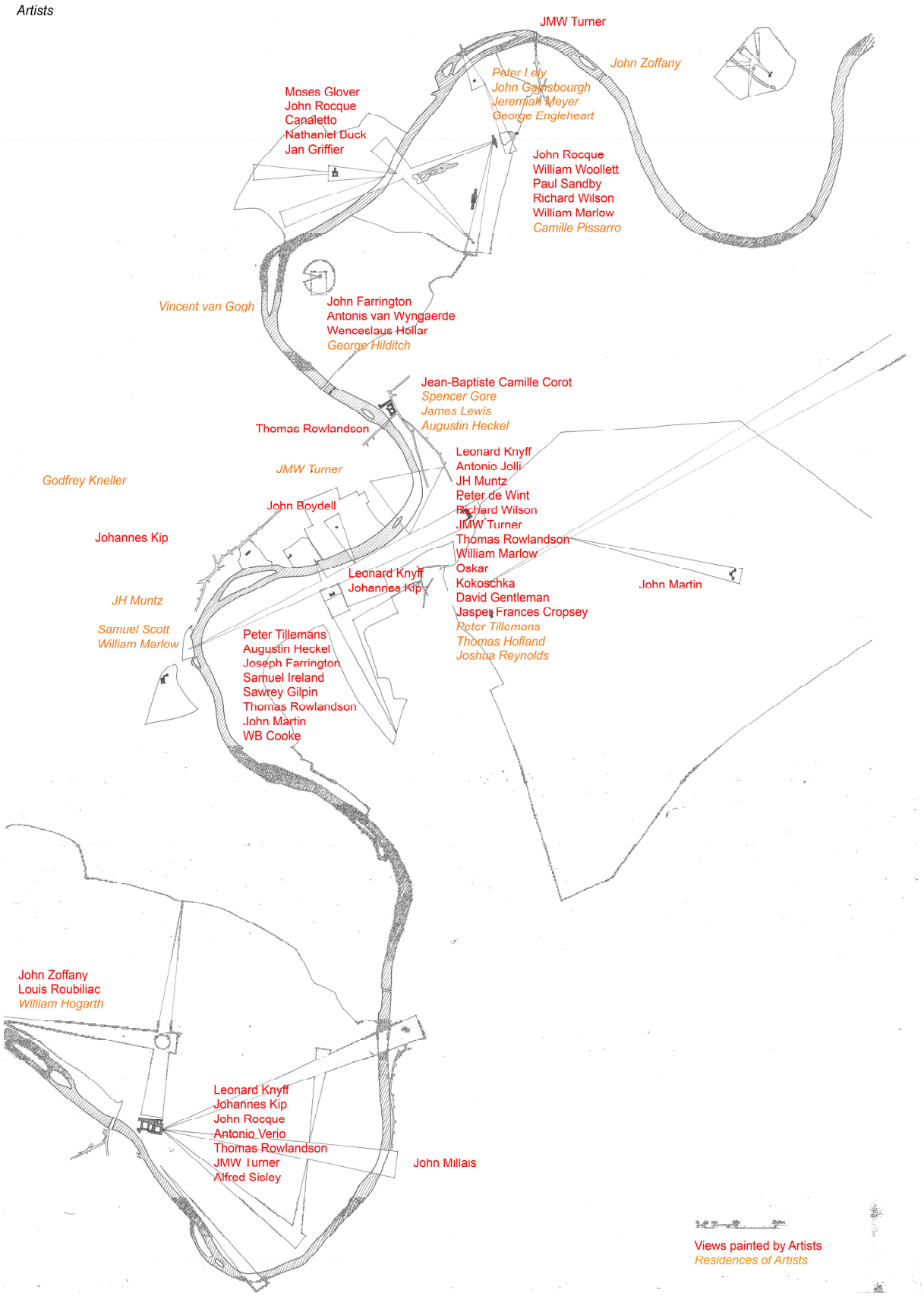


Fig. 3.2 Map showing the position of views painted by well-known artists throughout the ages, and the location of the homes of many local artists. Image by author, adapted from K. Wilkie, M. Battaggia, M. Batey, D. Lambert, H. Buttery, J. Pearce, D. Goode and D. Bentley, *Thames Landscape Strategy* (Thames Landscape Steering Group, 1994) p. 10

Cassivellaunus, king of the Celtic tribe known as the Catuvellauni.[3] The discovery of an oak and bronze tankard in the Thames at Brentford suggests that life on the banks of the river before the Roman conquest was comfortable enough to involve communal feasting and festivities.[4] According to some scholars, it is from the Celtic period that we inherit the word 'Thames,' interpreted as 'dark one.'[5]

Brent*ford* also claims to have been the crossing point of Caesar's invasion force in 54BC, as geographically, it was the simplest and lowest place to ford the tidal river. Remains of sharpened stakes defending the crossing point, as mentioned by Caesar, have been discovered on the edge of the Duke of Northumberland's Syon estate.[6]

After the collapse of Roman order in the fifth century AD, the area north of the Thames was gradually settled by Saxon farmers. Roughly situated between the East and West Saxon regions, this stretch of the Thames was identified as the 'Middle Saxon' region, reflected today in the name of Middlesex County. It is from the Saxons that we inherit many of the area's place-names, for example, the 'hamms' or bends in the river at Twickenham ('Twicca's hamm') and Petersham ('Peohtric's hamm').[7] Kingston takes its name from the council held there by King Egbert of the kingdom of Wessex in the 9th century.[8] West Saxon kings continued to be crowned there until the Danish King Canute defeated Edward Ironside in 1016, thus ending the rule of the West Saxon dynasty.[9]

3.2 *Royal Retreat*

Royalty returned to the area in 1299 when, as a refuge from the insanitary conditions of the City of London, Edward I relocated his court to the manor house at 'Shene' (Richmond).[10] Edward III gave the manor at Shene to his mother Isabella, though he returned some fifty years later in the 1370's, having abandoned the royal palace at Greenwich, blighted by pollution from the city upwind. Edward's successor

[3] B. Cunliffe, *Iron Age Communities in Britain: An Account of England, Scotland and Wales from the Seventh Century BC until the Roman Conquest* (London: Routledge, 2009)
[4] Part of the Thomas Layton Collection, held at the Museum of London. Thomas Layton, a well regarded 19th century antiquarian and collector, was a resident of Brentford.
[5] Others have interpreted it as a proto-English or German word meaning 'inhabited place where the estuary begins.' For a full etymology, see http://www.proto-english.org/l10.html [accessed 01/04/2013].
[6] One such stake may be seen on display at Syon House.
[7] M. Batey, H. Buttery, D. Lambert and K.Wilkie, *Arcadian Thames*, (London: Barn Elms, 1994), p.11
[8] Recorded as the year 836 or 838AD. H. E. Malden, *A History of the County of Surrey Volume 3* (1911), pp. 487-501
[9] Edward the Elder 902AD; Athelstan 925; Edmund 940; Edred 946; Edwig 955; Ethelred 958. Ibid., pp. 487-501
[10] Interpreted as 'shining,' a reference to the reflective properties of the river floodplains. Ibid., pp. 533-546

Richard II added a summer pavilion on an artificial island in the Thames, though no trace survives. Distraught at the death of his queen,[11] Edward tore down the palace in 1394, never to return. Monarchs did return to Richmond some twenty years later however; Henry V and then Henry VI rebuilt the palace at Shene, only for it to be destroyed again by fire in 1497.[12]

Despite demolition, abandonment, rebuilding and fire, the palace rose again during Henry VII's prosperous and peaceful reign, acquiring its famed silhouette of towers, pinnacles and heraldry. At this time, the palace was renamed after Henry's favourite Earldom of Richmond, North Yorkshire. It has been argued that the chivalric devices, turrets and dramatic skyline seen in Antonis van Wyngaerde's sketches of the palace (1561-2, fig. 3.4) are a romantic reference to Henry's Norman castle at Richmond, North Yorkshire, itself similarly sited on a hill commanding extensive views over a bend in a river.[13] Henry VIII was frequently in residence at his father's Richmond palace in his early years and it was later Elizabeth I's favoured winter refuge, and the place of her death in 1603.[14]

Beyond the palace of Richmond, huge areas of land were appropriated by royalty for the pursuit of pleasures such as hunting, and to feed the enormous retinues of the royal court. Charles I, famously addicted to hunting, found James I's former deer park so inadequate that in 1637 he enclosed 2,500 acres of heath land on Richmond Hill with an eight mile long brick wall, thus creating Richmond Park.[15] A seventeenth-century Flemish painting of Richmond Palace in the collections of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, shows the palace and town as it might have appeared in Charles I's reign (fig. 3.3). This view illustrates the palace and Richmond Hill, with the entrance to Charles's Richmond Park to the right.

Gradually, the old palace of Richmond fell out of favour in preference for the more comfortable Hampton Court upstream near Kingston, gifted to Henry VIII by Cardinal Wolsey in an effort to stall accusations of treason. When fire ripped through the ancient jumble of buildings which comprised Whitehall Palace in 1698, Hampton Court became the primary royal residence and, as a result, was greatly remodelled by William III. This involved the demolition of Henry VIII's private apartments and the

[11] Anne of Bohemia died at Shene Palace on 7th June 1394. Malden, *A History of the County of Surrey*, pp. 533-546
[12] Ibid.
[13] Batey, Buttery, Lambert and Wilkie, *Arcadian Thames*, p.93
[14] Malden, *A History of the County of Surrey*, pp. 533-546
[15] Ibid.



Fig. 3.3 The Thames at Richmond with the Old Royal Palace. Seventeenth-century painting of the Flemish School, courtesy of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

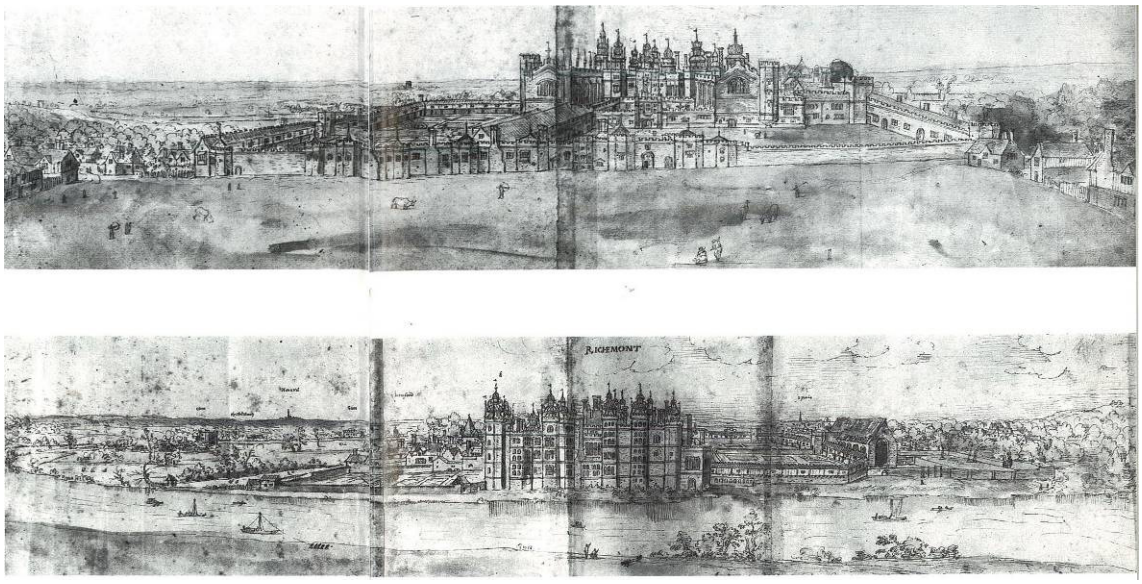


Fig. 3.4 Two views of Henry VII's Richmond Palace by Antonis van Wyngaerde 1561-2. Image from J. Cloake, *Richmond Past* (Historical Publications Ltd, 1991)

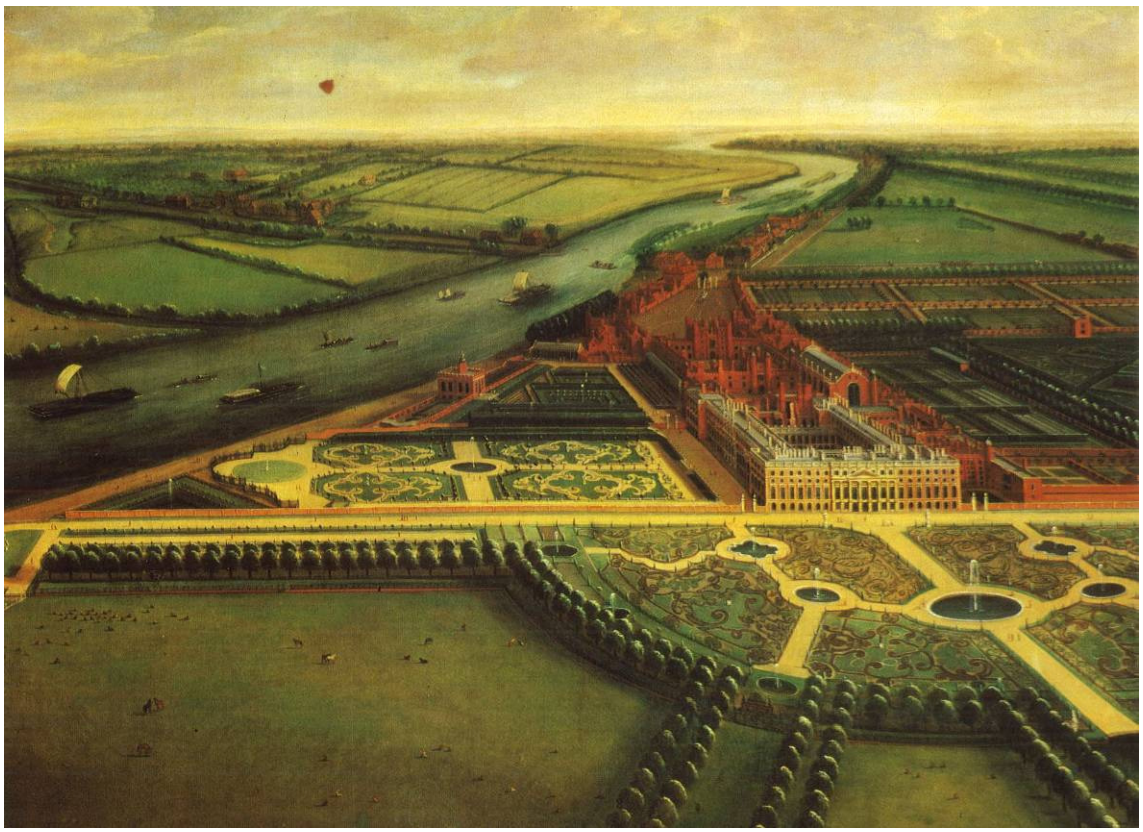


Fig. 3.5 Richmond Palace was gradually abandoned in favour of nearby, and more comfortable, Hampton Court. This painting by Leonard Knyff (c. 1702) shows the palace and gardens as remodelled by William III. Image courtesy of the Royal Collection.

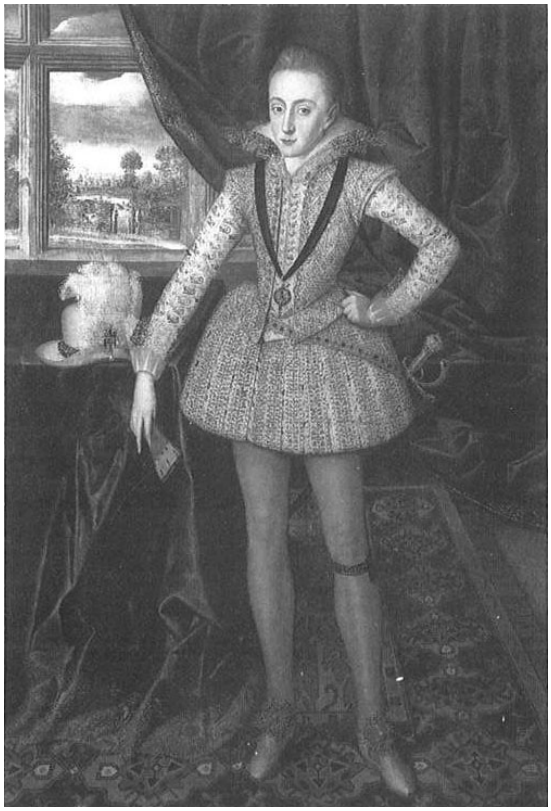


Fig. 3.6 James I's son, Henry, Prince of Wales, at Richmond Palace c. 1610. Through the window, artist Robert Peake depicts some of the extraordinary landscape work Henry commissioned from French engineer Solomon de Caus to line the Thames at Richmond. Image courtesy of the National Portrait Gallery.

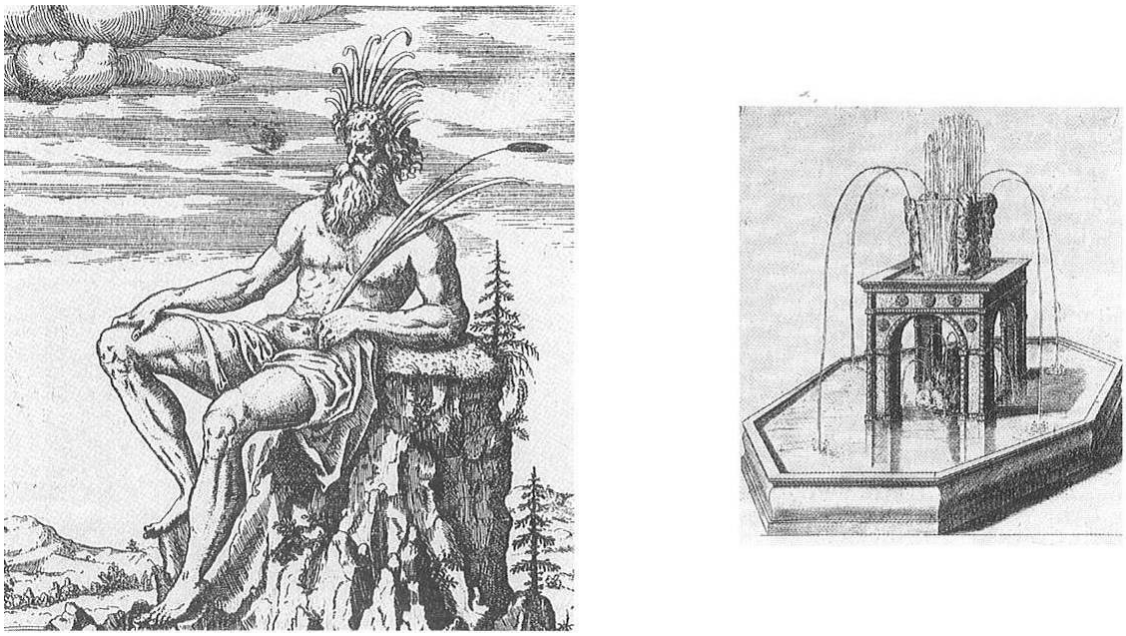


Fig. 3.7 Design for fountain and grotesque giant, at least partially executed at Richmond Palace by Solomon de Caus in collaboration with architect Inigo Jones. Illustrated in Solomon de Caus's *La Perspective avec la raison des ombres et miroirs* (1611). Image from J. Cloake, *Richmond Past* (Historical Publications Ltd, 1991) p. 16

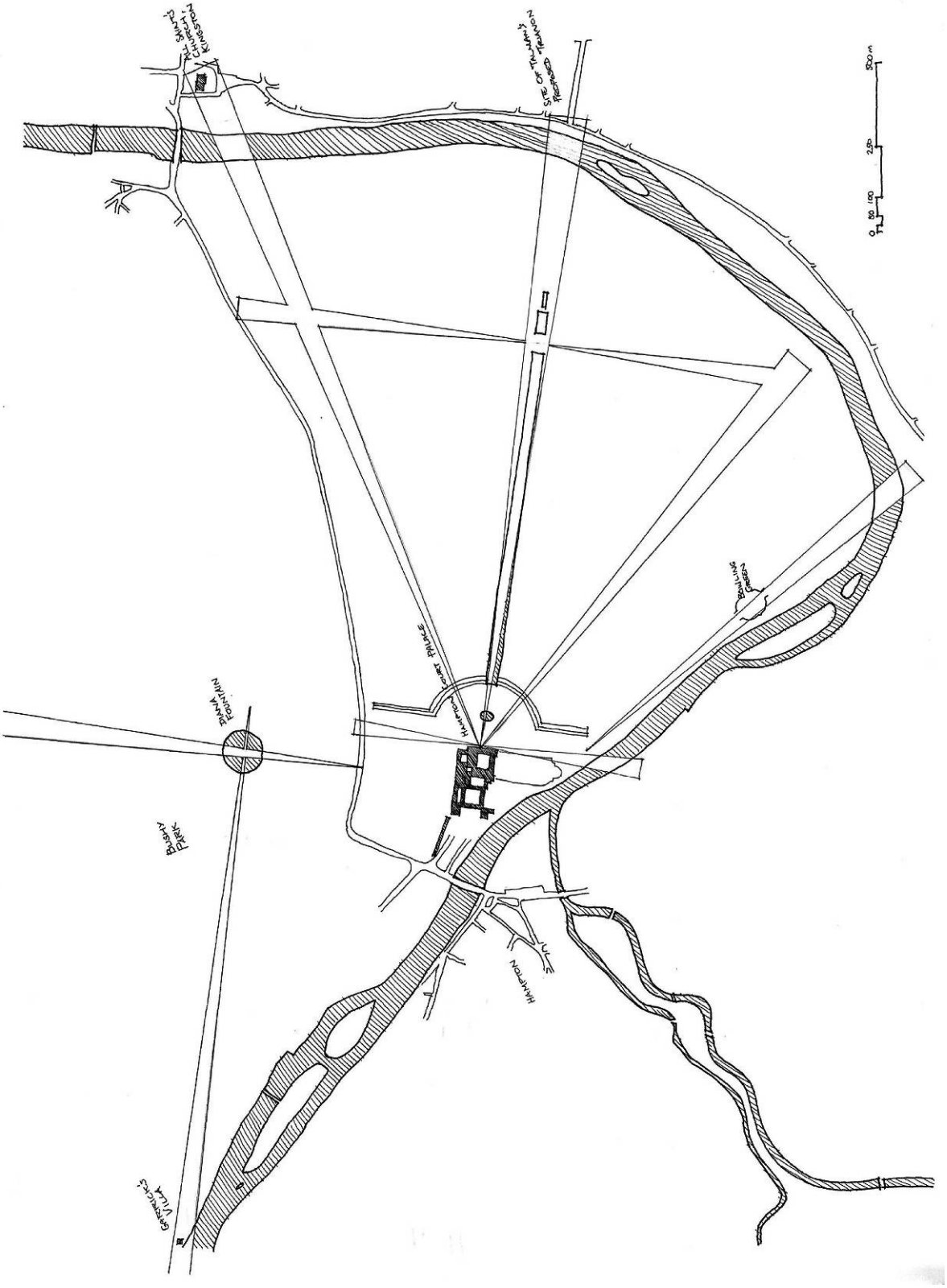


Fig. 3.8 Map of the Hampton reach of the Thames showing key perspectival vistas established in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Image by author.

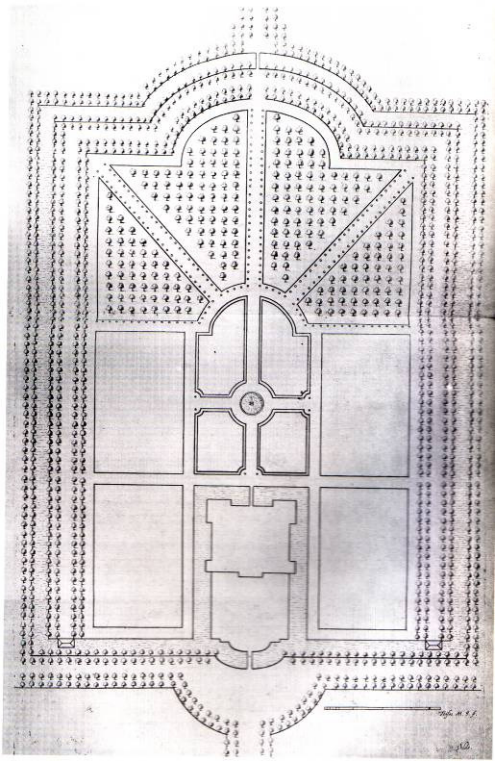


Fig. 3.9 Plan of a house and garden from Andre Mollet's *Le Jardin Plaisir* (1651) illustrating a perspectival 'patte d'oie' similar to that executed at Hampton Court Palace in the 1660s (possibly designed by Mollet but executed by Adrian May. Image from R. Strong, *The Renaissance Garden in England* (W W Norton & Co Inc, 1979)



Fig. 3.10 Ham House, shown in this painting by Henry Danckerts (c. 1675), is an example of the many courtier estates established along the Thames during the seventeenth-century, attracted by the proximity of the city, and the presence of Royalty. Image from J. Cloake, *Richmond Past* (Historical Publications Ltd, 1991)

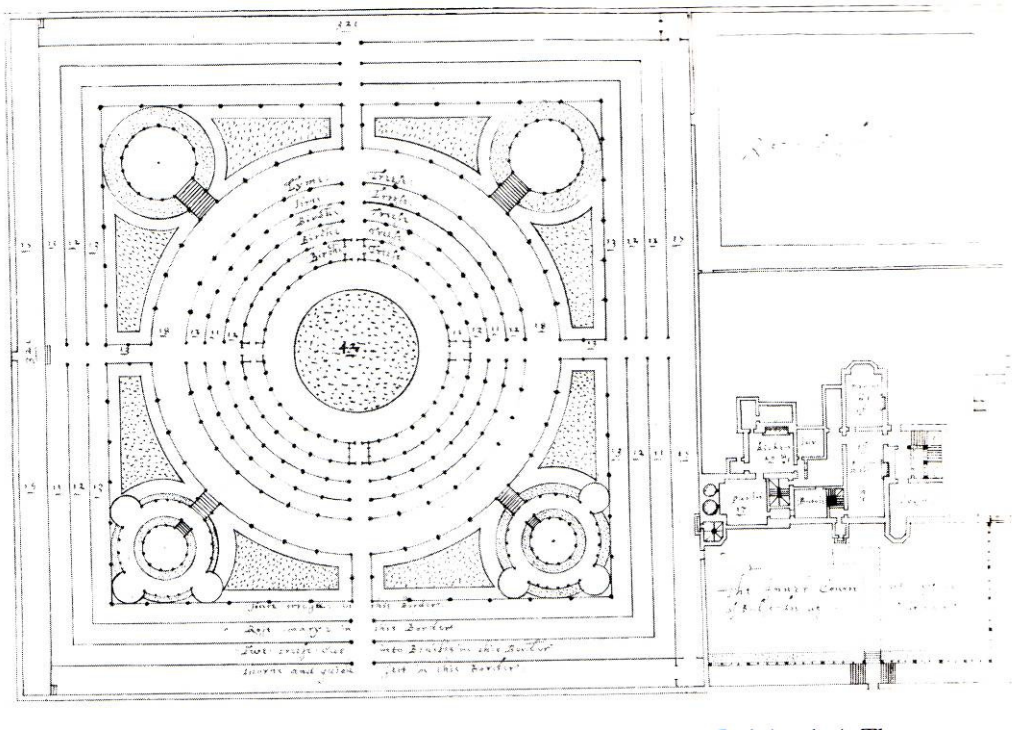


Fig. 3.11 Drawing of the house and gardens at Twickenham Park by architect Robert Smythson c. 1609 showing the geometrical garden as cosmos. At the four corners, circular ‘mounts’ allow the observer to gaze down upon, and to contemplate the meaning of, the garden below. Image from R. Strong, *The Renaissance Garden in England* (W W Norton & Co Inc, 1979)

erection of a new baroque palace designed by Christopher Wren (fig. 3.5). These buildings are now in the care of Historic Royal Palaces.

The permanent presence of royalty encouraged members of the court to develop their own estates along the Thames. Most notable today is the survival of a seventeenth century gentleman's home and gardens at Ham House, built in 1610 by Thomas Vavasour, Knight Marshal to James I (Fig. 3.10), and now in the care of the National Trust. Royal patronage brought many of the great names of art, architecture and landscape architecture to the Thames between Hampton and Kew. Prince Henry, James I's son (see Fig. 3.6), had planned a Renaissance court at Richmond laid out with magnificent gardens designed by hydraulic engineer Solomon de Caus and architect Inigo Jones. Unfortunately, this scheme, which included an enormous Italianate giant and grotto[16] located on an island in the Thames (see Fig. 3.7), stalled upon Henry's death. [17]

Christopher Wren's remodelling of Hampton Court complemented Charles II's earlier gardens, laid out by Andre and Gabriel Mollet, and an elaborate parterre by Daniel Marot (1689) (fig. 3.9). The three radiating avenues of Hampton Court, the 'patte d'oie' or goose-foot laid out by Charles II[18] were originally aligned on 'eye-catchers' positioned across the river; the northern avenue terminating in the spire of All Saint's church, Kingston; the southern avenue planned to terminate in a Trianon designed by William Talman in 1699 (unexecuted, see Fig. 3.8).[19] These early landscape schemes are notable partly because they provide the context in which the early picturesque movement evolved. Prince Henry's pratolino giant in the Thames and Charles II's vistas indicate a developing appreciation of the naturalistic river landscape of the Thames, which would later prove to be of immense influence upon artists, architects and landscape architects.

3.3 *Richmond Hill: The Oblique Aerial View*

As we have seen, there is plenty of evidence to suggest that landscape views of the Thames have long been admired, from Richard II's island pavilion, to Henry VII's re-naming of the landscape after his dramatically sited castle in North Yorkshire. A clue

[16] Similar to that at Pratalino, Tuscany c.1652.
[17] Batey, Buttery, Lambert and Wilkie, *Arcadian Thames*, p.93
[18] Aided by André Le Nôtre's pupils Beaumont and La Quintenye as well as John Rose, protégé of the Earl of Essex, who studied at Versailles under Le Nôtre. Malden, *A History of the County of Surrey*, pp. 533-546
[19] Batey, Buttery, Lambert and Wilkie, *Arcadian Thames*, p.29

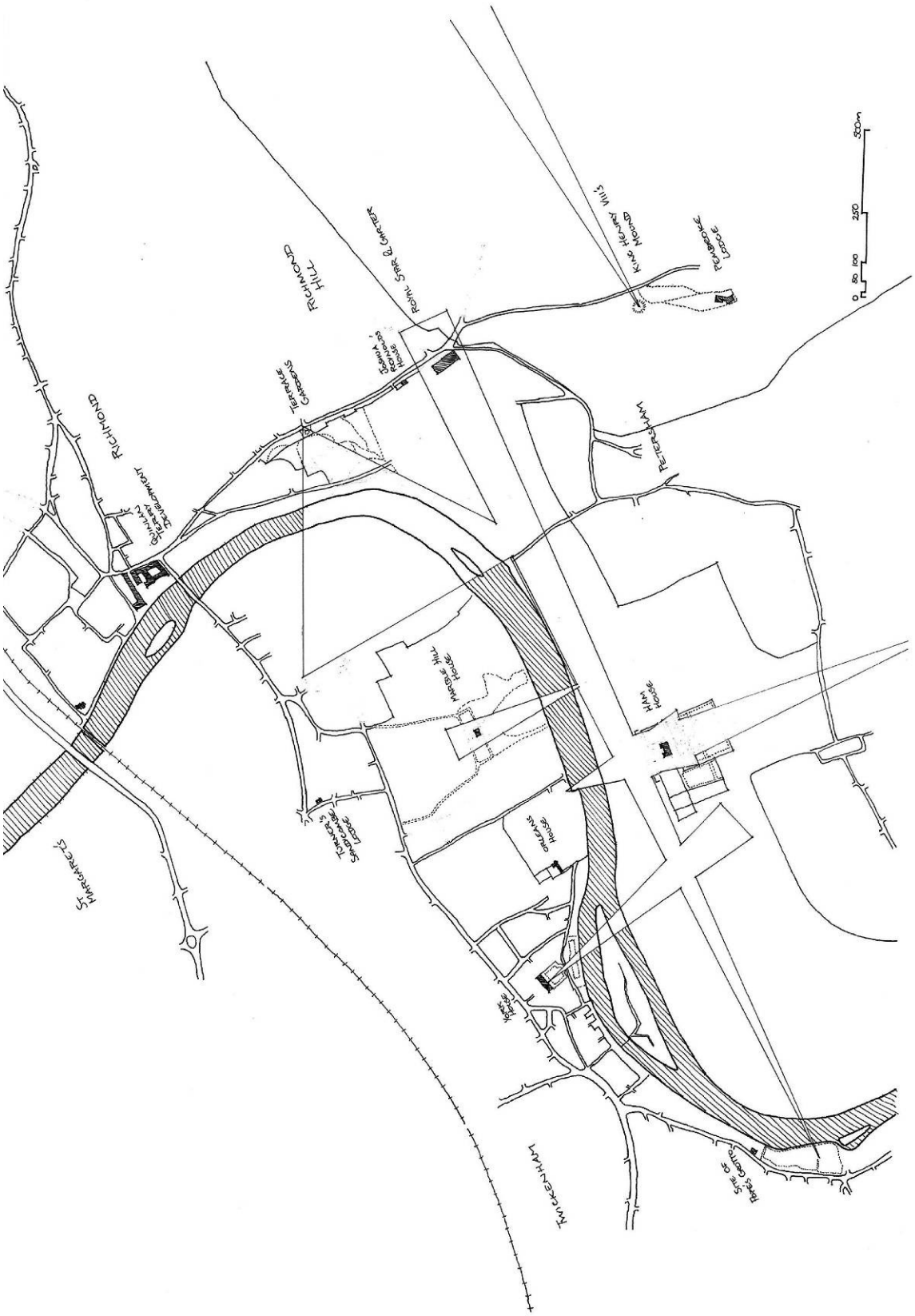


Fig. 3.12 Map showing the Richmond reach of the Thames with important views identified in the London View Management Framework and Thames Landscape Strategy highlight. Richmond Hill is centre-right. Drawing by author.

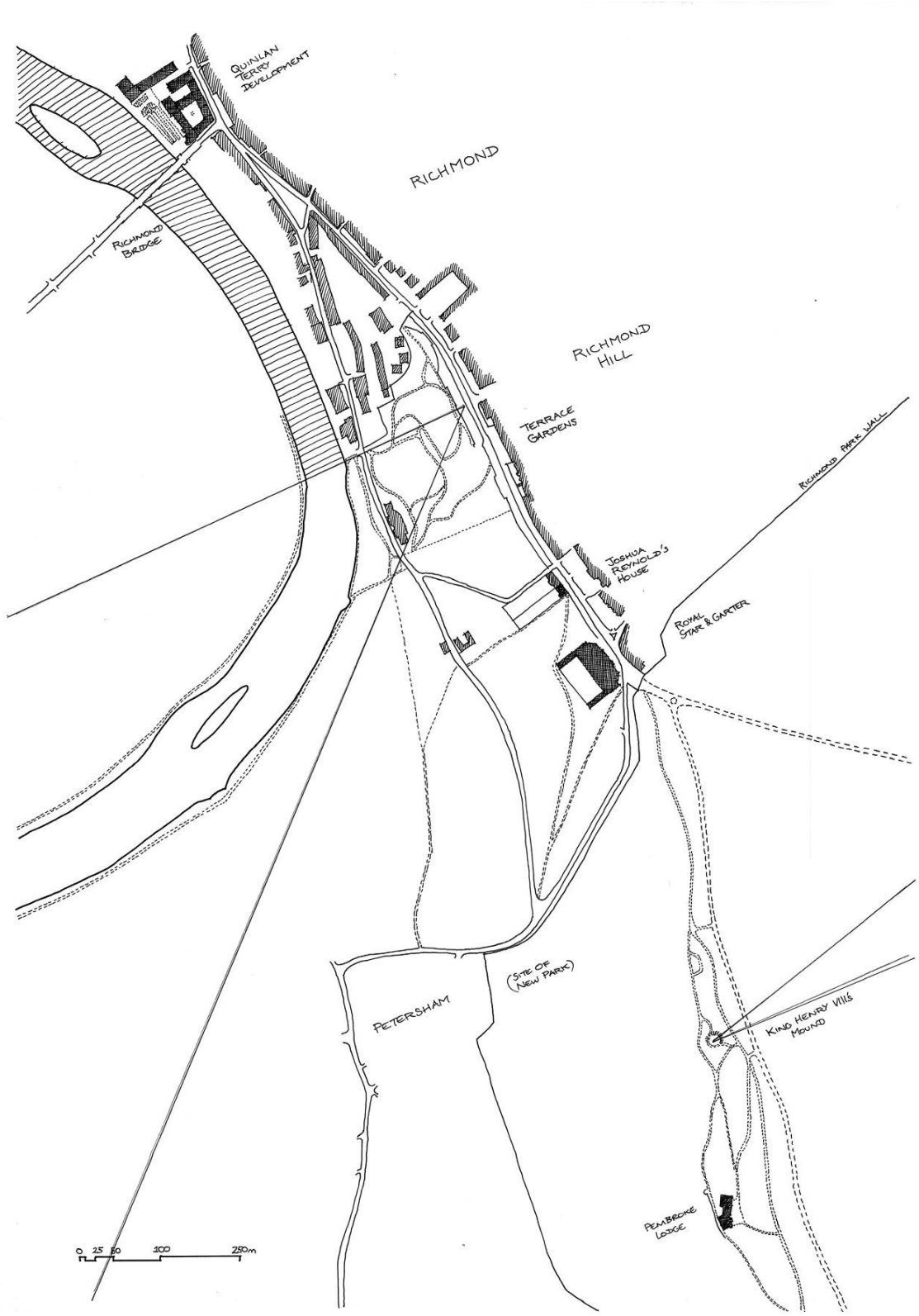


Fig. 3.13 Plan of Richmond Hill with the locations of the Terrace Walk viewpoint and King Henry VIII's Mound, Richmond Park indicated. Drawing by author.

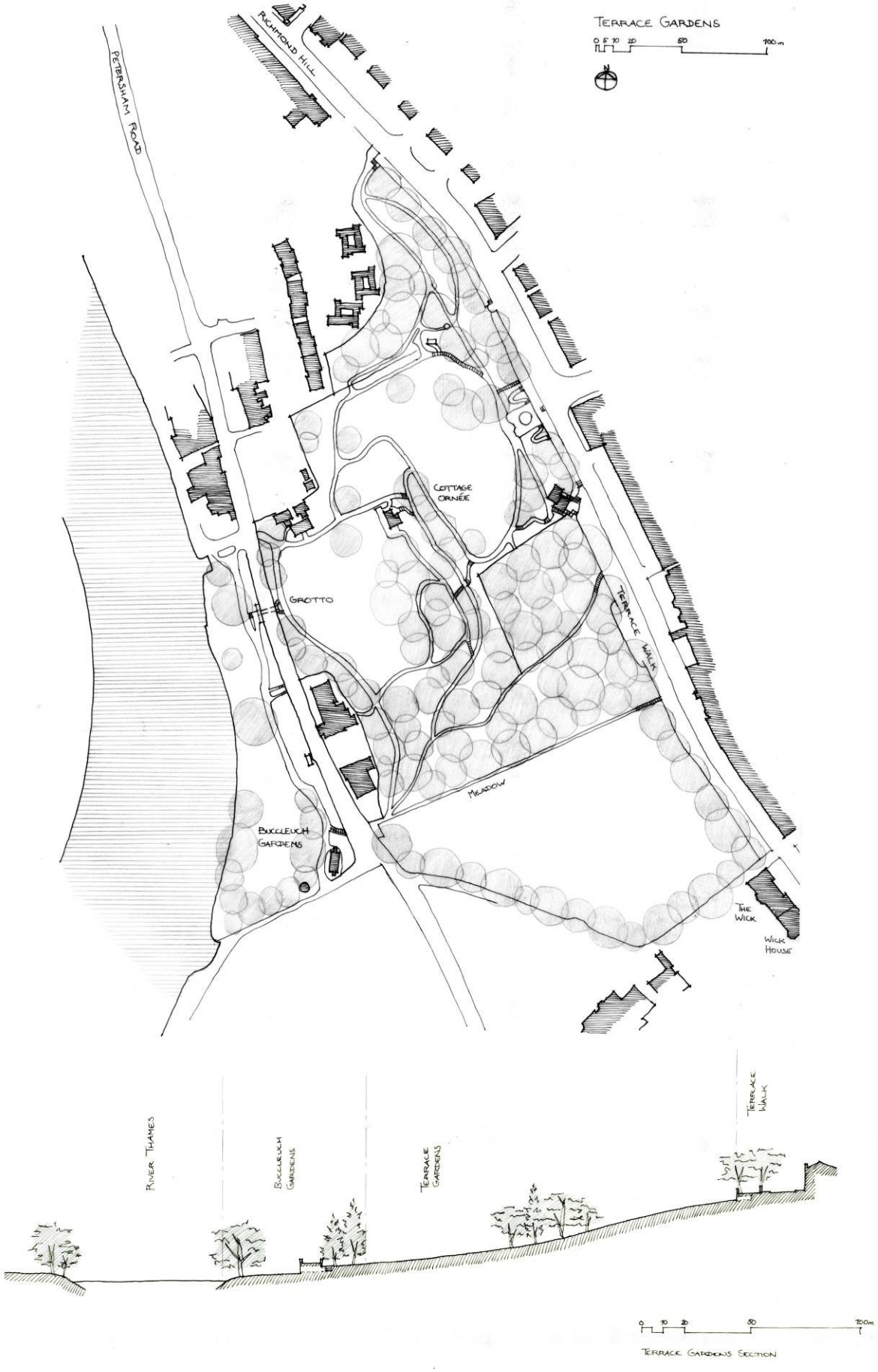


Fig. 3.14 Map and section of Richmond Hill's Terrace Gardens, indicating features referred to in the text. Drawing by author.



Fig. 3.15 The view from Richmond Hill, an interactive three-dimensional photographic model, produced by the author using Photosynth software. The software recognises coincidental areas of hundreds of photographs, allowing the viewer to 'travel' through the landscape at the click of the mouse. Model freely available to view at the following address: http://photosynth.net/userprofilepage.aspx?user=tbrig&content=Synths

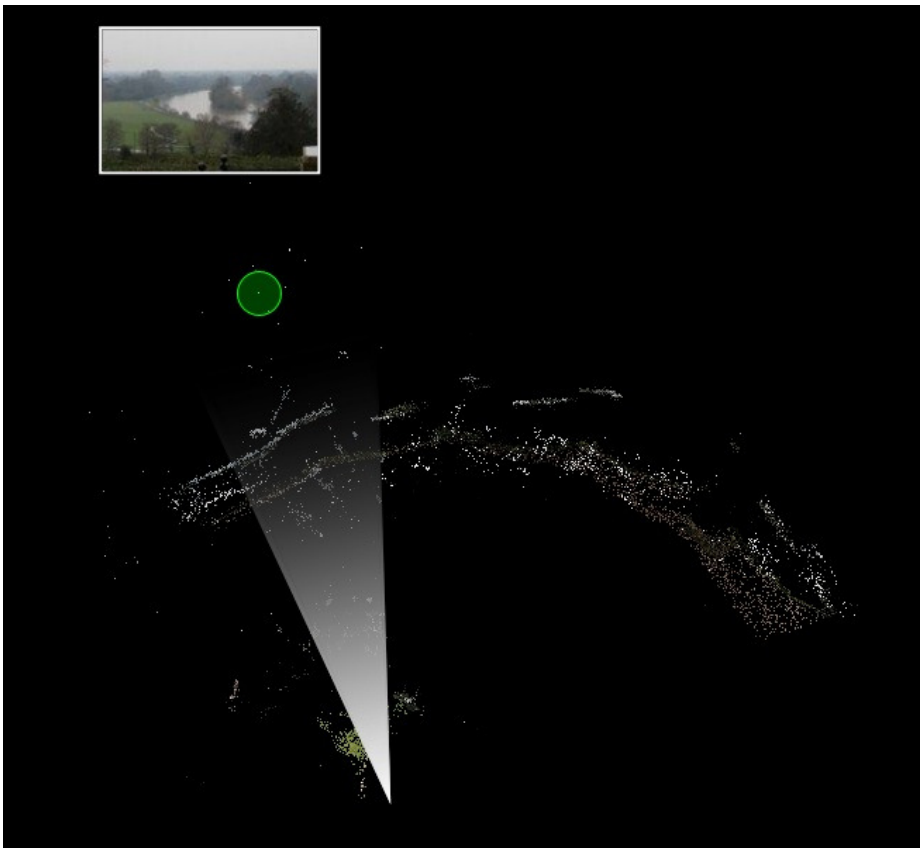


Fig. 3.16 The author's Photosynth three-dimensional model of the View from Richmond Hill. Each coloured pixel represents an individual photograph. The software calculates the viewing position and angle by analysing hundreds of overlapping images.

to the popularity of this particular landscape can be gleaned from a consideration of its many representations. Upon inspection, one finds that many early depictions of the Thames between Hampton and Kew adopt an oblique aerial point of view in which the eye is directed both downwards and laterally. The oblique aerial view is most commonly recognised from the summit of a hill; the so-called 'prospect', "an extensive or commanding sight or view."[20] The geological forces which shaped the terraces above the Thames floodplain created ideal vantage points from which to view the landscape in this manner, but the popularity of the oblique view also points to a distinctive perception of correct, authentic vision and landscape. The particular authority accorded to the oblique aerial view is important in appreciating the potency and longevity of the Richmond Hill vista.

A recent project by the University of Edinburgh, led by Mark Dorrian, has attempted to establish the anthropological origins of the aerial view. Dorrian suggests that the development of human vision coincided with the aerial view when humans first lifted themselves, from the grounded field of animal vision, onto two legs.[21] It has also been argued, most famously by Sigmund Freud, that by raising himself from the ground, lifting his eyes and exposing his genitalia, primitive man kick-started "the momentous process of cultural evolution".[22] Dorrian writes:

> "The elevated view – in association with the new sense of disgust and shame it induces […] - is posed as the foundation of culture and, more generally, the human."[23]

The elevated view, Dorrian claims, empowered the individual over the land, and thus may mark the formation of culture, from agriculture to religion. Comparisons could be made with cartography, where the map-maker takes up an imaginary raised position, thus acquiring the power to create boundaries and divide up the land as seen from a heavenly viewpoint; wielding a god-like mastery over the landscape. This is echoed by John Urry's description, in *The Tourist Gaze*, of a photographer taking an image from the summit of a hill. Urry states:

> "Landscapes and townscapes typically involve the notion of 'mastery'. The [cartographer], and then the viewer, is seen to be

[20] *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd Edition, vol. XII (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989) p.668-669
[21] M. Dorrian, 'The Aerial View: Notes for a Cultural History', in *STRATES,* ed. by Frédéric Pousin and Hélène Janière (Paris: CNRS, 2007)
[22] S. Freud, *Civilisation and Its Discontents* (London: Hogarth Press, 1930) p.66
[23] Dorrian, 'The Aerial View: Notes for a Cultural History', *STRATES.*

> above, and dominating, a static and subordinate landscape lying out inert and inviting inspection."[24]

The cartographical use of an imagined aerial vantage point is demonstrated by the depiction of partial elevations of buildings in early maps, as if the map-maker really could view the city in its entirety from a nearby hilltop. For example, engraver Franz Hogenberg's bird's eye plan of London published in Georg Braun's *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* (1572), illustrates the city as though it were observed from the summit of a hill by four foreground figures. Braun and Hogenberg's collection of prospect views and city plans was published in tandem with *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, which, as a systematic collection of maps in uniform style, was perhaps the first true atlas.[25] It has been suggested that the simultaneous publication of these two works reflects two distinct audiences. Where the latter work was produced for serious geographers, the former was intended for wider distribution as a form of travel literature. This intention is highlighted by the former's additions of foreground figures in local costume, depicted as if observing the idealised view from a real hilltop. Thus, one could argue that the *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* provided the observer with a visual experience of the city akin to the hilltop prospect, whereas the *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* presented only an abstract planimetric projection.[26]

Samuel Edgerton has seen the development of the orthographically projected plan as a solution to the problem of the limited boundaries of the visual field as observed obliquely from a single point. Even the orthographic projection, in an age before true aerial imagery became technologically achievable, was surveyed from an oblique position using a staff and ranging rod.[27] If the oblique view focused reflected rays of light from the observed object into a single point, the orthographic projection relocated the conceptual viewpoint to an infinite height, so that the rays become parallel to one another. This scientific conceptualisation of an infinitely high viewpoint, from where the whole structure of the world may be observed and understood, recalls Leon Battista Alberti's adoption of the winged eye as his personal symbol, signifying his

[24] J. Urry, *The Tourist Gaze* (London: Sage Publications Ltd, 2002) p.129
[25] F. Koks, http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/gmdhtml/gnrlort.html [accessed 12/04/2013]
[26] G. Braun, *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* (Cologne, 1572)
[27] S. Edgerton, *The Mirror, the Window and the Telescope: How Renaissance Linear Perspective Changed Our Vision of the Universe* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2009) p.64

thesis that, through a thorough understanding of the laws of vision,[28] one could begin to approach God's view of the world.

King Henry's Mound on Richmond Hill, though likely originating as a prehistoric burial mound, is popularly believed to have served a function associated with hunting in Richmond Park; the raised view serving as strategic look-out or as a place from which to observe the spectacle. Indeed, there were structures serving this latter function associated with the royal palaces. Greenwich, Richmond, Whitehall and Hampton Court all possessed tiltyards with raised terraces, mounts and towers designed to accommodate spectators of military-style jousting tournaments.[29] Those at Hampton Court can be clearly observed in Anthonis van den Wyngaerde's view of the palace in *The Panorama of London* (1544).

The mount didn't always serve such a military purpose, remaining a popular feature of garden design from the medieval period right through to the nineteenth century.[30] Henry VIII commissioned an elaborate mount garden at Hampton Court in 1533, reputedly utilising over 256,000 bricks and "12,000 quicksets (hawthorns) to hold the soil."[31] The enormous two storey banqueting house crowning its summit may be discerned in Wyngaerde's contemporary sketches of the palace from the Thames. Confronted with an expansive oblique aerial vista of the river, one could argue that the diner was empowered with a sense of over-lordship, while the prospect was also an object of aesthetic delight; where the activity of boats on the river provided an ever-changing backdrop to court festivities.

The mount was also a conspicuous feature of the Thames-side garden at Twickenham Park, no longer in existence, recorded by Elizabethan master-mason Robert Smythson in a plan of c.1609 (fig. 3.11). This drawing clearly illustrates four circular mounts raised at the corners of a square garden. Roy Strong has suggested that from these points the observer could contemplate the plan of the garden, which, with its six concentric rings of trees, can be interpreted as a microcosm and diagram of the pre-Copernican universe.[32] One could argue then, by taking up a raised viewpoint and

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[28] The Renaissance man was expected to take an active interest in all the arts and sciences in order to become moral, just and closer to God. D. Kipp, 'Alberti's 'Hidden' Theory of Visual Art', *British Journal of Aesthetics*, 24 3 (1984) pp. 231-40

[29] A. Young, *Tudor and Jacobean Tournaments*, (Sheridan House, 1987)

[30] T. Longstaffe-Gowan, *The London Town Garden, 1700-1840* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2001) p.124

[31] Extracted from Hampton Court Palace Records

[32] R. Strong, *The Renaissance Garden in England* (Thames & Hudson, 1984)

looking down upon the garden, the observer is raised to the all-seeing and all-powerful position of the creator - creator of the garden as allegorical universe. One could argue that this oblique aerial view, a common feature of seventeenth century mannerist garden design achieved with mounts, earthworks and terraces, may have influenced the way in which artists chose to depict them, reflected by their adoption of an imagined bird's eye viewing position. There may also be a connection to the aerial viewpoint of military surveys, where in each case the aerial view is associated with notions of power, control and the appropriation of landscapes. For example, the artist Paul Sandby, well-known for his aerial views of aristocratic gardens, had originally been employed as chief draftsman on the military survey of North Britain, 1747-52.[33] These military surveys of landscape and coastlines would later become the working drawings for the popular panoramas of the mid-eighteenth century.[34]

The eighteenth-century invention of the Panorama popularised the idea of the prospect and made it accessible to the general public; for the price of a ticket, the population of Britain's industrialising cities could experience travelling exhibits of 360 degree views, representing landscapes, battles and historical events. Competing promoters profited from the popularity of such spectacles, demonstrating the willingness with which people paid for the privilege of viewing a prospect.[35] That the prospect was becoming an object of possession is proved by references to 'genteel' or 'enchanting' views in contemporary London auction notices; the prospect commands a price as an object of the inventory. In *The London Town Garden,* Todd Longstaffe-Gowan suggests that, in many cases, the amenity of a prospect was sufficient to overcome the lack of any real access to a garden.[36] This ownership of a prospect, administrated through complex rights and building covenants, reflects the "proprietorial gaze"[37] of the observer and the objectification of landscapes caught within this gaze. The prospect raised the status of the observer and at the same time "marked the

[33] J. Bonehill and S. Daniels, ''Real Views from Nature in this Country': Paul Sandby, estate portraiture and British landscape art', *British Art Journal*, March 22 (2009)
[34] Brothers Paul and Thomas Sandby both worked as military draftsmen and both produced panoramas for military and non-military purposes. Mark Dorrian has suggested that even Thomas Sandby's non-military panorama of Edinburgh from Salisbury Crags, c. 1745, has a military context having been produced in the same year as the suppression of the Jacobite Rebellion; it renders the city an object of military strategy. Dorrian, 'The Aerial View: Notes for a Cultural History', *STRATES.*
[35] M. Ellis, ''Spectacles within doors': Panoramas of London in the 1790s,' *Romanticism* 14(2) (2008), pp. 133-148
[36] Longstaffe-Gowan, *The London Town Garden,* p.63
[37] Dorrian, 'The Aerial View: Notes for a Cultural History', *STRATES.*

estrangement of an observer who stood outside of the landscape and looked in."[38] According to eighteenth-century landscape designer Stephen Switzer, this division allowed the observer to "see the busie [sic] World acting their several Parts of their Labour and Toil below, [which] fills the Mind with immense Idea's [sic], and makes the World below us *as our own.*"[39] Switzer's comment highlights the superior status of the observer, positioned outside of the landscape, over the rural peasant toiling *in* the landscape *below*.

One could argue that this visual opposition between landscape and observer was accentuated by a physical separation in the architecture of the landowning elite. For example, Wyngaerde's sketches of Richmond Palace (fig. 3.4) show a raised gallery surrounding the Privy Garden from where the King could survey the intricate symbolism of the knot gardens below without having to venture outside. Likewise, Malcolm Andrews has discussed the use of the *piano nobile*,[40] or raised principal storey, in the country houses of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[41] From this raised vantage point, the observer could gaze obliquely across the landscape but had little physical connection with it. This vantage point also makes sense of the highly geometric parterre gardens of this period, whose intricate patterns, like embroidered textile, could only be appreciated from above.

In *The Theory and Practice of Gardening* (1712)[42], John James refers to the parterres at James Johnston's riverside garden of Orleans House, Twickenham, part of which still stands. Here:

> "A Parterre is the first Thing that should present itself to sight […]; as well on Account of the Opening it affords the Building, as for the Beauty and Splendour wherewith it constantly entertains the Eye, when seen from every Window of the House."

James then goes on to state how regard should be given to the wider landscape, where, if the "Prospect […] be agreeable; […] the sides of the Parterres should be kept entirely

[38] Dorrian, 'The Aerial View: Notes for a Cultural History', *STRATES.*
[39] Longstaffe-Gowan, *The London Town Garden,* p.64
[40] M. Andrews, *The Search for the Picturesque: Landscape Aesthetics and Tourism in Britain, 1760-1800* (Aldershot: Scolar, 1989) pp.61-62
[41] Mark Girouard explains that rooms directly connecting with the landscape at the ground floor only begin to become fashionable late in the eighteenth century as a result of changing attitudes in landscape design, where active exploration of a cinematic picturesque landscape was encouraged. M. Girouard, *Life in the English Country House: a Social and Architectural History*, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1978)
[42] A translation and adaptation of Dézallier d'Argenville's *La Théorie et la Practique du Jardinage* (Paris,1709)

open […] to make best of our View, and taking Care not to shut it up with Groves, unless they are planted with Quincunce [sic] […] which hinder not the Eye from […] discovering the Beauties of the Prospect on every Side."[43] James' comments are indicative of this period in which large glazed sash windows with evermore refined frames introduced the landscape into the house, as if it were a series of landscape paintings hung on the walls of the grand reception rooms.

The landscape of Richmond and the Thames illustrates the emergence of, and gave rise to, a series of tropes which later came to characterise the picturesque: the oblique aerial view; the raised viewpoint; the elevated status of the observer; the idea of the subjectivity of the viewer as the centre of their own universe; the emphasis, and creation, of curated opportunities for viewing the landscape and architectural objects in it; and, indeed, the emerging objectification of landscape and architecture itself through the located, perspectivised age of the gaze.

3.4 *Terrace Walk*

We have seen how the view from Richmond Hill, like other elevated views, might be said to elevate the status of the observer through its oblique aerial vantage point over the landscape. Relationships of power in landscape vistas have also been accentuated through the use of perspective techniques to reinforce the separation between observer and object, as demonstrated by Renaissance axial garden design and in contemporary representations of landscape. The view from Richmond Hill, later famous for its naturalised prospect, did not escape the influence of the Renaissance garden, having been accentuated with the addition of a perspectival 'Terrace Walk' sometime in the late 1690s. In *The Renaissance Garden in England,* author Roy Strong has argued that axial perspective acted as a culturally mediated frame through which to view the landscape beyond.[44] Thus, one could argue that the development of Richmond Hill's Terrace Walk marks the first concrete expression of the landscape as a cultural object to be viewed. In this way, the following section will develop in the context of Richmond Strong's argument that perspective introduced to garden design the concept of pictorial space.[45]

[43] Longstaffe-Gowan, *The London Town Garden,* p.120
[44] R. Strong, *The Renaissance Garden in England* (Thames & Hudson, 1994)
[45] Ibid.

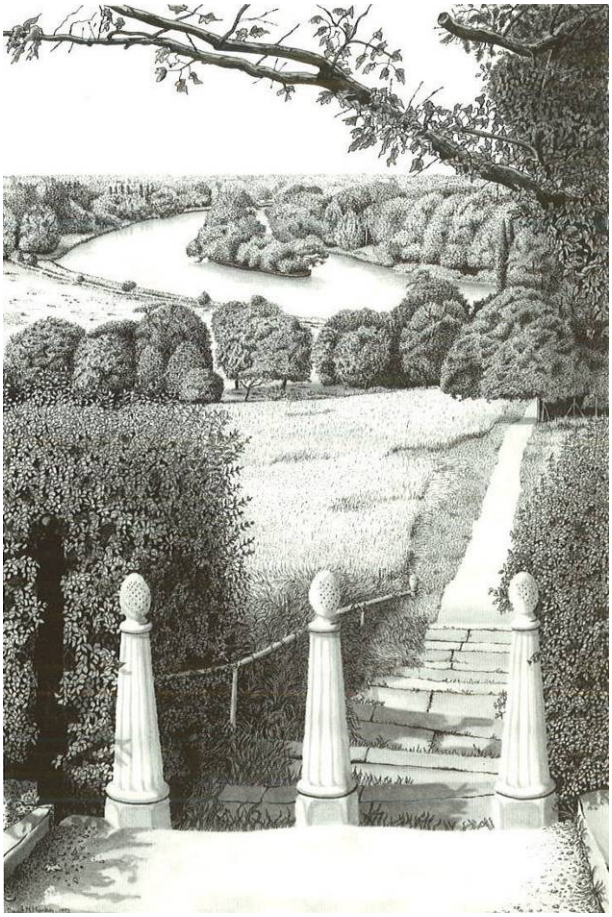


Fig. 3.17 View of the Thames from Terrace Walk, Richmond Hill. Postcard by David Hankin 2009



Fig. 3.18 Daytrippers pause on one Terrace Walk's many memorial benches. Image from M. Batey, H. Buttery, D. Lambert, K. Wilkie, *Arcadian Thames: The River Landscape from Hampton to Kew* (London: Barn Elms Publishing, 2000)

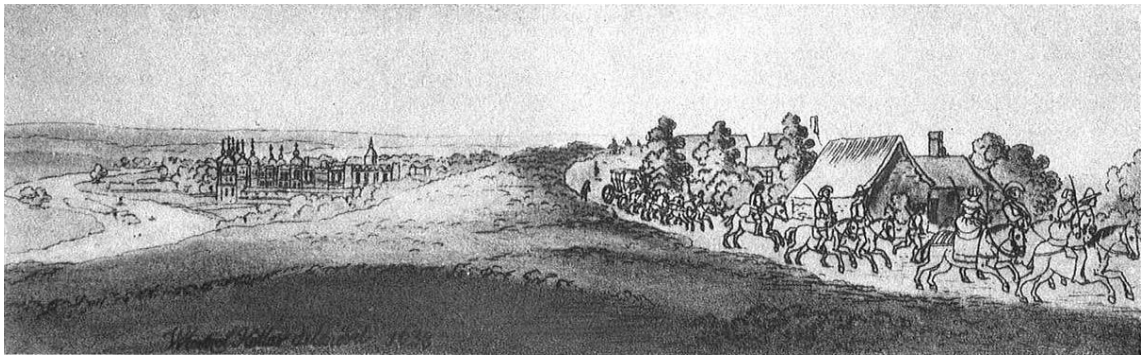


Fig. 3.19 *A View of Richmond from the Top of the Hill,* nineteenth century aquatint from a drawing by Wenceslaus Hollar c. 1630s. The drawing shows Henry VII's palace and a hunting party proceeding to the Park on Richmond Hill. Comparison with Leonard Knyff's paintings, taken from the same spot a few decades later, demonstrate how the cottages illustrated here were quickly replaced by developers with profitable townhouses. Queen's Collection, Windsor.



Fig. 3.20 Jan Siberechts, *View from Richmond Hill along the Thames towards Twickenham* (1677). Image from J. Bryant, *Finest Prospects: Three Historic House: a study in London Topography* (English Heritage, 1986) p. 62

Like the Long Galleries of the great Elizabethan prodigy houses, the Terrace Walk atop Richmond Hill remains a linear space defined by movement. What little furniture there is is pushed to one side, allowing the visitor to stride unencumbered from end to end. Benches are positioned to take in sweeping views of the gardens below and to act as intermediate pausing stations: locations for informal discussion and brief respite (fig. 3.18). Memorial plaques indicate the favoured vantage points of revered ancestors, mirrored by the gaze of ancestral portraits lining the Long Gallery. Where the enclosed space of the gallery allowed for the enjoyment of nature despite a physical separation from it, so too Richmond Hill's Terrace, embowered by its shady oaken canopy, protects the visitor from inclement weather while simultaneously framing the brilliantly lit landscape beyond.

If the Terrace acts as a viewing gallery for the landscape beyond one could also argue that the landscape was viewed as a series of pictures on the gallery's walls. Dutch landscape artist Leonard Knyff painted two views of Richmond Hill in c.1700-20, one looking upstream from a point in Richmond itself (fig. 3.21), the other downstream from a point near the entrance to Richmond Park (fig. 3.22). Knyff's depictions, from an artificially high viewpoint, illustrate how the hill was, by this time, already a favoured vantage point from which to admire the river landscape, experienced through movement along the promenade from the town to the Royal Park. Jan Siberechts had painted the view earlier (1677), also from an exaggerated height, the earliest known depiction of the view which would become a recurring image in English landscape art (fig. 3.20). Siberecht's painting supports the sense of movement suggested by Knyff's two views, showing a coach and horses proceeding at speed along the ridge, followed by a pair of cantering horses. Knyff's paintings also include the earliest known views of the Terrace Walk itself, still to be constructed in Siberecht's painting: a double row of pleached trees positioned to divide the landscape view into frames observed from the windows of a grand new terrace opposite.

The construction of this terrace of grand homes (now demolished) demonstrates a period of speculative property development taking place within Richmond from around the 1690s.[46] A major impetus for this period of prosperity appears to have been an influx of London merchants seeking country retreats removed from the city. As John Cloake has demonstrated in *Richmond Past*, these merchants might rent property, then purchase it, remodel it, or even replace it for profit. John Knapp, a member of the

[46] J. Cloake, *Richmond Past A Visual History of Richmond, Kew, Petersham and Ham* (London: Historical Publications, 1991) p.22

'Company of Merchant Adventurers Trading in the North West Part of America' typifies the kind of merchant who flocked to Richmond at this time, initially to rent a property, before buying, demolishing and replacing it with a fashionable new home, known as 'Marshgate House,' in 1699 (fig. 3.23).[47] The 'Master Builders' of Richmond, originally tradesmen specialising in bricklaying or carpentry, soon began to discover this lucrative and expanding market for property development. New construction was often self-financed by these developers, many of whom appear in manor rolls with a new description: 'architect.' One such amateur developer/'architect,' Michael Pew, purchased a row of cottages on Richmond Hill in the late 1690s (visible in a drawing by Wenceslaus Hollar of c.1630, fig. 3.19) and replaced them with the three large houses appearing to the right of Knyff's downstream painting. Cloake has suggested that the construction of the Terrace Walk immediately opposite, and at around the same time, may indicate that Pew was involved in either its commission and/or design.[48]

If indeed, the Terrace Walk did form part of a single development with Pew's homes opposite, the role of the terrace in framing the landscape view from the windows of Pew's homes is implicit. Certainly, the view was seen as an desirable amenity of these hilltop homes as a 1717 charge in the parish court documents:

> "that the Hill common was full of great holes, and that the big houses discharged their filth on it. Also that the foregoing people were planting trees without permission, which might at some future time obstruct the view."[49]

Despite the use of the hill common as a dumping ground, and the scars left by gravel extraction, these comments prove that the parish vestry was determined to protect the amenity of the view by forbidding tenants to plant trees which might block it. This was probably influenced by the growing popularity of the hilltop for leisurely walks, celebrated in contemporary poetry such as Tom D'Urfey's *Ode to Cynthia Walking on Richmond Hill* (c. 1692):

> "On the brow of Richmond Hill,
> Which Europe scarce can parallel,
> Ev'ry eye such wonders fill
> To view the prospect round;
> Where the silver Thames does glide,
> And stately courts are edified,
> Meadows deck'd in summer's pride,
> With verdant beauties crown'd;

[47] Cloake, *Richmond Past,* p.22
[48] Ibid., p.25
[49] J. Dunbar, *A Prospect of Richmond* (London & New York: White Lion Publishers, 1966) p. 77



Fig. 3.21 Leonard Knyff's *A Prospect from Richmond Hill towards the West* c. 1650-1720. Terrace Walk is to the left, marked by the avenue of trees and a number of grand new townhouses flanking the road.

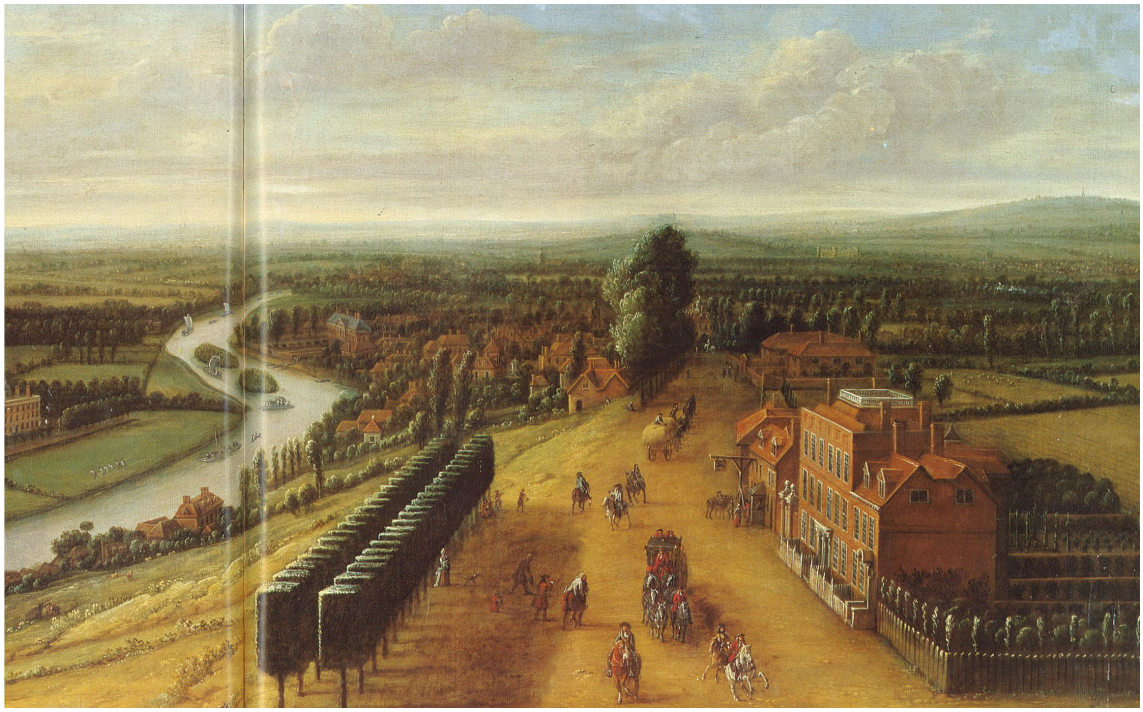


Fig. 3.22 Detail from Leonard Knyff's *The Terrace and View from Richmond Hill* c. 1650-1720, this time looking downstream towards London. The houses to the right appear to be those built by developer Michael Pew in the late 1690s to capitalise on the increased rent city merchants were willing to pay. Image courtesy of the London Borough of Richmond upon Thames.



Fig. 3.23 ‘Marshgate House,’ built in 1699 by John Knapp, a Merchant Adventurer operating in the American colonies, is typical of late seventeenth century property development in increasingly affluent Richmond. Image from J. Cloake, *Richmond Past* (Historical Publications Ltd, 1991)



Fig. 3.24 The relationship between the Terrace Walk and Michael Pew’s townhouses in Augustin Heckel’s *The Terrace, Richmond Hill* (1749), suggests that they may have been designed together. The presence of a black slave serves as a particularly apt reminder, for the purposes of this thesis, of the close links between Richmond and the American colonies in the eighteenth century. Image courtesy of the Museum of Richmond-upon-Thames.

Lovely Cynthia passing by,
With brighter glories blest my eye,
Ah, then in vain, in vain said I,
The fields and flow'rs do shine;
Nature in this charming place
Created pleasure in excess,
But all are poor to Cynthia's face,
Whose features are divine."[50]

That D'Urfey's romantic description of walking on Richmond Hill was set to music by popular composer Henry Purcell points to the general familiarity of the locality among public audiences at this time as a prospect and an a active site of the promenade.[51] Terrace Walk formed a linear public space, both acting as a frame for prospect views and for the activity of the promenade. Augustin Heckel's *The Terrace, Richmond Hill* (1749) would appear to support this argument, demonstrating a relationship between the view, framing Terrace Walk and a promenading couple (fig. 3.24). Heckel's depiction of the genteel couple also suggests an inevitable relationship between view and viewer, the Terrace depicted as if it were the private garden of Pew's adjacent homes.

The suggestion that Terrace Walk may have been conceived as a single development associated with the construction of a row of grand homes may, it could be argued, place it within an established history of seventeenth century aristocratic garden design. Knyff's upstream painting depicts the terrace almost as a detached fragment of the grand axial allées of the roughly contemporary gardens at Ham House, completed in 1671. In the following section, we shall see how the design of axial gardens along this stretch of the Thames reveals a change in optical principles which overtook early Stuart England. The compact, enclosed and symbolic Renaissance garden gradually evolved into what Strong has called "a sequence of interconnecting spaces whose vital link is the vista" and whose organisational strategy is perspectival.[52]

3.5 *'Scopic Regimes' and 'Cartesian Perspectivalism'*

As Roy Strong has pointed out, the innovation of pictorial space in landscape design is starkly illustrated by comparison with designs executed up to the mid-seventeenth century. Strong has compared the aesthetic of the pre-perspective age to the work of the court miniaturist, Nicholas Hilliard: "his is a flat, two-dimensional world lit

[50] Dunbar, *A Prospect of Richmond*, p. 205
[51] D'Urfey's lyrics are published in Henry Purcell's sixth book of *The Banquet of Musick* (1692).
[52] Strong, *The Renaissance Garden in England,* p.11

by an even, brilliant light." [53] Hilliard's picture surfaces are not presented as "separate, enclosed worlds governed by their own optical principles," instead, "everywhere there is pattern […] and this pattern was created by the embroiderer."[54] This reference to the embroiderer's pattern-work is a deliberate allusion to the 'knot' gardens of the late medieval age. Incorporating emblematic, chivalric and allegorical symbols, knot gardens were designed to be 'read' from an oblique aerial viewpoint. Already going out of fashion by 1625, Francis Bacon remarked in his essay 'Of Gardens':

> "As for the making of knots or figures […] they be but toys; you may see as good sights many times in tarts." [55]

One could argue that Bacon's comments highlight a contemporary upheaval in the visual perception of the natural world; a gradual scepticism towards the symbolic and allegorical in favour of an increasingly subject-centred scientific approach to vision. As Roy Strong writes, "a magical age of alchemy and occult symbolism[56] had given way to the age of experiment and the Royal Society."[57] Strong's conception of a changing visual perception is mirrored by Svetlana Alpers' description of the differences between Hilliard's aesthetic, what she calls the 'Art of Describing,' and what Martin Jay calls 'Cartesian Perspectivalism.' Alpers states:

> "[Hilliard deals with] the surface of objects, their colours and textures, […] rather than their placement in legible space; an unframed image versus one that is clearly framed; one with no clearly situated viewer compared to one with such a viewer."[58]

These differing visual frameworks have been dubbed 'Scopic Regimes' by Jay (after Christian Metz's *The Imaginary Signifier: Psychoanalysis and the Cinema*), defined as mechanisms "designed to construct the gaze and control the consciousness."[59]

This tide-change began in fifteenth century Italy where the great Renaissance polymaths[60] had 're-discovered' the science of perspective first observed by Lucretius

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[53] Strong, *The Renaissance Garden in England*, p.70
[54] Ibid.
[55] F. Bacon, 'Of Gardens' in *The Works of Francis Bacon*, ed. Spedding, Ellis & Heath (London, 1890) pp.488-9
[56] For example, the elaborate triangular lodge of Rushton Hall, Northamptonshire, dated 1593 uses complex symbolism alluding to the Holy Trinity and the underground practice of the Catholic faith. http://www.imagesofengland.org.uk/Details/Default.aspx?id=231150
[57] Strong, *The Renaissance Garden in England*, p.11
[58] M. Jay, "Scopic Regimes of Modernity" in H. Foster, ed., *Vision and Visuality* (New York: New Press, 1988) p. 13
[59] C. Metz, *The Imaginary Signifier: Psychoanalysis and the Cinema* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982) p. 61
[60] Also known as the 'Renaissance Man' or 'Universal Man'.

in the first century BC.[61] These polymaths, models of the Renaissance 'universal man' including Leonardo and Brunelleschi were architects, artists and sculptors but also inventors of machines and scientific optical instruments. Brunelleschi is widely credited with the rediscovery of one-point perspective with his optical experiments conducted around 1415.[62] In one such experiment, the viewer peered through a small hole in the back of a painting, of the Florentine duomo's baptistery, observing the painting's reflection in a mirror opposite. This image could then be directly overlaid upon the real view of the baptistery as observed from the door of the Cathedral (fig. 3.25).[63] By positioning the viewing hole at the point of perspective convergence, Brunelleschi had introduced the vanishing point to art, and had placed the eye, and the perceiving subject at the centre of the visual world.[64]

It has been argued that Brunelleschi's mode of vision reorganised the world in relation to the eye. As John Berger has written, linear "perspective makes the single eye the centre of the visible world."[65] Moreover, this single eye was "understood to be static, unblinking, and fixated, rather than dynamic."[66] In Norman Bryson's terms, it followed the logic of the "Gaze rather than the Glance, thus producing a visual take that was eternalized, reduced to one "point of view" and disembodied."[67] Bryson's use of the term 'disembodied' reflects Cartesian perspectivalism's distancing of the subject from the object, and the subject's assumption of a 'God-like' distanced gaze, which persists as the observational basis of modern Western science.[68] John Berger has suggested that this detachment of the observer from the object, achieved via the Renaissance re-discovery of Cartesian Perspective, is mirrored by the contemporary proliferation of mobile canvas or board paintings, detached from the visual field and depicted for circulation and sale.[69]

Leon Battista Alberti, perhaps Cartesian perspectivalism's first theorist, believed in the Renaissance polymath's powers to uncover order and rule in nature. A proper

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[61] Lucretius had observed the apparent convergence of parallels as seen through a straight colonnade. R. Evans, *The Projective Cast* (MIT, 1995) p.136
[62] S. Edgerton, *The Mirror, the Window and the Telescope: How Renaissance Linear Perspective Changed Our Vision of the Universe* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2009)
[63] Edgerton, *The Mirror, the Window and the Telescope.*
[64] Alberto Perez Gomez has traced a parallel change in architecture from the Renaissance to the nineteenth century, during which the use of mathematical geometry on mystical and symbolic grounds changed to its functional and technical use. A. Perez-Gomez, *Architecture and the Crisis of Modern Science* (MIT Press, 1983)
[65] J. Berger, *Ways of Seeing* (London: BBC & Penguin Books, 1972) p.16
[66] Jay, "Scopic Regimes of Modernity," *Vision and Visuality,* p. 7
[67] Ibid.
[68] Ibid., p. 25
[69] Ibid., p. 9

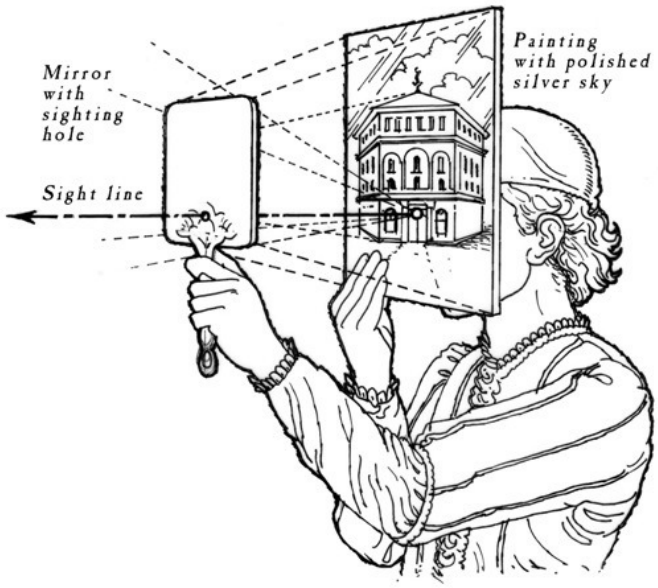


Fig. 3.25 A reconstruction of Brunelleschi's perspective experiment. Brunelleschi demonstrated that a perspectival painting of a view could be mapped directly onto the world as experienced by the visual sense. Image from http://maitaly.wordpress.com [Accessed 07/12/2012]



Fig. 3.26 Piero della Francesca's *Ideal City* is a city constructed from geometry and perspective, which places the eye, and the visual sense, at the centre of the universe.



Fig. 3.27 Stage set design by Inigo Jones for the 'House of Oceanus' in Ben Johnson's play entitled *The Fortunate Isles and Their Union.* In the absence of their physical survival, this image gives an idea of what structures in Jones's and Caus's gardens at Richmond Palace may have looked like. Certainly, perspective effects common to theatrical designs at this time were important features of the renaissance garden. Image from R. Strong, *The Renaissance Garden in England* (W W Norton & Co Inc, 1979) p.

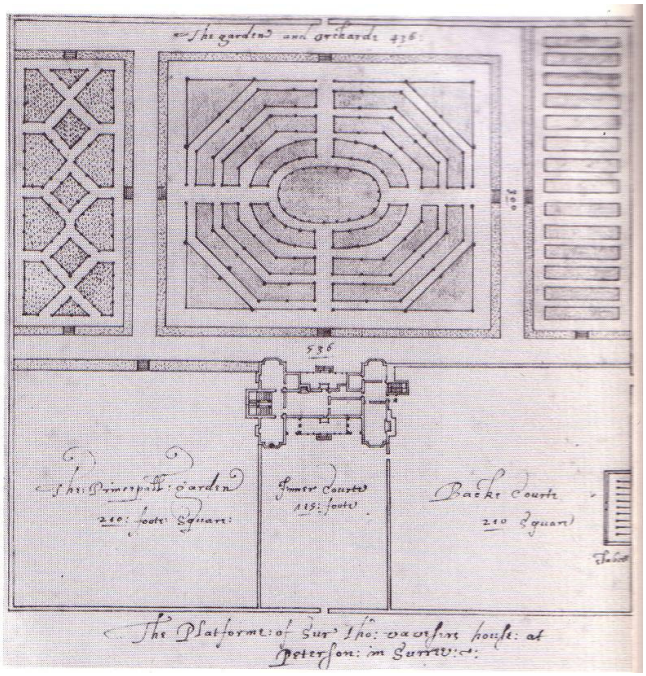


Fig. 3.28 Drawing of the house and gardens at Ham House by architect Robert Smythson c. 1609, showing the formal integration of the garden as geometrical extension of the house plan. Image from R. Strong, *The Renaissance Garden in England* (W W Norton & Co Inc, 1979)

understanding of the mathematical science of perspective was a critical attribute of the 'universal man'.[70] Piero della Francesca's paintings arguably demonstrate an obsession with Alberti's science of perspective, used in the construction of virtual architectural space.[71] In Francesca's *Ideal City* (c. 1470) (fig. 3.26), each plane of virtual buildings remains in sharp focus while receding into the distance.[72] Piero's paintings are also devoid of movement and human presence. As Bernard Berenson has written, Piero della Francesca "did not always avail himself of his highest gifts. At times you feel him to have been dogged by his science."[73]

It is this dogged determination to prioritise the science and geometry of perspective which has been most routinely criticised by theorists, from Erwin Panofsky's criticism of perspective as convention or "symbolic form"[74] to Martin Heidegger's suggestion of its complicity with "a subject willed to mastery."[75] Following Panofsky's argument, Jay has written that the disembodiment and 'de-textualization' of Cartesian Perspectivalism led to "abstract, quantitatively conceptualised space [becoming] more interesting to the artist than the qualitatively differentiated subjects painted within it", thus, "the rendering of the scene became an end in itself."[76] Following Heidegger, Cartesian Perspectivalism as scopic regime has been criticised as "complicitous with a certain notion of an isolated bourgeois subject,"[77] a subject whom viewed the structure of the world from a detached 'God-like' position, thus failing to "recognise [their] corporeality, intersubjectivity and embeddedness in the flesh of the world."[78]

3.6 *Prince Henry, Solomon de Caus and the Renaissance Gardens of Richmond-upon-Thames*

In architectural and landscape design, the scientific and mathematical precision demanded by the study of perspective ensured its association with straight axes and vistas which came to define the dominion of the viewer over their surroundings. In

[70] L. B. Alberti, *Ten Books on Architecture* (London: Tiranti, 1955)
[71] H. B. Higgins, *The Grid Book* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 2009)
[72] Following detailed X-ray analysis, Gabriele Morolli, professor of History of Architecture at Florence University, has recently stated (2012) his belief that Francesca's *Ideal City* was in fact painted over an original architectural drawing by Leon Battista Alberti.
[73] B. Berenson, *Italian Painters of the Renaissance* (Oxford, 1930) p.135
[74] E. Panofsky, "Die Perspektive als 'symbolischen Form," *Vortrage der Bibliothek Warburg* (1924-5) pp. 258-331
[75] H. Foster, ed., *Vision and Visuality* (DIA Art Foundation, 1988) p. xiv
[76] Jay, "Scopic Regimes of Modernity," *Vision and Visuality,* p. 9
[77] Ibid., p. 24
[78] Ibid.

seventeenth century Richmond, the Huguenot 'engineer' Solomon de Caus, in many ways himself a model of the Renaissance 'universal man,' was employed as tutor of perspective to the young Henry, Prince of Wales. Henry was an amateur artist, as well as a collector of paintings and sculpture. His enthusiasm for Italian Renaissance art fired ambitious plans to build at Richmond an Italianate palace commissioned from architects Inigo Jones and Constantino dei Servi. At the same time, De Caus was occupied with the creation of an elaborate garden to complement the new palace, of which apart from a few sketches of sculpture in De Caus' hand, no recorded design survives, although among its influences were the Mannerist gardens of Pratolino, Tuscany, and the French court.[79] De Caus' collaboration at Richmond with Jones, an architect and theatre-set designer, indicates a link between the science of perspective and the theatrical arts. Jones' contemporary set-design for Ben Johnson's *The Fortunate Isles and their Union* (1625) depicts a deep perspective view of grotto-like arcades - easily interpreted as a Mannerist garden scene - such as De Caus may have proposed at Richmond Palace (fig. 3.27). As Strong has pointed out, surely it can be no coincidence "that radiating walks and vistas begin to appear at the same time as single point perspective on the stage."[80] Some theorists have even proposed that optical techniques of perspective, absorbed by garden and theatre design, demonstrate a growing interest in the illusory, theatrical and virtual at this time. For example, Paul Virilio has spoken of the 'dematerialisation' of the world, a new condition in which "the image prevails over the object present"[81] where the virtual prevails over the real. Gina McPhee states "perhaps not surprisingly, the dissemination of perspectivalism in the Renaissance and Baroque was accompanied by a renewal of interest in *trompe-l'oeil,* anamorphosis, the distorting effect of mirrors, and the *camera obscura.*"[82]

If, as has been argued, 'scopic regimes' were undergoing a period of change from the Renaissance onwards, that change might also be detectable in the formal planning of the landscape garden. For example, architect Robert Smythson's collection of house and garden plans (c.1609)[83] captures a period of increasing architectural design interest in the aristocratic garden. Early seventeenth-century examples appear haphazardly placed in relation to the house, though were probably located for topographical convenience, ease of access to the kitchens or beneath the windows of

[79] Strong, *The Renaissance Garden in England,* p.74
[80] Ibid., p.118
[81] Virilio, *The Vision Machine,* p. 73
[82] G. McPhee, *The Architecture of the Visible* (London & New York: Continuum, 2002) p. 22
[83] Reproduced in D. Mees, *Ham House Historical Garden Report* (1993)

principal rooms. Smythson's plan of Countess Bedford's now demolished Twickenham Park, formerly located on the opposite bank of the Thames at Richmond, is a case in point (fig. 3.11).

By contrast, Smythson's plans demonstrate that later seventeenth-century garden designs were emphatically related to the figurative plan of the house, becoming integral to the architectural arrangement of the whole. For example, Smythson's plan of Ham House, Petersham, shows the house at the centre of a large platform, with gardens laid symmetrically about a determining central axis (fig. 3.28). As Strong has pointed out, "this is new. The eye could look either way, to or from the back of the house down an avenue of fruit trees through what can only have been designed to be a perspective effect."[84] Via this perspective effect, the wider landscape is manipulated in reference to the house; a long avenue "invades and takes possession of the landscape,"[85] tying the village of Ham to the house, funnelling the ideal urban formality of Albertian perspective from village through house to garden and into the landscape beyond.

At Ham, the architectural formality of the house was extended beyond into the landscape, but this force could also operate in reverse, enforcing the formality of the garden upon an earlier house. An example of this may be observed in Christopher Wren's 1689 remodelling of Hampton Court, where Wren took the opportunity to realign Henry VIII's palace with the axial symmetry of André Mollet's 'patte d'oie'[86] of 1662, itself largely determined by visual connections to the neighbouring urban centres of Kingston and Hampton. This ebb and flow of influence reminds John Jackson "of the close collaboration which once existed between urban design and what we now call landscape architecture, a collaboration which two centuries of anti-urban Romanticism all but destroyed."[87]

It should be clarified that the urban quality of seventeenth century axial garden design was far from the lived experience of the majority of contemporary British towns. Rather, the garden's urban quality was that of the *idealised* city expressed by Renaissance artists such as Piero della Francesca.[88] The image of the idealised city constructed around perspective vistas is strikingly illustrated by Wren's plan to rebuild

[84] Strong, *The Renaissance Garden in England,* p.117
[85] J. B. Jackson, *The Necessity for Ruins: and Other Topics* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1980) p.49
[86] A 'patte d'oie', literally 'a goose's foot', is so named for its three legs meeting at a point. Andre Mollet's work at Hampton Court, and his designs in *Le Jardin de plaisir* (1651) look forward to the baroque avenues of Le Notre. Le Notre designed few works in Britain but was certainly responsible for (now much-altered) designs at Greenwich and St. James commissioned by Charles II.
[87] Jackson, *The Necessity for Ruins,* p.55
[88] M. Bussagli, *Piero della Francesco* (Giunti Editore,2007)

London after the Great Fire of 1666. Wren proposed a city of axial thoroughfares (fig. 3.29), in contrast to the preceding tangle of medieval alleys as depicted in Van der Wyngaerde's oblique aerial views. In Wren's ideal London, the city would be shaped around a number of vistas terminated by monuments and grand buildings – although Wren's plans remained largely unexecuted because issues of land ownership and hasty construction returned the city to much of its medieval layout.[89]

It has been argued that John Rocque's famous map of London (1747) mediates between Wren's vision and the chaos of the city as rebuilt, idealising the city by its deliberate disguise of disorder (fig. 3.32).[90] Many of Rocque's streets appear wider and straighter than their reality and the city's slums are tidied up. Nothing could be of more contrast to William Hogarth's contemporary engraving of gin-fuelled chaos in *Night*, which coincidentally includes Rocque's own house (1736). Rocque was also commissioned to produce plans of newly 'improved' gardens, including that of Lord Burlington's Chiswick House (1736) downstream from Richmond (fig. 3.30). Wren's un-built London vistas, and Richmond's Terrace Walk, are mirrored in Chiswick's three radiating avenues of pleached trees, terminated by garden structures. The theatricality of exaggerated perspective in this arrangement is illustrated by Pieter Rysbrack's painting of the scene (c.1728-9) (fig. 3.31). Strong observes that the use of exaggerated perspective manipulates the eye, drawing the spectator's gaze and movement towards allegorical buildings, just as the incorporation of perspective in contemporary stage scenery had focused the spectators gaze upon successive allegories performed on stage.[91]

Perspective's manipulation of the viewer suggests that the perspectival garden possessed a controlling dimension. The great avenues of the seventeenth century garden take possession of the wider landscape and pronounce the visual, if not physical, dominion of the spectator. Johannes Kip's 1708 engraving of New Park (built 1683), on the edge of Richmond's Royal Park, illustrates the extent to which a network of vistas could take possession of the landscape (fig. 3.33). Control and possession are articulated on the ground by this vast network of vistas, whilst Kip's oblique aerial viewpoint connotes the power of New Park's comissioner, the Earl of Rochester. Samuel Molyneux wrote of a visit to New Park that it was "interspers'd with Vistos [sic] &

[89] P. Abercrombie, 'Wren's Plan for London After the Great Fire,' *The Town Planning Review* X(2), (May 1923)
[90] *The Beauty of Maps: City Maps, Order out of Chaos*, BBC 27th April 2010
[91] Strong, *The Renaissance Garden in England,* p.203

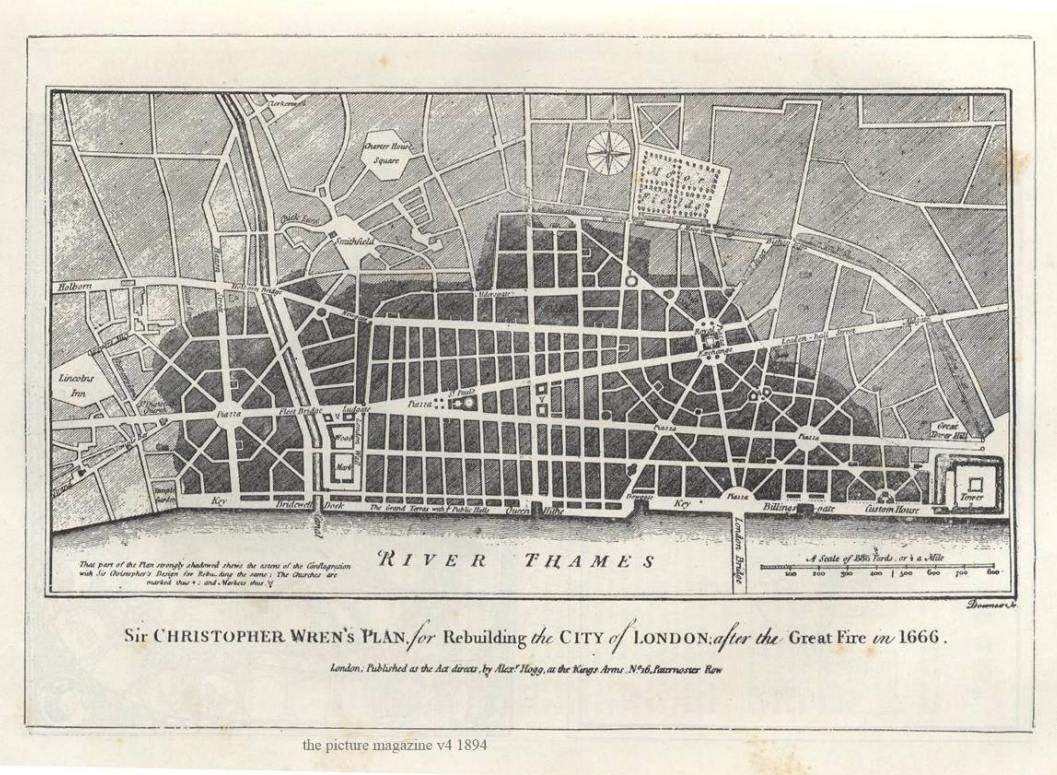


Fig. 3.29 Wren's axial plan for post-fire London. Under Wren's plans, the city would be organised around a series of perspectival vistas terminating in prominent landmarks and public spaces. This organisational strategy is demonstrated in contemporary garden designs, including Terrace Walk itself. Image from *The Picture Magazine* (1894).

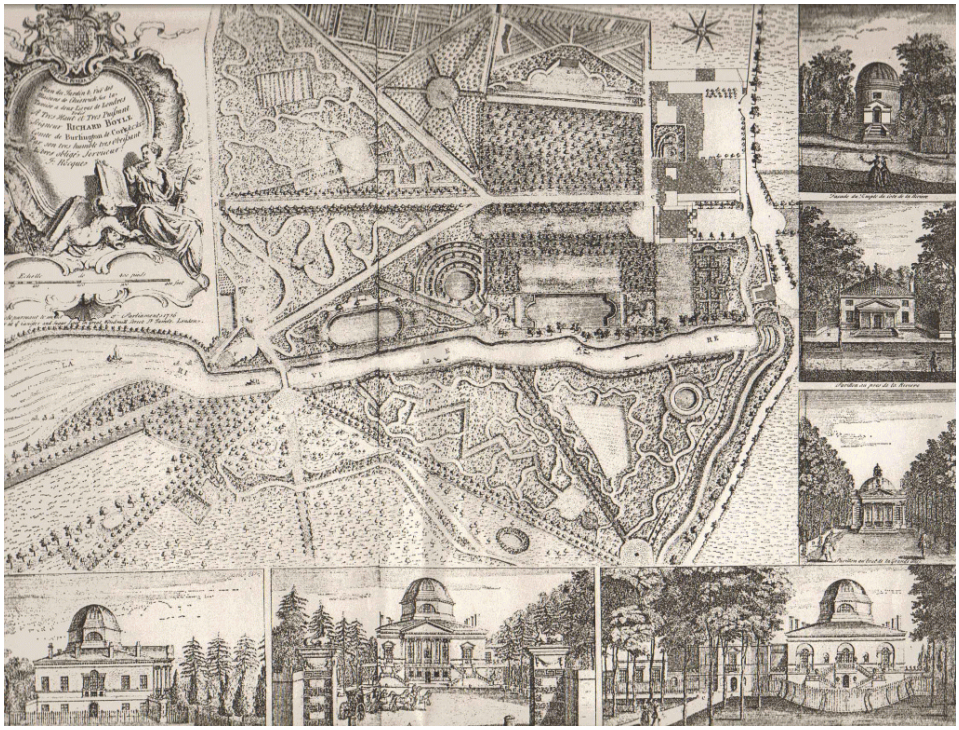


Fig. 3.30 John Rocque's plan of Chiswick House showing the 'patte d'oie' or 'goose foot' of three converging avenues, designed for perspective effect, and with a certain 'urban' quality. That the garden is designed for optical effect is demonstrated by the surrounding pictorial vignettes. Image from R. Strong, *The Renaissance Garden in England* (W W Norton & Co Inc, 1979)

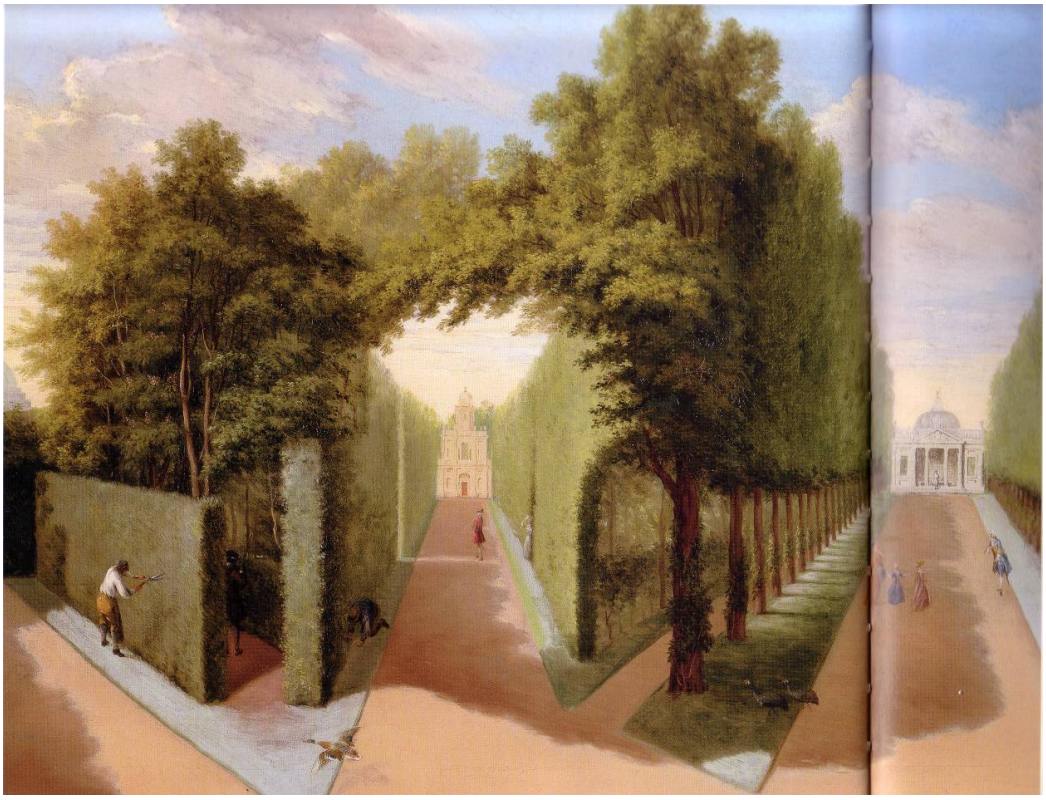


Fig. 3.31 Pieter Rysbrack's depiction of Lord Burlington's 'patte d'oie', Chiswick c. 1728-9. Image from R. Strong, *The Renaissance Garden in England* (W W Norton & Co Inc, 1979)

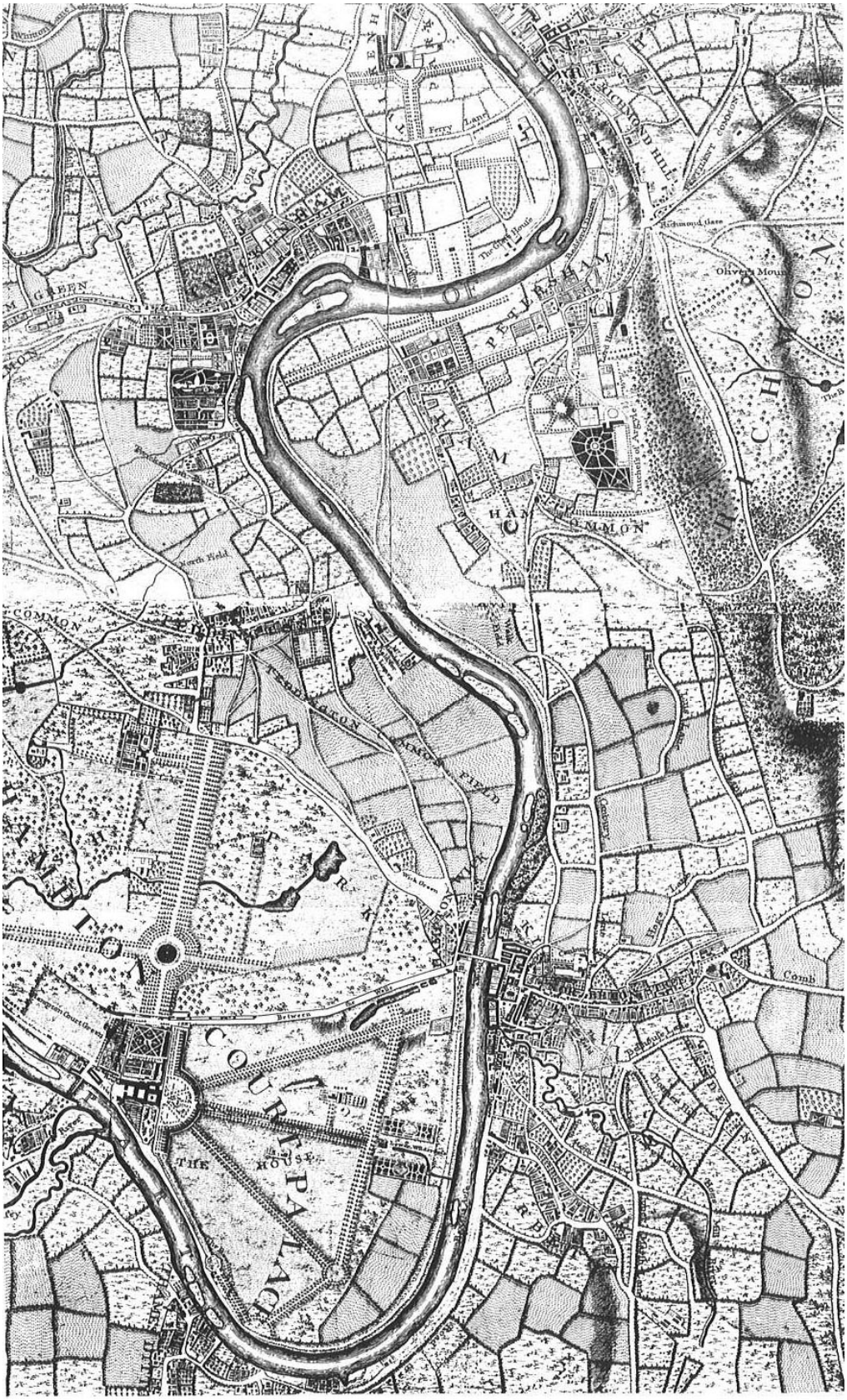


Fig. 3.32 Part of John Rocque's Survey of London 1744-6, showing the Thames between Hampton and Richmond. The riverside gardens of Hampton Court, Ham House and Twickenham Park are recognisable by their geometric avenues and vistas. King Henry's Mound and the avenue of trees framing the view of St. Paul's Cathedral is also visible within Richmond Park to the right of the image. Image from J. Cloake, *Richmond Past* (Historical Publications Ltd, 1991) p.

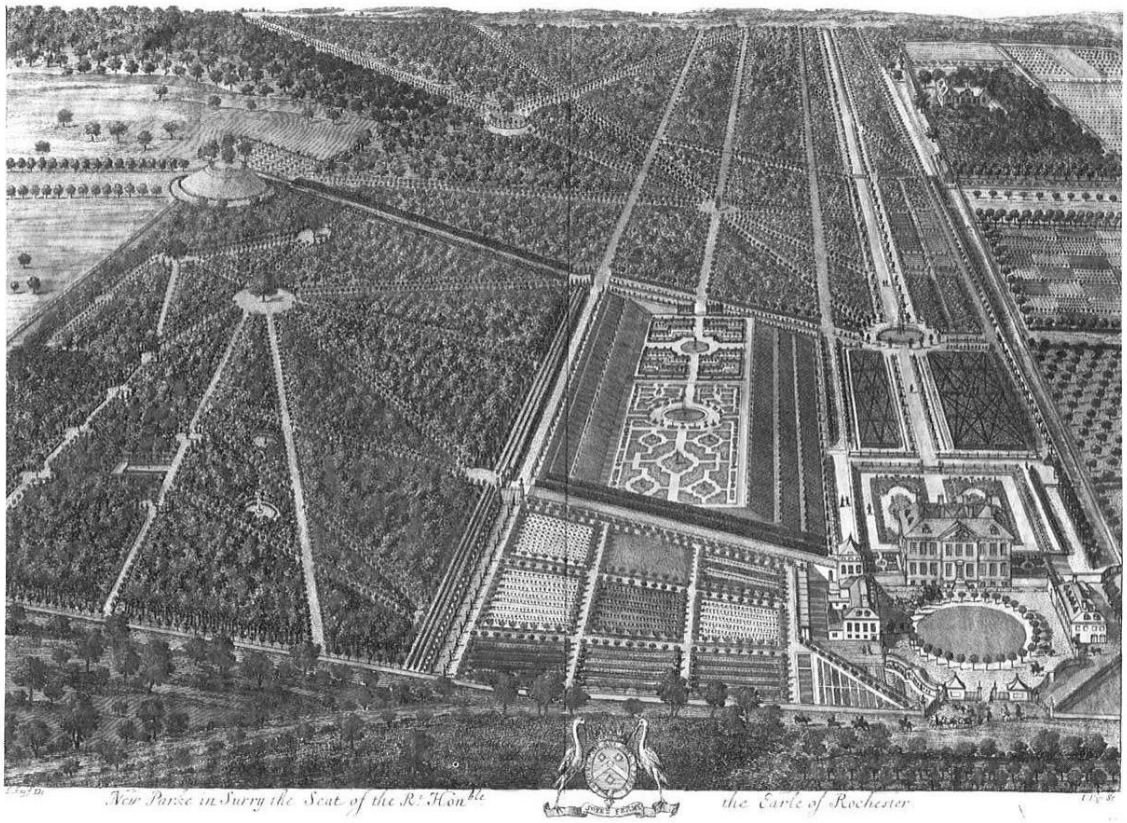


Fig. 3.33 ‘New Parke’, Petersham, as depicted by Johannes Kip in 1708. Some features of the gardens may also be discerned in John Rocque’s later Survey of London. Richmond Hill and the commons are beyond the frame to the bottom left, whilst King Henry’s Mound and the avenue of trees framing St. Paul’s appear as extensions to the perspectival garden at the top left. Image from J. Cloake, *Richmond Past* (Historical Publications Ltd, 1991)



Fig. 3.34 Thomas Chapman’s Playhouse on Richmond Hill, the first purpose built theatre in Richmond. Image from J. Cloake, *Richmond Past* (Historical Publications Ltd, 1991) p. 35

innumerable private dark walks thro' every part of it […] with unconfin'd [sic] prospects […] every now and then of the […] Country and River beyond."[92]

The avenues depicted in Kip's engraving appear to extend to infinity, drawing the gaze through deep space. Jane Austen was also sensitive to this method of visual appropriation, remarking in *Emma* (1815) that:

> "a broad, short avenue of limes […] led to nothing; nothing but a view at the end over a low stone wall with high pillars, which seemed intended […] to give the appearance of an approach to the house, which never had been there."[93]

Jane Austen's avenue leads to the physical boundary of the estate, but it deceives the viewer by giving "the appearance" that the estate extends beyond the wall. As Robin Evans has remarked "when any vista cuts through the lives of others it is a political instrument of a certain complexion. And when architecture petrifies its passage and forces movement and vision into the same privileged paths, even more so is architecture politicised."[94] Evans' remark suggests that the optical principles of the axial garden may have been developed in association with the increasing visibility of the political power wielded by the landed gentry from the latter seventeenth century onwards.[95]

3.7 *Perspective and the Theatre: Richmond Hill Theatre*

One could suggest that the aforementioned link between theatre architecture and axial landscape design is demonstrated by the siting of Richmond's first theatre, housed in a barn opposite Terrace Walk in the summer of 1714 (fig. 3.34).[96] In 1725, the theatre finally moved to a purpose built structure on Richmond Hill (on the site of 10-12 The Terrace).[97] On performance days, Terrace Walk was, no doubt, buzzing with theatre-goers taking the air between acts, or refreshing themselves in the neighbouring Roebeck Inn, one of a serious of taverns which contributed to the hilltop's reputation as a popular leisure district. Indeed, Terrace Walk and the Richmond Hill view may well have formed the painted backdrops to such performances, as idyllic landscapes as well as

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[92] J. Dixon Hunt, P. Willis, eds., *The Genius of the Place: The English Landscape Garden 1620-1820* (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London: The MIT Press, 1988) pp.149-150

[93] J. Austen, *Emma,* eds. R. Cronin & D. McMillan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005)

[94] R. Evans, *The Projective Cast* (MIT Press, 1995) p.141 Evans' remarks reflect a prevalence in twentieth century philosophy for the denigration of the scientific overlay of perspective in art. Jacques Lacan and Merleau-Ponty had both "maintained that all classical geometry was implicated in an attempt to capture and colonise the way we see." R. Evans, *The Projective Cast* (MIT, 1995) p.125

[95] For example, the power of the landed gentry was increasingly visible in rural communities following the Enclosure Acts (c.1750-1860), during which hundreds of thousands of acres of open common land were enclosed and the rights of commoners removed.

[96] Cloake, *Richmond Past,* p.35

[97] Ibid.

local and garden scenes were the popular subjects of set-designers. This might be supported by an interior sketch of the later Richmond Theatre (relocated to Richmond Green) by F. Cornman of 1896, which, with a little imagination, could be interpreted as a backdrop of Richmond Hill (fig. 3.35).[98]

The elaboration of theatrical scenery highlights a new priority given to the visual sense over the practical. Previously, very little scenery was utilised apart from the common background of the theatre building itself and its various entry and exit points; the eye was focused upon the activity of the actors. With the introduction of complex scenery, greater emphasis was placed upon the experience of setting and atmosphere. The perspectival 'picture frame' stage drew the eye into this setting, constructing another virtual world through perspective, into which the viewer peered. This had also been mirrored in Mannerist garden design which had moved away from the medieval model of the garden, displaying plants of a medicinal and practical utility,[99] to a purely visual appreciation of the garden. As John Jackson has written, garden design "became the art of views and perspectives," "the design of the landscape as background for the theatre of human interaction."[100]

3.8 *Theatre of Human Interaction: Richmond Hill Pleasure Garden*

The overlaying of a theatrical urban axiality onto the seventeenth century garden has been observed by several writers. John Dixon Hunt suggests that "the French […] were more inclined towards the city and took it with them into their gardens, which were decorative and ornamental"[101] whilst Jackson argues that, "Regardless of its location, the ornamental or pleasure garden […] belongs to the city. It is an expression of urban values and of an urban way of life."[102] The urbanity of the axial perspective garden is reflected by the popularity of formal pleasure gardens established across London during the seventeenth century. These gardens, part landscape, part theatre, were open to paying guests who could take tea in garden pavilions, visit inns, attend balls and watch open-air performances or fireworks illuminations (fig. 3.36). Of the famous pleasure gardens at Vauxhall (begun 1661), the *London Magazine* wrote:

"Thy bowers, O Vaux-Hall then shall rise,

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[98] Cloake, *Richmond Past*, p.66
[99] According to Geoffrey Grigson, the composite word 'flower-garden' does not appear until the late seventeenth-century because plants were initially tended for their medicinal or practical usage. Jackson, *The Necessity for Ruins,* p. 39
[100] Ibid., p.47
[101] Dixon Hunt, *The Picturesque Garden in Europe*, p.98
[102] Jackson, *The Necessity for Ruins,* p.37

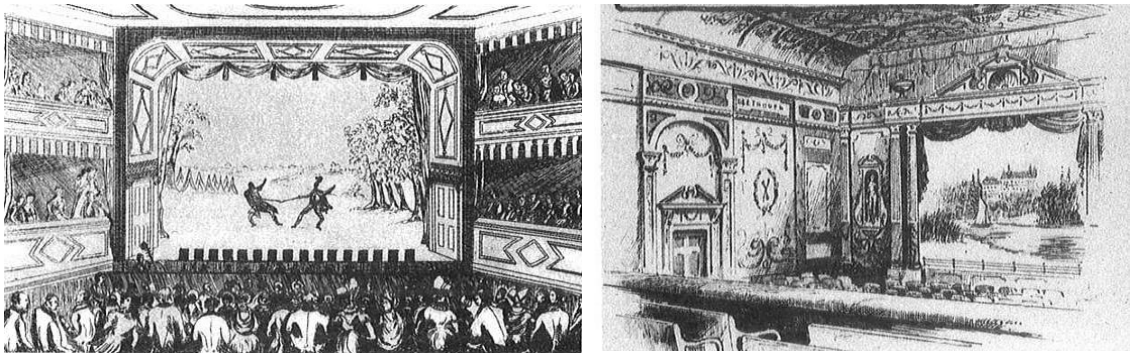


Fig. 3.35 Two views of Richmond theatres; the first an aquatint by T. Woodfall of the Richmond Hill theatre (1804); the second, a view of the New Theatre from the *Illustrated Sport* (1890). Both show painted landscape backdrops: the first is probably a view from Richmond Hill; the second, a view of Richmond Hill from the river. The association between the theatre and dramatic landscape view is of particular interest given the origins of Richmond's theatre on Terrace Walk. Image from J. Cloake, *Richmond Past* (Historical Publications Ltd, 1991) p. 126



Fig. 3.36 Aerial view of Vauxhall pleasure gardens by Samuel Wale, c. 1751. Image courtesy of the Victoria & Albert Museum.



Fig. 3.37 Admission ticket to Vauxhall pleasure gardens' Jubilee celebrations (1783) showing the gardens as a theatrical stage set. Image courtesy of the Victoria & Albert Museum.



Fig. 3.38 Engraving after Thomas Rowlandson, showing the crowds enjoying an evening at Vauxhall gardens. Richmond Hill's own pleasure gardens, 'Richmond Wells', would have been thronged with crowds on popular weekends, attracted by music, dancing, drinking, the opposite sex and the sometimes morally relaxed atmosphere.

> In all the gay pride of the field;
> Thy musick, shall sweetly surprise;
> To thee fam'd *Elysium* shall yield."[103]

The theatrical splendour of Vauxhall pleasure gardens is illustrated by an admission ticket to the 1783 Jubilee party, which shows the receding perspective of a shady avenue, framed by what could be the proscenium arch of a stage (fig. 3.37). The tent-like roof crowning the image creates a sense of optical illusion, perhaps indicating the avenue as a false perspective housed within a garden pavilion or temporary structure. Music is indicated in the position of the orchestral pit by a lyre and drum beneath the 'stage' floor. This image neatly summarises the pleasure garden which, mirroring John Jackson's observations, might be dubbed "a stage set for the theatre of human interaction."[104]

As we have seen, Richmond Hill's Terrace Walk was a centre of leisure which encompassed the royal park, promenade, view, hilltop inns and theatre. The discovery of a spring on the hillside in the 1670s, marketed as medicinal, further attracted visitors and investment.[105] By 1696, the area immediately adjacent to Terrace Walk had been developed as a popular pleasure garden, on the model of Vauxhall, known as 'Richmond Wells' complete with a pump room, assembly hall and gaming rooms. The health benefits afforded by taking the waters at Richmond, followed by a stroll through the pleasing river landscape were extolled by contemporary writers. For example, traveller Charles Moritz wrote in 1782:

> "Even this town, though hardly out of sight of London, is more countrified, and more cheerful […]. In the streets there reigned here a pleasing rural tranquillity, and I breathed a purer and fresher air. […] [From the town] you enter immediately into a most charming valley, that winds all along the banks of the Thames. It was evening. The sun was just shedding her last parting rays on the valley; but such an evening, and such a valley! The terrace at Richmond does assuredly afford one of the finest prospects in the world. Whatever is charming in nature, or pleasing in art, is to be seen here."[106]

According to John Cloake, daily concerts and weekly balls became a regular feature of Richmond's pleasure gardens, attracting not only local visitors but Londoners too, arriving by river boat or by carriages, housed in an extensive mews.[107] Surviving

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[103] 'The Adieu to the Spring Gardens at Vauxhall', *London Magazine* (Nov. 1735) in H. A. Rogers ed., *Views of Some of the Most Celebrated By-Gone Pleasure Gardens of London* (London: Dodo Press, 1896) p.2
[104] Jackson, *The Necessity for Ruins,* p.47
[105] Cloake, *Richmond Past,* p.34
[106] Dunbar, *A Prospect of Richmond*, pp. 87-8
[107] Cloake, *Richmond Past,* p.34

contemporary paintings, such as Knyff's views, show only the scantest positioning of buildings, rendering it difficult to appreciate the scale of the gardens or their design. However, it is clear that the area had developed into a popular resort, ranked alongside London's other pleasure garden resorts of Islington, White Conduit House and Windsor in Reverend C. Jenner's *Town Eclogues* (1772):

> "Time was, when satin waistcoats and scratch wigs,
> Enough distinguish'd all the city prigs,
> Whilst every sunshine Sunday saw them run
> To club their sixpences, at *Islington*;
> When graver citizens, in suits of brown,
> Lin'd ev'ry dusty avenue to town,
> Or led the children and the loving spouse,
> To spend two shillings at *White Conduit House*.
> But now, the prentices in suits of green,
> At *Richmond* and *Windsor* may be seen;
> There in mad parties they run down to dine,
> To play at gentlefolks, and drink bad wine:
> Whilst neat post-chariots roll their masters down
> To some snug box, a dozen miles from town."[108]

As this poem demonstrates, the pleasure gardens of Richmond, and no doubt the neighbouring Terrace Walk, had begun to attract the "prentices" or *nouveau riche*. The theatricality of the pleasure garden allowed the middle class to "play" at being aristocracy, indulging in extravagant parties in the grand illusory setting of a stately home. The pleasure garden, which had once attracted the wealthy at Islington, and the poor at White Conduit House, now catered for a society of suburban villa owners, dwelling in their "snug box[es], a dozen miles from town," who aspired to the grand estates of the landed gentry.

Richmond Wells' cultivation of drunkenness and debauchery gradually eroded its popularity locally as well as amongst the fashionable set. Finally, in 1763, Susanna Houblon, living almost opposite, bought up the pleasure gardens and promptly closed them to the public, demolishing its buildings.[109] Despite the closure of the gardens, the Terrace Walk, theatre and inns continued to draw visitors to the hill, immortalised by the song *The Lass of Richmond Hill*, first sung at Vauxhall pleasure gardens in 1789.[110] Remaining popular well into the nineteenth century, contemporary song sheets typically juxtapose a view of the Thames from Terrace Walk with the accompanying lyrics (fig. 3.39).

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[108] Rev. C. Jenner, *Town Eclogues* (1772) in Rogers ed., *Views of Some of the Most Celebrated By-Gone Pleasure Gardens of London,* p.89
[109] Cloake, *Richmond Past,* p.34
[110] Cloake, *Richmond Past*, p.64



Fig. 3.39 Nineteenth century song sheet for *The Lass of Richmond Hill*, (left) first sung at Vauxhall gardens in 1789, and illustrating the, by now familiar, view of the Thames. To the right, a song sheet from 1794 depicting the Lass, with a distant view of the Thames to the right of the image. Images courtesy of the Museum of Richmond-upon-Thames.



Fig. 3.40 View of Terrace Walk by Alfred Mudge, 1883. Image from www.wikigallery.com [Accessed 07/12/2012].



Fig. 3.41 Weekend promenading on the Terrace, Richmond Hill, postcard c. 1910. The fact that not a single person is walking away from the camera suggests either that the entire photo is posed, or that there was an accepted directional circuit for such promenades. Image from author's personal collection.

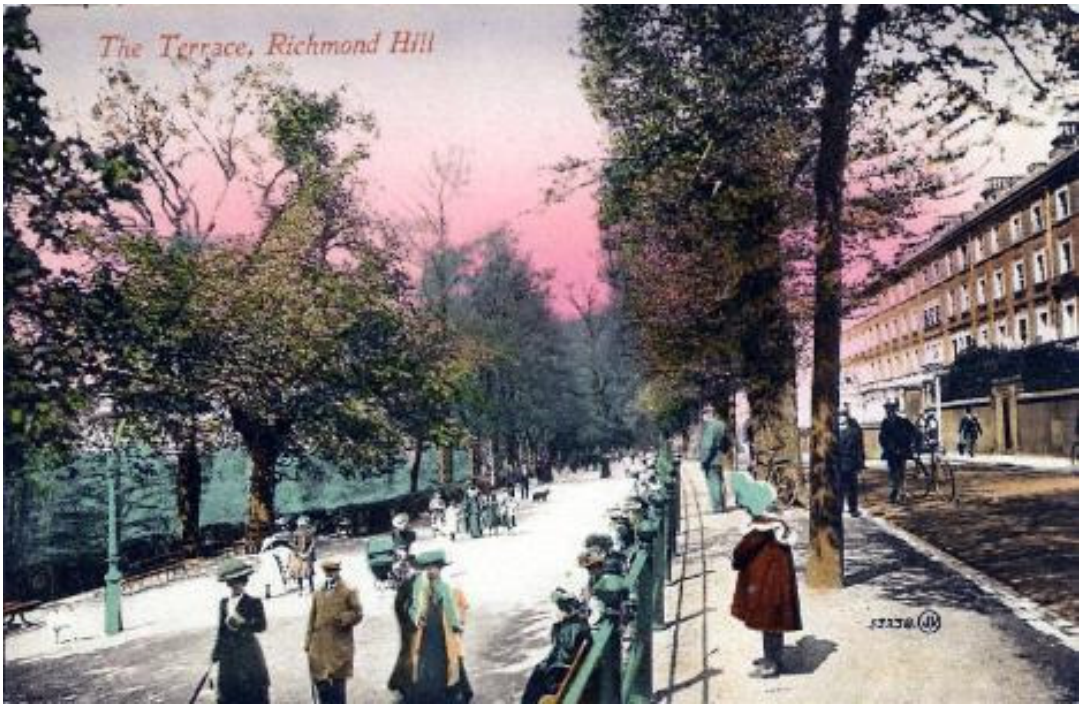


Fig. 3.42 A second postcard depicting the Terrace, Richmond Hill, c. 1910. Image from author's own collection.

Richmond Hill's Terrace Walk conformed to the fashion for axial perspectivalism in popular landscape design of the seventeenth century, likened to the extension of country house architecture to the garden or to the overlaying of urban axiality upon the natural landscape. Terrace Walk, as an example of this integration of architecture and landscape, was a designed space for the appreciation of the landscape view and the act of the promenade, similar to the Long Galleries of Elizabethan houses. The avenue of trees served as a frame through which the landscape was to be viewed by the strolling gentleman, from the passing carriage or from the windows of the house. Knyff's downstream painting (fig. 3.43) contrasts the sinuous curve of the river prospect with the hard-line geometry of this constructed perspective. The prospect itself appears flattened against the perspective spatiality of the foreground, creating a foil between the viewer and the view beyond like the proscenium arch of contemporary theatres; a perspective construction of space separating the landscape out as an object *observed* from the *outside* by the viewer peering *into* the image. If, following Strong's argument, perspective had introduced to garden design the *concept of pictorial space*, in the following section we will see how eighteenth-century landscape architects would "leap the fence" of the seventeenth century axial garden and in doing so, seek to manipulate the image of nature itself.

3.9 *Richmond Hill Villas*

Where, in the seventeenth century, the landscape was to be seen from the house via the perspective techniques of axial garden design, during the eighteenth century a shift occurred in which the house itself was seen as integral to landscape views. This chapter will explore the property boom which overtook eighteenth century Richmond-upon-Thames and demonstrate how local intellectual circles began to look to natural views of the Thames for inspiration in contemporary literature, architecture and landscape design.

Stepping down from the shady promenade of Terrace Walk into the gardens below, one crosses from public property to what had once been a series of privately owned riverside estates, most of which have been swept away in the course of the last century. From the early 1700s, wealthy Londoners began building elegant villas along the banks of the Thames at Richmond. The resulting profusion of riverside seats is demonstrated by Augustin Heckel's engraving of *Cholmondeley Walk* (1749) (fig. 3.44),

and Samuel Leigh's later *Panorama of the Thames from London to Richmond* (c.1830) (fig. 3.1.45). Writing in 1724, Daniel Defoe described the scene:

> "From Richmond to London, the River sides are full of Villages, those villages so full of Beautiful Buildings, Charming Gardens, and Rich Habitations of Gentlemen of Quality, that nothing in the World can imitate it."[111]

By the 1770s, several impressive villas had grown up around Terrace Walk, notably No.3 The Terrace, rebuilt by architect Sir Robert Taylor in 1769; Downe House, completed in 1771; Ancaster House, commissioned by the Duke of Ancaster in 1772 and Wick House, built for the Royal Academy's first President, Sir Joshua Reynolds, by architect Sir William Chambers (fig. 3.48).[112] These grand villas were positioned to take advantage of unrivalled river prospects from their hilltop locations. Traveller Charles Morritz even remarked that "I never saw a palace which, if I were the owner of it, I would not give for any of the houses I now saw on Richmond Terrace."[113]

As we have seen in the previous section, villa-builders and developers alike had been drawn to Richmond Hill by its profitability, the result of a favourable combination of distance from the city of London, river views, theatre, inns and pleasure garden. Reynolds was himself clearly drawn to the view from Terrace Walk, painting a romanticised version of it in 1788, one of the portraitist's few landscapes, in which he exaggerates the topography of rolling hills into mountain peaks, giving it the impression of a bucolic Italian scene (fig. 3.46).[114]

The site neighbouring Reynolds' Wick House, formerly a collection of cottages comprising the Bull's Head Tavern, was purchased by Lady St Aubyn in 1774, and developed by architect Robert Mylne as an elegant classical villa named The Wick.[115] Mylne's redevelopment allowed for an extension of Terrace Walk up to the Star and Garter Inn opposite the entrance to Richmond Park, seen in a watercolour by J.I. Richards of c.1800 and in George Hilditch's *The Terrace, Richmond Hill* of 1837 (fig. 3.49).[116]

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[111] D. Defoe, I, Letter II p.121 in J. Bryant, *Finest Prospects: Three Historic Houses: a study in London Topography* (London: English Heritage, 1986) p. 61
[112] Cloake, *Richmond Past,* p.63
[113] Dunbar, *A Prospect of Richmond*, p. 88
[114] From the Renaissance onwards many artists utilised the camera obscura as a tool for capturing images of perspective scenes. Thus, the camera obscura facilitated the reproduction and resulting distribution of images of specific vistas. By the eighteenth century the compact size of the 'camera ottica' enabled artists such as Joshua Reynolds to capture accurate perspective sketches of landscape vistas in the field, which could later be reworked in the studio.
[115] Cloake, *Richmond Past,* p.63
[116] Bryant, *Finest Prospects,* p.89

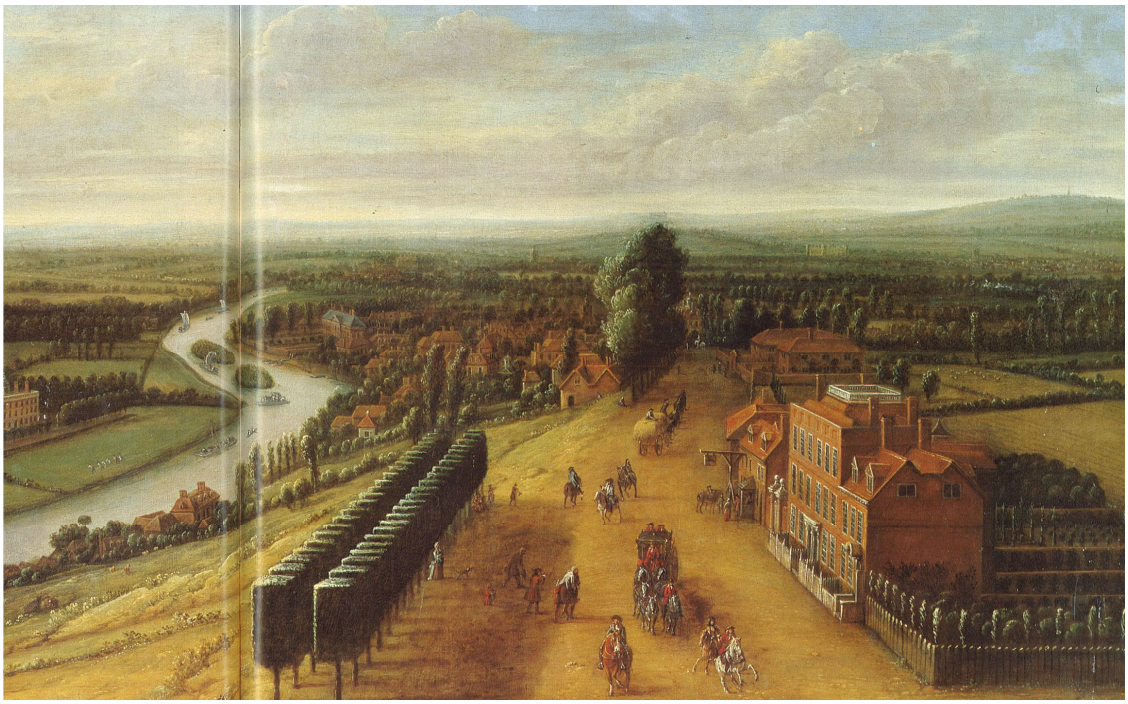


Fig. 3.43 Detail from Leonard Knyff's *The Terrace and View from Richmond Hill* c. 1650-1720. The Terrace Walk and houses opposite create a perspectival optical effect which draws the eye into the painting, mirroring the role of the Terrace Walk trees, which framed views of the landscape as viewed from the windows of the houses. Image courtesy of the London Borough of Richmond upon Thames.



Fig. 3.44 Cholmondeley Walk, Richmond, showing the recently completed mansion of the Earl of Cholmondeley and a number of other riverside villas. Engraving from watercolour by Augustin Heckel, 1749. Image from J. Cloake, *Richmond Past* (Historical Publications Ltd, 1991) p. 111

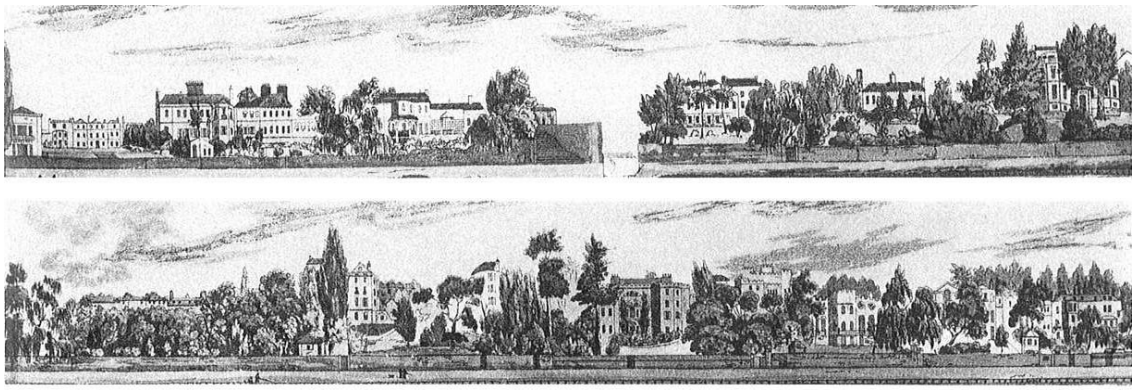


Fig. 3.45 Two sections from Samuel Leigh's *Panorama of the Thames from London to Richmond,* showing the many villa estates lining the river at Richmond by the time of its publication c. 1830. This was the unfolding panorama which drew weekend tourists to the steamboats operating from London to Richmond in the nineteenth century. Image from J. Cloake, *Richmond Past* (Historical Publications Ltd, 1991) p. 61



Fig. 3.46 A highly romanticised view of *The Thames from Richmond Hill,* painting by Sir Joshua Reynolds, 1788. Image from the Tate Collection.



Fig. 3.47 A view of Richmond Hill's many fine villas. Lady St Aubyn's elegant 'The Wick' is to the right, with Sir Joshua Reynold's 'Wick House' immediately neighbouring it on the left. The Terrace Walk is behind the artist, with the view over the Thames out of picture to the right. The entrance to Richmond Park is at the centre of the view. Watercolour by J. I. Richards, c. 1800. Image from J. Cloake, *Richmond Past* (Historical Publications Ltd, 1991) p. 63



Fig. 3.48 Villas of Richmond Hill today. From the left: Sir Joshua Reynold's 'Wick House' designed by Sir William Chambers (1772), Lady St Aubyn's 'The Wick', designed by Robert Mylne (1774), and No. 3 The Terrace, designed by Sir Robert Taylor (1769). Images by author.



Fig. 3.49 George Hilditch, *The Terrace, Richmond Hill,* 1837. Architect Robert Mylne's 'The Wick' is to the left. According to the label on the reverse of the canvas, the painting once hung at Asgill House, Richmond. Image from J. Bryant, *Finest Prospects: Three Historic Houses: A Study in London Topography* (English Heritage, 1986) p. 89



Fig. 3.50 *A View from Richmond, Looking towards Twickenham* by William Marlow, 1776. The villa built by brewer Edward Collins is to the left, later to be replaced by a larger house to be known as Lansdowne House. The buildings to the right of centre are the only record of 'Richmond Wells', spa and pleasure gardens. Image from J. Cloake, *Richmond Past* (Historical Publications Ltd, 1991) p. 34

Lower down the hill, brewer Edward Collins built a comfortable villa which appears to the left of *A View from Richmond, looking towards Twickenham* by William Marlow, 1776 (fig. 3.50).[117] This villa was replaced with a considerably larger house in 1796 - latterly known as Lownsdowne House - and was successively host to such illustrious residents as Charles William Molyneux, Duke of Molyneux and Earl of Sefton (1770s), Lady Di Beauclerk, George Townshend Earl of Leicester and second Marquis of Townshend (1790s), the Marquess of Stafford, the Marquess Wellesley (1811), the Earl of Lansdowne (1830) and the Prince de Joinville.[118]

A further mansion, also designed by architect Robert Mylne, was constructed in 1791-3 on the site of part of Richmond Wells, roughly in the position of the buildings which appear to the right of Marlow's painting. This was to be known as Cardigan House, the country retreat of the Duke of Clarence and subsequently the Earls of Cardigan.[119] Despite their demolition in 1875 and 1970 respectively, images of Lansdowne House and Cardigan House survive in late nineteenth century sale catalogues, which show them to have been substantial villas set within landscaped grounds, with bay windows and verandas taking advantage of the river views (fig 3.51).[120]

At the foot of Richmond Hill, a sign proclaims a section of the hill as Buccleuch Gardens. The name originates in the Duchess of Buccleuch, daughter of the Earl of Cardigan, later Duke of Montagu, who built a mansion here in 1761-3. Decades of clay extraction at the foot of the hill, associated with Richmond's seventeenth century tile kilns, posed an ever-present threat of landslip, and thus the steep topography was deemed useless for grazing cattle. The Vestry of Richmond therefore decided to grant the land to the Duke of Montagu who created, at great cost, extensive gardens on either side of Petersham Road, which he linked with a subterranean grotto which survives to this day.[121] Twickenham resident Horace Walpole said of a visit to the gardens in 1790 that "it is perfectly screened from human eyes, tho' in the bosom of so populous a village: and you climb til at last, treading the houses under feet, you recover the Thames

[117] Ibid., p.85
[118] English Heritage Register of Parks and Gardens of Special Historic Interest http://www.parksandgardens.ac.uk/component/option,com_parksandgardens/task,site/id,6503/tab,history/Itemid,293/ [Accessed 26/01/11]
[119] Cloake, *Richmond Past,* p.63
[120] Ibid., p.123
[121] English Heritage Register of Parks and Gardens of Special Historic Interest http://www.parksandgardens.ac.uk/component/option,com_parksandgardens/task,site/id,6503/tab,history/Itemid,293/ [Accessed 26/01/11]

and all the world at a little distance."[122] The spectacular setting of the Duke of Montagu's gardens played host to a number of lavish garden fetes entertaining, among others, King Leopold of Belgium, the Duke of Wellington, Lord Melbourne and the Sultan of Turkey.[123] One such occasion is recorded in an engraving by T. A. Prior, depicting the fete held at Buccleuch House in honour of Queen Victoria's visit in 1842 (fig. 3.52).

3.10 *Alexander Pope and the Naturalistic Garden*

In order to understand why Richmond had become such a favoured site for the villa estates of the gentry, it is important to understand how the landscape had entered the fashionable psyche, via whose agency, and through what imagery. Approaching the crumbling stone vaults of the Duke of Montagu's subterranean grotto at Buccleuch Gardens, one is struck by the sudden re-appearance of the Thames, framed by arches of rusticated rubble (fig. 3.53). The Duke and his landscape architects were no doubt familiar with the same effect at poet Alexander Pope's grotto, across the river at Cross Deep, Twickenham. What little remains of Pope's grotto today sits beneath the buildings of a Victorian school, stripped of its semi-precious stone, mirror, crystal and shell lining, and of the garden context in which it was located. Fortunately however, a series of drawings and descriptions do survive, allowing an insight into Pope's innovative experimentation in landscape architecture and the flowering of a genteel villa society on the banks of the Thames.

Alexander Pope (1688-1744) had suffered from a crippling bone disease as a child which had stunted his growth, leaving him with a hunchback and rendering him unable to walk without the aid of a stick.[124] As Mavis Batey has pointed out, Pope's preoccupation with the reading and translation of works of classical literature may have acted as a release from "the many restrictions his deformity and frailty imposed upon his activities."[125] Pope's poetry in particular, was inspired by the works of Horace and Virgil,[126] whose renderings of idyllic landscapes: lawns, shady bowers, glittering streams, and the simple and innocent lives of the comfortable rural farmer, reminded Pope of the Thames-side meadows. Pope transferred this classical vision to the Thames,

[122] English Heritage Register of Parks and Gardens of Special Historic Interest http://www.parksandgardens.ac.uk/component/option,com_parksandgardens/task,site/id,6503/tab,history/Itemid,293/ [Accessed 26/01/11]
[123] Ibid.
[124] A form of tuberculosis which affects bone.
[125] Batey, Buttery, Lambert, Wilkie eds., *Arcadian Thames,* p.65
[126] In particular, the Arcadian scenes of Virgil's *Eclogues.*

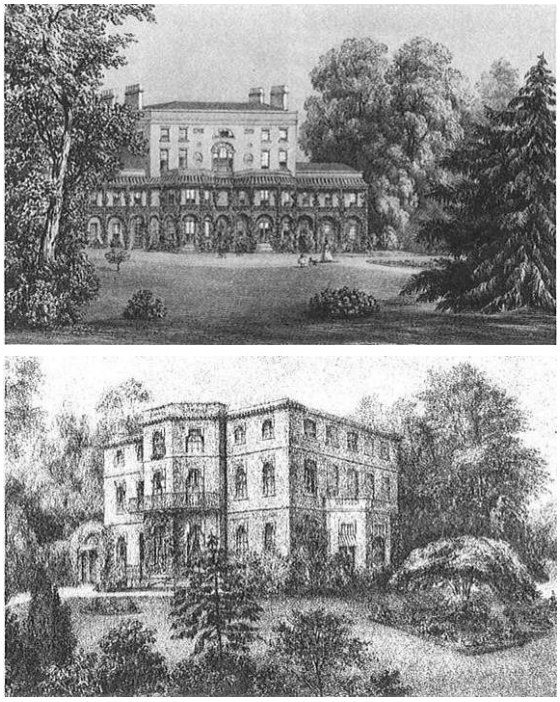


Fig. 3.51 Richmond Hill's mansions included Lansdowne House, 1796 (top) and Cardigan House (bottom), designed by architect Robert Mylne in 1791-3. Lansdowne House was demolished in 1875, followed by Cardigan House in 1970. Images from nineteenth century sale catalogues. B. Gascoigne, *Images of Richmond* (Saint Helena Press, 1978)



Fig. 3.52 A scene from E.W.A. Brayley's *A Topographical History of Surrey* showing the Duke of Montagu's estate on the occasion of a fete given for Queen Victoria (1842). Richmond Hill and the Terrace is behind Buccleuch House.



Fig. 3.53 The subterranean grotto built by the Duke of Montagu to link his riverside Buccleuch gardens with Terrace gardens beneath Petersham Road. The model for this grotto must surely have been Alexander Pope's famous grotto in neighbouring Twickenham. Image by author.



Fig. 3.54 *The Thames at Twickenham* by Peter Tillemans (1725). Alexander Pope's villa, and the grotto beneath the house, appears prominently to the left of centre, suggesting that Pope may have been Tilleman's patron for this particular painting. Image from S. Liddell, *Sotherby's Art at Auction 1988-89.* (London: Sotheby's Publications, 1989)

stating that on his journeys through the country he had seen "no scenes of paradise, no happy bowers, equal to those on the banks of the Thames."[127] Pope's transferral of an Italianate classical vision onto the Thames landscape is illustrated by his pastoral 'Spring.' Composed at the age of sixteen, the poem begins with an opening sentence quoted from Virgil and proceeds as a dialogue between Daphnis and Strephou, two Sicilian muses:

> "First in these fields I try the Sylvan strains,
> Nor blush to sport on Windsor's blissful plains:
> Fair Thames, flow gently from this sacred spring.
> While on thy banks Sicilian Muses sing.
> …
> Blest Thames's shores the brightest beauties yield,
> Feed here, my lambs, I'll seek no distant field."[128]

Pope's idyllic imagery continues in 'Summer' with an allusion to the simple and contented life of the pastoral shepherd, who roams a paradise on earth:

> "A Shepherd's boy (he seeks no better name)
> Led forth his flocks along the silver Thame,
> Where dancing sunbeams on the water play'd,
> And verdant alders form'd a quivering shade.
> …
> See what delights in sylvan scenes appear,
> Descending gods have found Elysium here."[129]

The popularity of Pope's pastorals, followed by the successes of *An Essay on Criticism* (1711), *The Rape of the Lock* (1712) and *Windsor Forest* (1713), enabled Pope to amass enough money to lease a small house at Cross Deep, Twickenham in 1719, and to substantially rebuild it as a classical villa. Designed, perhaps, with the aid of architect James Gibbs, though more likely exhibiting Pope's own amateur hand, the villa appears at the centre of Peter Tilleman's *The Thames at Twickenham* (1725), interpreted by some as indicative that the painting was commissioned by Pope himself (fig. 3.54).[130] Pope wrote of his move, "The Gods and fate have fix'd me on the borders of the Thames, in the Districts of Richmond and Twickenham," and frequently referred to his villa as his "Tusculum" after Cicero's rural retreat outside Rome.[131] His conspicuous presence in Twickenham, and the work he completed there, such as his translation of

[127] Batey, Buttery, Lambert, Wilkie eds., *Arcadian Thames,* p.6
[128] A. Dyce ed., 'Spring, or Damon', *The Poetical Works of Alexander Pope* (W. Pickering, 1831) pp.21-26
[129] A. Dyce ed., 'Summer, or Alexis', *The Poetical Works of Alexander Pope* (W. Pickering, 1831) pp.26-29
[130] Though it may have been commissioned by the Earl of Radnor who commissioned three paintings from Tillemans, including his *The Thames from Richmond Hill* (c.1723). A. B. Willson, *Mr Pope and Others at Cross Deep, Twickenham, in the Eighteenth-Century* (Twickenham: A. B. Willson, 1996)
[131] Batey, Buttery, Lambert, Wilkie eds., *Arcadian Thames,* p.67

Homer's *Iliad* (begun in 1715 but not completed until 1720), earned it the popular eighteenth-century title of the 'classic village.'

Pope was not alone in Twickenham, but at the heart of a literary circle which included satirist Jonathan Swift and poet John Gay. The Duchess of Queensberry even gifted the latter with a riverside summer house in which to compose his works. Pope's influential friends also included George II's mistress Henrietta Howard, at Marble Hill House, Twickenham, and Lord Burlington downriver at Chiswick. Thus, the banks of the Thames between Hampton and Chiswick were developing as a community of wealthy, influential and innovative individuals. Pope himself was an innovator, though his imagination looked back to classical architecture and pastoral poetry for creative inspiration. The Twickenham villa which Pope had built in 1719 was squeezed between a main road and the riverside lawns, so he leased a plot of land on the opposite side of the road in which to extend his garden. These two plots were linked by a subterranean grotto, directly inspired by classical precedent, particularly the grotto of the nymph Egeria,[132] outside Rome, a popular stop on the Grand Tour (fig. 3.55). Pope, in a letter to his friend Edward Blount, remarked "Were it to have nymphs as well – it would be complete in everything."[133] In the tradition of the eighteenth century 'cabinet of curiosities,' the grotto's interior was decorated with alabaster, marbles, ores and crystals, as well as diamonds, stalactites and mirrors. The discovery of a spring during the course of excavation allowed a trickling water fountain to echo through the vaults, which was complete with a 'camera obscura' for projecting an inverted moving image of the Thames onto the grotto's internal wall. The projection of the dappled light of the river into the darkened grotto, and its numerous reflections in crystal and mirror, is hinted at in Pope's description:

> "Thou who shalt stop, where Thames' translucent wave
> Shines a broad Mirror thro' the shadowy Cave;
> Where ling'ring drops from min'ral Roofs distill,
> And pointed Crystals break the sparkling Rill,
> Unpolish'd Gems no ray on Pride bestow,
> And latent Metals innocently glow.
> …
> Approach; but awful! Lo! Th'Egerian Grot,
> Where, nobly-pensive, St. John sate [sic] and thought;"[134]

[132] Pope refers to the "Egerian Grot" frequently in reference to his own grotto. The grotto of the nymph Egeria, near Rome, was a popular stop on the grand tour and a subject of artists and writers in the eighteenth century.
[133] Batey, Buttery, Lambert, Wilkie eds., *Arcadian Thames,* p.67
[134] http://www.poemhunter.com/poem/on-his-grotto-at-twickenham/ [Accessed 28/01/11]

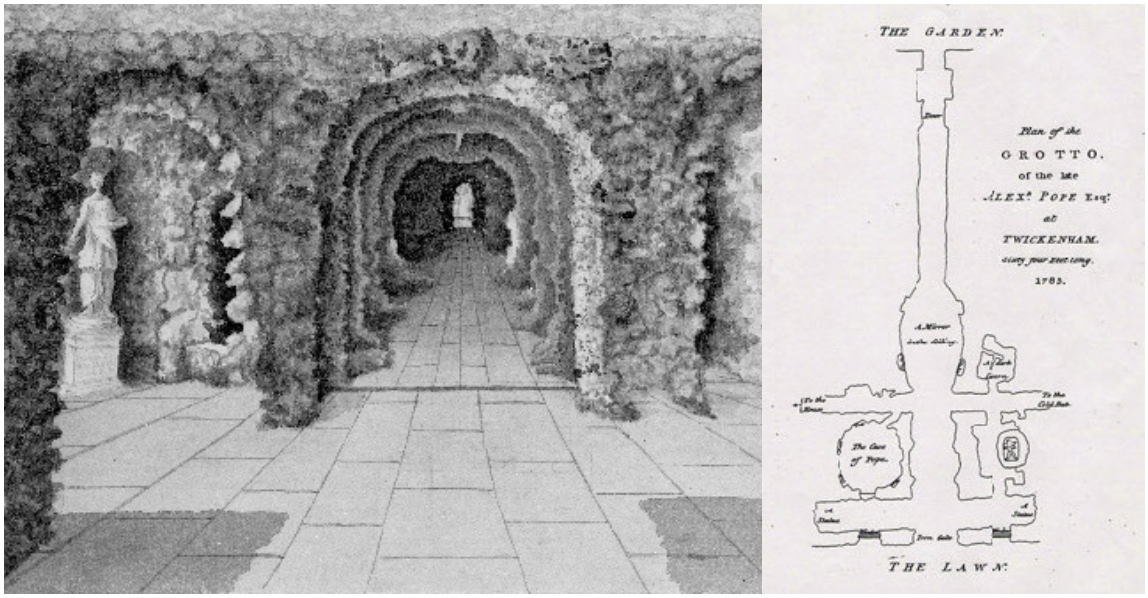


Fig. 3.55 Interior sketch and plan of Pope's Grotto, by Samuel Lewis, 1786. Images courtesy of the Pope's Grotto Preservation Trust.

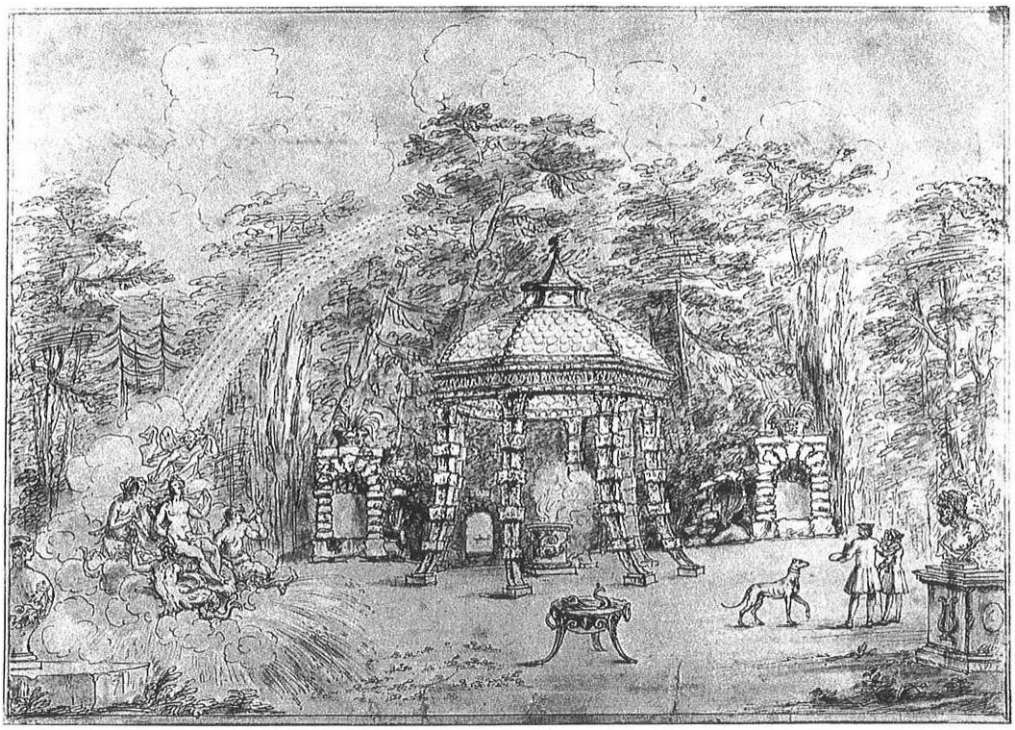


Fig. 3.56 Pope's Shell Temple in a sketch by architect William Kent c. 1725-30. The entrance to the grotto can be seen at the centre, with a boat depicted on the Thames. Pope himself is probably one of the two men to the right, suggested by the presence of his pet dog. Image courtesy of the British Museum.

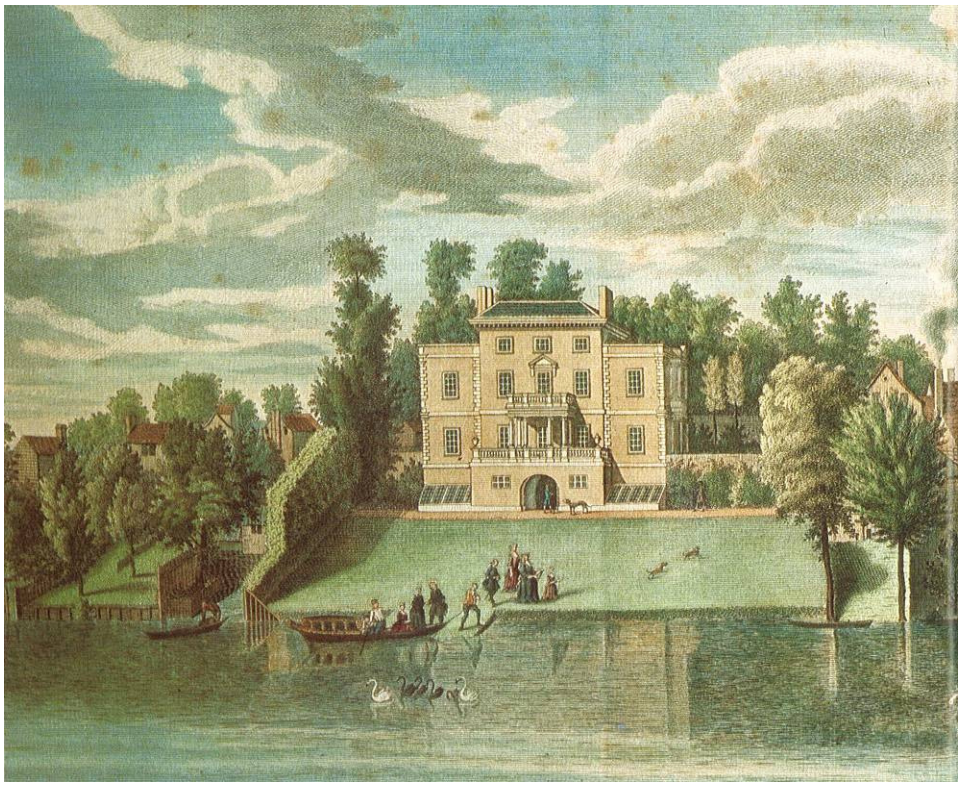


Fig. 3.57 Comparison with Peter Tilleman's depiction of Pope's villa (Fig. 4.49) shows the addition of the classical portico by architect William Kent in 1732. Engraving by Nathaniel Parr after Rysbrack c. 1735. Image courtesy of the London Borough of Richmond Upon Thames.

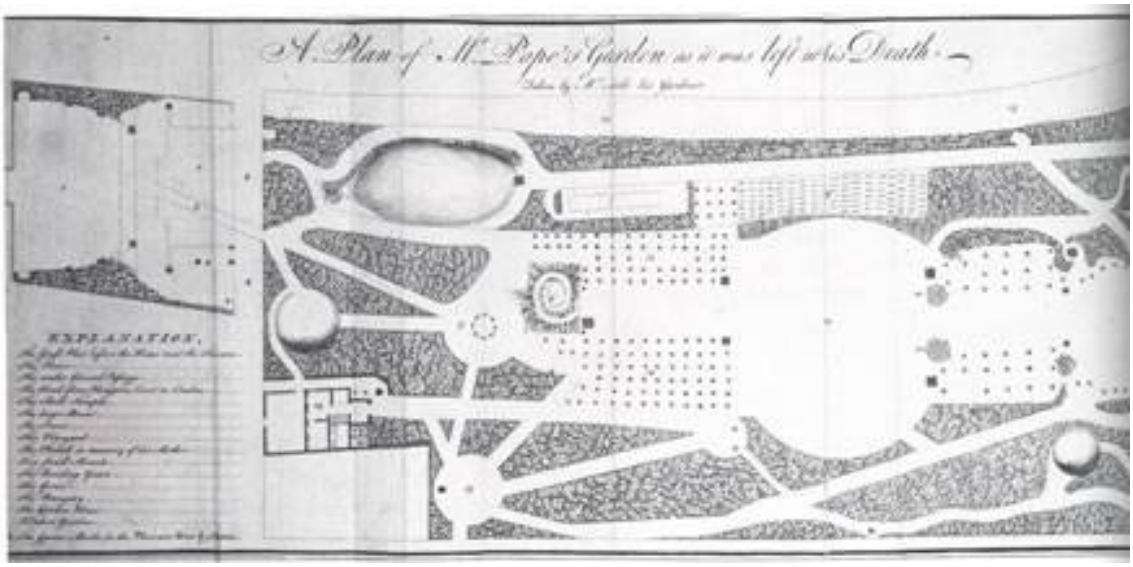


Fig. 3.58 A plan of Alexander Pope's garden at Twickenham, produced by his gardener, John Serle in 1745. Elements of the axial, formal style remain in plan, though elevational views were informal and naturalistic (see William Kent's sketch, Fig. 4.51). Image courtesy of the Pope's Grotto Preservation Trust.

Lord Burlington, an amateur architect, was on hand to offer Pope advice concerning his alterations. Burlington recommended architect William Kent, at that time working on the house and grounds at Chiswick, who was brought in to design garden structures such as Pope's Shell Temple, appearing in a sketch by Kent of 1725-30 (fig. 3.56). Classical imagery abounds in this sketch, with a fiery altar at its centre, a bronze tripod in the foreground, and the distant river and boatman, perhaps an allegory of the River Styx, glimpsed through the dark and other-worldly passage of Pope's grotto. On the riverside, Kent was also engaged in the design of a raised portico and entrance to the grotto, added to the front of the villa in 1732, which appears in Pieter Andreas Rysbrack's engraving *An exact Draught…of Mr. Pope's House at Twickenham* (c.1735) (fig. 3.57).

Kent's sketch of Pope's garden shows it to have been a naturalistic landscape punctuated by architectural and ornamental set-pieces. It is useful to read Kent's sketch in conjunction with gardener John Serle's *A Plan of Mr. Pope's garden as it was left at his Death* (1745) (fig. 3.58), though its precise scale and geometry must not be taken literally, particularly the diagonal nature of Pope's grotto, which surviving remains demonstrate to have been more or less perpendicular to the road.[135] What Serle's plan does show, is that the geometry of the formal perspective garden, of Ham House's *grand allées* and Terrace Walk's promenade, remained in the plan of Pope's colonnades and quincunxes, though in elevation the plantings were not carefully clipped but left in their natural state.[136] As Mavis Batey has commented, Pope thought "Nature was to be dressed, but not overdressed", a theme which came from the writings of Horace and the idea of *simplex munditiis*, translated by John Milton as "plain in its neatness."[137] These ideas come across in Pope's *An Essay on Criticism* (1711) in which he writes:

> "First follow NATURE, and your Judgment frame
> By her just Standard, which is still the same:
> …
> Life, Force, and Beauty, must to all impart,
> At once the Source, and End, and Test of Art
> Art from that Fund each just Supply provides,
> Works without Show, and without Pomp presides:"[138]

Later, in his *Epistle to Lord Burlington* (1731), Pope makes a specific reference which ties this idea of *simplex munditiis* to the act of landscape design, remarking:

> "In all, let Nature never be forgot.

[135] Willson, *Mr Pope and Others*
[136] As seen in Kent's sketch views of Pope's garden.
[137] Batey, Buttery, Lambert, Wilkie eds., *Arcadian Thames,* p.67
[138] A. Pope, *An Essay on Criticism* (W. Lewis, 1711) p.7

But treat the Goddess like a modest fair
Nor over-dress, nor leave her wholly bare."[139]

Between 1711 and 1731 then, Pope had linked the idea of Horaces's simple rusticity to landscape architecture. The connection may well have been made at Princess Caroline's conference on gardening, held at the Prince and Princess of Wales' new home of Richmond Lodge in 1719, to which Pope, Burlington and Kent were invited.[140]

Also developing at this time was a sense that gardens could be designed as painted scenes, perhaps an inheritance of the theatrical stage-set design of the perspectival garden. Indeed, William Kent, as Inigo Jones before him, had been a stage-set designer, working primarily in scenic sketches rather than in plan. Evidence of his application of scenery to the garden is graphically illustrated by a comparison between his designs for two Arcadian hermitages; the first, a view of the hermitage he designed for Princess Caroline in the gardens at Richmond Lodge, and the second a stage set design for a hermitage complete with carefully disposed wings of trees to frame a pastoral drama (fig. 3.59).[141]

In contrast to the sweeping avenues of Ham House opposite, which march out in military formation to annex huge quantities of land, Pope's garden was small (around five acres) and introverted. For its qualities, Pope's garden could not rely on the grand optical effects of perspective but was arranged with respect to techniques of pictorial composition. Crucially, where Pope did make use of perspective he distorted it "in the same manner as they do in painting,"[142] by narrowing the planting of trees and creating areas of shade to enhance the illusion of depth. These optical illusions allowed Pope to create a series of idealised 'scenes' in a compact space, revealed in visual sequence rather than in the single distanced gaze of the axial garden. This principle is revealed in Pope's Epistle to Lord Burlington of 1731:

Let not each beauty ev'ry where be spy'd,
Where half the skill is decently to hide.
He gains all points, who pleasingly confounds
Suprizes, varies and conceals the Bounds.[143]

Garden commentator Joseph Spence wrote in the 1750s that Kent and Pope had been the first that "practiced painting in gardening,"[144] supported by Pope's comment that "All

[139] Batey, Buttery, Lambert, Wilkie eds., *Arcadian Thames,* p.68
[140] M. Batey, *Alexander Pope: The Poet and the Landscape* (London: Barn Elms, 1999) p.13
[141] The theatrical reference in picturesque landscaping is also evident in the garden of actor and theatre manager David Garrick's villa at Hampton, where a Thames-side octagonal temple was erected in honour of Shakespeare (1755).
[142] Dixon Hunt, *The Picturesque Garden in Europe,* p.15
[143] Batey, Buttery, Lambert and Wilkie, *Arcadian Thames,* p.69

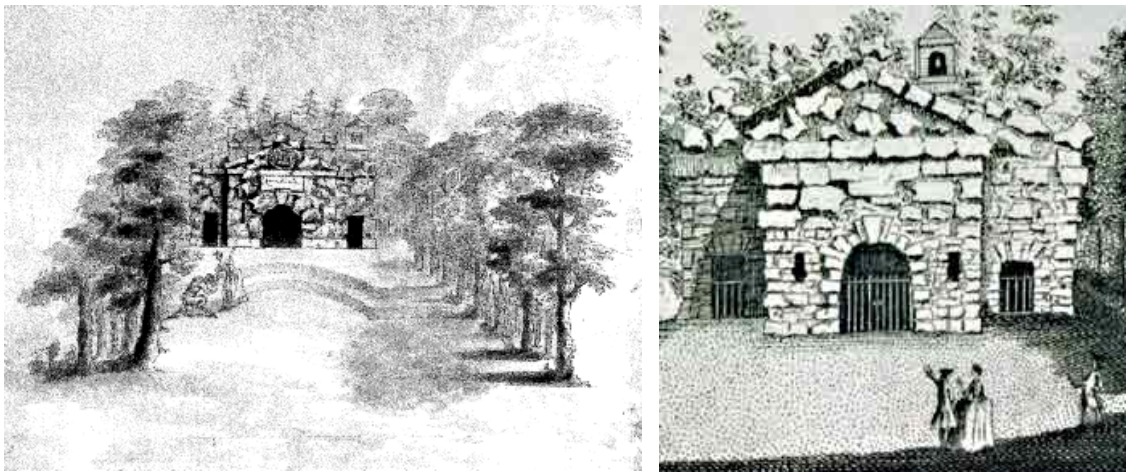


Fig. 3.59 Evidence of the crossover between theatre design and landscape architecture is clearly demonstrated by two designs for rustic hermitages by William Kent. On the left, a stage-set design entitled ‘Arcadia’, to the right, a hermitage built at Richmond Lodge for Princess Caroline. Images from J. Cloake, *Richmond Past* (Historical Publications Ltd, 1991)

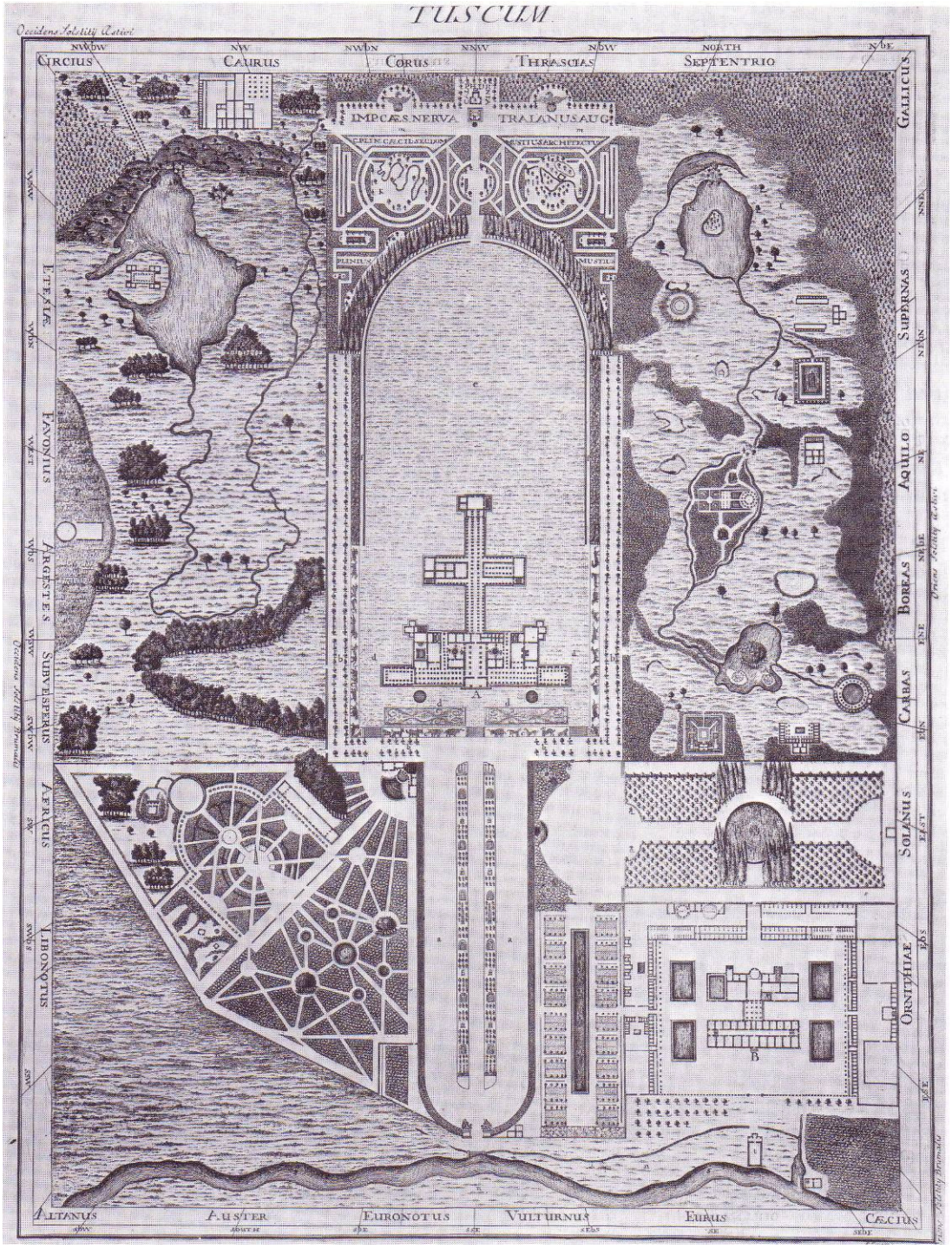


Fig. 3.60 Image from Robert Castell's *Villas of the Ancients Illustrated* (1728) commissioned by Lord Burlington. The influence of this document on the architecture and landscape architecture of the Thames-side villas is clear in examples such as Lord Burlington's own Chiswick House, Alexander Pope's villa, and Henrietta Howard's Marble Hill House.

gardening is landscape painting. Just like a landscape hung up."[145] Kent's method of scenic design was no doubt informed by his personal collection of Italian landscape paintings, and the landscapes he had witnessed on the Grand Tour, incidentally where he had first become acquainted with Lord Burlington. Arguably Kent's most important work with regards to the development of the picturesque movement, was his role in co-designing the villa and gardens of Chiswick House with Burlington himself.

3.11 *Kent, Burlington and the Influence of the Italian Landscape*

Kent and Burlington's design shares a formal relationship with Andrea Palladio's villas, such as those lining the River Brenta outside Venice, a popular stop on the Grand Tour of the time. Significantly, the villa was intended as an art gallery to house Burlington's large collection of landscape paintings acquired during his extensive travels. Works by artists such as Gaspar Poussin and Claude Lorrain were sought after and acted as ideal models for landscape improvements. Just as owning such a work was desirable, so too a landscape, modelled in their image, would become a status symbol.[146] As Gina Crandell has written, "the landscape spectators of the eighteenth century had so thoroughly incorporated the ideas of form from painters that the actual landscape they saw could not be separated from the formal painting conventions."[147]

Princess Caroline's 1719 gardening conference coincided with Kent and Burlington's return from the Grand Tour, and no doubt they returned brimming with an enthusiasm for classical scenes. This is demonstrated by Burlington's commission of a graphical reconstruction of Pliny's *Tusculum*, Robert Castell's *Villas of the Ancients Illustrated* (1728), in which both villa and garden landscape were re-imagined from Pliny's description (fig. 3.60). Surely Pliny's comment that the villa gardens were "a landscape painting drawn with all the beauties imaginable"[148] did not escape the attention of Pope, Kent and Burlington. Royal Gardener Charles Bridgeman was also present at the conference and following their introduction, Pope and Bridgeman collaborated in the design of Henrietta Howard's garden at Marble Hill, Twickenham.

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[144] Dixon Hunt, *The Picturesque Garden in Europe,* p.26
[145] Ibid., p.18
[146] Henry Hoare created at Stourhead, Wiltshire, between 1741 and 1780, a landscape garden directly inspired by landscape painting. Hoare wrote "when you stand at the pantheon…the view of the bridge, village and church altogether will be a charming Gaspar picture at the end of the water". Dixon Hunt, *The Picturesque Garden in Europe,* p.52
[147] G. Crandell, *Nature Pictorialized: "The View" in Landscape History* (Baltimore & London: John Hopkins University Press, 1993) p.127
[148] A. Pope, *Epistles*, F.W. Bateson ed. (London: Methuen, 1951)

Mavis Batey has demonstrated how a contemporary plan of Marble Hill bears many similarities with Robert Castell's work, including a semi-circular 'hippodrome' lawn and irregular wilderness garden (fig. 3.61).[149]

Designed by architect Colen Campbell, and carried out by Roger Morris between 1724 and 1729, the architecture of Marble Hill too, was an essay in the idea of the Palladian villa, a simple, compact cube inspired by Palladio's River Brenta villas. As Julius Bryant has written, "Marble Hill House…has long held a recognized position…as a perfect example of an English Palladian villa,"[150] with the influence of what John Summerson has referred to as an "epoch-making model."[151] Marble Hill's influence can be attributed to its publication in the third volume of Colen Campbell's *Vitruvius Britannicus* (1725) (fig. 3.62), as well as its visibility from the public thoroughfare of the Thames and its towpath. The conspicuous nature of the house, along with the dramatic stage-set frame of Pope and Bridgeman's gardens, led to its popular depiction by travelling artists, mass-produced in prints and engravings, such as Augustin Heckell's *Marble Hill House* (1749) (fig. 3.63). The influence of the house certainly also impressed upon its many guests, some of whom would go on to build their own essays in Anglo-Palladianism. For example, Lord Islay, Duke of Argyll, was probably influenced in the design of Whitton Park, Twickenham, built in 1730,[152] possibly to designs by Roger Morris.[153] A 1794 engraving of Whitton Park shows it to have been a Palladian cube with flanking pavilion wings, whilst a plan of the park (1766) shows it to have been in the manner of Marble Hill, with formal plantings and hippodrome shaped pools, giving way to an irregular wilderness garden (fig. 3.65).

The extent of Marble Hill's influence is illustrated by architect Roger Morris's involvement in the design of a third Palladian villa, this time for a royal patron: White Lodge in Richmond Park, published in the fourth volume of Colen Campbell's *Vitruvius Britannicus* (1767) (fig. 3.66). Begun by George I sometime after 1727 and completed by George II, the villa was a favourite retreat of Princess Caroline. The elegant simplicity of the Palladian villa, advocated by Pope, Burlington and Kent, perfectly befitted the lodge's use as a simple rural retreat, set within a largely naturalistic park designed for the rustic sport of hunting.

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[149] Batey, Buttery, Lambert and Wilkie, *Arcadian Thames,* p.68
[150] J. Bryant, *Finest Prospects,* p.61
[151] J. Summerson, *Architecture in Britain 1530-1830* (Harmondsworth, 1979) p.360
[152] Later home to Architect Sir William Chambers (1781-1796).
[153] Demolished c.1847

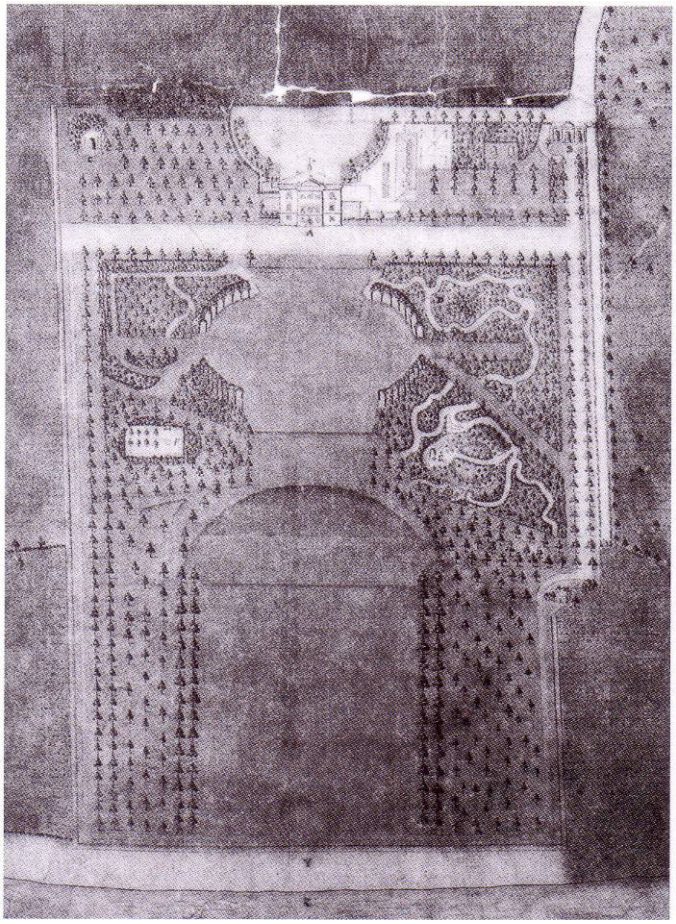


Fig. 3.61 Plan of Marble Hill House gardens, Twickenham, which may be compared to Robert Castell's depictions of classical villas in *Villas of the Ancients Illustrated* (1728). Image from M. Batey, H. Buttery, D. Lambert, K. Wilkie, *Arcadian Thames: The River Landscape from Hampton to Kew* (London: Barn Elms Publishing, 2000)

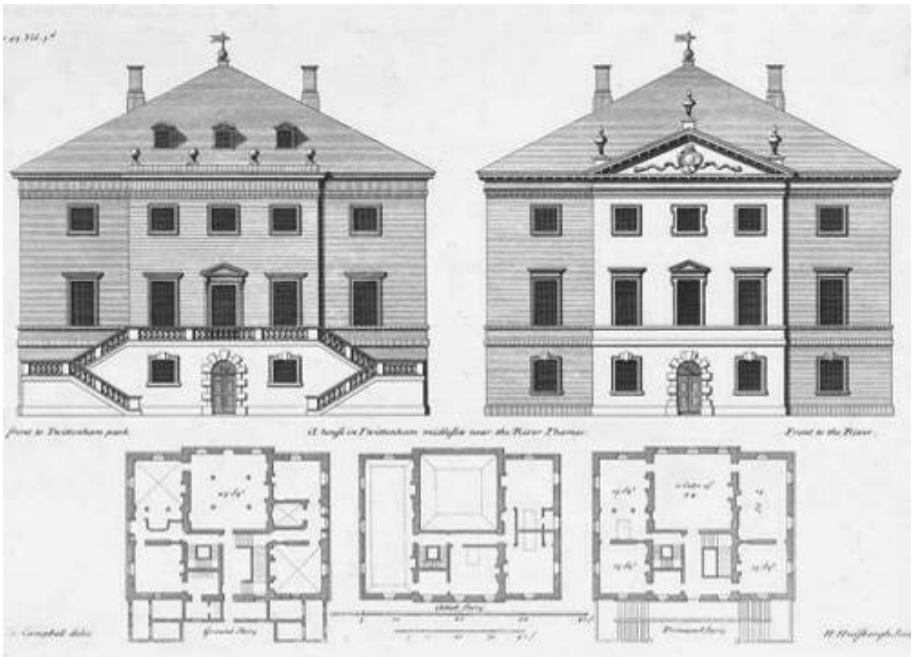


Fig. 3.62 Designs for Marble Hill House, Twickenham, by Lord Herbert and Roger Morris, 1724-9. Adapted by Colen Campbell for *Vitruvius Britannicus* (1725). Image courtesy of the RIBA Library Drawings Collection.

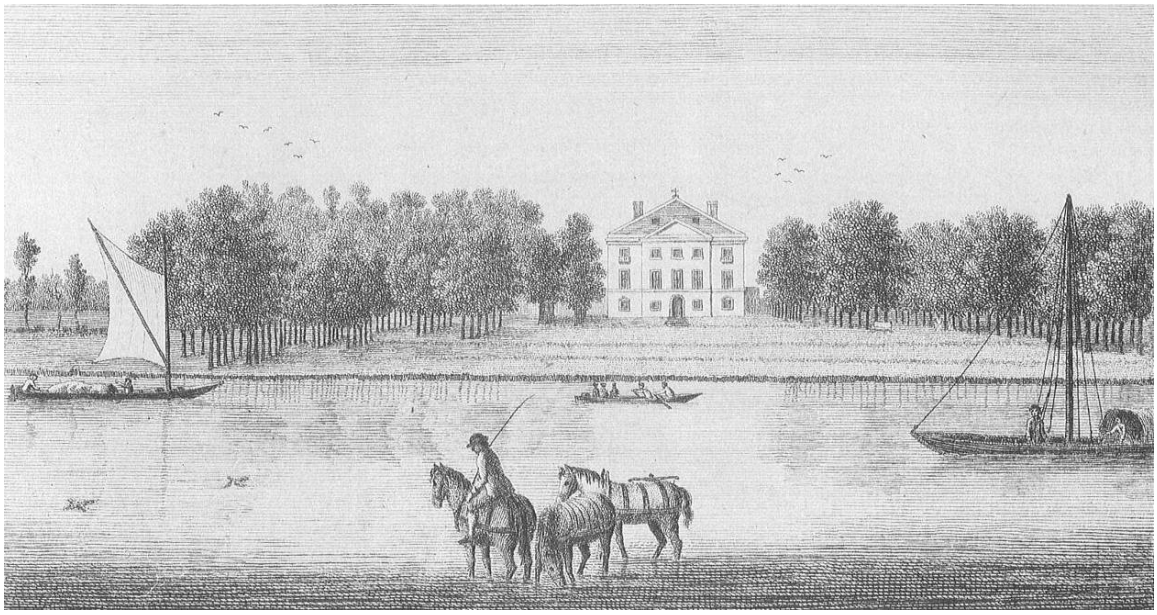


Fig. 3.63 *The Countess of Suffolk's House at Twickenham,* engraving after Augustin Heckel, 1749. This image shows Charles Bridgeman's stage-set like wings of trees planted to frame views of the villa from the river. Image courtesy of the London Borough of Richmond upon Thames.



Fig. 3.64 *The Thames near Marble Hill,* by Richard Wilson, 1762. The house appears as a gleaming white classical villa amongst the Arcadian landscape. Image from www.artfund.org [Accessed 08/12/2012].

Emerging attitudes to solitude and nature are demonstrated by the furore which surrounded George II's gradual closure of the park surrounding White Lodge to members of the public. Trouble had started when George removed the public ladders erected over Charles I's enclosing wall, replacing them with gate lodges to control public access.[154] Initially "all respectable persons" were admitted in the daytime, whilst carriages were admitted if drivers acquired pass tokens (fig. 3.67). However, it gradually became more difficult to acquire tokens or to be admitted.[155] Under the rangership of George's daughter Princess Amelia, access was further restricted, royal sources "declaring that so many people crowded into the Park on hunting days, they interfered with the sport."[156] In response, local activists petitioned and rallied against the ranger, insisting that there had been free access to the park since time immemorial. Finally, a local gentleman[157] took the deputy ranger to court. After a two day trial, judgment was given for the deputy ranger, and virtually all public access to the park ceased.[158] The interest of this case for the purposes of this dissertation lies firstly in George's view that signs of urbanity, including carriage drivers and the urban poor, should not interrupt the supposedly rustic naturalism of his hunting retreat. Secondly, the furious reaction of local inhabitants was a reaction to the perceived privatisation of publicly accessible land, and as such was prescient of future campaigns to preserve landscapes and their vistas, ultimately leading to the *Richmond, Petersham and Ham Open Spaces Act* of 1902.

In the same year that work was begun on White Lodge, royal uptake of the ideas which emerged from Princess Caroline's conference found expression in the commissioning of Bridgeman and Kent to lay out the royal gardens at Richmond Lodge (now Kew Gardens), Caroline's and the Prince of Wales's personal Thames-side retreat. Kent's aforementioned hermitage was one of a number of *fabriques*, or ornamental structures, which complemented Bridgeman's landscape. The combined influences of these figures helped to produce at Richmond a transitional garden, combining elements of the old perspective tradition with the scenographic and naturalistic qualities of an emerging picturesque taste. This combination of perspective geometry and aesthetic scenery is demonstrated by the way in which the gardens were recorded, drawn as geometric plans surrounded by scenic vignettes, for example in John Rocque's *An Exact*

[154] Dunbar, *A Prospect of Richmond*, p. 128
[155] Ibid.
[156] Ibid., p. 129
[157] Mr. Symons of East Sheen.
[158] Dunbar, *A Prospect of Richmond*, p. 129

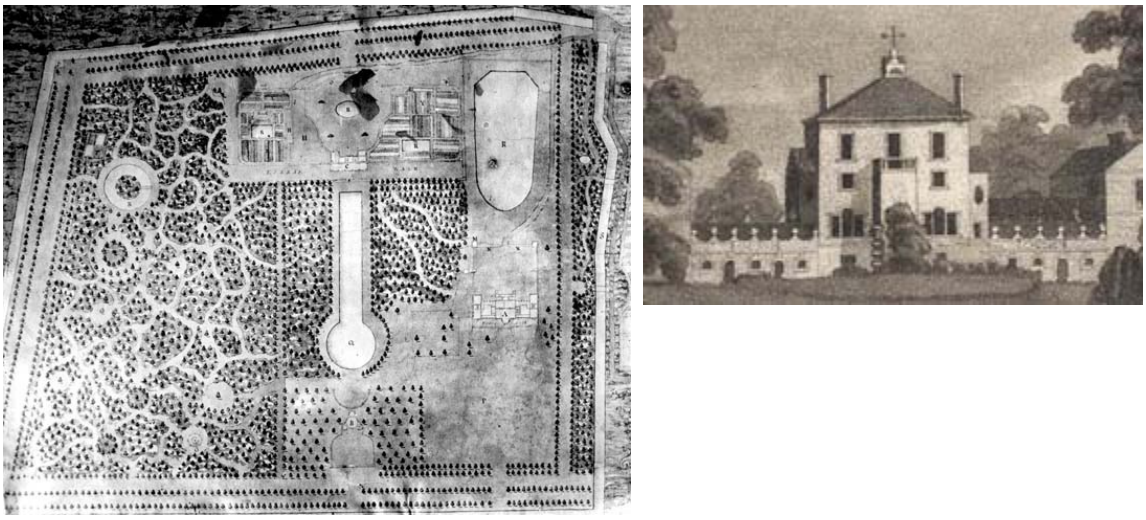


Fig. 3.65 Plan and elevation of Lord Islay, the Duke of Argyll's Whitton Park, Twickenham, which may, like Marble Hill, have been designed by Roger Morris. Whitton Park would later become the home of Sir William Chambers. The hippodrome shaped lawn and woodland wilderness garden owe much to the gardens of Marble Hill, Pope's villa and Chiswick House. Images courtesy of the Twickenham Museum.

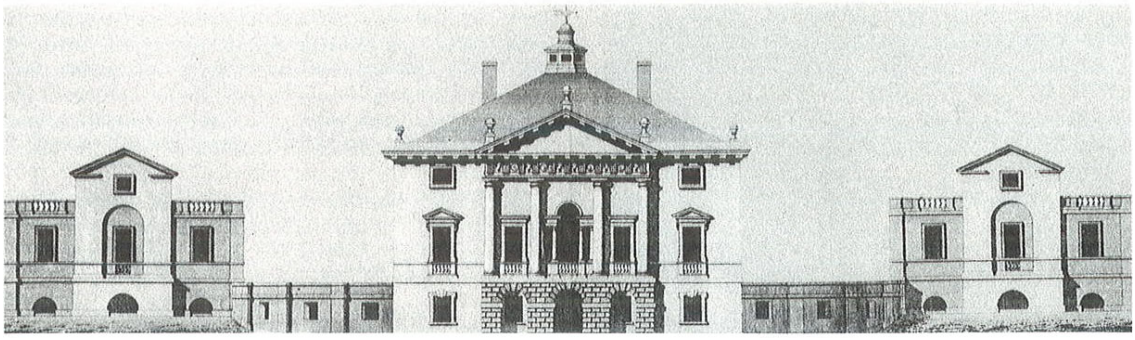


Fig. 3.66 Architect Roger Morris's White Lodge, Richmond Park, with its flanking wings, added in 1754. Drawing by J. Gandon and engraved by T. Miller, as illustrated in Volume VI of Colen Campbell's *Vitruvius Britannicus* (1767).

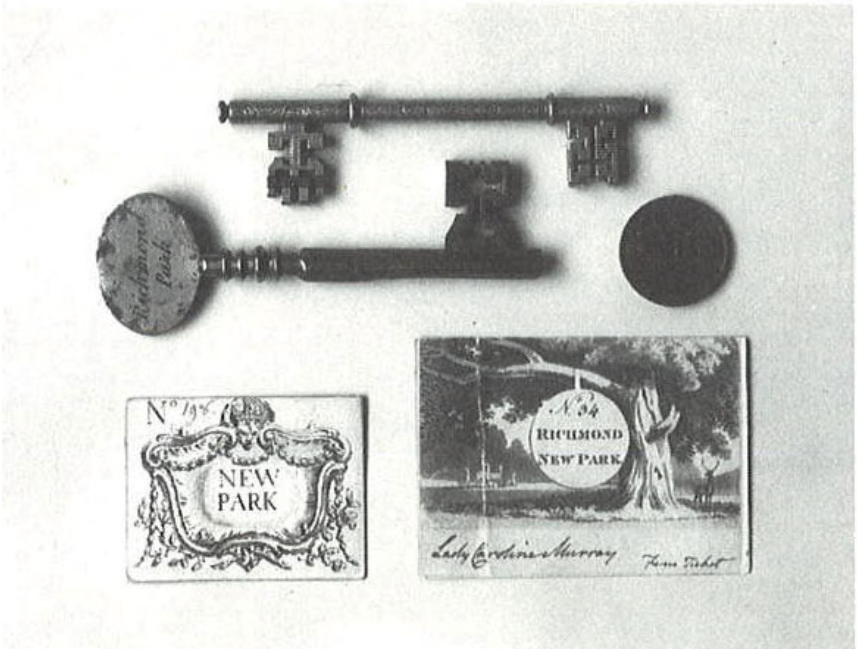


Fig. 3.67 Keys, admission tokens and tickets for entry to Richmond Park c. 1740s. Courtesy of the Museum of Richmond upon Thames.

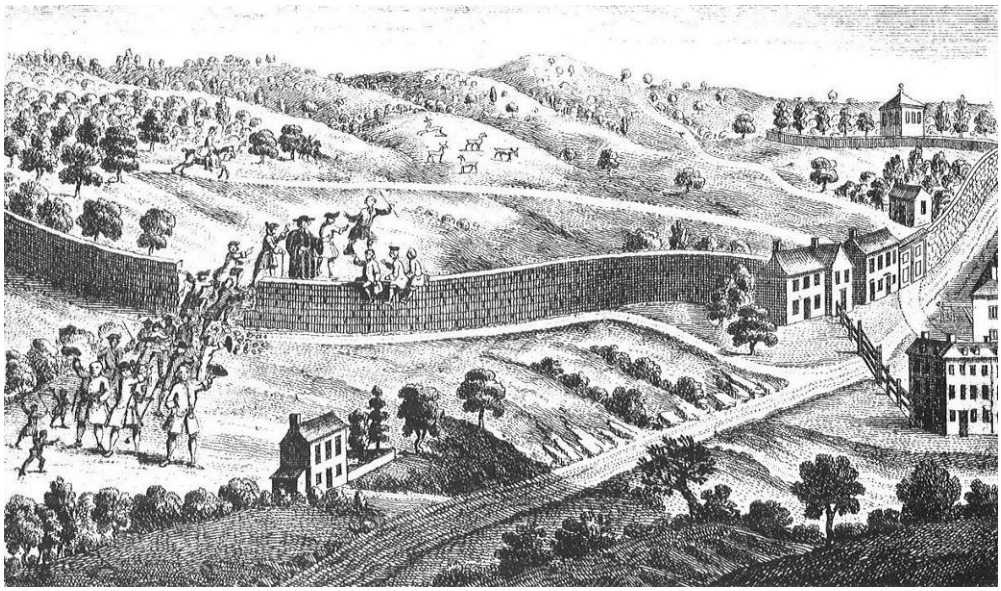


Fig. 3.68 The 'bounds beating party' forces entry to Richmond Park in May 1751. Frontispiece to M. Cooper, *Two Historical Accounts of…New Forest…and Richmond New Park* (1751).

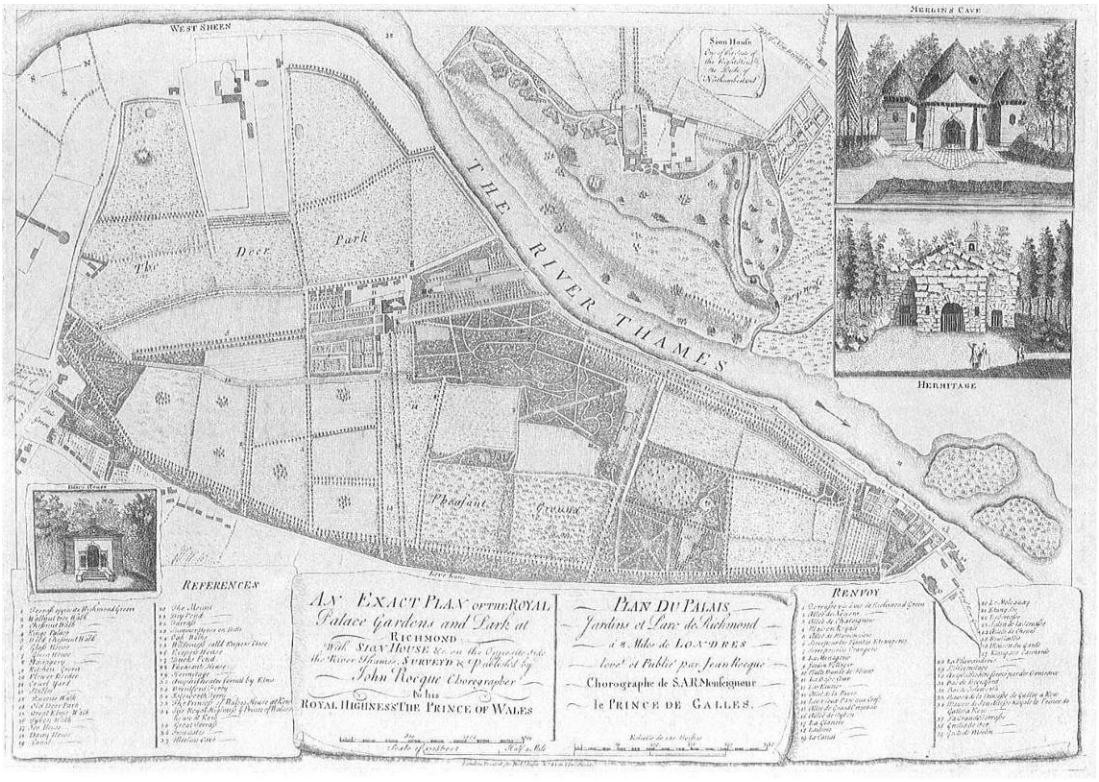


Fig. 3.69 John Rocque's *An Exact Plan of the Royal Palace Gardens and Park at Richmond* (1754), showing Charles Bridgeman's landscape plan, inset with vignettes of William Kent's garden 'fabriques'. Image from M. Batey, H. Buttery, D. Lambert, K. Wilkie, *Arcadian Thames: The River Landscape from Hampton to Kew* (London: Barn Elms Publishing, 2000)

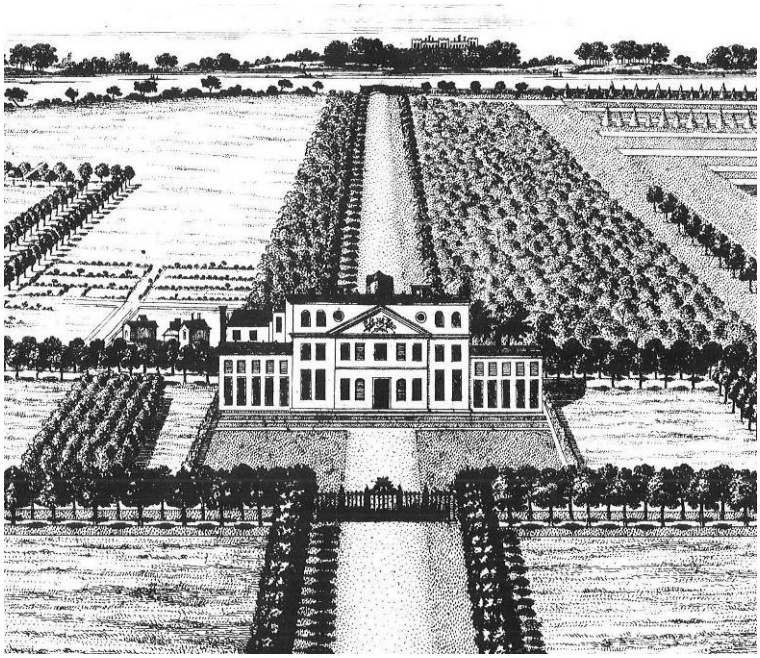


Fig. 3.70 Richmond Lodge from the south c. 1725, showing Charles Bridgeman's landscape of formal avenues interspersed with agricultural fields. Engraving by I. Van de Gucht. Image from J. Cloake, *Richmond Past* (Historical Publications Ltd, 1991) p. 30



Fig. 3.71 Engraving by Chatelain after Marco Ricci's *View from the Middlesex Bank, of Richmond Lodge* (1736). The image shows one of Queen Caroline's 'fetes galantes', rustic soirees where ladies and gentlemen played at being simple rural farmers in the setting of Richmond Lodge's naturalistic gardens. Image from T. Badeslade & J. Rocque, *Vitruvius Brittanicus,* Volume VI (London, 1739) pl. 8



Fig. 3.72 Thomas Sandby and Paul Sandby, *Richmond Lodge* c.1770. Image from D. Watkin, *The Architect King: George III and the Culture of the Enlightenment* (Royal Collection Publications, 2004) p. 25

Plan of the Royal Palace Gardens and Park at Richmond (1754) (fig. 3.69), or his *Plan du Jardin & Vue des Maisons de Chiswick* (1736). Despite the Prince of Wales' initial comment that his wife should be "abused for such childish silly stuff," Royal patronage had secured the longevity of naturalistic gardening and thus placed Richmond at the forefront of a fledging picturesque movement.

Associated with this emerging movement was the recurrent theme of a retreat into agrarian rurality, exemplified by the connotations of Kent's Arcadian hermitage. The gardens at Richmond Lodge included agricultural fields, consistent with Frederick, Prince of Wales's keen interest in modern farming techniques. Princess Caroline too, lived a romanticised vision of rural life, holding so called *fêtes galante* in the grounds at Richmond, an elaborate series of picnics and masquerades often held in the costumes of the rural peasantry (fig. 3.71).[159] This pastoral symbolism and the influence of the Marble Hill and Richmond Lodge models was immortalised in Jonathan Swift's *Pastoral Dialogue between Richmond Lodge and Marble Hill* (1727):

> "Then let him come and take a nap
> In Summer on my verdant lap;
> Prefer our villas, were the Thames is,
> To Kensington, or hot St. James's:"[160]

3.12 *Richmond's Poetic Landscape*

Returning to Richmond Hill's Terrace Gardens, we may now appreciate that the wealth of villas, constructed from the mid-eighteenth to the nineteenth centuries, were not only the result of economic pragmatics, but were influenced by a local though nationally renowned and fashionable elite which included royalty and members of the court, poets, artists, architects and landscape architects. This circle popularised the notion of the pastoral retreat; of refined and elegant simplicity, encouraging a move away from the palatial estates of the gentry to a more comfortable idea of semi-rural society. In doing so, the villa was born, and so too was an appreciation of landscapes which did not rely on the optical effects of vast scale perspectives, composed instead as a series of naturalistic or 'picturesque' scenes. The mass production and circulation of architectural designs, as well as of prints of garden views, greatly increased the accessibility and dissemination of the new fashion, which would be further bolstered in the writings of the nineteenth century. The potency of this imagery in the contemporary

[159] Batey, Buttery, Lambert and Wilkie, *Arcadian Thames,* p.105
[160] S. Johnson, A. Chalmers ed., *The Works of the English Poets, from Chaucer to Cowper* (J. Johnson, 1810) p.460

perception of the Richmond Hill view is best summed up by Poet James Thompson's frequently quoted passage in *The Seasons,* published in 1727:

> "To where the silver Thames first rural grows,
> There let the feasted eye unwearied stray:
> Luxurious, there, rove through the pendant woods,
> That nodding hang o'er Harrington's retreat
> And stooping thence to Ham's embowering walks,
> Hence let us trace the matchless vale of Thames;
> Far-winding up to where the muses haunt
> To Twit'nam's bowers
> …
> Heavens! What a goodly prospect spreads around,
> Of hills and dales, and woods, and lawns, and spires,
> And glitt'ring towns, and gilded streams, till all
> The stretching landscape into smoke decays."[161]

The poetry of Thompson, Pope and Swift secured the influence of Richmond's landscape upon future generations. The literary image of the Thames landscape became inevitably associated with the classical and romantic references saturating the works of local architects and amateurs such as Kent, Morris and Burlington, as well as works of landscape architects such as Charles Bridgeman. Kent even drew the frontispiece to 'Spring' in Thompson's *The Seasons,* sketching an Arcadian landscape that bears an uncanny resemblance to contemporary views of the Thames and Kent's own remodelling of Pope's villa (fig. 3.73).

William Wordsworth, arguably Britain's most influential poet, championed as a figurehead of patriotism, would later write of the Thames at Richmond (1790):

> "Glide gently, thus forever glide
> O Thames! That other bards may see,
> As lovely visions by your side
> As now, fair river! Come to me.
> …
> That in thy waters may be seen
> The image of a poet's heart,
> How bright, how solemn, how serene!
> Such heart did once the poet bless,
> Who, pouring here a later ditty,
> Could find no refuge from distress,
> But in the milder grief of pity."[162]

The poet to whom Wordsworth refers is William Collins, whose *Ode Occasion'd by the Death of Mr. Thomson* (1749), was published in his lifetime.[163] Collins's poem paints

[161] Bryant, *Finest Prospects,* p.68
[162] W. Wordsworth, 'Lines Written Near Richmond, upon the Thames at evening 1790,' in *Lyrical Ballads* (Washington, DC: Woodstock Books, 1997)
[163] J. Langhorne, *The Poetical Works of William Collins* (New York: Trow & Co., 1848) pp. 88-90



Fig. 3.73 William Kent's frontispiece to 'Spring' in James Thompson's *The Seasons* (1730 edition). Kent's use of a classical Arcadian landscape to accompany a poem about the Thames at Richmond is almost certainly intended as a deliberate analogy between the two landscapes. The riverside villa to the right, complete with portico over a grotto entrance, likewise, might be seen as a romanticised version of Pope's Twickenham villa, for which Kent himself had acted as architect. Image from M. Batey, H. Buttery, D. Lambert, K. Wilkie, *Arcadian Thames: The River Landscape from Hampton to Kew* (London: Barn Elms Publishing, 2000).



Fig. 3.74 The lawn at the foot of Terrace Gardens melts into the water, seemingly natural enough, but in fact a feature of landscape architecture introduced by ‘Capability’ Brown at the Thames-side estates of Syon, and Kew. Image by author.

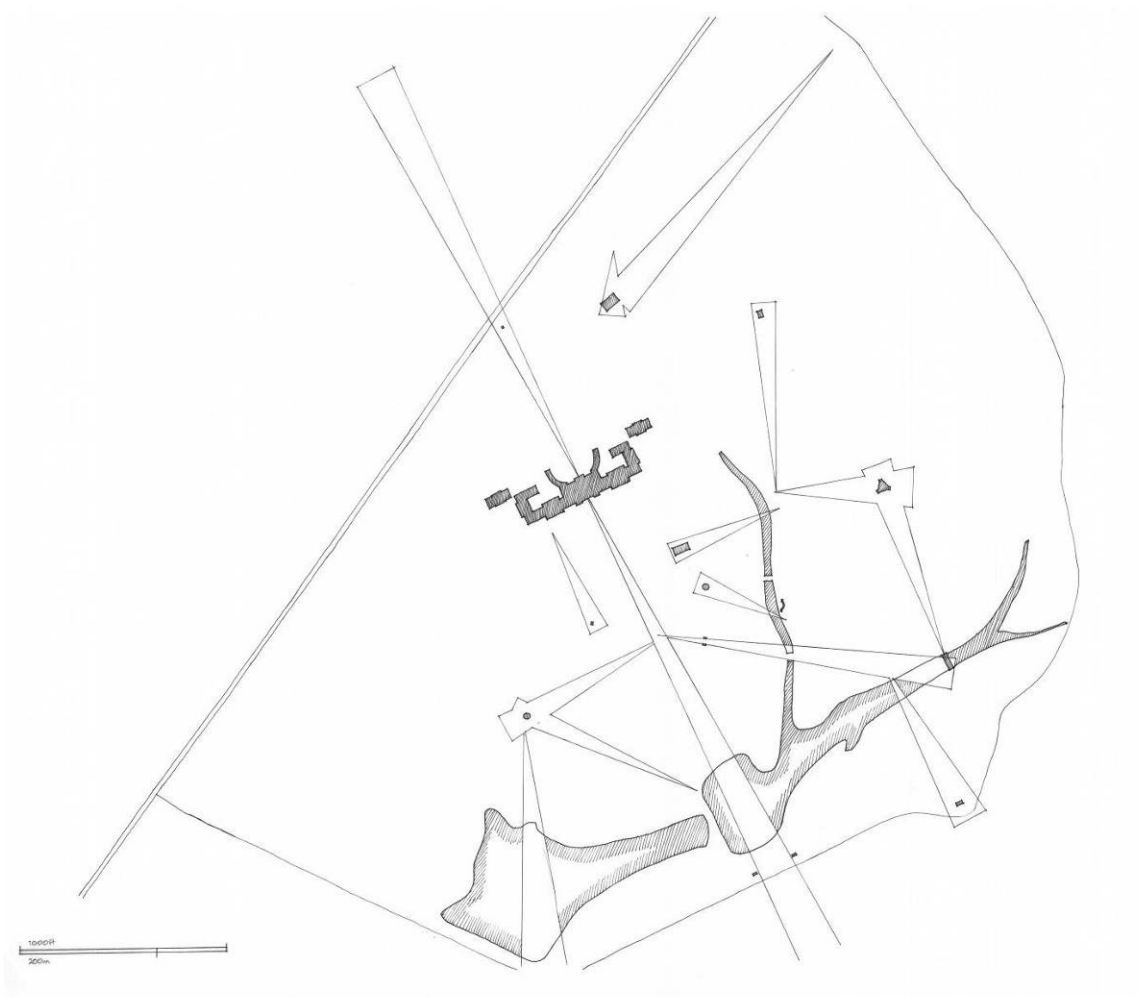


Fig. 3.75 Diagrammatic plan of Lancelot ‘Capability’ Brown’s landscape work at Stowe, showing the serpentine lake which replaced Charles Bridgeman’s formal gardens. Crossing the lake, key vistas connect views of the many ‘fabriques’ designed by architect William Kent. Image by author.

Thompson's life as simple and rural, referring to him in suitably romantic fashion as a 'druid' he writes:

> "The genial meads, assign'd to bless
> Thy life, shall mourn thy early doom;
> Their hinds and shepherd-girls shall dress,
> With simple hands, thy rural tomb.
>
> Long, long thy stone and pointed clay
> Shall melt the musing Briton's eyes;
> O! vales and wild woods, shall he say
> In yonder grave your Druid lies!"[164]

Wordsworth's reference to Collins thus also references Thompson, perpetuating a mythic and nostalgic view of the Thames, learned via the writing styles of his predecessors.

This section has demonstrated how the nostalgic and romantic vision of an Arcadian landscape, attributed by Pope to the Thames first in literature then in the physical realities of his architectural innovations, became deeply engrained. In promoting such a vision, Pope, Burlington, Howard, Thompson and others explicitly linked the Thames to the landscapes of a classical 'golden age', suggesting that eighteenth-century Britain was, or could be, a glorious new Augustan age. At a time of increasing mass production of prints and literary works, the view from Richmond Hill became a recognisable and distributable model of Arcadia, in whose image new architectural and landscape set-pieces could be designed. The following chapter will discuss the further development of the picturesque, as its model, consolidated on the banks of the Thames in Richmond was extended from the private gardens of the elite to the public parks and suburban streets of a growing middle class. In this way, picturesque vision was to spread rapidly from a pictorial interpretation of the landscape along this particular stretch of the Thames, to an all-encompassing mode of vision.

3.13 *Theorising a Picturesque Convention*

Where the previous sections have followed the emergence of picturesque landscape design and literature along the Richmond stretch of the Thames, the following sections will chart the apogee of its theoretical expression. From the mid-eighteenth to mid-nineteenth centuries, the appreciation of the picturesque was hotly debated in the writings of Uvedale Price and Richard Payne Knight, whose works

[164] W. Collins, 'Ode Occasion'd by the Death of Mr. Thomson 1749' in Langhorne, *The Poetical Works of William Collins,* pp. 88-90

remain subjects of academic debate to this day.[165] These debates influenced the design of Richmond's riverside gardens. There is perhaps no better place to compare and contrast the developing ideas of the picturesque movement than here, where works by William Kent and Charles Bridgeman sit cheek-by-jowl with those of Horace Walpole, 'Capability' Brown and Humphrey Repton among others.

Descending through the Duke of Montagu's subterranean grotto at the foot of Terrace Gardens, Richmond-upon-Thames, one emerges onto a verdant lawn stretching seamlessly to the lapping water at the river's edge (fig. 3.74). Such an effortless meeting of lawn and water might seem natural enough, but a quick survey of any natural riverbank, eroded into muddy banks, gravelly beaches or bristling with reed-beds, would indicate it to be man-made. The gentle melting of lawn into water is in fact a landscape feature of Buccleuch's eighteenth century gardens. A striking illustration of the eighteenth century introduction of this feature appears in John Rocque's *An Exact Plan of the Royal Palace Gardens and Park at Richmond* (1754) (fig. 3.69). In this image, Rocque juxtaposes the residual geometry of Charles Bridgeman's 1718 Richmond Lodge gardens with the recent re-landscaping of Syon Park, on the opposite bank, by Lancelot 'Capability' Brown. Rocque's plan illustrates how Bridgeman's gardens had been walled in and screened by dense plantings of trees along the riverbank, with but a few openings providing for key vistas from the house. This is demonstrated by Jean-Baptiste Claude Chatelain's *View from the Middlesex bank of Richmond Lodge* (1736) (fig. 3.71), published by Rocque, which shows the tall fence and plantations surrounding the Lodge, as compared to the more naturalistic bank of Syon Park in the foreground, complete with roaming cattle. The innovation which allowed for such a breaking down of physical boundaries is clearly depicted in Rocque's plan; a serpentine line snaking across the parkland indicates the introduction of a 'ha-ha', confining the cattle to the riverside meadows without interrupting views to, or from, the house.

Brown's work at Syon, commissioned by the Duke of Northumberland, was probably begun in 1753.[166] By this time Brown had already served as head gardener at Stowe for over ten years in collaboration with architect William Kent. Brown's work, particularly the 'Grecian Vale' at Stowe, began to show a preoccupation with serpentine forms and an emphasis on the manipulation of landscape forms, rather than the playful scattering of *fabriques* exercised by Kent (fig. 3.75). Weekly newspaper *The World* noted William Hogarth's contemporary advocation of the 'serpentine line of beauty,' as

[165] See the Introduction to this dissertation.
[166] Batey, Buttery, Lambert, Wilkie, *Arcadian Thames,* p. 105

detected in works of art and the human form. In one anecdote, the editor of *The World* was shocked to find "a young lady of the most graceful figure" in the act of being corseted into the most fashionable flattened shape of the time, continuing:

> "I protest, when I saw the beautiful figure that was to be so deformed by the stay maker, I was as much shocked, as if I had been told that she was come to deliver up those animated *knowls* of beauty to the surgeon - I borrow my terms from gardening…Let us suppose that Mr Brown should, in any one of the many Elysiums he has made, see the old terraces rise again and mask his undulating knowls, or straight rows of trees obscure his noblest configurations of scenery."[167]

Not for the first or last time, supposed unspoilt natural curvilinear garden design was here equated with a supposed unspoilt naturalness of femininity. Perhaps not coincidentally, in the year Brown began his work at Syon Park, local man Hogarth (like Brown, a fellow resident of Hammersmith and close friend of Twickenham's Horace Walpole), published his *Analysis of Beauty* (1753), complete with diagrams to illustrate the superior beauty of the serpentine line.

In 1764, Brown returned to work at Richmond Lodge under the patronage of George III and immediately began the process of stripping away formality from Bridgeman and Kent's design.[168] The high fences, terrace walk and plantations bordering the Thames were removed to create a mirror image of Syon's graceful riverside meadows. Brown's design successfully united the two parks in a single naturalistic landscape, appearing in Richard Wilson's *The Thames at Syon* (1760s) (fig. 3.76). The effect observed in Wilson's picture is described by Arthur Young, who wrote:

> "Richmond Gardens have been lately altered: the terrass [sic] and the grounds about it, are now converted into waving lawn that hangs to the river in a most beautiful manner: the old avenue is broken, and the whole clumped in some places with groves; in others with knots of trees, and a very judicious use is made of single ones: …The lawn waves in a very agreeable manner, the wood is so well managed, that the views of the river vary every moment. A gravel walk winds through it, which commands the most pleasing scenes…a flock of sheep scattered about the slopes, add uncommonly to the beauty of the scene."[169]

Brown's graceful vision of undulating lawns melting into shimmering bodies of water would inspire many imitators. Indeed, the Brownian style would soon become conflated

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[167] T. Turner, *English Garden Design: History and Styles since 1650* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Antique Collectors' Club, 1986)
[168] D. Watkin, *The Architect King: George III and the Culture of the Enlightenment* (London: Royal Collection Publications, 2004) p.169
[169] Watkin, *The Architect King*, pp.170-171



Fig. 3.76 *The Thames at Syon* by Richard Wilson (c. 1760s), demonstrating 'Capability' Brown's seemingly effortless merging of the Kew and Syon estates into one picturesque landscape composition. Image from the Neue Pinakothek Gallery, Munich.



Fig. 3.77 George III, *Syon House from Richmond Gardens* c.1760. Image from D. Watkin, *The Architect King: George III and the Culture of the Enlightenment* (Royal Collection Publications, 2004) p. 66

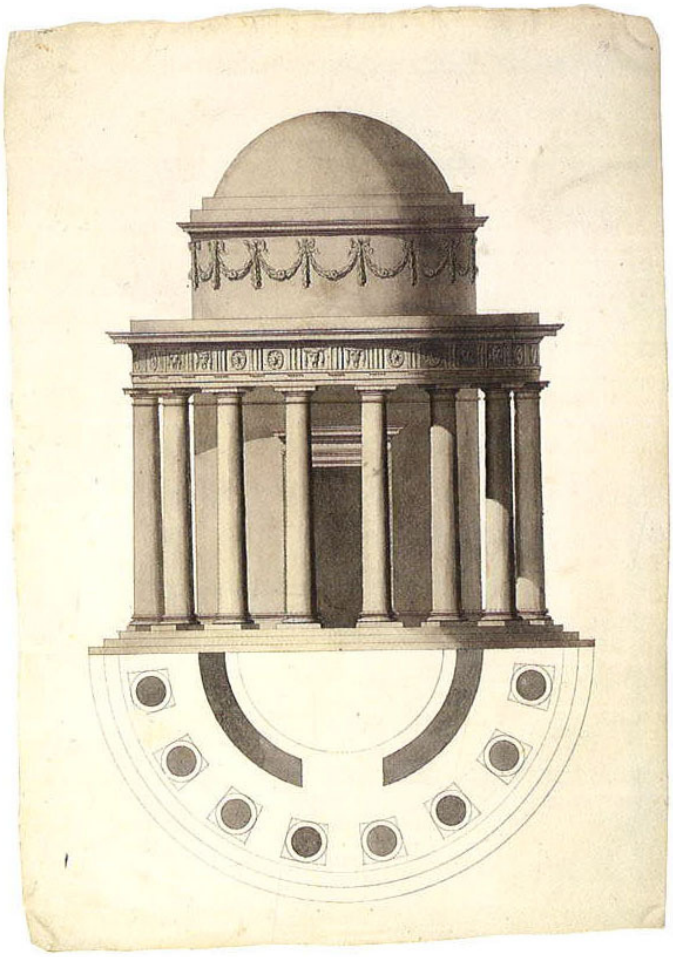


Fig. 3.78 George III, *Design for a Temple based on Chambers's Temple of Victory, Kew* c.1759. Image from D. Watkin, *The Architect King: George III and the Culture of the Enlightenment* (Royal Collection Publications, 2004) p. 71

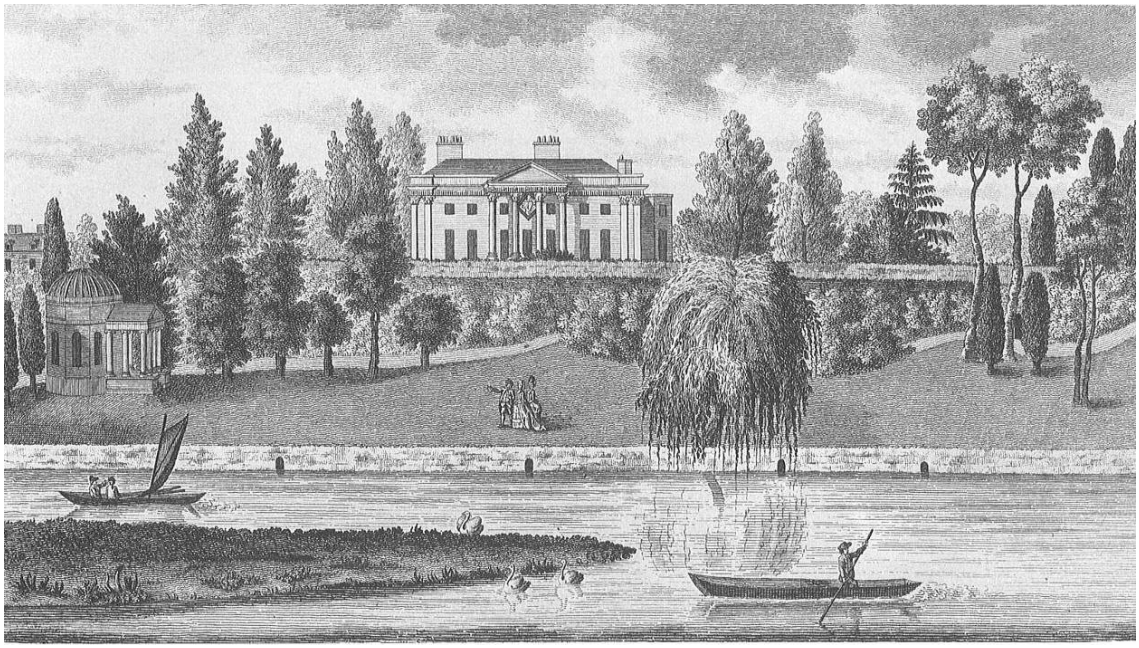


Fig. 3.79 *A View of the Seat of the Late David Garrick Esq.,* showing the villa designed by Robert Adam, the Shakespeare Temple by the river and the serpentine path that linked the riverside lawns with the gardens behind via a grotto beneath the Hampton Road. Engraving from *The Modern Universal British Traveller* (1779).



with patriotic notions of an idealised English landscape. This is suggested by Princess Augusta's[170] commissioning of Brown in the design of a park near Brunswick, Germany, in 1767, to be "laid out in the English Tast [sic]."[171] It would appear that even by this date, the Brownian picturesque had come to be associated with an idealised vision of Richmond, demonstrated by Augusta's naming of her German estate 'Richmond' due to the topographical and pictorial similarities of its sloping site, overlooking the River Oker. David Watkin has suggested that the elegant house at Richmond, Brunswick, was also designed with reference to the Royal gardens at Richmond, in a Palladian style which recalled aspects of William Chambers' work.[172] If Brown's remodelling of the Richmond Lodge estate inspired imitation, Lord Montagu also certainly sought to emulate it in his re-landscaping of the Buccleuch riverbank, seeking the effect of Brown's "waving lawn that hangs to the river."[173]

Satisfied with our stroll along the sweeping lawns of the Buccleuch riverbank, we now re-cross Petersham Road, beginning the ascent back to our starting point on Terrace Walk. A serpentine path hugs the contours of the hill, weaving between groves of ornamental trees in a gentle ascent. As we have seen, the serpentine path had been a feature of Kent and Bridgeman's landscapes, though they were often combined with geometric avenues and vistas as at Richmond Lodge. Brown took the serpentine path and made it the dominant feature of his landscapes, as demonstrated by the circuitous carriage drive with which he encircled the Duke of Northumberland's estate at Syon Park. Whilst only the largest estates could provide for such a carriage drive, even the smallest could incorporate a series of serpentine paths, guiding the visitor through successive garden scenes.

An example of the application of the serpentine picturesque to a small estate is the garden of popular actor David Garrick, a few miles upstream at Hampton. Garrick developed his riverside gardens soon after his purchase of a villa there in 1754.[174] As Batey has pointed out, Garrick was a keen collector of Hogarth's paintings, even writing the epitaph for Hogarth's tomb in 1764. Garrick's close friendship with Hogarth no doubt informed the serpentine paths of his garden, one of which appears in *A View of the Seat of the Late David Garrick, Esq.* (1779) (fig. 3.79). This path, and a series of Brownian 'clumps' acted to break up the regular shape of the riverside lawn, which lay

[170] George III's sister.
[171] Letter of 28 October 1767, quoted in M. Kohler, 'German Connection', p.29
[172] Watkin, *The Architect King,* p.191
[173] Ibid., pp.170-171
[174] Batey, Buttery, Lambert, Wilkie, *Arcadian Thames,* p. 31

sandwiched between the river and parallel road, whilst directing the visitor's gaze to carefully composed scenes. These included views of Garrick's Temple to Shakespeare, constructed in 1755. Indeed, the Brownian nature of Garrick's garden, as observed in Johann Zoffany's *Mr and Mrs Garrick by the Shakespeare Temple at Hampton* (1762) (fig. 3.81) and *A view in Hampton garden with Mr and Mrs Garrick taking tea* (1762) (fig. 3.82), may indicate Brown's contribution to its design. Certainly, Brown was consulted in 1756 over the construction of a grotto, similar to Alexander Pope's, which would link the house and riverside lawns.[175]

Hogarth and Brown were just two of Garrick's influential acquaintances and neighbours.[176] He had the existing villa rebuilt in 1775 to the design of architect Robert Adam, whom had also been employed locally with the remodelling of the Duke of Northumberland's Syon Park (1760s).[177] Garrick also sought landscaping and design advice from his neighbours antiquarian and politician Horace Walpole, of Strawberry Hill, Twickenham and poet Richard Owen Cambridge of Cambridge Park, Twickenham. Walpole, Garrick and Cambridge all contributed to the aforementioned weekly newspaper *The World* with satirical observations on the new taste for serpentine landscapes. Garrick's own play *The Clandestine Marriage* (1766) includes the line:

> "Ay, here's none of your strait [sic] lines here – but all *taste* – zig-zag – crinkum-crankum – in and out – right and left – to and again – twisting and turning like a worm my Lord."[178]

Despite their satirical witticisms, the taste for serpentine design extended to Walpole and Cambridge's own Thames-side gardens. Certainly, the neighbours shared views on the picturesque in architecture, landscape and literature. Indeed, Walpole is said to have provided many of Garrick's trees from his own gardens at Strawberry Hill.[179]

Walpole acquired his Twickenham villa in 1747 and immediately began to develop the gardens, purchasing piece-by-piece the lands which led down to the Thames. By 1754 he had created a picturesque meadow, enclosed by a ha-ha, on which cattle grazed in view of the windows of the house (fig. 3.85). The aesthetic function of the cattle is suggested by Walpole's remark that they were "studied for their colours for

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[175] Ibid., p. 34
[176] Lancelot 'Capability' Brown was quite literally a neighbour of Garrick, moving to Hampton Court in 1764, to take up his role as Royal Gardener.
[177] The Adam brothers' proposed scheme for the remodelling of Syon Park included the insertion of a central domed circular hall within the Elizabethan courtyard. This unexecuted scheme presents an interesting variation upon the square plan Anglo-Palladian villa in the manner of Chiswick, Marble Hill House and Richmond's White Lodge.
[178] D. Garrick, 'The Clandestine Marriage', in *The dramatic works of David Garrick, Esq : to which is prefixed a life of the author* (London: A. Millar, 1798) vol.3
[179] Batey, Buttery, Lambert, Wilkie, *Arcadian Thames,* p. 32

Fig. 3.80 A plan of actor David Garrick's villa and gardens, possibly designed by his friend and neighbour, 'Capability' Brown, as is suggested by the Brownian 'belt' of trees and clumps breaking up lawns. Image from a sale catalogue (1822), courtesy of the London Borough of Richmond upon Thames.



Fig. 3.81 Johann Zoffany's *Mr and Mrs Garrick by the Shakespeare Temple at Hampton* (1762). Image from the collection of Lord Lambton.



Fig. 3.82 *A view in Hampton garden with Mr and Mrs Garrick taking tea* (1762), showing the lawn running down to the river in a particularly Brownian manner, perhaps indicating his hand in its design. Collection of Lord Lambton.

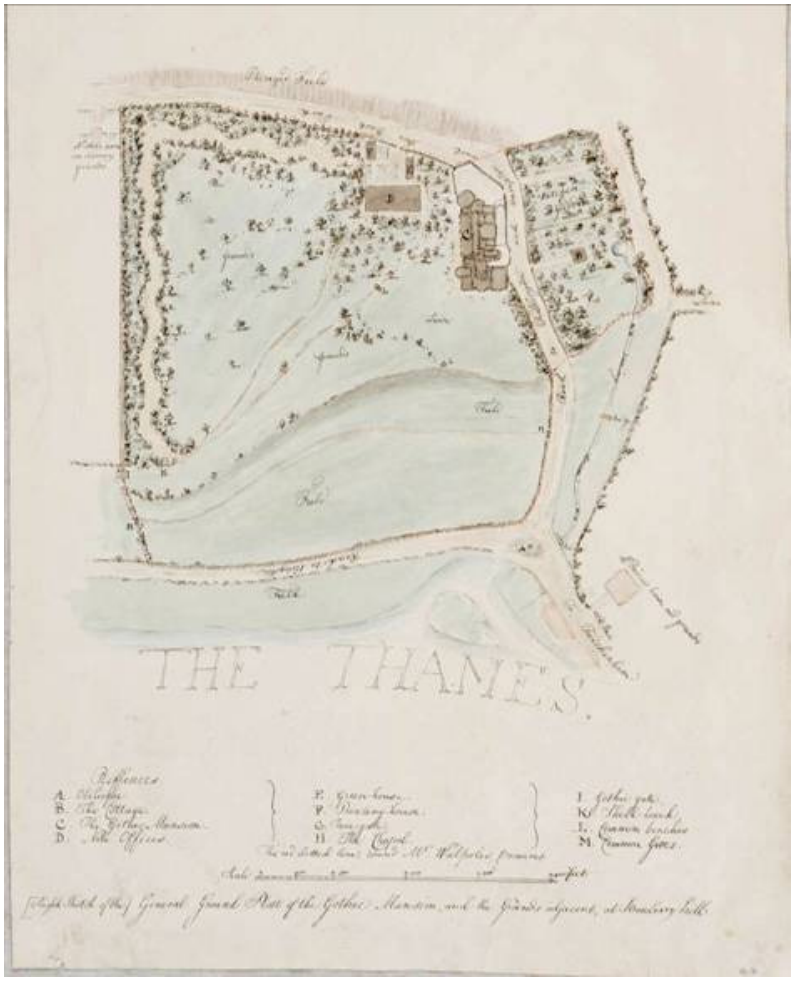


Fig. 3.83 Sketch plan of Strawberry Hill showing the serpentine path from which views of the house were carefully composed. Image courtesy of the Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University.

becoming the view."[180] The ornamental nature of the cattle, to populate views from the house, highlights Walpole's familiarity with amateur gardener Philip Southcote's Thames-side *ferme ornée*, upstream at Woburn Farm, Addlestone, which Walpole considered to have been influential to the development of the picturesque.[181] Walpole's own garden was certainly influenced by Woburn's circuitous perimeter walk which presented views of the farm as a series of scenes. This, Walpole imitated; the house and landscape at Strawberry Hill were framed in successive views, experienced in motion along a perimeter serpentine path (fig. 3.83).

Walpole's idea of a visual experience of landscape in motion is mirrored by his comments on the "animated view of the country" observed from the windows of Strawberry Hill. Wapole describes the continual view of "swans, cows, sheep, coaches, post-chaises, carts, horsemen and foot passengers"[182] which enlivened the scene, as did all manner of river boats passing on the Thames, illustrated by an engraving of *Horace Walpole in his library at Strawberry Hill* by J. Muntz (1756) (fig 3.85). As a contrast to these scenes of activity, Walpole created a series of secluded nooks within his serpentine woodland path, including a gothic chapel and shell bench. These romantic spots, dripping with climbing flowers, were inspired by the writings of poets, particularly Edmund Spenser's *Faerie Queene* (1596) and the works of William Mason, a frequent visitor to Strawberry Hill, and author of *The English Garden* (1772).

Mason was a friend of Reverend William Gilpin, whose writings no doubt also influenced the painterly compositions of Walpole's garden views. Walpole's garden quickly achieved considerable fame, attracting many a curious visitor. Picturesque tourism had been popularised in Gilpin's travel accounts, such as *Observations on the River Wye* (1770), which taught visitors to view the landscape as a series of painted scenes. Similar guides were published of designed landscapes, such as Stowe, notably *Views of the Temples and other Ornamental Buildings in the Gardens at Stow* [sic] (1748), also by Gilpin.[183] The village of Twickenham was soon a popular stopping point for tourists in search of picturesque scenes, who flocked both to Walpole's Strawberry Hill and Pope's neighbouring garden. Pope's garden became so popular a haunt of visitors that in his *Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot* Pope exclaimed:

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[180] Ibid., p. 59
[181] H. Walpole, *Essay on Modern Gardening* (Canton, Pennsylvania: Kirgate Press, 1904) p.75
[182] Batey, Buttery, Lambert, Wilkie, *Arcadian Thames,* p. 60
[183] Also G. West, *The Gardens of the Right Honourable Richard Viscount Cobham* (1732), B. Seeley, *A Description of the Gardens of Lord Cobham at Stow Buckinghamshire* (1744), G. Bickham, *The Beauties of Stow* (1750).



Fig. 3.84 *View from the Holbein Chamber at Strawberry Hill.* Walpole's gardens were composed as a series of picturesque glimpses of the river and house, framed by planting and experienced via a circuitous serpentine path. Image courtesy of the Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University.

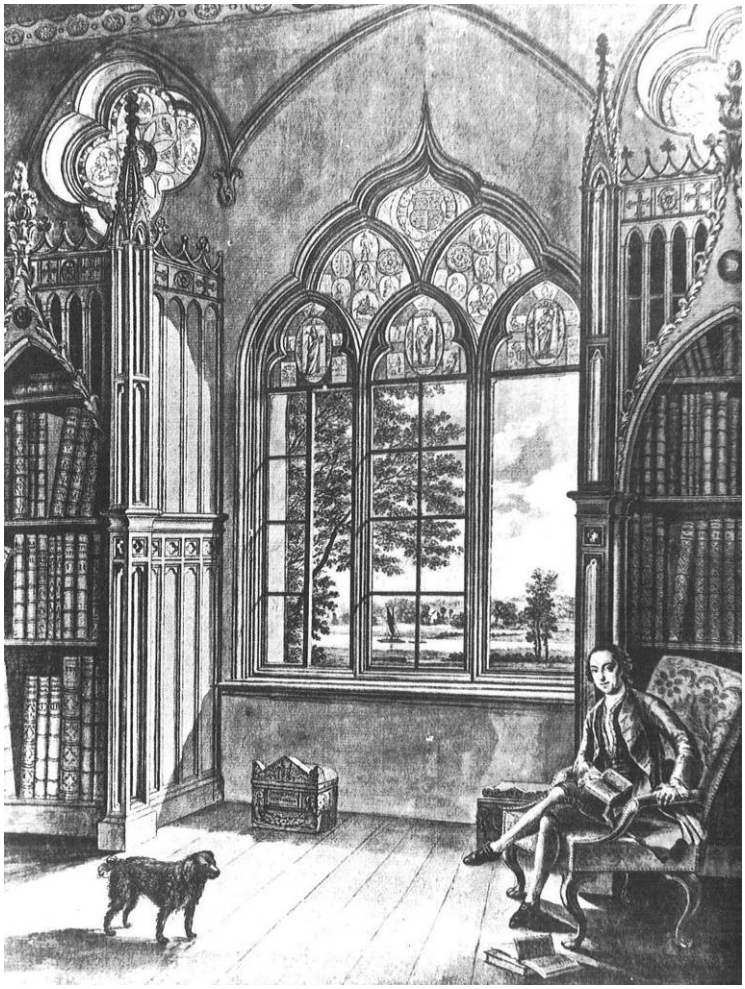


Fig. 3.85 *Horace Walpole in his Library at Strawberry Hill,* engraving after watercolour by J. Müntz (1756). Walpole's romantic image of the medieval past was not only reflected in the interiors and architecture of Strawberry Hill but extended to the naturalistic landscape of his gardens and the Thames landscape beyond. Image courtesy of the Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University.



Fig. 3.86 View of Horace Walpole's fantasy 'castle' of Strawberry Hill, Twickenham c. 1775. Watercolour by Paul Sandy. Image courtesy of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.



Fig. 3.87 Hollyhock Teahouse in Terrace gardens. The columns made from tree branches and the roof, originally thatched, conform to the 'rustic' style popularised by proponents of the picturesque towards the end of the eighteenth century. Compare, for example, with Robert Adam's plans for rustic cottages on Horace Walpole's estate at Twickenham (Fig. 4.85). Image by author.

"Shut, shut the door, good John![184] fatigu'd, I said,
Tie up the knocker, say I'm sick, I'm dead.
The dog-star rages! nay 'tis past a doubt,
All Bedlam, or Parnassus, is let out:
…
What walls can guard me, or what shades can hide?
They pierce my thickets, through my grot they glide;
By land, by water, they renew the charge;
They stop the chariot, and they board the barge."[185]

Pope wrote these words in 1734, before Gilpin published his works. At this time, the unconventional nature of Pope's garden and grotto were in themselves impressive. However, by the time visitors thronged to Walpole's garden at Strawberry Hill, they had been educated in the pictorial appreciation of landscape advocated by Gilpin. In particular, the visitor came to view a series of openings in Walpole's woodland walk which directed the viewer to carefully composed scenes of the villa and picturesque Thames landscape beyond. A watercolour by Paul Sandby (1775) (fig. 3.86), illustrates such a view towards Twickenham which "in the setting sun and the long autumnal shades" Walpole comments "enriched the landscape to Claude Lorraine."[186] Mason also makes explicit references to the Italianate landscape paintings of artist Claude Lorraine; in one such passage from *The English Garden* (1772) he writes:

"[…] your eyes entranc'd,
Shall catch those glowing scenes, that taught a CLAUDE
To grace his canvas with Hesperian hues,
And scenes like these, on Memory's tablet drawn,
Bring back to Britain; there give local form
To each Idea; and, if Nature lend
Materials fit of torrent, rock and shade,
Produce new TIVOLIS […]"[187]

In 1771, Walpole published *An Essay on Modern Gardening* which re-emphasised both the contribution of poetical works such as Pope's and Mason's, and the influence of classical sources of art and literature, to modern movements in naturalistic landscape architecture.[188]

Having followed Terrace Garden's serpentine paths halfway up Richmond Hill, one now comes across a curious garden structure, a cottage *ornée* of rustic timber construction, originally thatched, and surrounded by ornamental rockeries. Built

[184] This is surely a reference to Pope's gardener John Serle, who also had the duty of showing visitors around the gardens.
[185] A. Pope, *An Epistle to Doctor Arbuthnot* (1734)
[186] Batey, Buttery, Lambert, Wilkie, *Arcadian Thames,* p. 59
[187] W. Mason, *The English Garden: A Poem* (London, 1778) p.4
[188] Batey, Buttery, Lambert, Wilkie, *Arcadian Thames,* p. 60

sometime between 1800 and 1899,[189] the current Hollyhock Teahouse occupies the site of a former summerhouse, designed by the Adam brothers sometime in the latter half of the eighteenth century (fig. 3.87). This earlier summerhouse may be that depicted to the left of John James Chalon's *The View from Richmond Hill* (1837) as no other traceable building matches that which is represented (fig. 3.88). However, the view is arguably taken from too high a vantage point to have included the Adams' summerhouse. Whether or not Chalon's painting shows the earlier summerhouse, the Adams brothers' design is known to have been a classical structure incorporating antique capitals.[190] Interestingly, Robert Adam was also engaged, during the 1760s, in the design of several cottages for Horace Walpole's estate at Strawberry Hill, for which drawings survive in the Lewis Walpole Library at Yale University. These clearly show Adam's experimentation in 'rustic' architecture, prescient of the current Hollyhock Teahouse (fig. 3.89). The replacement of the Adams' classical structure with its rustic successor illustrates a shift in architectural fashions, arguably influenced by Walpole's gothic remodeling of Strawberry Hill.

Along with the improvements Walpole made to his gardens at Strawberry Hill, dramatic alterations were also made to the existing villa. Many of these alterations were intended to take advantage of the views, which Walpole commented were:

> "very different from every side, and almost from every chamber and makes a most agreeable contrast; the house being placed almost in an elbow of the Thames, which surrounds half, and consequently beautifies three of the aspects. Then my little hill…gazes up to royal Richmond; and Twickenham on the left and Kingston Wick in the right, are seen across bends of the river, which on each hand appears like a Lilliputian seaport."[191]

Since Walpole's views differed "from every side," once could argue that the symmetrical placement of chambers in conventional Anglo-Palladian villa design could not maximise the site's scenic potential. Walpole's piecemeal additions took advantage of the contrasting aspects, whilst simultaneously creating a series of irregularly planned rooms, themselves an unfolding series of contrasting scenes (fig. 3.90). The picturesque irregularity of the interior is mirrored by the exterior, which appears ever-changing in the sequential views observed from Walpole's serpentine woodland path. As opposed to the relatively strict compositional rules of the Anglo-Palladian style, Walpole's fanciful

[189] *English Heritage Register of Parks and Gardens of Special Historic Interest* [Accessed 03/02/11]
[190] Ibid.
[191] Batey, Buttery, Lambert, Wilkie, *Arcadian Thames,* p. 60



Fig. 3.88 John James Chalon's *The View from Richmond Hill*, 1837, showing what could be the Adams' brothers classical summerhouse in Terrace Gardens. Image from J. Bryant, *Finest Prospects: Three Historic Houses: A Study in London Topography* (English Heritage, 1986) p. 89

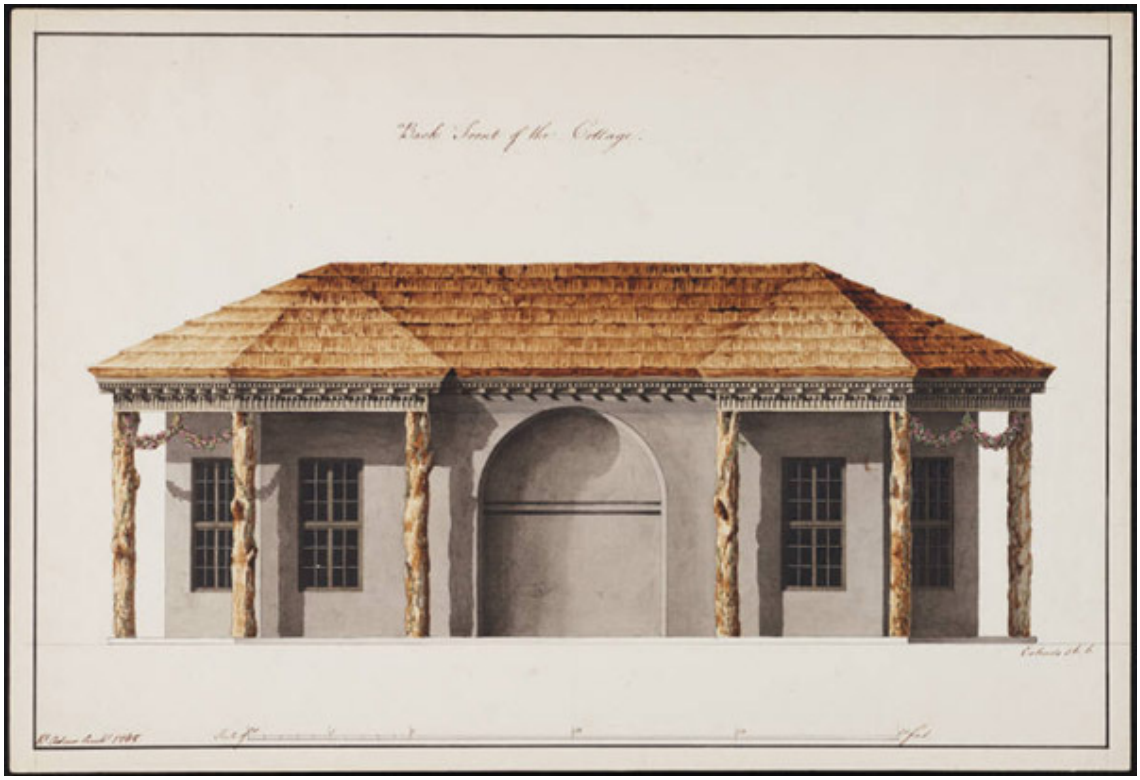


Fig. 3.89 Architect Robert Adam's 1768 design for a rustic cottage, complete with thatched roof and tree-trunk columns, for Horace Walpole's estate, Strawberry Hill, Twickenham. Compare with the current Hollyhock Teahouse in Terrace Gardens today (Fig. 4.79). Image courtesy of The Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University.

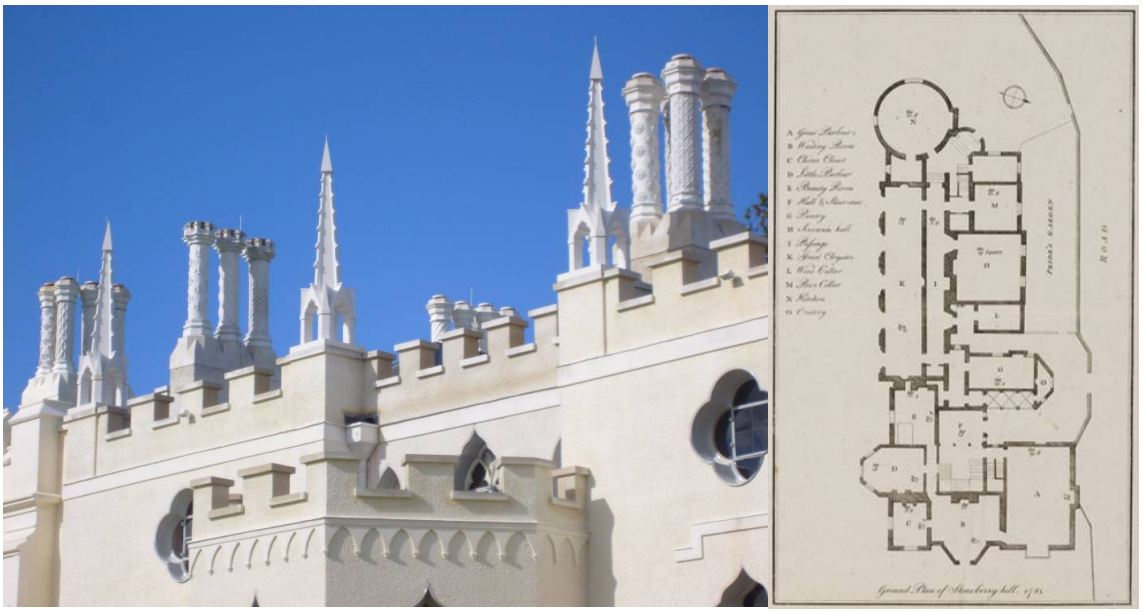


Fig. 3.90 Walpole's fanciful Strawberry Hill Gothic revels in irregularity, allowing the adaptation of an older building and the adoption of a freer and irregular plan, in contrast to the rigid symmetry of Anglo-Palladian architecture. Sir Joshua Reynolds, among others, suggested that architects consider their buildings with a painterly eye, whereby interiors as well as exteriors become picturesque sequences of unfolding images. Photograph by author, plan courtesy of The Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University.



Fig. 3.91 Model for a proposed new royal palace at Richmond, by William Kent (c. 1735). Image courtesy of the National Monuments Record, English Heritage.

gothic was freer and could easily be applied to irregular plans. Joshua Reynolds, a resident of Richmond Hill, was to write of irregular planning in 1786:

> "It may not be amiss for the Architect to take advantage *sometimes* of that to which I am sure the Painter ought always have his eyes open, I mean the use of accidents; to follow where they may lead, and to improve them, rather than to trust to a regular plan. It often happens that additions have been made to houses at various times, for use or pleasure. As such buildings depart from regularity, they now and then acquire something of scenery by this accident…Variety and intricacy is a beauty and excellence in every other of the arts which address the imagination; why not in Architecture?"[192]

One could argue that William Chambers' curious design for Reynolds's Wick House, Richmond Hill (1772), torn between an asymmetrical plan which includes a corner stair tower and the symmetry of Chambers' classical façade, is a little more understandable in the light of Reynolds' endorsement of architectural irregularity.

3.14 *Gothic's Absorption of the Picturesque*

A demonstration of the changing fashion, from severe Anglo-Palladianism to fanciful gothic, is a comparison between six abortive plans for Royal palaces at Richmond proposed between 1735 and 1828. Kent had been involved in the design of a palace from 1735[193] and, though no drawings survive, a pear-wood model demonstrates the influence of Lord Burlington's architectural experimentations, particularly the Italianate steps and Palladian windows Kent also provided at Chiswick House (fig. 3.91). Chambers' second plan (1765), intended to replace Richmond Lodge and to complement Brown's landscape, shows a neat twenty-three bay Anglo-Palladian edifice (fig. 3.92). George III's taste had, however, already begun to change. Chambers' five classical schemes were eventually dropped in favour of architect James Wyatt's scheme for a huge castellated palace on the banks of the Thames at Kew (fig. 3.95). Construction began on the palace in 1802 though, by 1828 George IV, already weary of the gothic style, had begun construction of his oriental pavilion in Brighton, and promptly had it demolished.[194] Kew's castellated palace belongs to a series of early gothic designs, including Robert Adam's Culzean Castle (1777) and Roger Morris's Inverary Castle (1746) which retained Palladian symmetry whilst adopting gothic motifs.

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[192] J. Macarthur, *The Picturesque: Architecture, disgust and other irregularities* (London & New York: Routledge, 2007) p.126
[193] Watkin, *The Architect King,* p.41
[194] Watkin, *The Architect King*, p.160

Nevertheless, a shift towards picturesque "variety and intricacy" in works of architecture had been initiated.

Upstream at Windsor in 1824, Wyatt's nephew Jeffry Wyattville was commissioned to remodel large portions of the medieval castle, increasingly in favour as a summer retreat from 1776.[195] In the late-eighteenth century, Windsor Castle had been visible on the horizon in views from Richmond Hill (now obstructed by the terminal buildings of Heathrow Airport). The picturesque romanticism of Wyatville's neo-gothic 'restoration' successfully re-connected the germanic Royal family to a romanticised conception of English history and identity, populated with mythic visions of noble knights and chivalric deeds. Arguably, this could be viewed as a potent visual statement in the wake of the French Revolution.[196] Historian David Watkin has pointed out that Edmund Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790), admired by George III, drew political comparisons between the preservation of historic buildings and historic institutions such as the monarchy.[197] Richmond itself had become a refuge of the French aristocracy, fleeing the violence on the continent for the 'old world' of the British monarchy; Walpole's letters are full of references to this immigrant community.[198] No doubt the nostalgic and patriotic overtones of gothic architecture, as opposed to continental classicism, soothed the nerves of the weary émigrés and a paranoid English aristocracy.

The gothic style had been promoted as nostalgic and patriotic since at least the early eighteenth century. Pope argued that Shakespeare's work resembled "an ancient majestic piece of *Gothick* [sic] Architecture, compar'd with a neat Modern building: The latter is more elegant and glaring, but the former is more strong and more solemn."[199] Pope's neighbour, garden commentator Batty Langley even authored a book entitled *Ancient Architecture, Restored, and Improved […] in the Gothic Mode For the Ornamenting of Buildings and Gardens* (1742) in which he promoted the style "as part of his patriotic campaign for English traditions, crafts and craftsmen."[200] Whilst gothic was emerging as a suitably patriotic architecture, the picturesque English landscape

[195] Cloake, *Richmond Past,* p.42
[196] Watkin, *The Architect King,* pp.160-161
[197] Ibid.
[198] For example, "Mesdames de Biron and Cambis have taken houses on Richmond Green" reports Walpole (14 May 1790), "as well as les Boufflers and Madame de Roncherolles." Other French arrivals included Princesse d'Henin, Princesse de Bouillon, Duchesse de Biron, Comte de Lally-Tollendal, Marquise de la Tour du Pin and Comtesse de Balbi.
[199] Watkin, *The Architect King,* p.160
[200] Ibid.

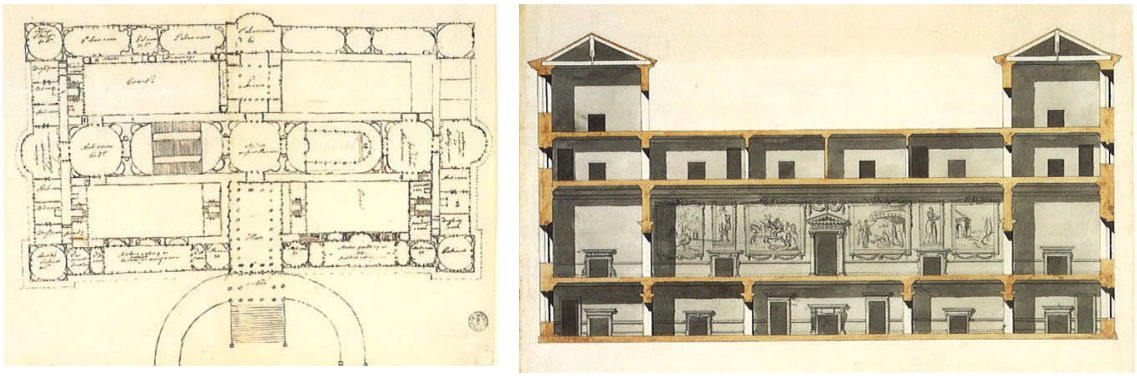


Fig. 3.92 Designs for a new royal palace at Richmond: on the left, Robert Adam c.1762; on the right, George III and Sir William Chambers c.1765. Images from D. Watkin, *The Architect King: George III and the Culture of the Enlightenment* (Royal Collection Publications, 2004) p. 103

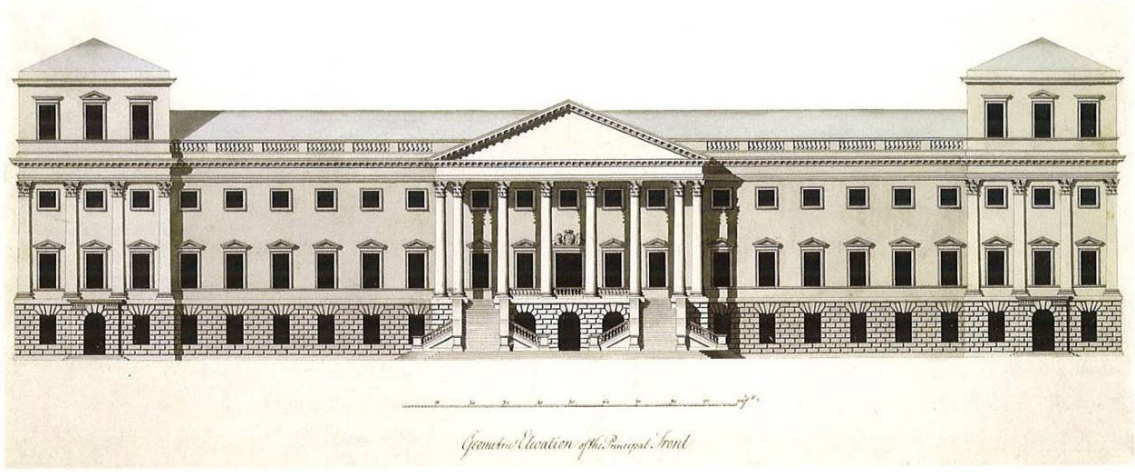


Fig. 3.93 Elevation for a fourth royal palace for George III at Richmond, by Sir William Chambers (1765). Image from D. Watkin, *The Architect King: George III and the Culture of the Enlightenment* (Royal Collection Publications, 2004) p. 105

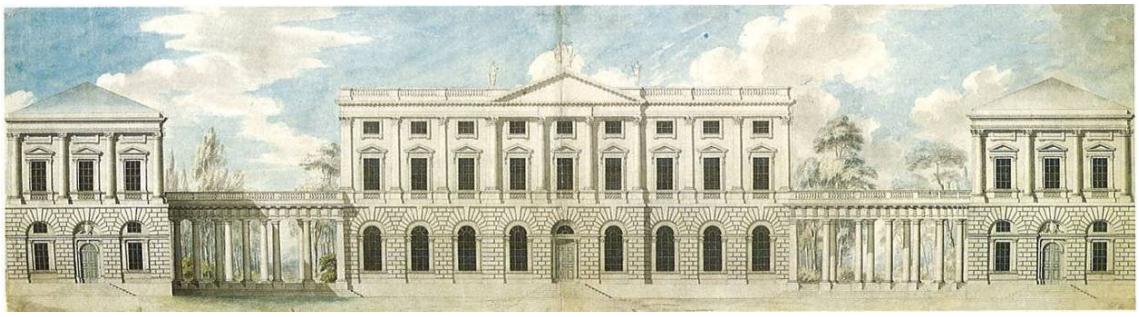


Fig. 3.94 Elevation for a fifth royal palace at Richmond, from the office of Sir William Chambers c.1775. A variation of this plan was probably that which was started, though it too was eventually abandoned. Image from D. Watkin, *The Architect King: George III and the Culture of the Enlightenment* (Royal Collection Publications, 2004) p. 105



Fig. 3.95 *The Palace of His Majesty George the Third at Kew,* in G. Cooke's *The Beauties of England and Wales* (1806). James Wyatt's castellated palace at Richmond was begun in 1802, and demolished by 1828 before it was even completed.

style was being heralded as symbolic of English conservatism. In *Sketches and Hints on Landscape Gardening* (1795), Landscape Architect Humphrey Repton wrote:

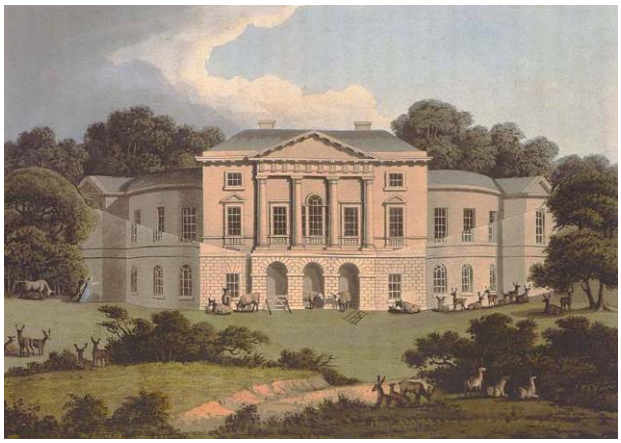
> "The neatness, simplicity, and elegence of English gardening, have acquired the approbation of the present century, as the happy medium betwixt the wildness of nature and the stiffness of art; in the same manner as the English constitution is the happy medium between the liberty of savages, and the restraint of despotic government; and so long as we enjoy the benefit of these middle degrees, between the extremes of each, let experiments of untried theoretical improvement be made in some other country."[201]

Repton's dedication of *Sketches and Hints* to George III likewise demonstrates it as a work of patriotism. Familiar with Repton's famous 'Red Books,' in which he presented fold-out watercolour sketches of proposals to clients, it was probably on George III's recommendation that Repton was commissioned to re-landscape the grounds surrounding Richmond Park's White Lodge for Prime Minister Henry Addington in 1805 (fig. 3.96).[202] Repton shared the criticisms of the Brownian picturesque as set out in Uvedale Price's *Essay on the Picturesque* (1794) and Richard Payne Knight's *The Landscape* (1794), which they regarded as "bland and outdated."[203] Repton's surviving 'Red Book' watercolours illustrate the lodge in its Brownian state, with the house marooned in an ocean of lawn. In a witty comment, Repton depicts a number of inelegant fences positioned to keep the deer from sheltering within the portico, though the disobedient animals have dislodged two and forced entry anyway. Repton's proposed improvement, illustrated on a folding 'flap,' was to introduce a simple floral arbour, mediating between the park and house, and framing strategic vistas. This enables a pair of figures to once again populate the garden, allowing for the rustic intellectual pursuits of gardening and botany.

The pervasive idea of a return to simple rusticity, demonstrated by a move away from the extravagance of classicism to frugal medievalism is nowhere better illustrated than in Queen Charlotte's *cottage ornée* in Kew gardens (c.1771) (fig. 3.97). Queen Charlotte's cottage shares similarities with cottages proposed by architects such as the Adam brothers and Humphrey Repton himself.[204] A contemporary source observed that "The queen's cottage in the shade of the garden is a pretty retreat […] The design is said

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[201] H. Repton, *Sketches and Hints on Landscape Gardening* (1795), cited from Loudon, *Landscape Gardening and Landscape Architecture*, p.106
[202] Watkin, *The Architect King,* p.172
[203] Watkin, *The Architect King,* p.175
[204] For example at Blaise Castle gorge, Bristol, where the gorge was set with a series of picturesque cottages later enhanced by Architect John Nash.



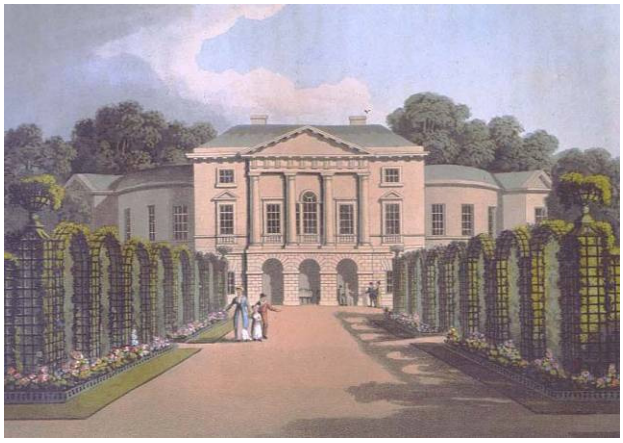


Fig. 3.96 ‘Before-and-after’ fold-out images of White Lodge, Richmond Park, by Humphrey Repton (1805). The images demonstrate Repton’s criticism of ‘Capability’ Brown’s landscape, which left the house isolated within the park. Repton’s solution was to introduce foreground elements, such as decorative arbours, to frame views to and from the house. Images courtesy of the Museum of Richmond upon Thames.



Fig. 3.97 Queen Charlotte’s rustic cottage, Kew Gardens, probably by William Chambers. Image by author.



Fig. 3.98 Gothic, inspired by Horace Walpole's Strawberry Hill, George III's castellated palace and romantic ideas of medieval modesty, became an increasingly popular style among the villa gentry of Richmond. On the left, Elleker House, Richmond Hill (surviving today as the Old Vicarage School), on the right, Gothic House, Petersham Road (demolished 1938). Images from J. Cloake, *Richmond Past* (Historical Publications Ltd, 1991) p. 65



Fig. 3.99 The Park Keeper's Hut, Terrace Gardens (1887), a rare, listed example of somewhat naïve Anglo-Japanese architecture popularised by, among others, William Chambers' eclectic garden structures at Kew.

to be her majesty's,"[205] though David Watkin suggests Chambers was likely involved. The half-hipped thatched roofs, timber-frame construction, brick nogging and leaded casement windows bring to mind rural associations. The principal first floor room, sparsely decorated with a painted floral arbour and simple oriental-style bamboo furniture, acted as the rustic setting for garden tea-parties. The stripped simplicity of Queen Charlotte's garden retreat was venerated as an expression of polite society; George III himself had been praised for "his soul, full of sweetness and equally open to feelings for nature as for humanity, tenderness and friendship" and his home at Kew was described as "a house full of simplicity and modest elegance."[206]

The patronage of the rustic gothic style by royalty, and eminent figures such as Walpole, encouraged a proliferation of new gothic 'castles' on the banks of the Thames. Richmond Hill's Terrace Gardens were bordered by several of these gothic villas, illustrated in Samuel Leigh's *Panorama of the Thames from London to Richmond* (c.1830) (fig. 3.104). Gothic House on Petersham Road was constructed in about 1810, including the substantial remodeling of an earlier house, and was for a time the home of Madame de Stael, a member of Richmond's aforementioned French community. Though Gothic House and a neighbouring villa were demolished in 1938, a third gothic villa survives on Richmond Hill (now the Old Vicarage School). The applied stucco ornamentation, turrets and crenellations disguise a late seventeenth century mansion, also completely remodeled in 1810 (fig. 3.98).[207]

3.15 *Centering the Imperial Landscape in Richmond*

Along with gothic and Palladian schemes, Chambers had also been producing orientalised designs in his role as architect to Princess Augusta at Kew from 1757.[208] Born in Sweden to British parents, Chambers' employment in the Swedish East India Company had taken him to Bengal and China (1740-49), where he sketched oriental designs at first hand. These he reproduced at Kew, creating more than twenty-five structures, including typical features such as classical temples and a Palladian bridge, along with the unconventional additions of a gothic 'cathedral,' 'mosque,' moorish

[205] Watkin, *The Architect King,* p.111
[206] Ibid., p.184
[207] Cloake, *Richmond Past,* p.65
[208] Watkin, *The Architect King,* p.44

'alhambra' and Chinese pagoda (1761), which survives today (fig. 3.100). According to David Watkin:

> "Chinese garden buildings were associated with the new appreciation of nature and the 'natural' style in gardening which also symbolised individual liberty and the politics of the country Whigs in opposition to Robert Walpole. For members of this 'Patriot Opposition' or country party, landscape design and the politics of 'retirement' into the countryside became a medium for the expression of patriotism."[209]

Nature and rustic simplicity could thus find expression in oriental as well as gothic styles, whilst the collection of structures at Kew demonstrated the nation's learned society and the extent of British influence worldwide. At Kew, the English picturesque garden was presented as equivalent to any that the world could offer. The idea of the superiority of the English landscape over even the most famed of foreign landscapes is illustrated by a verse from Alaric Watts's *Lyrics of the Heart* (1851):

> "Let poets rave of Arno's stream
> And painters of the winding Rhine
> I will not ask a lovelier dream,
> A sweeter scene, fair Thames, than thine;
> An 'neath a summer's sun's decline
> Thou wanderest at thine own sweet will
> Reflecting from thy face divine
> The flower-wreathed brow of Richmond Hill."[210]

That one could interpret the garden buildings of Kew as a reflection of a society which viewed itself assuredly as the enlightened centre of the world is suggested by the incorporation of scientific instrumentation in the garden design. At Richmond, Chambers was responsible for the design of George III's personal Observatory, constructed for the King's observation of the transit of Venus on the 3rd June 1769.[211] James Adam had also produced a design for a circular weather station at Richmond, most likely rejected on grounds of cost and practicality (fig. 3.101).[212] The interest in developing such an Observatory was stimulated by a rivalry with other nations, particularly France, in viewing the transit.[213] Designed in collaboration with the King's astronomer, Stephen Demainbray, Chambers produced a plain Anglo-Palladian structure, a Thames side villa in its own right, not unlike Sir Robert Taylor's neighboring Asgill House, a few hundred meters upstream (fig. 3.102). As architectural historian James

[209] Watkin, *The Architect King,* p.44
[210] A. A. Watts, *Lyrics of the Heart* (1850)
[211] Woolf, *Transit of Venus*
[212] Watkin, *The Architect King,* p.109
[213] Ibid., p.44

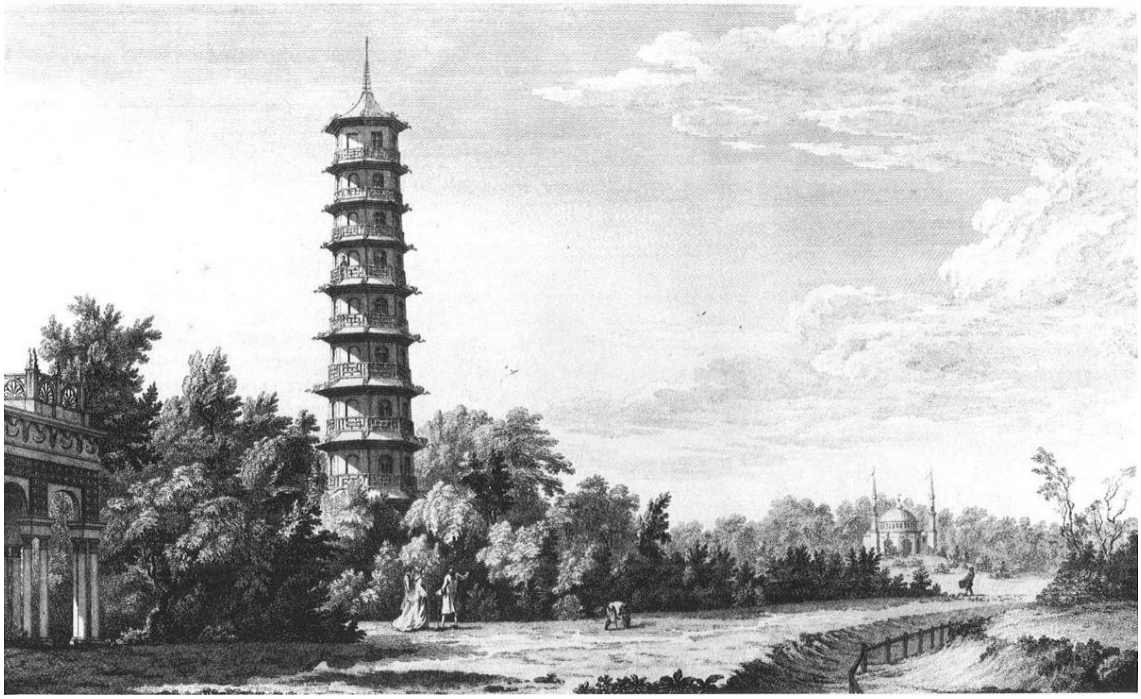


Fig. 3.100 *A View of the Wilderness with the Alhambra, the Pagoda and the Mosque.* Engraving from Sir William Chambers's *Designs for Kew* (1763). At Kew, the visitor not only experienced an unfolding sequence of picturesque scenes, but travelled the world through vistas of its fantasy structures. This was fitting for the Royal Garden at the centre of an Empire which thought itself equal, if not superior, to all the other great empires in world history. Image from M. Batey, H. Buttery, D. Lambert, K. Wilkie, *Arcadian Thames: The River Landscape from Hampton to Kew* (London: Barn Elms Publishing, 2000).

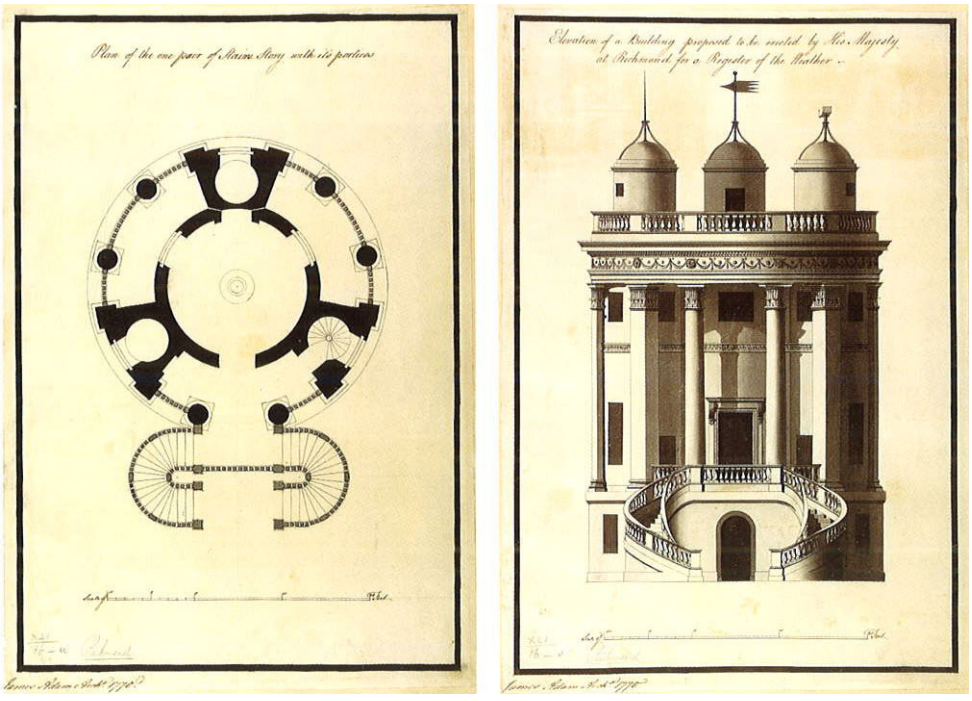


Fig. 3.101 James Adam, Design for George III's observatory, Richmond Old Deer Park, 1770. Image courtesy of the British Library.



Fig. 3.102 Sir William Chambers's observatory, Richmond Old Deer Park, constructed for George III in 1769. The scientific observatory was itself, a picturesque object to be observed from within the garden in the same manner as Kew's pagoda, glimpsed in the distance to the right. Image from Rev. D. Lyson's, *Environs of London* (1791).



Fig. 3.103 The Meridian line at Richmond is marked today with a steel marker and sliver of light. Behind, the slot aligns with one of William Chambers's stone obelisks, the original markers of the Meridien which determined the King's own time. Image by author.

Early explains, the use of Anglo-Palladianism for scientific buildings was befitting of the contemporary "belief in a uniform standard of taste valid for all arts in all ages" and "is analogous to Newton's effort to comprehend all the diversity of the physical universe within a single system of mathematical laws."[214] Thus, the simplicity and logic of Palladian architecture conformed to the "close, naked, natural way of speaking […] near [to…] mathematical plainness" advocated by the scientists of the Royal Academy.

Early suggests that another work at least as influential as Newton's *Principia Mathematica* (1685-1686) in creating habits of thought congenial to Anglo-Palladianism was Locke's *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1689):

> "Locke held that there are no innate ideas, that all our ideas are based ultimately upon sense experience. Eighteenth century architects and aesthetes, starting from this conception of mind, reasoned that if ideas were dependent upon sensation, architecture must be clearly organised in order to produce strong and sharply defined sensations. The Lockean stress upon sense impressions fused with the Palladian admiration for the strong and ordered architecture of Rome."[215]

Internally, Chambers' Observatory was fitted out by carpenter James Arrow, with glazed bookcases and model display cases, housing many of the King's personal scientific dioramas and instruments, as well as a collection of minerals and ores.[216] In many ways the King's Observatory, housed in its classical temple in the gardens at Richmond, was a simple development of the garden-museum of Pope's grotto, or Kent's hermitage at Kew; it placed landscape architecture and the picturesque movement at the heart of contemporary scientific advancements.

Richmond's gardens seemed to be at the epicentre of the scientific world at that time; with the construction of the Observatory, a new meridien was established at Richmond, marked by a series of obelisks positioned in the gardens (fig. 3.103). Though the Richmond meridien never succeeded in overtaking Greenwich's Prime Meridien, the idea was the same, that all time pieces should be adjusted in relation to the Royal Time at Richmond. The Empire, and the world, thus looked to Richmond, and the King's Arcadian gardens would be at the spiritual and scientific centre of it all.

We have seen how the Thames landscape, and the visual conventions by which it was observed, evolved during the course of centuries. Each advance in fashion, taste and science is reflected in the architecture and landscape architecture along this stretch of the Thames. Looking over the view from Richmond Hill once more, the visitor may

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[214] J. Early, *Romanticism and American Architecture* (New York: A.S. Barnes & Co., 1965) p. 17
[215] Ibid., p. 18
[216] Watkin, *The Architect King,* p.109

notice how the picturesque myth of rural Arcadia lives on, despite suburban expansion, and major transformations in infrastructure which have placed road, rail and one of the world's busiest airports all within sight of Terrace Walk. From the late eighteenth century, Richmond would undergo drastic economic and infrastructural changes, but as we shall see, the picturesque mode would continue to absorb these technological shifts, remaining relevant right up to the present day. As we shall in the remaining sections of this chapter, only where development has challenged the picturesque quality of the view has controversy arisen. Thus, even the 'Indignation' campaigns of the early 1900s, which led to the preservation of the view from Richmond Hill, may be seen as a continuation of a culturally-engrained picturesque mode of vision.

3.16 *The Railway, Suburbia and the Persistence of the Picturesque*

This section will chart the story of increasing suburban and infrastructural developments from steamboat, to rail, and the extension of the London Underground. It is remarkable that the picturesque mode of vision persisted, and indeed was reinforced in this process, not least by the advertising campaigns of transport companies. As the view from Richmond Hill became increasingly accessible to the wider general public, one could argue that its continuous reproduction in tourist literature also truly rendered it visual public property. Thus, one might suggest that this sense of public ownership over the view would inevitably lead to preservationist calls for its transfer into state protection, to be achieved under the *Richmond, Petersham and Ham Open Spaces Act* of 1902.

As we have seen, the second half of the eighteenth century saw a period of prosperity which encouraged a spate of development along the Thames. A rash of fashionable villas may be discerned in Samuel Leigh's *Panorama of the Thames from London to Richmond* (c.1830) (fig. 3.104). Along with this explosion in development, new infrastructure rapidly increased the number of visitors to the town for leisure purposes. Leigh's panorama, taken from a boat in the Thames, reflects the popularity of the steamer service on the river, introduced in 1816, which allowed all classes the opportunity to take a day trip to the country from London Bridge in affordable and relative comfort (fig. 3.105).[217] An 1825 newspaper correspondent gives an account of the journey which, along with Leigh's panorama, paints a vivid picture of the Thames landscape around Richmond at this time:

[217] Cloake, *Richmond Past,* p. 69

> "The Aits, or Osier Islands, are picturesque interspersions on the Thames. Its banks are studded with neat cottages or elegant villas […] the lawns come sweeping down like green velvet to the edge of its soft-flowing waters, and the scenery improves till we are borne into the full bosom of its beauty – the village of Richmond. On coming within the sight of this, the most delightful scene in our sea-girt isle, the band on board the steam boat plays "The Lass of Richmond Hill" while the vessel glides on translucent water."[218]

Many of the qualities which made steamboat travel so alluring are highlighted in this passage. In particular, the picturesque gardens and villas lining the Thames could, in many cases, only be viewed from the river. Moreover, the visual experience of 'gliding' through the unfolding scenery remained in stark contrast to the experience of contemporary road travel. The paucity of the road network is highlighted by the lack of a river crossing at Richmond until the construction of the first bridge, proposed in 1772.[219] The bridge proposal caused widespread controversy as it was feared it might damage the picturesque qualities of the Thames landscape. As such it represents perhaps the earliest expression of 'indignation' over the development of a landscape which was then already perceived to be of special historical, cultural and aesthetic value. A correspondent of *Lloyd's Evening Post* angrily remarked:

> "It is to be a wooden bridge – what a cat-stick building this must be, to be executed in so short a time! Methinks I hear Old Thames groan, to be so vilely strode […] If our view up and down that delightful River must be obstructed […] let it be an elegant and free bridge."[220]

Succumbing to pressure, parliament passed the *Richmond Bridge Act* (1772), selecting 90 commissioners to redesign the bridge, among whom were Brown, Walpole and Garrick. Architect James Paine, a noted designer of ornamental landscape garden bridges up and down the country,[221] was selected to design a Palladian crossing in white Portland stone, completed in 1777 (fig. 3.106). Contemporary writers praised the new bridge for its scenic embellishment of the picturesque landscape; as an article in *The London Magazine* of 1779 stated:

> "[the bridge] presents the spectator with one of the richest landscapes nature and art ever produced by their joint efforts, and connoisseurs in

[218] Dunbar, *A Prospect of Richmond*, p. 152
[219] Cloake, *Richmond Past,* p. 56
[220] Dunbar, *A Prospect of Richmond*, p. 148
[221] For example, Paine designed bridges at Wallington Hall, Northumberland (1755); Chatsworth House, Derbyshire and Chillington Hall, Staffordshire (1770), among others.

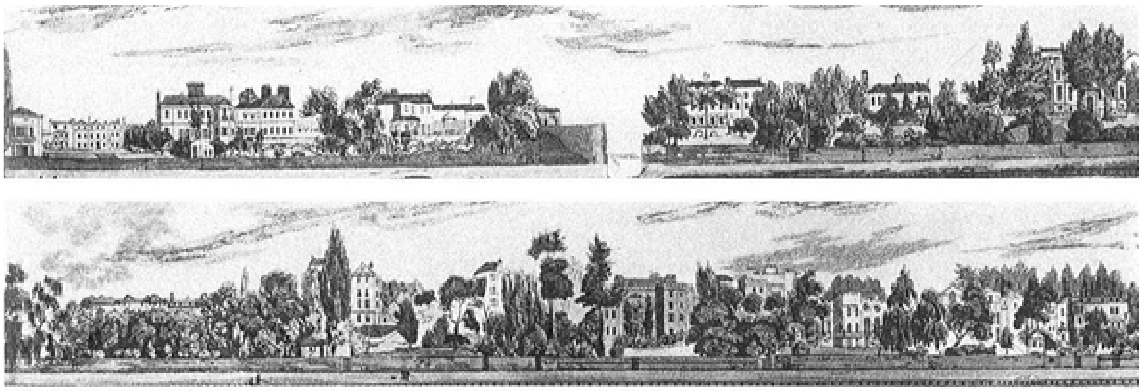


Fig. 3.104 Two sections from Samuel Leigh's *Panorama of the Thames from London to Richmond,* showing the many villa estates lining the river at Richmond by the time of its publication c. 1830. This was the unfolding panorama which drew weekend tourists to the steamboats operating from London to Richmond in the nineteenth century. Image from J. Cloake, *Richmond Past* (Historical Publications Ltd, 1991) p. 61

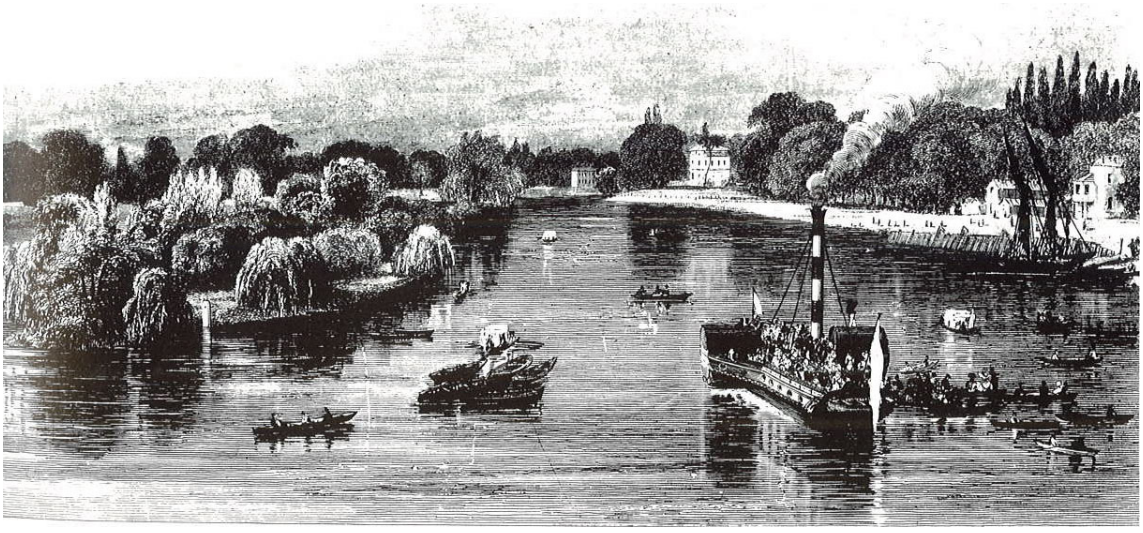


Fig. 3.105 One of the regular steamboat services, packed with visitors, leaves Richmond for London Bridge (1832). Engraving by W.B. Cooke from a drawing by J.D. Harding. Image from W.B. Cooke's *Views of Richmond*.

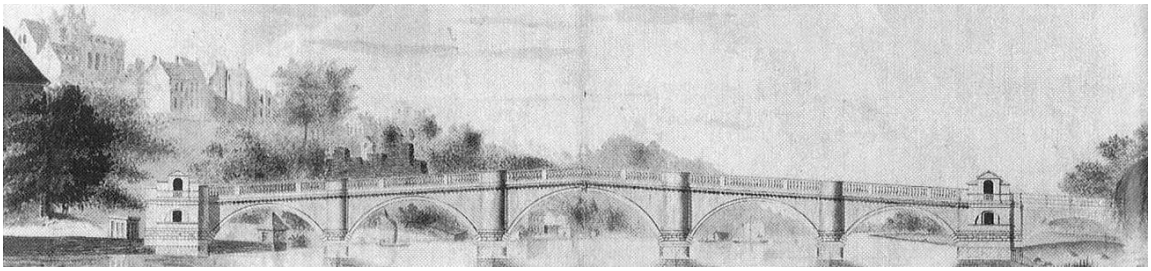


Fig. 3.106 James Paine's elegant design for a Palladian bridge at Richmond. Image courtesy of the RIBA Drawings Collection.

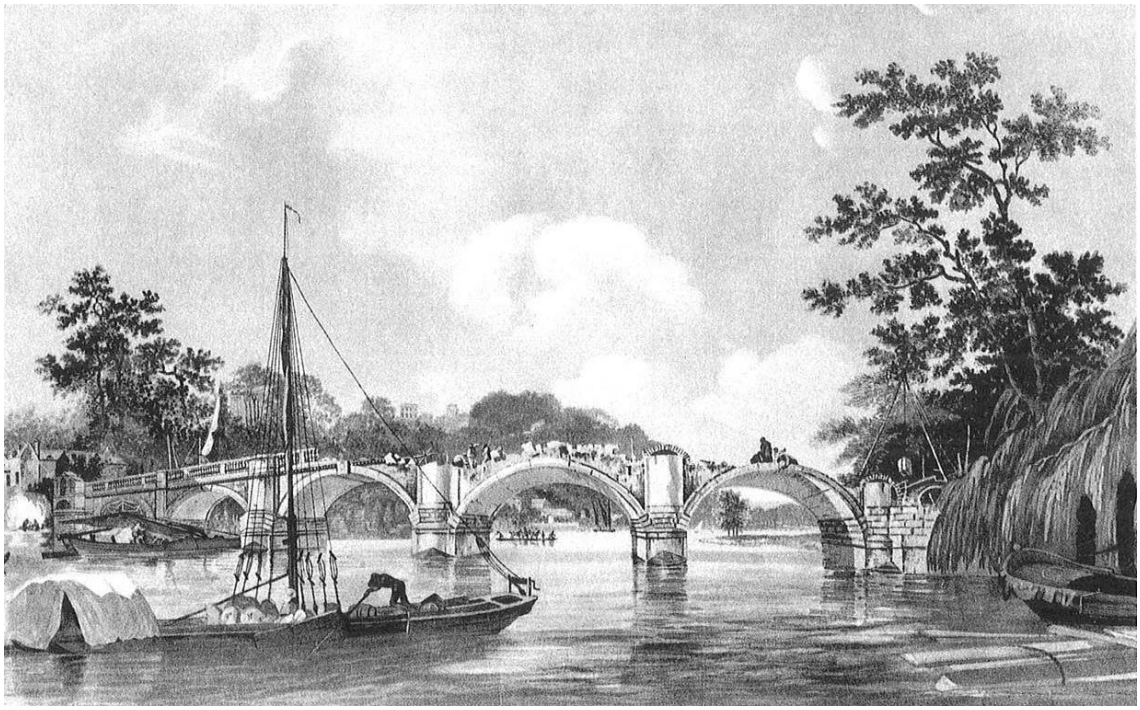


Fig. 3.107 In this engraving of Richmond Bridge under construction, 1776, the bridge is presented as picturesque ruin, which would not look out of place in a landscape by Claude Lorraine or Gaspar Poussin. Engraving by V. Green and F. Jukes after painting by W. Hodges. Image from J. Cloake, *Richmond Past* (Historical Publications Ltd, 1991) p. 57

painting will instantly be reminded of some of the best performances of Claude Lorraine."[222]

Further promoting the Richmond landscape as if it were the picturesque garden of a gentleman's seat, Paine illustrated his bridge design in the second volume of his *Plans, Elevations, and Sections of Noblemen and Gentlemen's Houses* (1783). Paine's bridge is celebrated in Reverend Thomas Maurice's *Richmond Hill; A Descriptive and Historical Poem* (1807), which references Anglo-Palladianism ("no useless, glaring ornaments offend"), classical Greece ("Attic elegance") and the Thames landscape ("embowered in verdure heaped unbounded round"):

"Mark where yon beauteous Bridge with modest pride
Throws its broad shadow o'er the subject tide —
There Attic elegance and strength unite,
And fair proportion's charms the eye delight ;
There, graceful while the spacious arches bend,
No useless, glaring ornaments offend —
Embowered in verdure heaped unbounded round
Of every varied hue that shades the ground.
Its polished surface of unsullied white
With heightened lustre beams upon the sight."[223]

Maurice's poem was employed by the Thames steamboat companies who added it to their posters in order to advertise their services. Prior to the construction of Paine's bridge, all traffic had to be ferried over the river. Up to this date, the river landscape of Richmond was, therefore, most commonly appreciated from the water, which afforded the traveller unrivalled views of the riverside villas and their gardens. This is demonstrated by an article from *The Builder*, which pointed out in 1890 that "thousands have scanned curiously from the deck of a river steamer"[224] the gardens of Marble Hill House. Their diligent search was for the fictional location of a scene from Walter Scott's popular novel *The Heart of Mid-Lothian* (1818), in which character Jeanie Deans pleads with Queen Caroline, in the company of Lady Suffolk, for her half-sister's life.[225] The contemporary reader was probably already familiar with the picturesque view from Richmond Hill via its many literary and pictorial reproductions, but Scott's historical novel reinforced its perception as an important historic landscape view, describing it as:

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[222] *The London Magazine* (September 1779), in B. Cookson, *Crossing the River* (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 2006) p. 31
[223] T. Maurice, *Richmond Hill; A Descriptive and Historical Poem* (London: W. Bulmer, 1807)
[224] *The Builder*, 12 July 1890
[225] However, Julius Bryant has pointed this out as a misconception, for the avenue of elms in Scott's novel was set in Richmond Park. Bryant, *Finest Prospects,* p.66

> "A commanding eminence…where the beauty of English landscape was displayed in its utmost luxuriance…A huge sea of verdure, with crossing and intersecting promontories of massive and tufted groves, was tenanted by numberless flocks and herds, which seemed to wander unrestrained and unbounded through the rich pastures. The Thames, here turreted with villas, and there garlanded with forests, moved on slowly and placidly, like the mighty monarch of the scene, to whom all its other beauties were but accessories, and bore on its bosom an hundred barks and skiffs whose white sails, and gaily fluttering pennons, gave life to the whole."[226]

By 1840, there were three daily steamboats from London Bridge to Richmond, increasing to six daily by 1843. On the roads too, the number of users was booming; the combined users of public coaches and omnibuses (introduced from 1830) on the Richmond to London route in 1843 has been estimated at 1,180,000 passengers a year.[227] Railway promoters soon realised that the abundance of passengers was a potentially lucrative market, and hoped to tap some of the profit themselves.

The arrival of the London & South Western Railway in Richmond (1846) further increased the attraction of this stretch of the Thames for weekend retreats and leisure pursuits. The line's extension to Twickenham (1848) necessitated the crossing of the Thames with three 100 foot cast iron spans. However modern the introduction of Joseph Locke's Twickenham railway bridge was, it was quickly absorbed into the picturesque landscape of the Thames and appropriated by artists for their own pictorial effects. This is demonstrated by artist George Hilditch's *Richmond from beneath the Railway Bridge* (c.1849) (fig. 3.1.108), which depicts Paine's Richmond road bridge, neatly framed by the brick vault of Locke's new railway. Hilditch was tutored by Richmond resident Thomas Hofland, whose landscapes, including *A View of the Thames from Richmond Hill,* were in a style reminiscent of Claude Lorrain and Gaspar Poussin (fig. 3.109). The Claudian nature of many Richmond paintings led the author of poem *Richmond Hill* (1809), to describe the view as "A brighter, richer landscape lies display'd, Than ever Poussin sketch'd, or Claude portray'd."[228] Hilditch, whose many works depicting the area[229] earned him the nickname of "the Richmond painter,"[230] frames this picturesque landscape with what could be interpreted as the archaeological remains of some ancient Roman structure, though it is the land-arch of Locke's newly constructed railway bridge.

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[226] Walter Scott, *The Heart of Mid-Lothian* (Edinburgh & London: Waverley Novels, 1843) p.563
[227] Cloake, *Richmond Past,* p. 70
[228] Bryant, *Finest Prospects,* p.68
[229] Including *View from Richmond Park, a wooded landscape with a reach of the river, Boats at Richmond, A View from Richmond Hill with the Wick* (1837), *Cholmondeley Walk* (1844) and *Kew Gardens from Richmond Hill*.
[230] Bryant, *Finest Prospects,* p.88

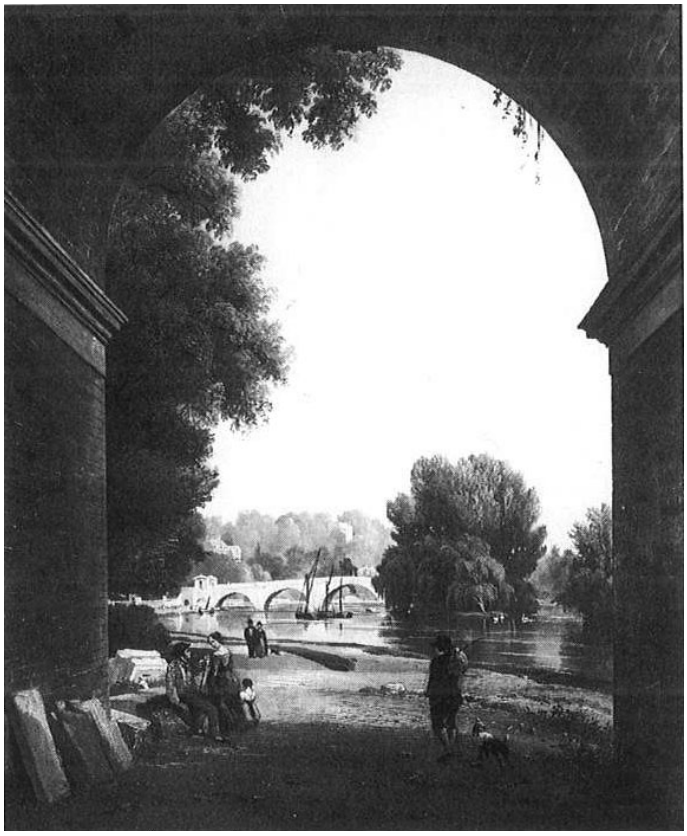


Fig. 3.108 *Richmond from beneath the Railway Bridge,* by George Hilditch. In this painting, the railway is absorbed into the picturesque landscape. In the same way that the passenger's view of the river is framed from the windows of the train, so too, the railway bridge acts as a frame to the landscape. Here, that frame takes on a classical air as a kind of triumphal arch. Image from J. Cloake, *Richmond Past* (Historical Publications Ltd, 1991) p. 59



Fig. 3.109 *A View of the Thames from Richmond Hill,* c. 1823, by T.C. Hofland. Distant Windsor Castle is marked on the skyline to the right of centre. Image from M. Batey, H. Buttery, D. Lambert, K. Wilkie, *Arcadian Thames: The River Landscape from Hampton to Kew* (London: Barn Elms Publishing, 2000).



Fig. 3.110 *Thompson's Aeolian Harp* by J.M.W. Turner (1809) distorts the view of the Thames to include a clear view of Twickenham and Pope's villa. Turner also freely adds a depiction of the Egerian grotto to the right of the scene, complete with classical dancers. Image courtesy of the City of Manchester Art Galleries.



Fig. 3.111 *View of Pope's Villa at Twickenham During its Dilapidation* by J.M.W. Turner (1808). Turner positions Alexander Pope's dilapidated villa at the centre of the picturesque landscape, in the usual location of a crumbling classical ruin, with the intention of evoking the same romantic notions of a fallen golden age. Image from M. Batey, H. Buttery, D. Lambert, K. Wilkie, *Arcadian Thames: The River Landscape from Hampton to Kew* (London: Barn Elms Publishing, 2000).

The classical cornicing and rustic collection of loose stones to the foreground strengthen this allusion to the landscapes of classical antiquity.

Another local artist, J.M.W.Turner, had also experimented with the addition of classical antiquities to the Richmond landscape. In *Thomson's Aeolian Harp* (1809) (fig. 3.110), Turner introduced the shattered remains of the Egerian Grotto, a classical association with which we are already familiar from the writings of Pope. Pope is himself indirectly referenced in the painting by Turner's distortion of the landscape to include the Thames-side villas of Twickenham. In doing so, Turner connected the writings of Pope and Thomson, and the classical histories to which they referred, directly to the view from Richmond Hill. It is important to note here that while the Thames landscape was infused with a generalised romantic vision of the Italian landscape, Grand Tourists frequently visited specific viewpoints famed for their painterly qualities. These popular viewpoints included the Egerian Grotto mentioned above, the Temple of Vesta at Tivoli, and significantly, the vista of Rome from Monte Mario to the north of the city. First mentioned by the poet Martial in the 1st century AD, this spot was a favourite destination of touring eighteenth and nineteenth-century English 'milords', who came to admire the extensive view of the city and campagna beyond, complemented by the picturesque ruins of Raphael's Villa Madama. For the purposes of this dissertation however, the principal interest lies in the fact that many touring English artists who depicted the Richmond landscape also visited and painted the Monte Mario view, including Wilson (fig. 3.113), Marlow and Turner, many of whom noted the striking similarities between Monte Mario and the view from Richmond Hill. The very fact that this similarity was noted highlights the influence of each landscape upon the other, whose individual values could be read and translated from one landscape to another.

A further demonstration of the reinforcement of eighteenth century perceptions of the view is Turner's own poetry, which he modelled on that of Thomson. For example, *Thomson's Aeolian Harp*, was accompanied by a poem in tribute to the two poets:

> "On Thomson's tomb the dewy drops distil,
> Soft tears of pity shed for Pope's lost fane,
> To worth and verse adheres sad memory still,
> Scorning to wear ensnaring fashion's chain.
>
> In silence go fair Thames for all is laid;
> His pastoral reeds untied and harp unstrung,

Sunk is their harmony in Twickenham's glade.
While flows thy stream, unheed'd and unsung."[231]

Turner's poem conveys a melancholic vision of decay echoed in his contemporary painting *A View of Pope's Villa during its Dilapidation* (1808) (fig. 3.111). In this work, Pope's villa is depicted in its derelict and crumbling state, shortly before its demolition by Baroness Howe. The ruinous villa in Turner's painting performs the same role as the classical ruin in an Arcadian landscape, drawing out nostalgic recollections of a former golden age. To accompany the painting, Turner wrote the following lines in despair:

"O lost to honor [sic] and the sence [sic] of shame,
Can Britain so forget Pope's well earned fame,
To desolation doom the poet's fane,
The pride of Twickenham's bower and silver Thame,
…
Now to destruction doom'd thy peaceful grott,
Pope's willow bending to the earth forgot,
Save one weak scion by my fostering care,
Nurses into life which fell on bracken spare,
On the lone bank to mark the spot with pride,
Dip the long branches in the rippling tide."[232]

Though Turner's poetry suggests his deep regret – his 'indignation' - at the loss of Pope's villa and gardens, representatives of a former golden age subjected to melancholic and ruinous decay, he did in fact continue to paint many aspects of the Thames landscape, reinforcing the notion of the landscape's national historic and cultural significance. Turner returned to Richmond Hill with *England: Richmond Hill, on the Prince Regent's Birthday* (1819) (fig. 3.114). The title of this work underscores the painting as a patriotic work; the view from Richmond Hill comes to represent England itself, and the theme is a celebration of the British monarchy, highlighted by Turner's inclusion of Windsor castle on the horizon. The party recalls the rustic *fêtes galantes* of Queen Caroline's Augustan court at Richmond, a symbolic return to, and celebration of nature and pastoral simplicity.

Turner himself practiced this idealised dream of pastoral life, building himself a comfortable villa on land adjacent to Marble Hill House, Twickenham, in 1807. Sandycombe Lodge has survived, albeit in a much-altered state, hemmed in between ranks of Edwardian suburban terraces. Though the villa is thought to be of his own design, it has been suggested that Turner's friend, architect John Soane, provided

[231] Batey, Buttery, Lambert, Wilkie, *Arcadian Thames,* p.98
[232] Ibid.

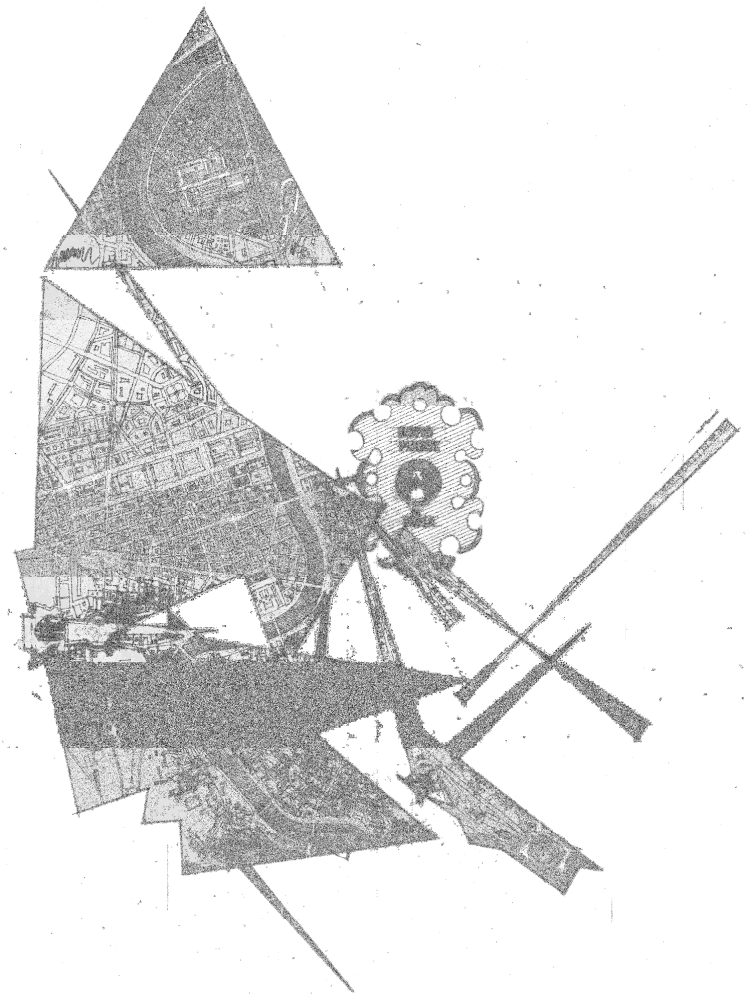


Fig. 3.112 *Nouvo Pianta di Roma.* A vista map of the city of Rome, author's own pen and graphite drawing, exhibited at the exhibition *I Have Lived,* British School at Rome, December 2012.



Fig. 3.113 Richard Wilson, *A Distant View of Rome from Monte Mario* (1763-1765). This view, a favourite of touring English artists in the eighteenth-century was frequently compared to the view from Richmond Hill, suggesting a cross-pollination of landscape imagery and ideas.



Fig. 3.114 *England: Richmond Hill, on the Prince Regent's Birthday,* by J.M.W. Turner (1819). In this work, the landscape of Richmond, and the hill in particular, are emphatically linked with the notion of Englishness. Image courtesy of the Google Art Project.



Fig. 3.115 J.M.W. Turner's villa, Sandycombe Lodge, Twickenham. Turner himself designed the villa, though probably with help from architect John Soane. Engraving by W. Havell from *Picturesque Views on the River Thames* (1829).

advice.[233] An engraving by W. Havell depicts the villa's generous gardens, which ran seamlessly into Twickenham Park in one direction, and Marble Hill's parkland in the other (fig. 3.115). Turner thus benefitted from an unbroken view of the Thames and first-hand familiarity with the popular image of Richmond as a landscape of genteel villas and picturesque gardens.

The image of an affluent society of riverside villas within easy reach of the city, promoted by the work of artists and writers, began to attract scores of commuters after the arrival of the railway – Turner and Charles Dickens included – who set up their own comfortable villas and gardens in the vicinity of Richmond. As land prices continued to rise, the ample gardens of these villa estates came under increasing development pressure. An Ordnance Survey map of 1879 shows Turner's gardens largely as they were at the time of their sale in 1826, and illustrates the villa's location on a quiet country lane (fig. 3.116).[234] By 1913 however, Turner's garden and adjacent Twickenham Park had been subdivided into a number of villa plots, leading to Sandycombe Road's current appearance as a typical suburban street.[235] The transformation is complete in an Ordnance Survey map of 1935, which shows a dense infilling of plots, the demolition of Twickenham Park and an almost total redevelopment of Cambridge Park with new housing and a motor engineering works.[236]

As these expanding suburban developments encroached upon large areas of former landscape garden, they began to adopt many of the features associated with picturesque landscape design. An excellent example is the suburban estate of St. Margaret's, Twickenham, developed in 1854 on a part of the grounds of Twickenham Park which had been severed from the house by the building of the railway (1848). This land was bought from the Earl of Kilmorey by the Conservative Land Association, who immediately began to develop the site as a residential estate for the professional middle classes. At the centre of the scheme, a large medieval fishpond was reworked into a more picturesque serpentine lake, set amid a series of pleasure gardens for the sole use of the occupants. To maintain these grounds, a Trust was established to produce covenants and to carefully control any further development or alterations to the estate. The topography of the site was used in the creation of separate grades for pedestrians and road traffic, linking three pleasure gardens and a riverside promenade with grotto-tunnels similar to those of Pope, Garrick and Lord Montagu. This move created an

[233] http://www.turnershouse.co.uk/turner2.htm [accessed 11/02/2011]
[234] *Middlesex* (Ordnance Survey, 1879)
[235] *Middlesex* (Ordnance Survey, 1913)
[236] *Middlesex* (Ordnance Survey, 1935)

unbroken landscape setting for the suburban villas which lined the grounds, re-creating elements of the picturesque landscape of Twickenham Park despite its whole-scale redevelopment. The St. Margaret's estate successfully played to the middle class market who dreamed of the perfect blend of privileged *rus-in-urbe,* provided by the estate's riverside location, aristocratic pleasure gardens, and the adjacent mainline station with direct services to London Waterloo.

Just as the railway was absorbed into the picturesque composition of St Margaret's, new railway technology was being admired by artists with picturesque sensibilities. Whilst Turner, in *Rain, Steam and Speed* (1844) (fig. 3.117), attempts a novel depiction of a speeding locomotive seen through a haze of thundering rain and billowing steam, he nevertheless chose a fairly conventional picturesque landscape in which to set it; the view is of Isambard Kingdom Brunel's Great Western Railway Bridge at Maidenhead, with a bend of the Thames, complete with boatman, bridge and distant wooded hills, all conforming to conventions familiar to us from Richmond Hill's popular view.

French Impressionist Camille Pissarro was, like Turner, intrigued by the railways, and by the new suburbs growing up around London. In 1892, Pissarro moved to 1 Gloucester Terrace, Kew, painting *Bank Holiday, Kew* and *Kew Green* from the windows of this house.[237] Pissarro's affinity with picturesque landscapes is demonstrated by his depiction of 'Capability' Brown's *Rhododendron Dell at Kew* (1892), which he described as "a dream. What trees, what lawns, what attractive and subtle undulations of the land!"[238] Pissarro's paintings, including *Upper Norwood in the Snow, The Avenue, Dulwich* and *Crystal Palace*, present London's growing suburbs as picturesque scenes. In particular, Pissarro's *Bath Road, Bedford Park* (1897) (fig. 3.118) could be an image of an idyllic rural lane complete with cottages and smoking chimneys, but the subject is a new suburb of semi-detached homes; the artist's picturesque composition reflects the idyllic dreams of suburban commuters. Camille's son Lucien Pissarro had moved to a new home at 62 Bath Road, Bedford Park, Chiswick in the 1890s. On a visit in 1897, Camille Pissarro made a series of seven paintings, all taken from the windows and roof terrace of the Bedford Park home. The role played by the railways in encouraging the development of Bedford Park suburb is highlighted by Pissarro's paintings *Lordship Lane Station* (c.1870) (fig. 3.119) and *The Train, Bedford*

[237] K. Adler, *Pissarro in London* (National Gallery Company, 2003)
[238] N. Reed, *Pissarro in West London: Kew, Chiswick and Richmond* (Folkestone: Lilburne Press, 1997) p.19

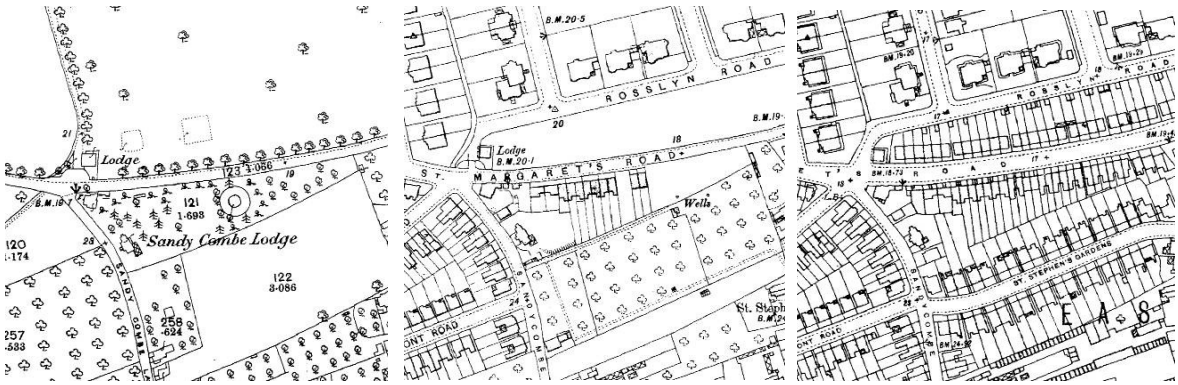


Fig. 3.116 Three Ordnance Survey maps, showing the development of the environment surrounding J.M.W. Turner's Sandycombe Lodge in 1879 (left), 1913 (centre), and 1935 (right). The development of this area may be seen as a microcosm of the enormous urban expansion of Richmond and Twickenham during the early years of the twentieth-century. Images courtesy of the Ordnance Survey.



Fig. 3.117 *Rain, Steam and Speed* by J.M.W. Turner (1844) showing the railway bridge over the Thames at Maidenhead, highlights the changes that technologies and increasing speed were having on visual experience, and yet the raised vantage point and view of the river's bend is a continuation of compositional conventions familiar to us from paintings of Richmond Hill. Image courtesy of the National Gallery.

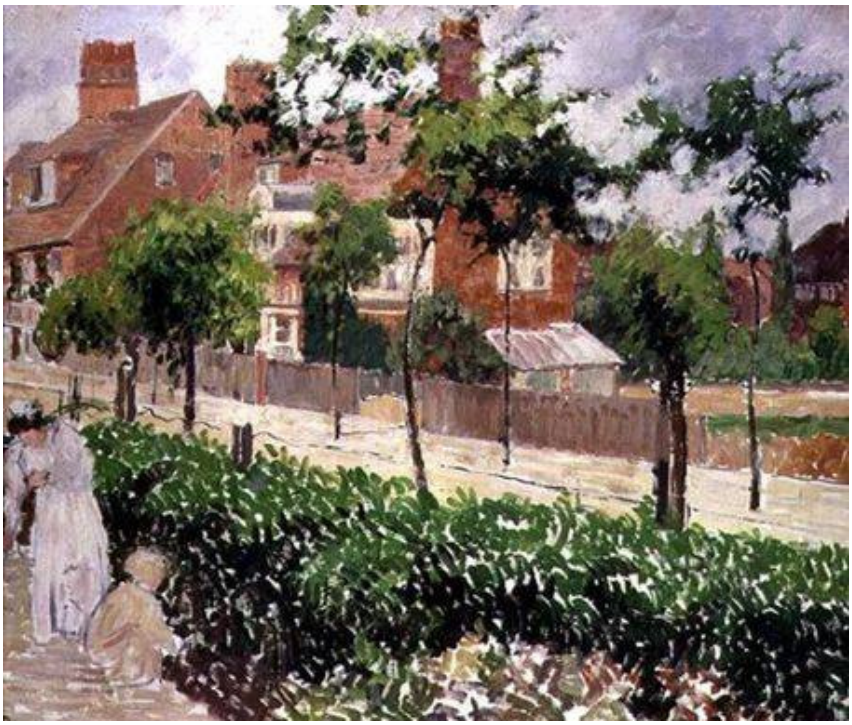


Fig. 3.118 *Bath Road, Bedford Park* by Camille Pissarro (1897) represents the modern suburban development as idyllic country scene. Image from N. Reed, *Pissarro in West London: Kew, Chiswick and Richmond* (Folkestone: Lilburne Press, 1997).



Fig. 3.119 *Lordship Lane Station* by Camille Pissarro (1871) presents the suburb of Dulwich as picturesque village, and the railways as a scenic way of travelling in the suburbs. Image from N. Reed, *Pissarro in West London: Kew, Chiswick and Richmond* (Folkestone: Lilburne Press, 1997).

Park (c.1897), both of which seem to promote the railways as a means to tour the countryside; a continuation of the picturesque tourism advocated by William Gilpin and others. Pissarro's paintings are full of rural imagery, despite their depiction of suburban subjects; *The Footbridge at Bedford Park* (1897) and *Jubilee Fete at Bedford Park* (1897) are full of people enjoying country life amid open fields and verdant landscapes, and the railway's conspicuous presence is as the facilitator of this blissful suburban existence. Camille's son Lucien[239] would himself later go on to produce over fifty paintings of Chiswick, Kew Gardens and Richmond, where he came to live briefly in 1935,[240] including *Richmond Bridge, View from my Window at Richmond* and *The Thames at Richmond* (all 1935).

The semi-rural imagery presented by the Pissarros' works is a feature of the design of Bedford Park itself, which has been described by John Betjeman as "the most significant suburb built in the last century, probably in the western world" (fig. 3.120).[241] Though the project was initiated by developer James Carr in 1875, it was the arrival of leading architect Richard Norman Shaw, in 1877, which had such a profound effect on:

> "The architectural character of Bedford Park, one which delighted and surprised visitors who, emerging from Turnham Green station, felt themselves to be in a village or small country town where nothing had happened for at least a hundred years. In fact none of the houses bore more than a superficial resemblance to anything built in the 17th or 18th centuries; their apparent artlessness concealed a great deal of sophistication."[242]

Shaw's architecture referred to the historic buildings of the surrounding towns of Chiswick, Kew and Richmond, with prominent gables, ornamental bargeboards and jettied overhangs. These touches, combined with an irregular street plan which took into account existing mature trees, made for a picturesque streetscape with a certain rural quality. The Bedford Park architects took the idea of the country villa, popular since the eighteenth century, and condensed it onto a smaller plot, reproducing the idyllic dream of villa life but making it accessible to the middle classes. As Herman Muthesius has written "It signifies neither more nor less than the starting point of the smaller modern

[239] Lucien's younger brother Ludovic Rodo Pissarro was also a formidable artist and a resident of Richmond, producing *Bedford Park, Chiswick; Pagoda Avenue, Richmond* and *Richmond Park with caleche* among others.
[240] Lucien spent three months at Ivy Lodge Hotel, Petersham Road, Richmond recovering from a prostate operation. N. Reed, *Pissarro in West London: Kew, Chiswick and Richmond* (Folkestone: Lilburne Press, 1997) p.42
[241] R. A. M. Stern, J. M. Massengale eds., *The Anglo-American Suburb* (London: Architectural Design, 1981) p.27
[242] M. Girouard, *Sweetness and Light* (Oxford University Press, 1977) p. 166

house, which spread from there over the whole country."[243] A contemporary advertisement dubbed it "The Healthiest Place in the World"[244] due to its provision of private gardens to every home and the addition of a communal club and tennis courts. These attributes of villa life were in contrast to the dirty and cramped conditions of the city with which it was always meant to be compared.

The function of the railway as a machine for viewing the landscape, suggested by the works of Turner and Pissarro, is illustrated by a proliferation of contemporary railway posters advertising excursions to picturesque locations across the country. The ever-changing view from the carriage window was a popular subject, directly tying railway technology to the picturesque view, for example in posters of *Knaresborough* (LNER, 1928) and *Felixstowe* (LNER, 1934) among others (fig. 3.121). Later, the new technology of photography would reproduce this arrangement, proposing the railway carriage as an ideal location for capturing the landscape on film, for example in LNER's *Great Yarmouth*. As a popular destination of weekend sojourns, Richmond itself was a subject of several of these railway posters, designed to entice weary city dwellers to weekend retreats and, in the process, to make a profit for the railway companies. For example, Charles Sharland's *Valley of the Thames* (1908) (fig. 3.122), which shows a view of Richmond Hill crowned by its villas from the riverbank. A subsequent poster by John Henry Lloyd entitled *Too Much of a Good Thing* (1910) (fig. 3.123), depicts Sharland's poster, along with a selection of other picturesque views, lining a subway tunnel, each calling for the attention of the weekend traveller. The posters are themselves like windows on idyllic landscapes of eternal summer, viewed from the dimly lit grime of the tunnel, and promise respite from the realities of city life, an escape to Richmond's Arcadia.

This effect, where the landscape view is framed as through a window, is a recurrent theme of railway poster art depicting the Thames landscape at Richmond. Alfred France's *Richmond* and Thomas Robert Way's *The Silver Thames* (both 1910) are composed of a series of small windows, like photographic snapshots or William Gilpin's watercolour vignettes (fig. 3.124). The former work demonstrates the draw of Richmond for both the appreciation of nature (the upper view shows a picturesque scene in Richmond Park), as well as for leisure pursuits (boating on the Thames). Significantly, the Richmond Hill view is illustrated in the bottom left-hand scene of the latter work, and the title is a nostalgic reference to James Thomson's description of the

[243] Stern, Massengale eds., *The Anglo-American Suburb,* p.27
[244] Ibid., p.28

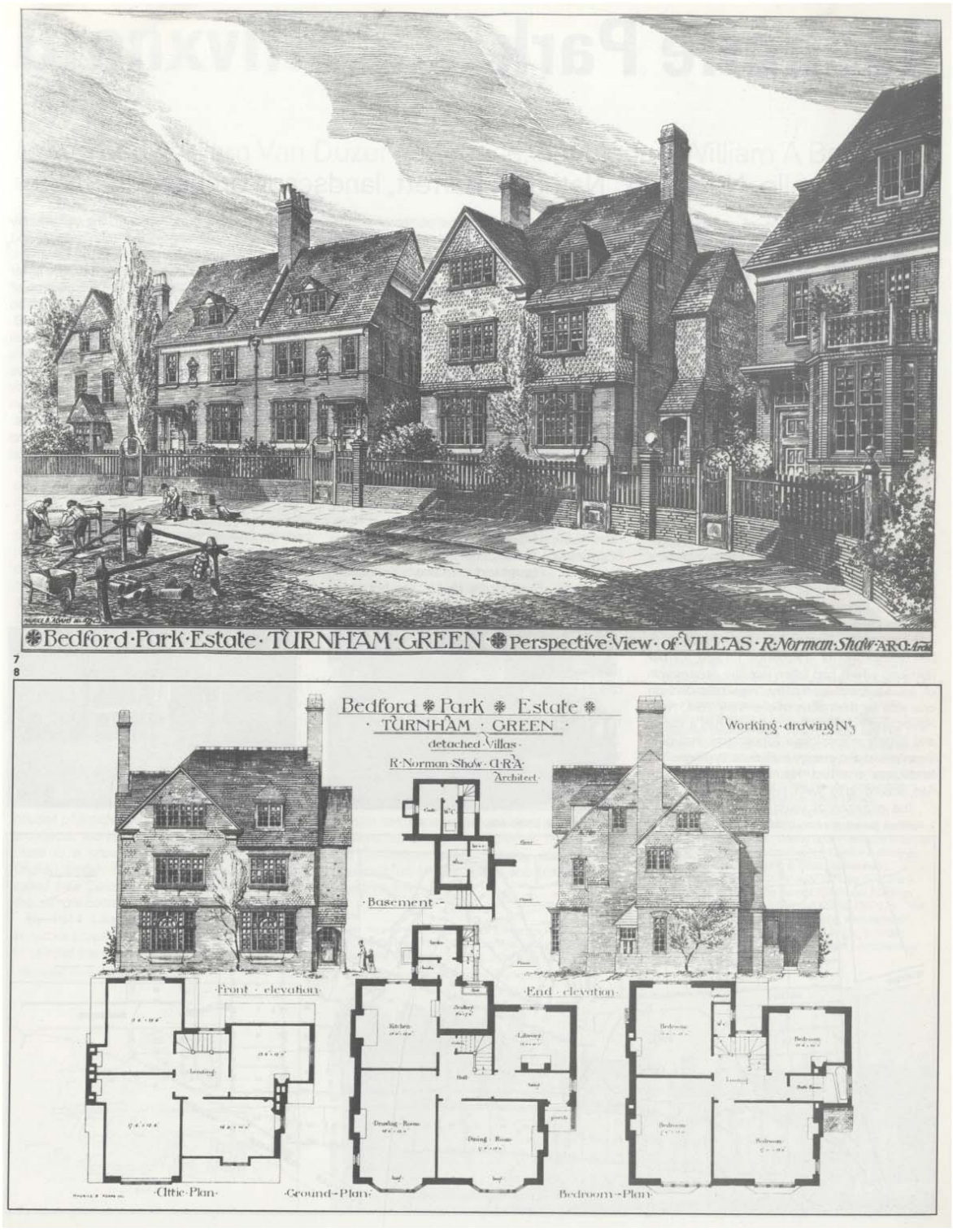


Fig. 3.120 Architect Richard Norman Shaw's drawings for his 'Queen Anne' style Bedford Park suburban villas, Chiswick. Image courtesy of the RIBA Drawings Library.

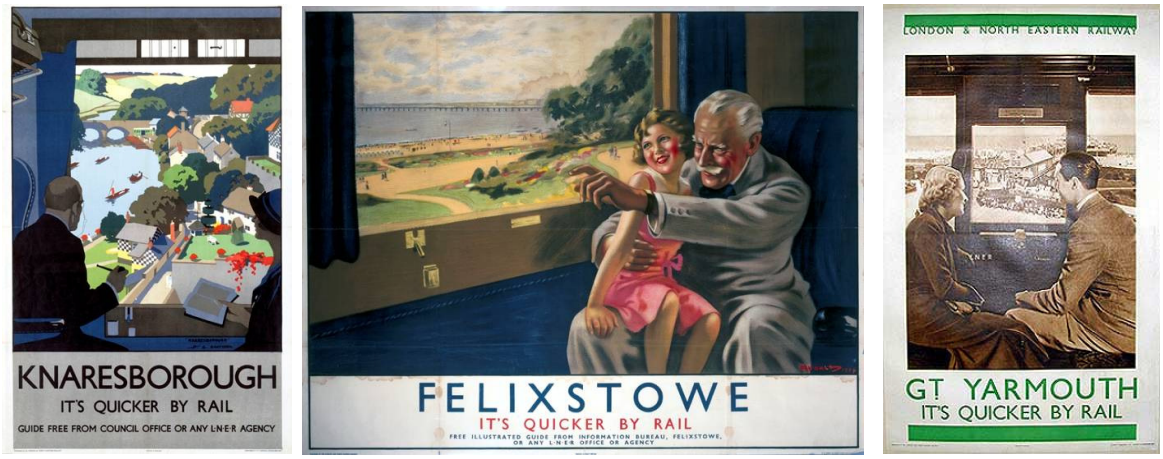


Fig. 3.121 The train as machine for viewing the landscape; three railway posters: *Knaresborough* (LNER, 1928), *Felixstowe* (LNER, 1934) and *Great Yarmouth* (LNER, c. 1930). Images courtesy of the National Railway Museum.

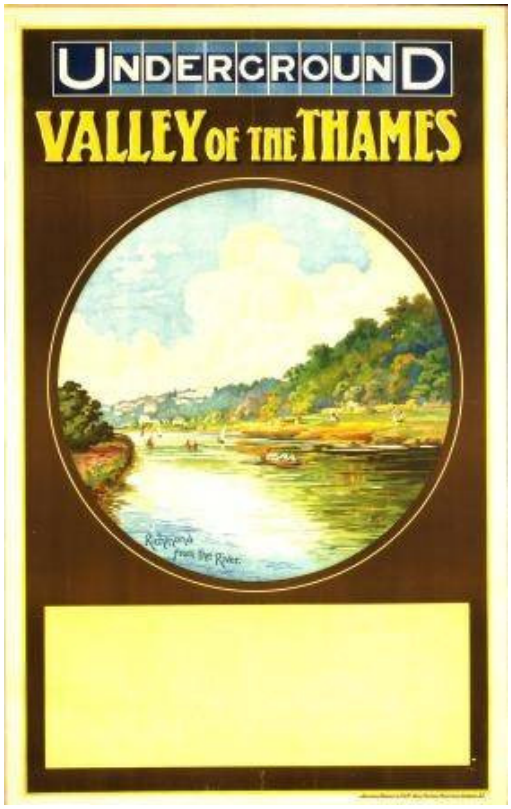


Fig. 3.122 Charles Sharland's *Valley of the Thames* (1908), showing Richmond Hill and its crowning villas. Image courtesy of the London Transport Museum.

view in *The Seasons* (1730). The Richmond Hill view also features in a 1908 poster entitled *Richmond for Walking…and Other Jollities,* accompanied by an extract from William Ernest Henley's *Ballade of Midsummer Days and Nights* (1897) (fig. 3.125). Though there is no evidence to suggest Henley's poem was connected with the Richmond view, he did write another poem about walking this stretch of the Thames, which he named *On the Way to Kew*. Both poems have suitably romantic and nostalgic overtones and the landscape described in the former work could easily fit the familiar landscape of Richmond Hill's view:

> "The wood's green heart is a nest of dreams,
> The lush grass thickens and springs and sways,
> The rathe wheat rustles, the landscape gleams -
> Midsummer days! Midsummer days!"[245]

It could be argued that the poetical references of these railway posters continue Turner's attachment of poetry to his scenes of Richmond, which itself continued an illustrious regional history of poetry from the seventeenth century onwards. Arthur G. Bell's 1913 poster, *Richmond Park* (fig. 3.126) is again accompanied by a poem (author unknown), which directly advocates a painterly vision of the Richmond landscape:

> "Here as the green leaves fade, the gold leaves fall.
> A still enchantment widens over all,
> Painting the woods with vaguer autumnal dyes
> Like ancient tapestries."[246]

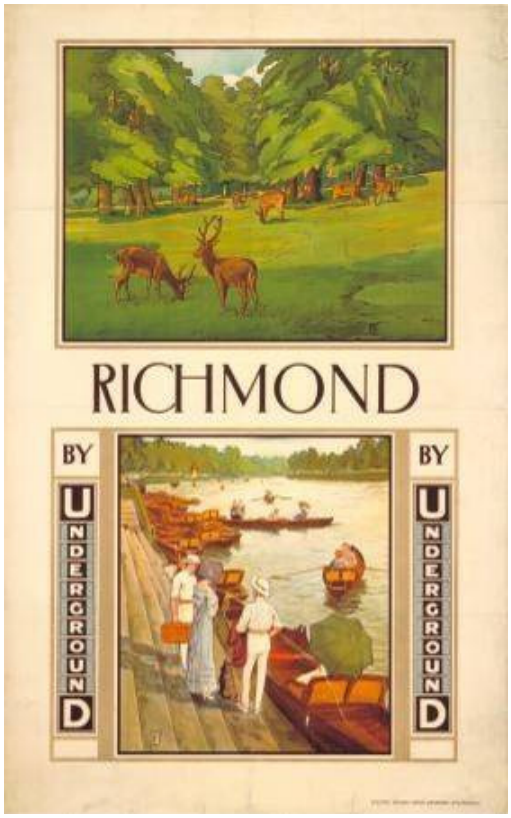
Tony Sarg's comedic '*The Summit of a Far-Famed Hill': Richmond Park* (1913) shows just how popular the hill became as a rural retreat for city dwellers: a curious family timidly feeds a herd of deer, an experience they may have never been exposed to in the city. The comedic value of Sarg's image is in his depiction of the hill's popularity, which ensured it could never be the tranquil retreat projected in paintings and literature - particularly on public holidays and weekends when crowds thronged through the gates of Richmond Park. Later posters would return to idealised views of picturesque tranquillity, choosing to adopt scenes from eighteenth century landscape gardens as representative of the whole Thames valley region, for example in Trerick John Williams's depiction of Chambers's Temple of Bellona, Kew Gardens (1929), Vera Ross's *Chiswick House* (1937) and Alan Sorrell's view of Garrick's Temple to Shakespeare (1938) (fig. 3.127).

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[245] W. E. Henley, *Ballade of Midsummer Days and Nights* (http://www.poemhunter.com/poem/ballade-of-midsummer-days-and-nights/ [accessed 16/02/11])
[246] A. G. Bell, *Richmond Park* (London Underground Poster, 1913)



Fig. 3.123 John Henry Lloyd's *Too Much of a Good Thing* (1910) showing Sharland's *Valley of the Thames* to the left, competing for the attention of the day-tripper. The landscape poster acted as a window to eternal summer weekends on the walls of London's underground system. Image courtesy of the London Transport Museum.



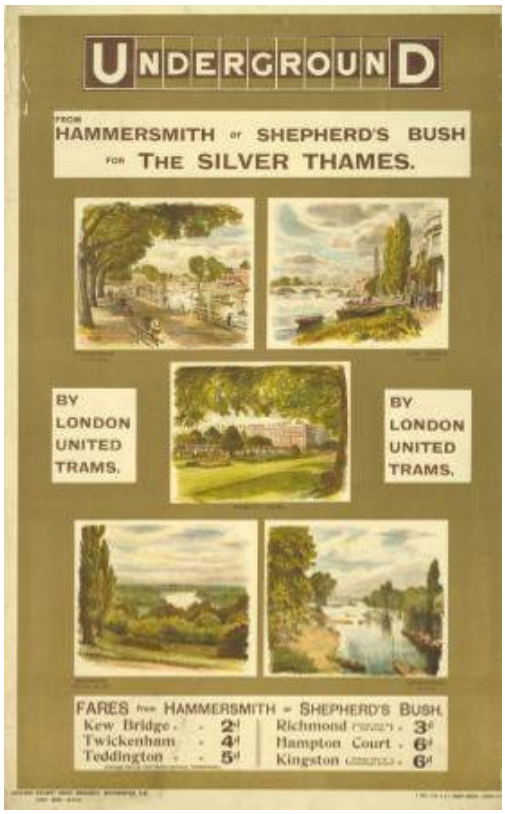


Fig. 3.124 Alfred France presents *Richmond* (1910) as a series of distinct 'pictures' to be experienced by the visitor, as does Thomas Robert Way in his poster of Richmond, which also includes the view from Richmond Hill to the bottom left (also 1910). Images courtesy of the London Transport Museum.



Fig. 3.125 *Richmond for Walking…and Other Jollities* (1908), showing the view from Richmond Hill as a destination for 'Sunday afternoons'. Image courtesy of the London Transport Museum.

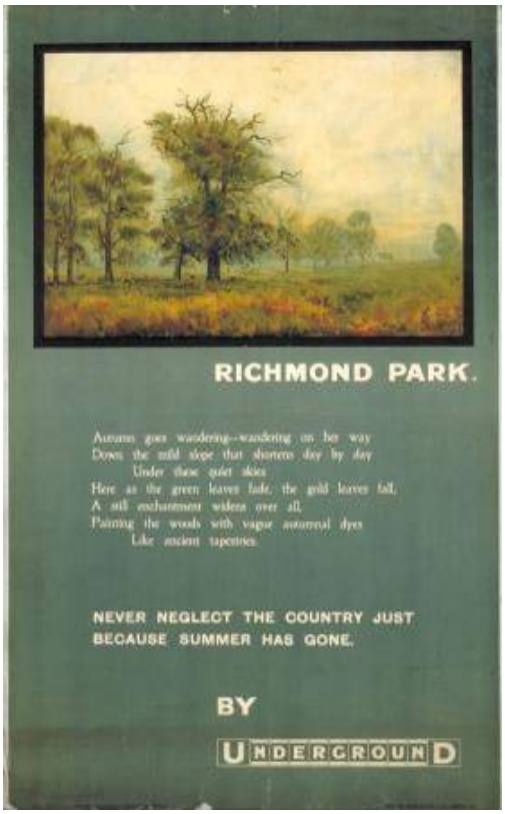


Fig. 3.126 Arthur G. Bell's *Richmond Park* (1913). Image courtesy of the London Transport Museum.

Lured to Richmond by the imagery of London Underground posters, by the early twentieth century visitors could take a piece of this imagery home, or send it on to family and friends, in the form of mass produced photographic postcards. Originally blank, the first photographic postcards were introduced in around 1895, though the image was usually small to allow the message to be written on the same side. By 1902, the Post Office allowed the picture to take over a full side, with message and address written on the reverse.[247] In doing so, the role of the postcard changed from a simple note to a souvenir of travel, leisure and landscapes. The Richmond Hill view, familiar from the mass circulation of prints, was an obvious and popular subject for postcard views. Though photography had taken over from the work of the artist, a certain painterly quality remains as the result of the hand colouring of many of these images. A 1906 postcard *View from the Terrace, Richmond* prominently displays a foreground vacant bench (fig. 3.128), as does *View on the Terrace, Richmond* (1909), enticing the viewer to the spot. The latter image draws attention to the implied view, framed by an opening in the trees opposite. Of a similar date *Terrace Gardens, Richmond* depicts such a glimpse of the thatched Tea House in the gardens below (fig. 3.129), observed through a theatrical opening in the trees. Interestingly, images of the Terrace itself are common, suggesting that the activities of walking and observing the view were as important to the Edwardian visitor as the view itself. Two postcards of c.1910 graphically illustrate this, showing the Terrace buzzing with promenading families, dressed in their Sunday 'best', and the benches crowded with people admiring the view, both a spectacle of landscape and of fellow day-trippers (fig. 3.130).

The effect of these postcards and posters was to perpetuate the mythic landscape of Richmond Hill, recycling the associations placed upon it by eighteenth century poets, architects and artists. When the Marble Hill estate, which lies at the centre of the famous view, was threatened by redevelopment in 1901, a local newspaper article recycled a quote from Jonathan Swift's *Pastoral Dialogue between Richmond Lodge and Marble Hill* (1727):

> "Some South Sea broker from the City,
> Will purchase me, and more's the pity,
> Lay all my fine plantations waste
> To fit them to his vulgar taste."

The author went on to state that the contemporary threat was not from a South Sea broker, but from "the demon builder who will in all probability destroy this historical

[247] http://www.edinphoto.org.uk/0_pc_0/0_post_card_history.htm [Accessed 18/02/11]



Fig. 3.127 Eighteenth century landscapes as representative of the Thames region; Trerick John Williams's Temple of Bellona, Kew (1929), Vera Ross's Chiswick House (1937) and Alan Sorrell's Temple to Shakespeare, Hampton (1938). Images courtesy of the London Transport Museum.

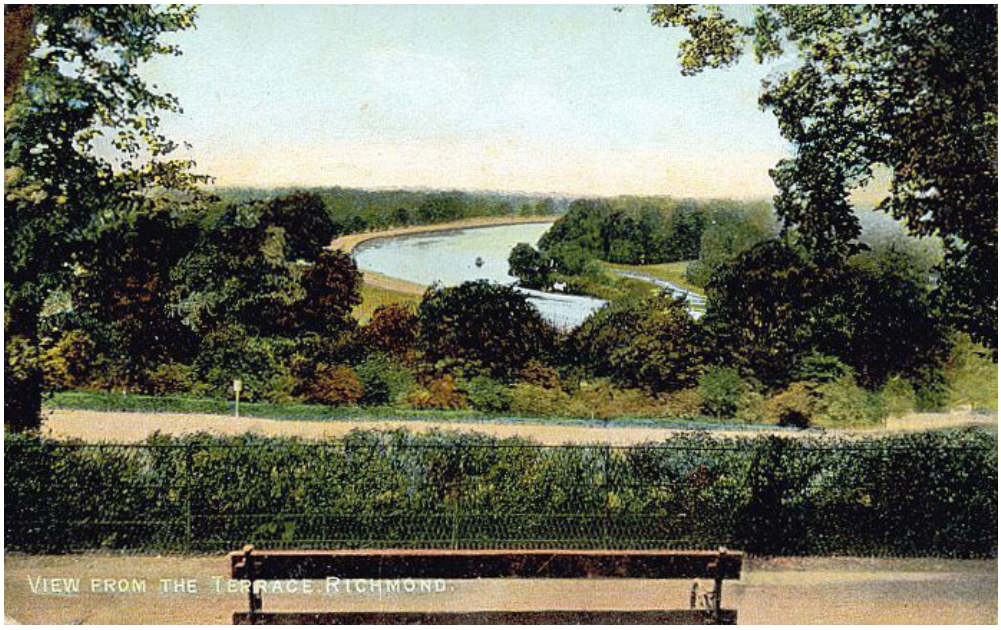


Fig. 3.128 Postcard *View from the Terrace, Richmond* (1906). Image from author's personal collection.



Fig. 3.129 Postcard of *Terrace Gardens, Richmond* (c. 1909), showing the thatched Teahouse glimpsed through an opening in the foreground trees. Image from author's personal collection.

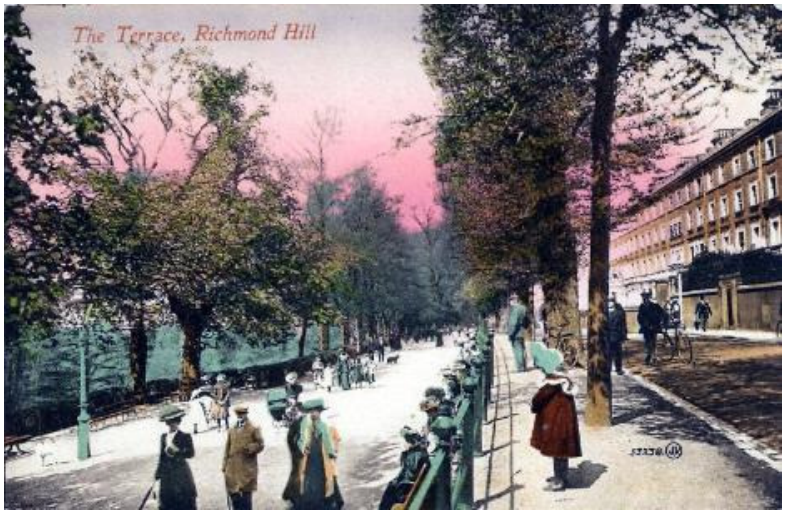




Fig. 3.130 Two postcards of Terrace Walk (c. 1910) showing the promenade packed with visitors in their Sunday best, observing the view, and eachother. Images from author's personal collection.

demesne with his exhibition of latter-day villadom."[248] Swift's fear that the Marble Hill estate might be destroyed, as early as 1727, highlights a perceived vulnerability of Richmond Hill's prospect from at least the eighteenth century.

3.17 *'Indignation'*

'Indignation,' the name given to a number of popular campaigns which have voiced concern over development within the Richmond Hill view, originated in the late nineteenth century. In 1886, the Richmond Vestry, headed by Charter Mayor and one time Mayor of London Sir Whittaker Ellis, purchased the Lansdowne and Buccleuch estates to form Richmond Hill's Terrace Gardens, thus initiating the first steps towards the preservation of the view. A contemporary cartoon in popular magazine *Punch* depicts the 'Lass of Richmond Hill' being saved from the 'Jerry-Builder' dragon, whose stucco, cast-iron railings and smoking chimneypots menacingly threaten to attack the landscape (fig. 3.131).[249]

By the late 1890s, the Richmond Corporation, particularly Alderman Charles Burt, Mayor of Richmond, had grown increasingly vociferous in their calls to protect aspects of the view. In a letter dated 10 December 1892, Burt wrote to the Trustees of the Earl of Dysart's estate at Ham House to enquire about rumours circulating concerning the Trustees' intention to construct a road along the river bank at Ham. Burt feared that the road would be the first step in a complete redevelopment of the estate and that the character of the landscape would be irrevocably spoiled. Instead, Burt proposed that the meadows be leased to the Richmond Corporation which would seek to preserve the rural character of the land.[250] Ellis, responding on behalf of the Dysart Trustees, reminded Burt of their rights over Petersham Common, stating that "the apple of the eye to the view" from Richmond Hill "could at once be made available for building…by putting roads through […] which would give a ready access to Petersham and Kingston." The impact of any development on this conspicuous meadow and the subsequent damage to the view from Richmond Hill can be judged from Jasper Francis Cropsey's *Richmond Hill, viewed from the open ground between Wick House and The Star and Garter* (1862) (fig. 3.132). In order to prevent such a development, Ellis demanded that Richmond Corporation make "some recompense" to the Dysarts in the

[248] Cutting dated 1901, Twickenham Reference Library
[249] 'Rescued! A Romaunt of Richmond Hill', *Punch Magazine* (9 October, 1886) p. 170
[250] R. Berryman, 'The Fight for the View from Richmond Hill', *The Journal of Richmond Local History Society* p. 7

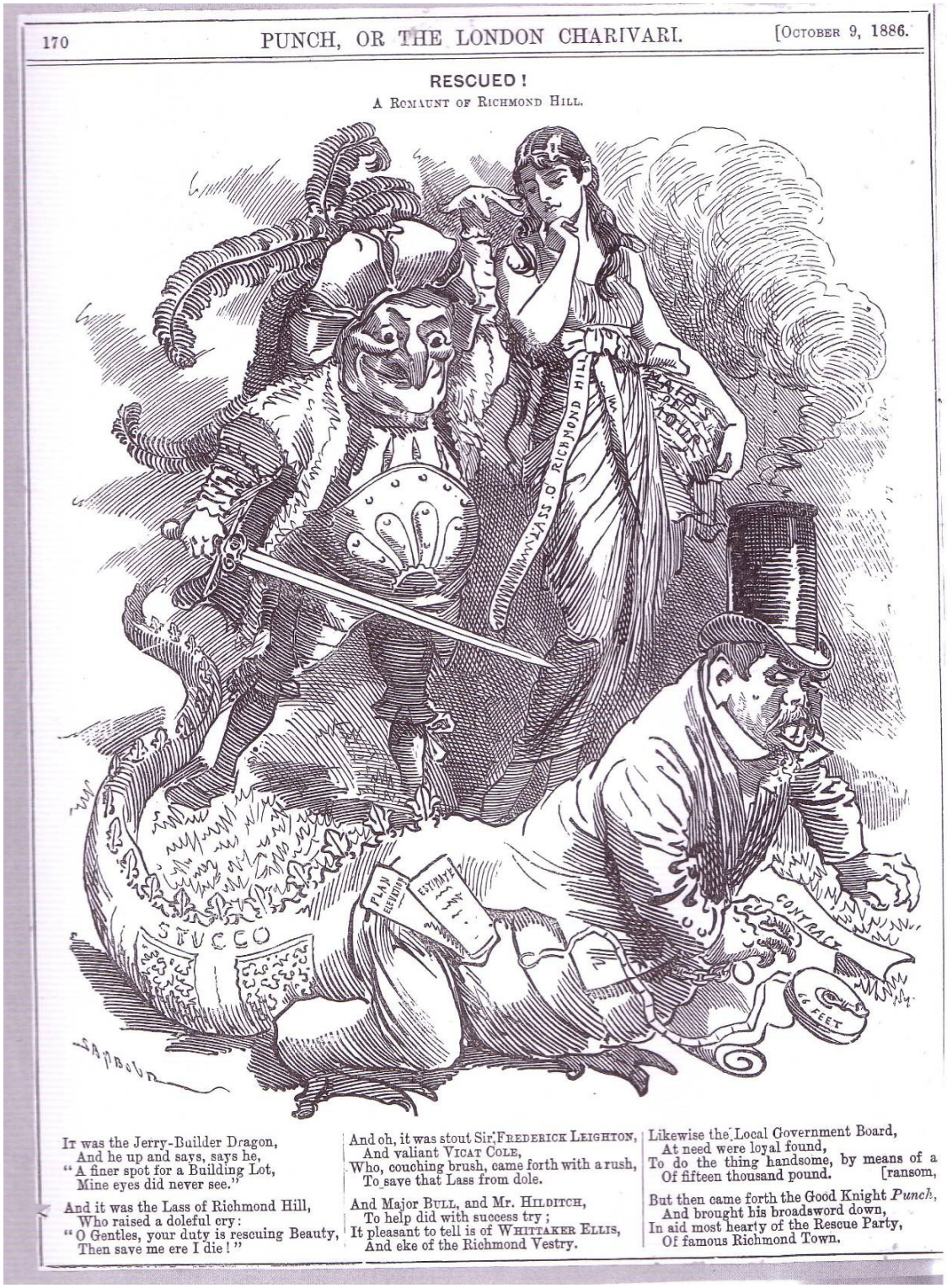
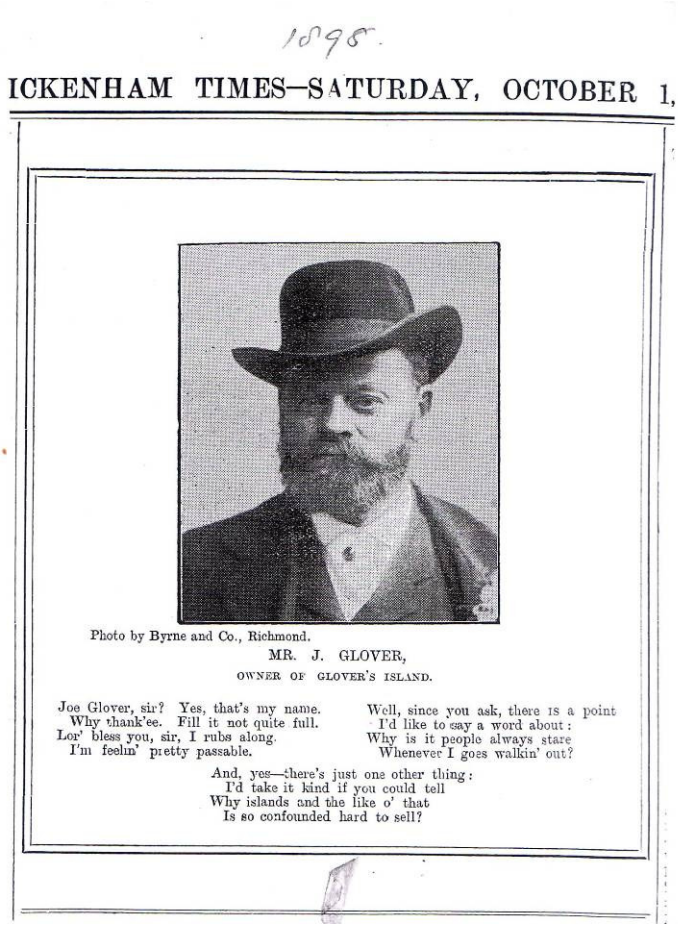


Fig. 3.131 Cartoon from *Punch* magazine showing the 'Lass of Richmond Hill' being saved from 'Jerry-Builder Dragon' whose stucco, cast-iron railings and smoking chimneypot hat threaten to invade the landscape. Image from *Punch* (9 October, 1886) p. 170



Fig. 3.132 American artist Jasper Francis Cropsey's *Richmond Hill, viewed from the open ground between Wick House and The Star and Garter* (1862). The early 'indignation' campaign centred around the protection of the meadows at the centre of this view from development. Image courtesy of the Google Art Project.



1898.

ICKENHAM TIMES—SATURDAY, OCTOBER 1,

Photo by Byrne and Co., Richmond.

MR. J. GLOVER,

OWNER OF GLOVER'S ISLAND.

Joe Glover, sir? Yes, that's my name.
Why thank'ee. Fill it not quite full.
Lor' bless you, sir, I rubs along.
I'm feelin' pretty passable.

Well, since you ask, there is a point
I'd like to say a word about:
Why is it people always stare
Whenever I goes walkin' out?

And, yes—there's just one other thing:
I'd take it kind if you could tell
Why islands and the like o' that
Is so confounded hard to sell?

Fig. 3.133 Joseph Glover, as he appears in the *Twickenham Times* (1 October, 1898). Image courtesy of the Library of Richmond upon Thames.

form of allowing development proposals elsewhere.[251] This recompense, the Dysart Trustees hoped, would be manifest in the abolition of public access rights to its vast 'Lammas Lands,'[252] in effect an act of enclosure, which would free them up for development.

Richmond Corporation was quick to identify the motives of the Dysart Trustees, defaulting on any agreement until a bill was finally prepared for presentation to parliament in 1896. This had been the culmination of several meetings by newly formed 'amenity societies' which sought to preserve open spaces for their aesthetic and recreational value. With the backing of Richmond's 'Amenities Committee,' Burt had already appealed to Her Majesty's First Commissioner of Works to purchase Bute House, from the same Sir Whittaker Ellis, in order to preserve another portion of Richmond's view.[253] The failure to procure Bute House in 1894 was, in many ways, prophetic of the downfall of the *Petersham and Ham Lands and Footpath Bill* (1896), eventually undermined by its concession to the Dysarts in the abolition of certain Lammas Rights. Opponents of the bill accused the Trustees, and Richmond Corporation alike, of bribery, claiming that residents were pursued to give up their rights in return for £15,000 towards the cost of a new school. Defeated, Burt wrote to *The Times* in frustration that "The Corporation indignantly repudiate the suggestion that they were to receive money for the sacrifice of public rights," adding that "the saving of the view from Richmond-Terrace is what the Corporation and their constituents have been striving after for years; it is one of the great objects of their existence."[254] To Burt, these slanderous accusations would achieve nothing but the undermining of the bill under which "the view would be secured forever," adding that "by the rejection of the Bill [the view] is gravely imperilled."[255]

One year previous to the Lammas Lands controversy, another property with a direct impact on the view, Petersham Ait, was put up for sale. The aforementioned Ellis, adjacent landowner, declined to purchase the island for a sum of £5,000, proposing that the Richmond Corporation buy it for the town. Burt's Amenities Committee considered the proposal, eventually concluding:

> "That while the Committee think it desirable that the Island should be acquired for the Corporation if it could be obtained at a

[251] Berryman, 'The Fight for the View from Richmond Hill', p. 8
[252] 'Lammas rights,' of medieval origin, allowed residents of Ham to graze cattle on dedicated 'Lammas Lands.' The Dysart Estate at Ham House consisted of around 176 acres of these semi-common Lammas Lands.
[253] Berryman, 'The Fight for the View from Richmond Hill', p. 14
[254] Ibid., p. 17
[255] Ibid.

> reasonable price, they are of the opinion that in view of the sum now named, it would be useless to enter into any negotiation for its purchase."[256]

By the end of 1895, no suitable purchaser had been found for the island. Three years later, owner Joseph Glover put the island up for auction, again offering it to the Corporation for a reduced price (fig. 3.133). If the Corporation would not buy it, Glover made it clear he was prepared to sell the island to an advertising company,[257] as the island's conspicuous nature, in terms of passing boat and road traffic as well as its prominence within the Richmond Hill prospect, rendered it potentially lucrative as a location for billboards.[258] Glover's contemporary sale cards make this explicit, juxtaposing a photograph of the view with the statement "It will be seen that 'Glover's Island' […] is a most conspicuous object from Richmond Hill," while an auction notice stated it would make "a splendid site for the erection of a first class Club or Hotel, or for an electric storage station, Launch Works, or as an advertising medium" (fig. 3.134).[259] As a local newspaper article clarified, "The Island lies right in the foreground of the famous view from Richmond Hill, and for that reason it has caused something like a spasm of alarm when the owner has threatened […] to sell it as the site for advertising hoardings […] or for something else equally disagreeable."[260] Another article speculated on Glover's motives:

> "Mr Glover may have hoped that the members of the Town Council, with their nerves shaken by dreadful apparitions of big chimneys, unsightly sheds, ugly hoardings, or fearsome sky signs […] would be prepared to pay anything to prevent their waking hours being made wretched by the materialisation of this phantasmagoria."[261]

Though the Corporation did hope to purchase the island from Glover, the *Richmond and Twickenham Times* reported that, again, it could not afford the high price demanded.[262] Burt is reputed to have said:

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[256] 'Glover's Island: The Town Council Refuse to Purchase It', *Richmond and Twickenham Times* (14 September, 1898)
[257] Letter from the Mayor Albert Chancellor to Alderman Burt (24 August, 1898). Also, Letter from Mayor Albert Chancellor to Alderman Burt (29 August, 1898).
[258] 'The View from Richmond Hill', *Local History Notes* (London Borough of Richmond Upon Thames: Richmond Libraries' Local Studies Collection) p. 4
[259] See Appendix, Glover's Island Sale Card and Auction Notice (1898), Richmond Libraries' Local Studies Collection
[260] 'Across the Walnuts and the Wine', *Richmond and Twickenham Times* (24 August, 1898)
[261] 'Glover's Island', *Richmond and Twickenham Times* (17 September, 1898)
[262] 'Glover's Island: The Town Council Refuse to Purchase It', *Richmond and Twickenham Times* (14 September, 1898)

> "If the island were used as an advertisement station a big gallows would rise on Petersham Meadows opposite, with an effigy of the owner suspended […] Anyone who attempted to use the island for a disfiguring purpose would be hounded out of Richmond."[263]

In the event, the highest auction bid received was just £1,000, so Glover promptly withdrew the island from sale.[264]

Petersham Ait was eventually secured, in 1900, by philanthropist Max Waechter, a resident of Richmond Hill, for an undisclosed sum (fig. 3.135). Waechter donated the island, along with the house and grounds of nearby Petersham Lodge, to Richmond's council, in an effort to preserve the view for posterity.[265] At a celebration dinner held at the Star and Garter Hotel on Richmond Hill, attended by such notable figures as Sir Edward Poynter (President of the Royal Academy) and Viscount Midleton among others, Mayor Chancellor handed Waechter a framed and illuminated address which read:

> "this Council […] desire to place on record their high appreciation of so generous an act whereby the far-famed view from Richmond Hill will forever be preserved. They would further add their conviction that with this preservation of Richmond's famous landscape Mr. Max Waechter's name will for all time be associated."[266]

Waechter's gift of Glover's Island to the Richmond Corporation was not, however, enough to secure the view from Richmond Hill, as new fears over the fate of the Marble Hill Estate surfaced just months after Waechter's jubilant banquet.

The Marble Hill estate was purchased following the death of Lady Peel by William Cunard of the shipping family, whose Orleans House estate was immediately adjacent. Together with a third neighbouring villa, Lebanon House, the Cunard's had acquired a large proportion of the Twickenham lands visible from Richmond Hill, as illustrated by an article and map in the *Westminster Budget* (fig. 3.136).[267] Cunard's decision to develop the Lebanon House estate[268] with suburban villas was viewed as a

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[263] 'More Correspondence about Glover's Island', *Richmond and Twickenham Times* (20 July, 1898)
[264] 'Glover's Island: Today at the Mart', *Richmond and Twickenham Times* (21 September, 1898). Also, 'Glover's Island Unsold: An Unsuccessful Auction at Tokenhouse Yard', *Daily Mail* (22 September, 1898).
[265] 'The View from Richmond Hill', *Local History Notes* (London Borough of Richmond Upon Thames: Richmond Libraries' Local Studies Collection) p. 5
[266] 'The View from Richmond Hill: Mr. Max Waechter's Gift', *Richmond and Twickenham Times* (16 April 1901)
[267] 'The Richmond Hill View', *Westminster Budget* (26 July, 1901)
[268] A plan of the controversial Lebanon House development appears in the *Richmond and Twickenham Times* (6 July, 1901).

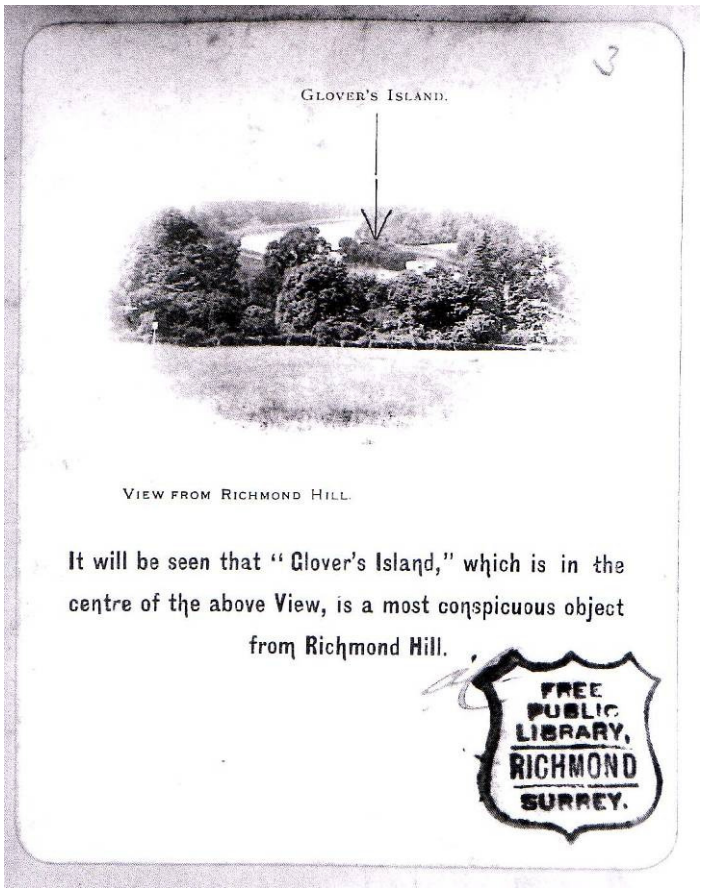


Fig. 3.134 Sale card c. 1890s demonstrating the conspicuous nature of the island, and therefore its suitability for development with billboards. Image courtesy of the Library of Richmond upon Thames.

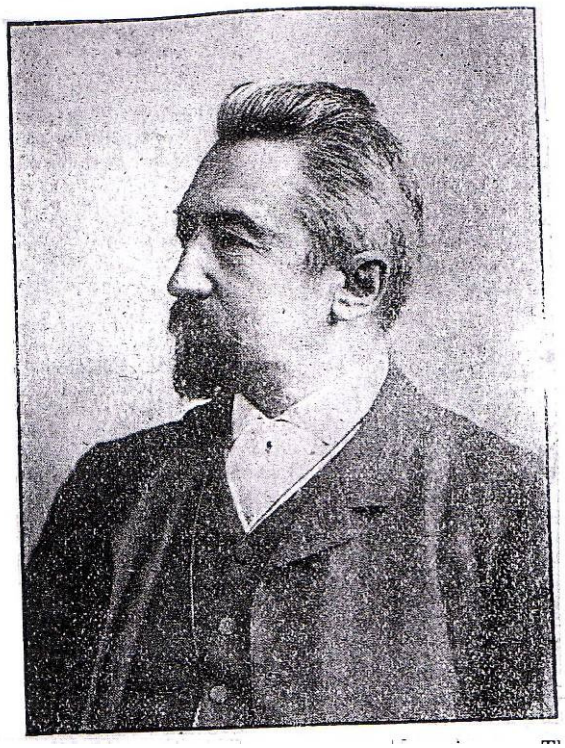
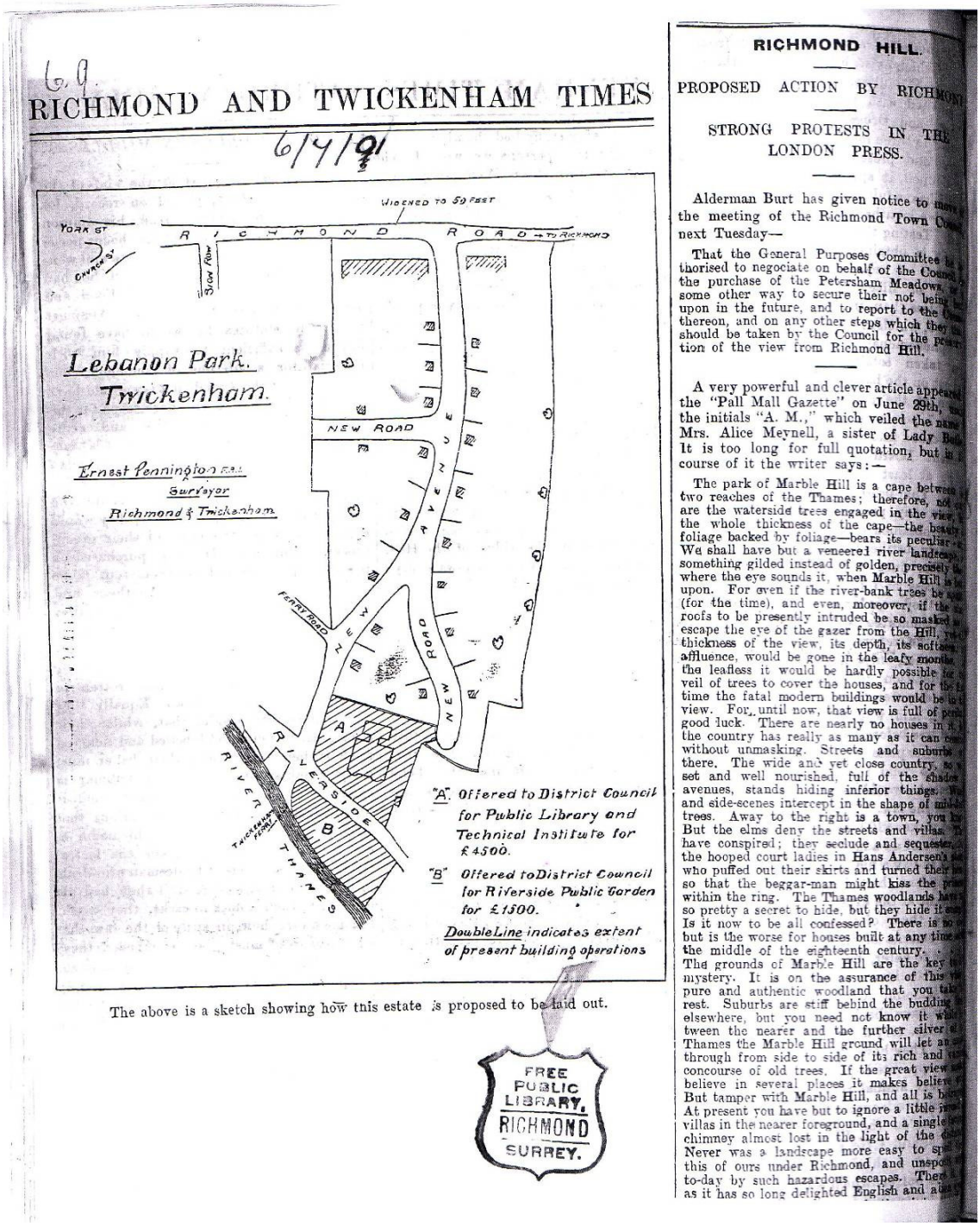


Fig. 3.135 Portrait of philanthropist Max Waechter, whom donated 'Glover's Island' to Richmond Council after purchasing it from Joseph Glover in 1900. Image courtesy of the Library of Richmond upon Thames.



RICHMOND AND TWICKENHAM TIMES

6/4/01

WIDENED TO 59 FEET

YORK ST

RICHMOND ROAD → TO RICHMOND

CHURCH ST

STAG ROW

Lebanon Park. Twickenham.

NEW ROAD

Ernest Pennington F.S.I. Surveyor Richmond & Twickenham

NEW AVENUE

FERRY ROAD

NEW ROAD

A

B

RIVERSIDE

RIVER THAMES

TWICKENHAM FERRY

"A". Offered to District Council for Public Library and Technical Institute for £4500.

"B" Offered to District Council for Riverside Public Garden for £1500.

Double Line indicates extent of present building operations

The above is a sketch showing how this estate is proposed to be laid out.

FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY, RICHMOND SURREY.

RICHMOND HILL.

PROPOSED ACTION BY RICHMOND

STRONG PROTESTS IN THE LONDON PRESS.

Alderman Burt has given notice to move at the meeting of the Richmond Town Council next Tuesday—

That the General Purposes Committee be authorised to negociate on behalf of the Council for the purchase of the Petersham Meadows, or some other way to secure their not being built upon in the future, and to report to the Council thereon, and on any other steps which they think should be taken by the Council for the preservation of the view from Richmond Hill.

A very powerful and clever article appeared in the "Pall Mall Gazette" on June 29th, by the initials "A. M.," which veiled the name of Mrs. Alice Meynell, a sister of Lady Butler. It is too long for full quotation, but in the course of it the writer says:—

The park of Marble Hill is a cape between two reaches of the Thames; therefore, not only are the waterside trees engaged in the view, but the whole thickness of the cape—the beauty of foliage backed by foliage—bears its peculiar part. We shall have but a veneered river landscape, something gilded instead of golden, precisely where the eye sounds it, when Marble Hill is built upon. For even if the river-bank trees be spared (for the time), and even, moreover, if the villa roofs to be presently intruded be so masked as to escape the eye of the gazer from the Hill, yet the thickness of the view, its depth, its softness, its affluence, would be gone in the leafy months. In the leafless it would be hardly possible for a veil of trees to cover the houses, and for the first time the fatal modern buildings would be in the view. For, until now, that view is full of good luck. There are nearly no houses in it. The country has really as many as it can carry without unmasking. Streets and suburbs are there. The wide and yet close country, so well set and well nourished, full of the shade of avenues, stands hiding inferior things. The trees and side-scenes intercept in the shape of middle trees. Away to the right is a town, you know. But the elms deny the streets and villas. They have conspired; they seclude and sequester. They are the hooped court ladies in Hans Andersen's tale who puffed out their skirts and turned their backs so that the beggar-man might kiss the princess within the ring. The Thames woodlands have so pretty a secret to hide, but they hide it well. Is it now to be all confessed? There is no secret but is the worse for houses built at any time since the middle of the eighteenth century.

The grounds of Marble Hill are the key to the mystery. It is on the assurance of this that pure and authentic woodland that you take your rest. Suburbs are stiff behind the budding trees elsewhere, but you need not know it where between the nearer and the further silver of the Thames the Marble Hill ground will let an eye through from side to side of its rich and natural concourse of old trees. If the great view were believe in several places it makes believers. But tamper with Marble Hill, and all is lost. At present you have but to ignore a little group of villas in the nearer foreground, and a single factory chimney almost lost in the light of the distance. Never was a landscape more easy to spoil than this of ours under Richmond, and unspoilt to-day by such hazardous escapes. There as it has so long delighted English and all

Fig. 3.136 Article in the *Westminster Budget* (26 July, 1901), showing plans for the redevelopment of the Lebanon House estate by the Cunard family, of shipping fame. The proposal caused outrage as many feared a similar fate would befall the neighbouring Marble Hill Estate, which also belonged to the Cunards. Image courtesy of the Library of Richmond upon Thames.

harbinger of what would soon befall all of the Twickenham riverbank.[269] It was widely felt that Richmond Corporation could not continue to successfully secure the future of the view without nationwide pressure for governmental assistance. The *Daily Mail* wrote "Richmond turns to all England for help in preserving what all England has so thoroughly enjoyed," adding "The view from Richmond Hill is the World's view, not Richmond's only. Let the work of preservation be started by the City of London or the Country at large."[270] A correspondent for the *Daily News* summed up what was at stake for the citizens of, not only Richmond, but London, and even the nation as a whole:

> "Hundreds and thousands of people have acquired by long lapse of time a vested interest in the natural beauty of a certain spot. They have gazed on it often and often, it has put thoughts in their minds that chased out the little grimy pre-occupations of a mean existence, as mountain water would cleanse a vessel. Their parents may have taken them to see it; they may show it to their children, who may have little enough of nature or of beauty in their small brick-bound experience. Then, suddenly, the hand of a man unknown to them is lifted, and the trees fall […] for building purposes; a man can do as he likes with his own. *But what man owns the glory that Turner painted?*"[271]

These fears had been sparked by road-building activity on the Marble Hill estate,[272] which the *Architectural Review* stated was "The centre and critical point of the view," adding "it is evident that the deep wedge of woodland formed by Marble Hill is [the view's] most necessary and indispensable part; that spoiled, the view tumbles to pieces, with an eyesore for its focus" (fig. 3.137).[273]

Along with the aesthetic argument for saving the Marble Hill estate, the *Architectural Review* re-emphasised the historical and literary associations of the villa, stating "Marble Hill is a monument to our poetry, where we may taste the orderly dream of eighteenth century classics," declaring it "an architect's rendering of the feelings of Pope in the forms of Palladio."[274] While the architectural community viewed Marble Hill House as a monument worthy of protection, the popular press also presented Richmond's view as a monument, worthy of the same protection:

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[269] 'Richmond Hill View', *The Times* (19 June, 1901). See also, 'The View from Richmond Hill', *Twickenham Herald* (5 June, 1901), untitled article in *Richmond and Twickenham Times* (6 July, 1901) and 'The Spoiling of Richmond', *Daily Chronicle* (9 November, 1901).
[270] 'Richmond's Peril: World-famed View Threatened by Builders', *Daily Mail* (7 June, 1901)
[271] Untitled article in the *Daily News* (13 July, 1901)
[272] Untitled article in the *Richmond and Twickenham Times* (13 July, 1901)
[273] D. S. MacColl, 'Richmond Hill and Marble Hill', *Architectural Review* X (1901) p. 25 See also, Untitled article in *The Times* (15 July, 1901).
[274] MacColl, 'Richmond Hill and Marble Hill', p. 28

> "Why are we to lavish our picturesque sensibility, our feeling for history, romance and beauty on lands and scenes not our own, to protect against the restoration of St. Mark's at Venice or against the submersion of the Temple at Philae, and yet care nothing for such a truly national possession as the prospect from Richmond Hill? […] Shall it be said of this wealthy and prosperous generation that it could spare no money and give no thought to the preservation […] of what still remains of beauty and sylvan charm to the most characteristic English landscape to be found within the four seas?"[275]

Encouraged by the press campaign, a 'Richmond Hill View Executive Committee' was formed in July 1901 by a number of influential founding members including artists Sir Edward Poynter, P. R. A. and Sir William Blake Richmond, R. A. The work of this Committee was to prepare a bill for Parliament seeking the preservation of both Marble Hill and the Dysart Estate, as well as to drum up the support of the media and other figureheads. Early proposals for the bill appear in the *Twickenham Herald*'s 'The Dysart Proposals: To Stand or Fall Together,'[276] *The Times'*s 'Richmond Hill (Preservation of the View)'[277] and *Richmond and Twickenham Time*'s 'The Bill to Save and the Bill to Build.'[278] In many respects, the 'Dysart Estates Bill,' or the 'Richmond Hill View Preservation Bill' as it was popularly dubbed, was a repeat of the Bill thrown out by parliament in 1896, stipulating many of the same terms previously rejected, such as the abolition of Lammas Rights. However, as an article in the *Twickenham Herald* pointed out, changes to the Bill ensured that all parties were likely to benefit from its enactment;[279] Richmond would receive new public lands, Ham residents would be compensated for the loss of Lammas Rights and the riverside road proposal was to be dropped.[280] Despite these concessions, the Bill was met with some opposition. Max Waechter, in a letter to the *Daily Chronicle,* criticised the Bill's terms as "sops to the different local bodies in order to buy off their opposition."[281] However, the Bill was eventually passed in 1902 as the *Richmond, Petersham and Ham Open Spaces Act*.

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[275] Untitled article in *The Times* (15 July, 1901)
[276] 'The Dysart Proposals and Marble Hill: To Stand or Fall Together', *Twickenham Herald* (13 November, 1901)
[277] 'Richmond Hill (Preservation of the View)', *The Times* (15 November, 1901). Also, 'The Dysart Bill', *Richmond and Twickenham Times* (23 November 1901) and 'The View from Richmond Hill', *The Times* (25 November, 1901)
[278] 'The View: The Bill to Save and the Bill to Build', *Richmond and Twickenham Times* (30 November, 1901). See also, 'The Dysart Estates Bill', *Twickenham Herald* (11 January, 1902), untitled article in the *Surrey Comet* (11 January, 1902)
[279] Though there was, of course, opposition. See 'Ham Lammas Lands', *Daily Chronicle* (13 February, 1902) and 'Ham Lammas Lands', *Daily Chronicle* (14 February, 1902)
[280] 'The Dysart Estates Bill', *Twickenham Herald* (11 January, 1902)
[281] 'Richmond View', *Daily Chronicle* (14 February, 1902). See Also, 'Ham Lammas Lands: The Proposals of the Dysart Trustees: Shall the Thames be Spoilt', *Daily Chronicle* (6 February, 1902).

Following the success of the Bill, the Marble Hill estate was secured for the nation[282] and opened as a public park under the authority of the London County Council on 30 May 1903.[283] The *Twickenham Herald,* in an account of the opening stated that:

> "[The committee] felt that a national view was at stake; that a historic view was at stake, nay, that a view that was necessary to the whole world was at stake; and they never relaxed their efforts till victory was won […] It was not only the glory of London, but the glory of the British Empire."[284]

The events of 1900-1903 were replicated in 1910, when Councillor Chancellor secured a buyer for the Meadowside estate, another property adjacent to Marble Hill. According to the *Twickenham Herald*, restrictive covenants were placed on this, and many other lands bordering the Thames,[285] which together have maintained the view from Richmond Hill (fig. 3.138). The protection of the view, via the 1902 *Richmond, Petersham and Ham Open Spaces Act,* marks a significant victory for preservation advocacy groups at a time when most, including the National Trust (formed 1894) and the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (formed 1877), were still in their infancy. In fact, the Act which saved Richmond Hill pre-dates the 1913 *Ancient Monuments Consolidation and Amendment Act*, highlighting the extent to which the vista was perceived to be of national historical importance.

It should be noted that along with the emergence of preservation bodies, the protection of Richmond Hill's view also coincides with the establishment of a British Town Planning profession. This is demonstrated by the discipline's first statutory recognition in the Housing and Town Planning Act of 1909,[286] and by the establishment of the first formal university program at the Department of Civic Design, Liverpool University. By 1913, the Town Planning Association had founded the International Garden Cities Federation,[287] ensuring the place of the picturesque tradition as one of the touchstones of British town planning. One could make a comparison between the

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[282] 'The View from the Hill: The Purchase of Marble Hill Estate', *Twickenham Herald* (29 March, 1903), 'The Richmond Hill View: Purchase of Marble Hill', *Richmond and Twickenham Times* (26 October, 1901) and 'The Richmond Hill View', *The Times* (29 March, 1903)

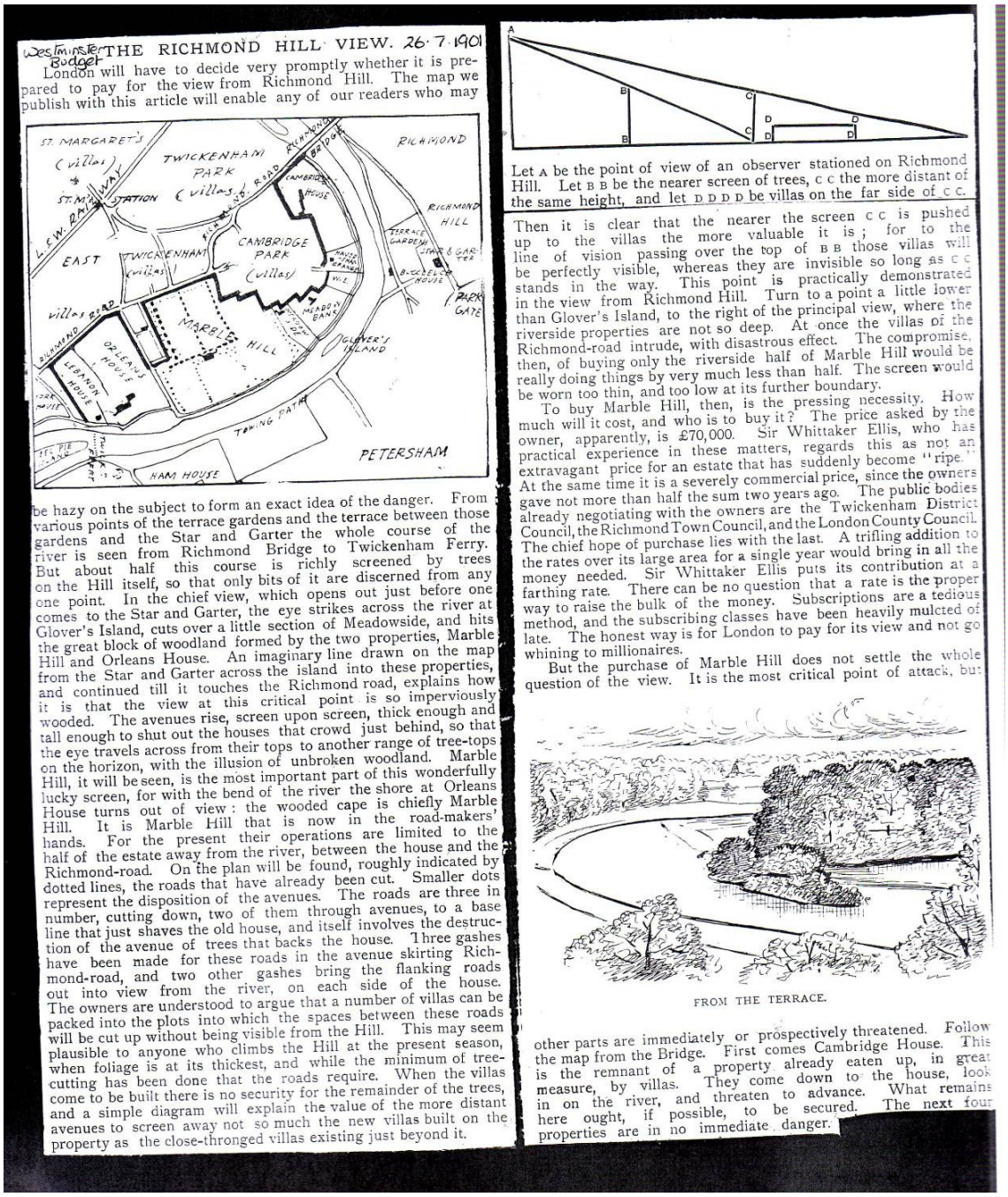
[283] There were those that opposed the use of Marble Hill for Public purposes due to the ample provision of public spaces at Kew and Richmond Parks. See 'The View: Letter from Mr. Littler', *Richmond and Twickenham Times* (4 December, 1901)

[284] *Twickenham Herald* (6 June, 1903)

[285] 'The Richmond Hill View', *Twickenham Herald* (2 July, 1910)

[286] D. L. Foley, "Idea and Influence: The Town and Country Planning Association," in A. K. Hoagland and K. A. Breisch, eds., *Constructing Image, Identity, and Place: Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture IX* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 2003) p. 11

[287] Foley, "Idea and Influence", p. 11



Westminster Budget

THE RICHMOND HILL VIEW. 26·7·1901

London will have to decide very promptly whether it is prepared to pay for the view from Richmond Hill. The map we publish with this article will enable any of our readers who may be hazy on the subject to form an exact idea of the danger. From various points of the terrace gardens and the terrace between those gardens and the Star and Garter the whole course of the river is seen from Richmond Bridge to Twickenham Ferry. But about half this course is richly screened by trees on the Hill itself, so that only bits of it are discerned from any one point. In the chief view, which opens out just before one comes to the Star and Garter, the eye strikes across the river at Glover's Island, cuts over a little section of Meadowside, and hits the great block of woodland formed by the two properties, Marble Hill and Orleans House. An imaginary line drawn on the map from the Star and Garter across the island into these properties, and continued till it touches the Richmond road, explains how it is that the view at this critical point is so imperviously wooded. The avenues rise, screen upon screen, thick enough and tall enough to shut out the houses that crowd just behind, so that the eye travels across from their tops to another range of tree-tops on the horizon, with the illusion of unbroken woodland. Marble Hill, it will be seen, is the most important part of this wonderfully lucky screen, for with the bend of the river the shore at Orleans House turns out of view: the wooded cape is chiefly Marble Hill. It is Marble Hill that is now in the road-makers' hands. For the present their operations are limited to the half of the estate away from the river, between the house and the Richmond-road. On the plan will be found, roughly indicated by dotted lines, the roads that have already been cut. Smaller dots represent the disposition of the avenues. The roads are three in number, cutting down, two of them through avenues, to a base line that just shaves the old house, and itself involves the destruction of the avenue of trees that backs the house. Three gashes have been made for these roads in the avenue skirting Richmond-road, and two other gashes bring the flanking roads out into view from the river, on each side of the house. The owners are understood to argue that a number of villas can be packed into the plots into which the spaces between these roads will be cut up without being visible from the Hill. This may seem plausible to anyone who climbs the Hill at the present season, when foliage is at its thickest, and while the minimum of tree-cutting has been done that the roads require. When the villas come to be built there is no security for the remainder of the trees, and a simple diagram will explain the value of the more distant avenues to screen away not so much the new villas built on the property as the close-thronged villas existing just beyond it.

Let A be the point of view of an observer stationed on Richmond Hill. Let B B be the nearer screen of trees, C C the more distant of the same height, and let D D D D be villas on the far side of C C.

Then it is clear that the nearer the screen C C is pushed up to the villas the more valuable it is; for to the line of vision passing over the top of B B those villas will be perfectly visible, whereas they are invisible so long as C C stands in the way. This point is practically demonstrated in the view from Richmond Hill. Turn to a point a little lower than Glover's Island, to the right of the principal view, where the riverside properties are not so deep. At once the villas of the Richmond-road intrude, with disastrous effect. The compromise, then, of buying only the riverside half of Marble Hill would be really doing things by very much less than half. The screen would be worn too thin, and too low at its further boundary.

To buy Marble Hill, then, is the pressing necessity. How much will it cost, and who is to buy it? The price asked by the owner, apparently, is £70,000. Sir Whittaker Ellis, who has practical experience in these matters, regards this as not an extravagant price for an estate that has suddenly become "ripe." At the same time it is a severely commercial price, since the owners gave not more than half the sum two years ago. The public bodies already negotiating with the owners are the Twickenham District Council, the Richmond Town Council, and the London County Council. The chief hope of purchase lies with the last. A trifling addition to the rates over its large area for a single year would bring in all the money needed. Sir Whittaker Ellis puts its contribution at a farthing rate. There can be no question that a rate is the proper way to raise the bulk of the money. Subscriptions are a tedious method, and the subscribing classes have been heavily mulcted of late. The honest way is for London to pay for its view and not go whining to millionaires.

But the purchase of Marble Hill does not settle the whole question of the view. It is the most critical point of attack, but

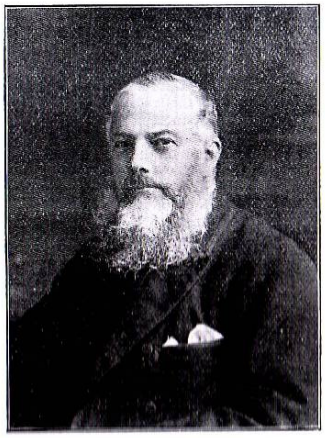
FROM THE TERRACE.

other parts are immediately or prospectively threatened. Follow the map from the Bridge. First comes Cambridge House. This is the remnant of a property already eaten up, in great measure, by villas. They come down to the house, look in on the river, and threaten to advance. What remains here ought, if possible, to be secured. The next four properties are in no immediate danger.

Fig. 3.137 An article from the *Westminster Budget* describing the purchase of the Marble Hill estate, and others, in order the protect the view from Richmond Hill (26 July, 1901). Image courtesy of the Library of Richmond upon Thames.

THE RICHMOND HILL VIEW.

Photo by W. S. Stuart, Richmond.



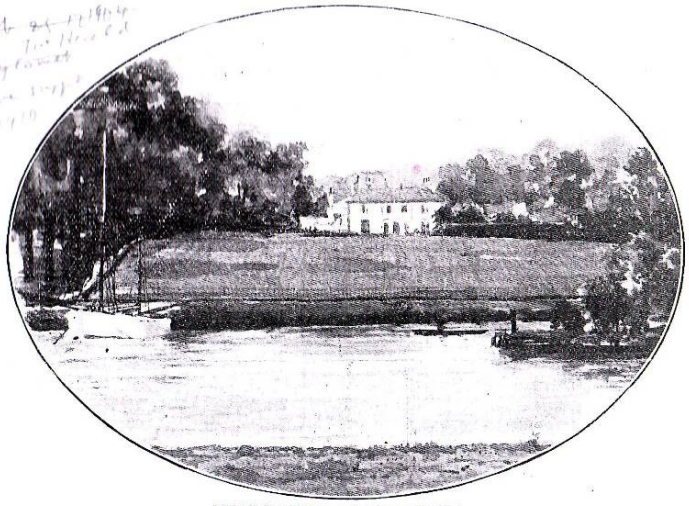
COUN. A. CHANCELLOR, J.P.

"THE VIEW" is Richmond's principal asset, and is renowned the world over as being the finest pastoral views in England. On a clear day the following places are visible:—Highgate and Hampstead Hills, St. Ann's Hill, Cooper's Hill, Windsor Castle and Forest, the heights near Farnham, and other prominent features in the County of Surrey. The extensive lines of trees seen beyond Petersham are the grand avenues in Bushey Park. The nearer view of the windings of the silvery Thames, with its rich slopes and lovely islets, form a magnificent panorama, and when once seen to perfection will never be forgotten. Wood and water cannot be more finely varied; rich groups of foreground contrast with the grand pastoral landscapes.

A few years ago an arrangement was come to with the Earl of Dysart whereby the Petersham Meadows came into the hands of the Corporation as an open space, and later on, with the assistance of the London County Council and the Twickenham District Council, Marble Hill, Twickenham, on the opposite bank of the river, was purchased so as to save the view from Richmond Hill being spoilt by the erection of buildings thereon.

At another time there was a danger of that lovely islet, Petersham Ait, becoming an advertising station, and, thanks to the generosity and local patriotism of Sir Max Waechter, Bart., that evil has been averted for ever. He purchased the islet and handed it over to the Corporation.

It had been supposed that the view had been by these arrangements entirely protected from spoliation, but it was recently discovered that the "Meadowside" property, of about 6½ acres, in Twickenham Meadows, adjoining the Marble Hill Estate, had not been preserved, and that it was being advertised for building purposes. Coun. Chancellor observed this announcement, and at once set to work to find someone who would purchase the property and allow restrictions to be placed thereon, as it is in the centre of the view from Richmond Hill. Coun. Chancellor was successful in his quest, and the valuable services he rendered in obtaining restrictive covenants preventing the property being built over or used in any way for business or trade purposes, were recognised by the Corporation according him a special vote of thanks. The illustration on this page shows the portion of the property that has been preserved.



MEADOWSIDE, TWICKENHAM.

Fig. 3.138 An article from the *Twickenham Herald* describing the purchase of the Meadowside Estate, upon which restrictive covenants were placed, in order to secure the view from Richmond Hill (2 July, 1910).

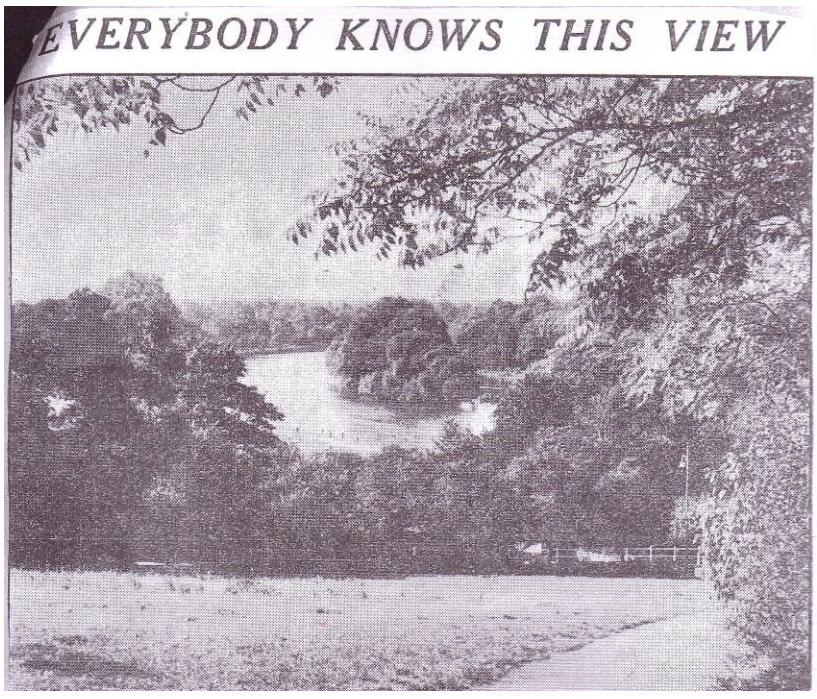


Fig. 3.139 An article from the *Thames Valley Times* (30 September, 1953). Image courtesy of the Library of Richmond upon Thames.

movement which sought to control the view of Richmond, and the emergence of a profession concerned with the design and aesthetics of townscapes.

Since the 1900s many other development proposals have reignited fears over the view's destruction. With every controversial proposal, the extensive historical, literary and artistic associations of the view have been revived in its defence. For example, a 1958 proposal to build 27 garages on land at Haversham Grange, Twickenham, was met with bewilderment by the Council which called it "the most monstrous application that has ever come before this tribunal,"[288] after its disfigurement of Richmond's "Historic Hill View."[289] Some years later, local residents petitioned against proposals to erect a hotel of 'skyscraper' proportions on the site of the Royal Star and Garter, Richmond Hill.[290] This proposal was accused of "gravely damaging the historic view of or from Richmond Hill, part of our national heritage and an important 'amenity', not only for residents of Richmond but for all London and countless visitors from all parts of Great Britain and Overseas."[291] One particular visitor, Austrian artist Oskar Kokoschka painted an idyllic *Richmond Terrace* (1962), oblivious to its proposed defilement (fig. 3.140). A contemporary newspaper article, inspired by Kokoschka's painting of the endangered view, entitled 'Poets and Artists have Loved this View' quotes from Thomson's *Seasons* (1726),[292] demonstrating how eighteenth century associations were repeatedly evoked to challenge contemporary proposals.

The quoting of Thomson's *Seasons* is symptomatic of a time of renewed interest in the history of Richmond, and importantly, in its visual character. This interest may have been a reaction to the redevelopment of historic city centres in the wake of the Second World War. The *Greater London Plan* (1944) was a bold attempt to plan for post-war London in which significantly, and contrary to movements in town planning outside London,[293] author Sir Patrick Abercrombie advocated the protection of green-belts and characterful urban centres. Abercrombie stated:

> "The sprawling outward expansion of London has engulfed many towns and villages. Within the Suburban and Inner Urban rings they are now embedded in a vast sea of inchoate development. […] Only a few have managed to resist the flow of disorderly building, and they

[288] 'Most Monstrous Application QC Tells Tribunal', *Richmond and Twickenham Times* (2 August, 1958). See also 'Superlative Duty of Richmond: Is to Preserve the View from Richmond Hill', *Twickenham Herald* (1 August, 1958)
[289] 'Historic Hill View has to be Preserved', *Richmond and Twickenham Times* (23 August, 1958)
[290] See Appendix. 'Petition', (Richmond Society, 1964)
[291] Ibid.
[292] 'Poets and Artists have Loved this View', *Twickenham Herald* (10 April, 1964)
[293] For example, in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Coventry and others, where a modernist approach was promoted.

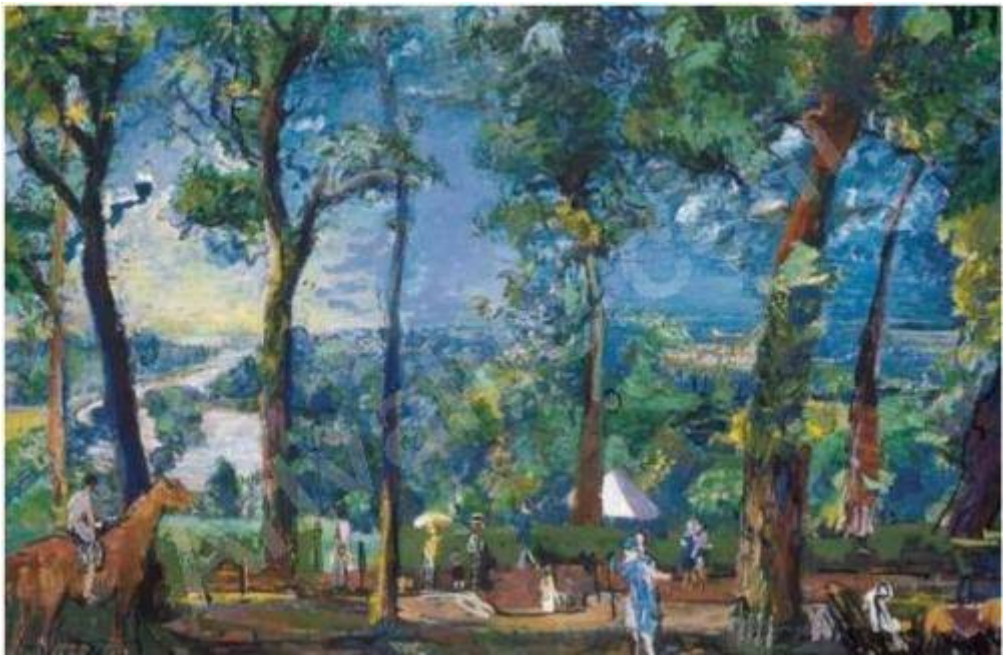


Fig. 3.140 Austrian artist Oskar Kokoschka's *Richmond Terrace* (1962) presents an idyllic view, seemingly unaffected by the intense development pressures of the 1960s, though contemporary newspapers show this assumption to be false. In fact, an active and strong preservation movement took steps to preserve the view throughout the post-war years. Image from www.artvalue.com [Accessed 09/12/11].

> have retained individuality. […] Unyielding barriers such as permanent open spaces and rivers have defended their integrity."[294]

Of the few remaining old centres, Abercrombie references only one as an example of an intact and characterful centre, stating:

> "Richmond, which lies between the Thames and Richmond Great Park in one direction and between Kew Gardens and Petersham Common in the other, is an example of a well-defined community in the Suburban Ring which has stood firm."[295]

No doubt Abercrombie was well aware that it was policies such as the *Richmond, Petersham and Ham Open Spaces Act* which had preserved the common lands and served to protect Richmond's well-defined rural character and views.

Further evidence of growing post-war interest in Richmond's historic visual character can be found in the publishing of a number of historic guides, including Janet Dunbar's significantly entitled *A Prospect of Richmond* (1966). Intriguingly, Dunbar connects contemporary negative attitudes towards Richmond's development with a historical lineage of anti-change sentiment. She writes:

> "From the sixteenth century onward, inhabitants of the town cried Woe and behold! When familiar buildings came down to make way for a newer look: from the eighteenth century onward, householders held Indignation Meetings when there was a danger of the Rates Going Up. Patterns of thought and behaviours repeat themselves in fascinating variation. Disapproving Richmond fingers pointed at the dissolute nobles of the 1500s, the outlandish Carolean fashions of the 1600s, the uninhibited raffishness of the 1700s, the Sabbath-breakers of the 1800s – just as they point to the gaudy goings-on of our own day."[296]

Dunbar's reference to a "pattern of thought" legitimises the message of anti-development campaigners as the unbroken historical tradition of "disapproving Richmond fingers"; loyal townsfolk campaigning to protect their town from the "outlandish" actions of external investors and developers. Dunbar's thoughts on contemporary architecture are implied via a passage on Richmond's eighteenth century homes:

> "Here is a great sweep of beautiful houses, Queen Anne and Georgian. There is much variety and complete unity: each house stands happily by its neighbour, whatever the difference in style."[297]

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[294] *The Greater London Plan* (London: H.M.S.O., 1945) pp. 182-3
[295] Ibid.
[296] Dunbar, *A Prospect of Richmond*, p. xiii
[297] Dunbar, *A Prospect of Richmond*, p. 73

In this passage, Dunbar reveals her appreciation of the picturesque qualities of Richmond's eighteenth century townscape. Dunbar's use of the words "variety and complete unity" incorporate much the same message as Gordon Cullen's roughly contemporary seminal examination of urban picturesque in *Townscape* (1961). Cullen uses the words "variety" and "harmony," which may be traced to William Gilpin's use of the same in *Three Essays on Picturesque Beauty* (1794).

Cullen's work, and particularly his emphasis on the qualities of a serial visual experience of townscapes, shares much with the picturesque movement in landscape architecture. His work no doubt played an influential role in the *Thames Landscape Strategy* (1994),[298] created as a management and development plan for the stretch of the Thames between Hampton and Kew, which re-envisaged the river, the old settlements and suburban developments as a single coherent picturesque landscape. The importance placed upon the history of art, architecture and landscape particularly, is demonstrated by the involvement of English Heritage, the Royal Fine Art Commission and the Garden History Society in drawing up the document, and by a remarkable image in which the authors map the contributions of architects, artists and designers to the region.[299] Much of the strategy is indebted to the work of landscape architect Kim Wilkie, whose 1991 exhibition *Thames Connections*[300] proposed a river landscape "connected by an elaborate network of avenues and vistas."[301]

As such, the *Thames Landscape Strategy* imagined all the landscaped gardens of the Thames, regardless of their respective ages, stylistic and conceptual differences, as a single landscape experienced through a series of picturesque vistas. One could argue that the strategy succeeds in creating a landscape unity approaching that described by romantic eighteenth century poets and artists, despite the fact that the reality of innumerable small, private estates and restricted access has always been very much more complicated. Thus, the *Thames Landscape Strategy* sought to fulfil in planning policy the poetic image of the Thames landscape, repeatedly promoted through the centuries as "a symbol of idealised English scenery, still inspiring artists, musicians and writers,"[302] rather than to 'restore' it to any particular historical condition.

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[298] K. Wilkie, M. Battaggia, M. Batey, D. Lambert, H. Buttery, J. Pearce, D. Goode, D. Bentley, *The Thames Landscape Strategy* (Thames Landscape Steering Group, June 1994)
[299] Ibid., p. 17
[300] Wilkie, Battaggia, Batey, Lambert, Buttery, Pearce, Goode, Bentley, *The Thames Landscape Strategy,* p. 5
[301] Ibid., p. 6
[302] Wilkie, Battaggia, Batey, Lambert, Buttery, Pearce, Goode, Bentley, *The Thames Landscape Strategy,* p.5

Among many examples of this, the strategy suggests that a view be 'restored' between a seventeenth century avenue in Bushy Park and Garrick's eighteenth century Shakespeare Temple at Hampton, although the two were never conceived as a single composition.[303] Along with opening new and historic vistas between landmarks, the strategy sought to increase accessibility and physical connections; to create a series of walks connecting landmarks, vistas and viewpoints in picturesque sequence, not unlike the aims of Pope at Twickenham, or Walpole at Strawberry Hill. Therefore, one could argue that the *Thames Landscape Strategy* builds upon a long history – to quote Dunbar, a "pattern of thought" – in an attempt to fulfil the picturesque values since ascribed to that history. A set of values which have, since the eighteenth century, recycled and reinforced a particular way of viewing the Richmond landscape: through a web of poetic writings and artistic images in order to fix their depictions as a design guide for the future development of the Thames.

Depictions of the Thames at Richmond, although imagined and romanticised, together produce a new reality, which has come to be perceived, somehow, as more 'authentic' than real reality. That romantic, authentic idea seems to demand its own preservation as a historical and cultural object, as well as its repeated reproduction in images, poetry, and even architecture and landscape. In fact, the protection of the Richmond Hill view by Act of Parliament in 1902 preceded the 1913 Ancient Monuments Consolidation and Amendment Act, understood to be have been critical to the creation of the heritage industry and national bodies such as English Heritage. As such, one may view Richmond not only as an inevitable origin of the idea of the protected view, but also as a key progenitor of the very idea of conservation.

Concluding Remarks

This chapter has examined the Richmond Hill vista in detail, placing it within the wider context of national architectural and artistic discourse. This examination has revealed the important role that the Richmond landscape played in the development of an 'English' landscape movement, and the definition of 'Englishness' more generally. Richmond was therefore not only a locally admired landscape but came to symbolise Britain, its people and politics more generally. From the eighteenth through to the twentieth century Richmond was conflated with a classical Arcadia, viewed as a near perfect blend of urban and rural life and became a model for prototype suburban communities. This chapter has presented the evidence that it was here, in Richmond,

[303] Ibid., p. 72

that the English picturesque movement in art, architecture and landscape developed. The important influence that the view from Richmond Hill had over the early development of this movement was recognised by the 1902 Act of Parliament which designated this particular view as Britain's first statutorily protected vista.

The aim of tracing this intellectual and cultural history of the landscape was to recover the values inherent in London's original protected vista, which itself informs subsequent protected view policy worldwide. The values inherent in the Richmond Hill vista traced in this chapter include a sense of nostalgia for some imagined past, from Caesar's army to Saxon Kings and Tudor courts; the visual conventions of the picturesque, the development of which was facilitated by a concentration of wealthy London patrons who established country estates here and by the nature of those estates which were primarily for pleasure and retreat rather than agricultural profit; a developed theoretical understanding of the gaze, facilitated by contemporary scientific and philosophical inquiry in the fields of vision and aesthetics; and a growing sense that an authentic way of life could be found in a return to an imagined rural past; all of which gave rise to a number of tropes that would later characterise a peculiarly 'English' landscape movement, as well as the development of a national conservation movement. The very fact that these values underlie London's original protected vista suggests that they continue to be of relevance to an understanding of London's contemporary protected vistas, themselves subsequently informing protected view policy worldwide.

The following chapter continues the intellectual and cultural history of this particular vista by following its export to the American colonies during the eighteenth-century. In doing so, Chapter Four will demonstrate that the narratives and values attached to the landscape vista continue to develop and shift in response to different geographical, cultural and political contexts. As we shall see, these values are at times remarkably consistent, at others divergent, highlighting that the subjectivity of the individual plays an important part in the production of varied interpretations of landscapes and townscapes. Ultimately, policies designed to protect or enhance such vistas are themselves influenced by the values attached to them, serving to reinforce particular dominant interpretations.



4.0 TRANSLATING THE VIEW: Richmond, Virginia

4.1 The Appeal of 'Richmond': Richmonds Worldwide

The repeated depiction of the view from Richmond Hill in early travel guides, mass distributed prints, and later in posters and photographic postcards, have made it a well-known and much-admired image both in Britain and internationally, frequently connected to themes of national and cultural identity. An eighteenth century viewer of an image of Richmond Hill might have associated it nostalgically with the palaces of royalty, the home of celebrated poets and the subject of artists, architects and landscape designers; they might also have seen it as a landscape symbolic of the British Empire's power, epicentre of the King's very own measurement of time, and home to his state-of-the-art scientific Royal Observatory. Evidence of widespread popular exposure to the view from Richmond Hill, whether via pictorial or literary sources, is suggested by an examination of worldwide settlements, all of which came to be named after the 'original' town of Richmond-upon-Thames. This chapter will argue that the view became not only ubiquitous and pervasive in the eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries, but that the values encoded within the picturesque image were capable of translation from one landscape to another, from the 'original' to the 'simulacra.'[1]

In fact, the town of Richmond-upon-Thames is no 'original,' having taken its name from the palace of Henry VII, which in turn was a reference to Henry's Earldom of Richmond, North Yorkshire, the dramatic skyline of Henry's palace, bristling with turrets and chivalric devices as observed in the drawings of van Wyngaerde, a romantic re-visioning of the Norman castle of Richmond, North Yorkshire (fig. 4.1).

If the naming of Richmond-upon-Thames was itself a romantic reference to another place and time, what of Richmond, North Yorkshire? Is it 'original'? In fact, as one traces the origins of the name 'Richmond,' it appears ever more elusive – local historians have suggested that Richmond, North Yorkshire, takes its name from the Norman 'Comtes (translated as 'Earls') de Richemont,' a town located in Normandy, France, and an honour held by the Dukes of Brittany from the twelfth to fourteenth centuries.[2]

In the same way that the authentic 'Richmond' slips away as it is traced backwards, it also becomes more complex as it is traced forwards, as travellers and colonial settlers all over the world transferred romanticised images of Richmond-upon-Thames to new locations and new landscapes. Perhaps the earliest example is not a

[1] To use Jean Baudrillard's terminology. See J. Baudrillard, *Simulacra and Simulation* (University of Michigan Press, 1994)
[2] http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/502797/Richmond [Accessed 10/12/12].

settlement as such, but a palace built for George III's sister, Princess Augusta, which she named 'Richmond Palace' near Brunswick, Germany in 1768,[3] its landscaped gardens "laid out in the English Tast [sic]",[4] to evoke King George III's gardens at Richmond-upon-Thames recently re-landscaped by 'Capability' Brown (fig. 4.2). As Princess Caroline's sketch illustrates, the combination of Fleischer's Palladian villa and Brown's serpentine landscape re-created a portion of the Thames landscape at Richmond, Brunswick. Its hill, rising above a broad bend in the river, flanked by meadows, grazing cattle and backed by distant views, all conform to the imagery of the Thames at Richmond. Watkin comments that "The grounds of Richmond [Brunswick] were […] the first English garden of their kind in Germany",[5] and it seems that the image of Richmond-upon-Thames was central to the spread of the English Picturesque throughout Europe in the late-eighteenth century.

That the imagery of Richmond, particularly the compositional qualities of the view from Richmond Hill, had become a revered and instantly recognisable landscape model is demonstrated by the frequency of references to it in the journals of travellers. Settlers arriving in the 'New Worlds' of the American colonies, Southern Africa and Australasia perceived these new landscapes through their nostalgic imagination of the old. Even the slightest similarity in physical features between new landscapes and the pervasive image of Richmond could recall references in the mind's eye of the observer. As C. Allan Brown has written, "the mind may impose imagery on the land, at times endowing a landscape with attributes that bear little relation to its physical character."[6] According to Brown, many eighteenth century travellers would refer to popular viewpoints, familiar from literary descriptions or mass-produced prints, in reference to new landscapes, thus providing the learned reader with a general impression of the scene.

The prominent position that Richmond-upon-Thames held in the minds of early settlers is indicated by a 2008 newspaper article entitled 'All Roads Lead to Richmond' in which it was reported that 'Richmond' came top in a league table of popular worldwide place-names as compiled by *The Times Universal Atlas Of The World* (fig. 4.3).[7] According to the atlas, Richmond has given its name to 55 towns and cities across three continents, pushing the cities of London and Manchester into second and fourth

[3] Watkin, *The Architect King,* p. 190
[4] Ibid.
[5] Ibid.
[6] C.A. Brown, 'Eighteenth-Century Virginia Plantation Gardens: Translating an Ancient Idyll', in *Regional Garden Design in the United States*, ed. T. O'Malley, M. Treib (Dumbarton Oaks, 1995) p.125
[7] 'All Roads Lead to Richmond', *Daily Mail* (29 December, 2008)



Fig. 4.1 J.M.W. Turner painted *Richmond Yorkshire* in 1817, eight years after his first depiction of Richmond-upon-Thames, and just a year before his *England: Richmond Hill, on the Prince Regent's Birthday.* Coincidentally, Turner's chosen position east of the town, as opposed to the more common western viewpoint favoured by artists, renders the composition similar to the view from Richmond Hill, Richmond upon Thames; i.e. the river bend appears to the left and trees frame the view towards the town off to the right. Image courtesy of the Google Art Project.

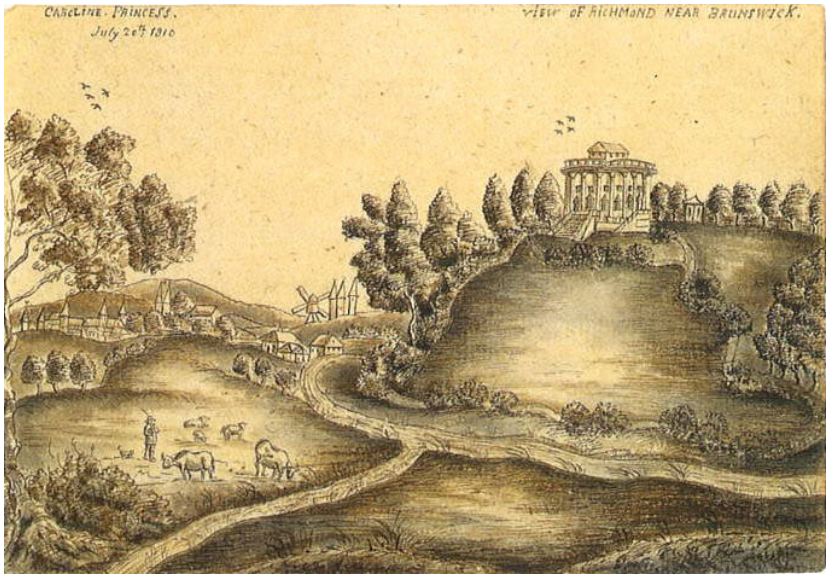


Fig. 4.2 Caroline, Princess of Wales's *View of Richmond, near Brunswick* (1810). The image demonstrates the topographical similarity of the palace, sited on a hill overlooking a broad river, with the setting of the royal palace at Richmond-upon-Thames. Lancelot 'Capability' Brown was also involved in the landscaping of both palace gardens. Image from D. Watkin, *The Architect King: George III and the Culture of the Enlightenment* (Royal Collection Publications, 2004) p. 190

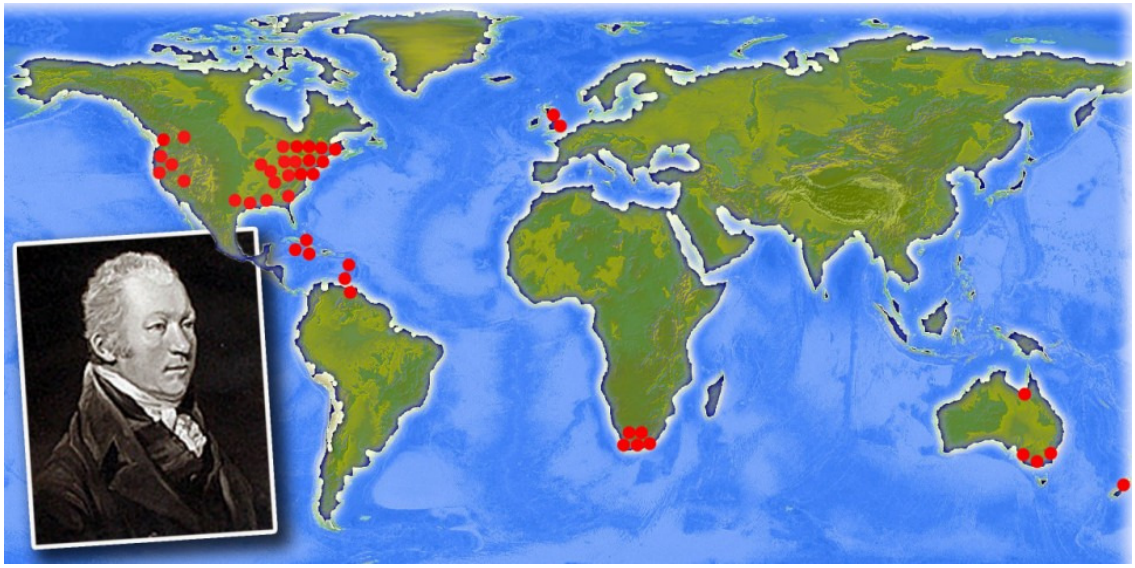


Fig. 4.3 Image from the 2008 *Daily Mail* article entitled "All Roads Lead to Richmond," showing the locations of 'Richmonds' worldwide. Inset is a portrait of the Duke of Richmond, after whom many of these towns are named. Image from www.dailymail.co.uk [Accessed 10/12/12].

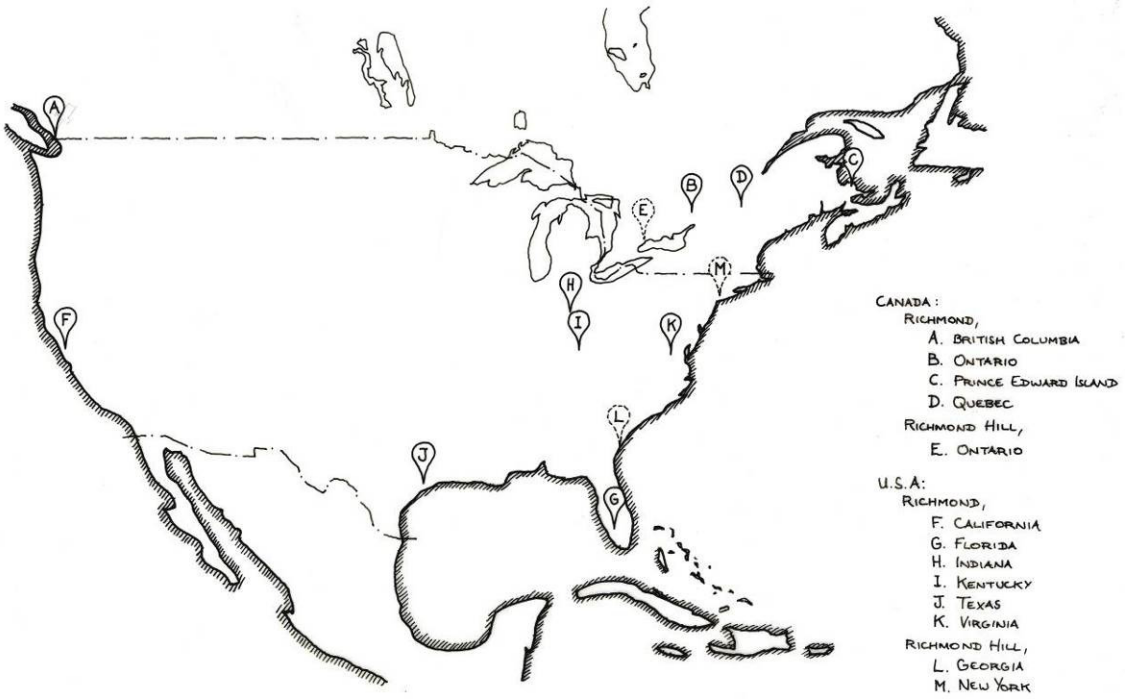


Fig. 4.4 The 'Richmond's (solid outline) and 'Richmond Hill's (dashed outline) of North America. Image by author.

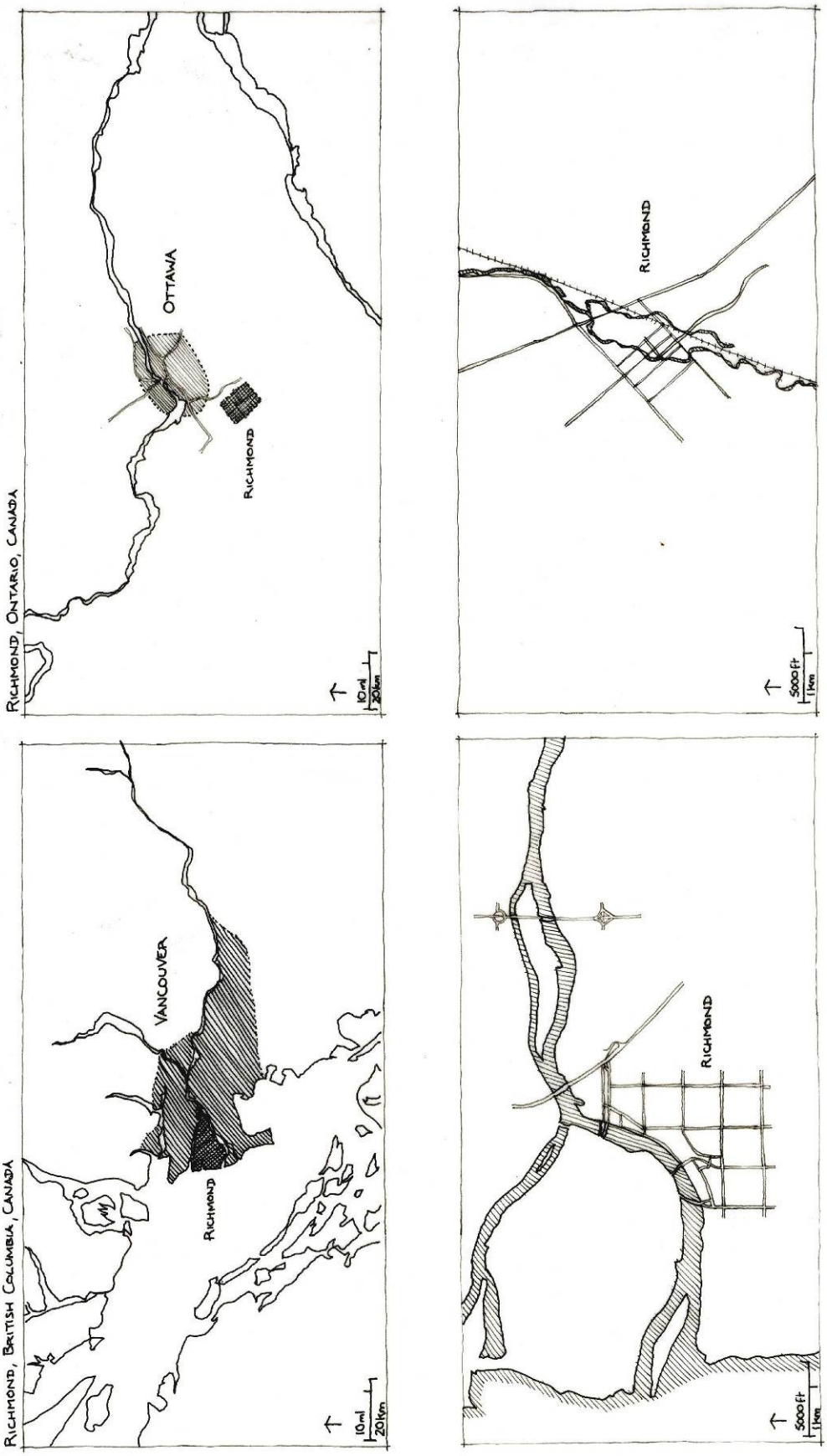


Fig. 4.5 Comparative drawings of North American Richmonds: British Columbia and Ontario. Images by author.

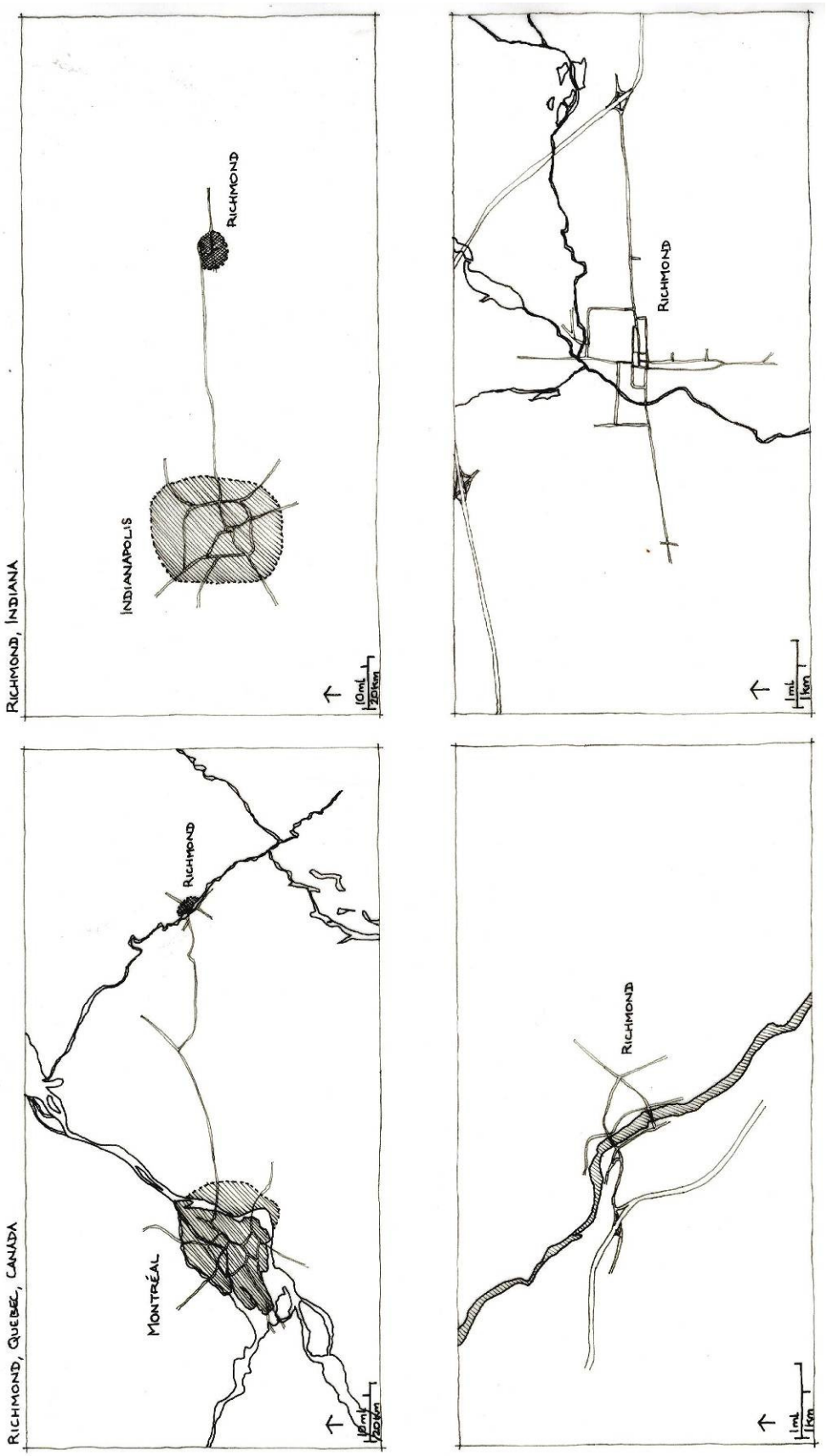


Fig. 4.6 Comparative drawings of North American Richmonds: Quebec and Indiana. Images by author.

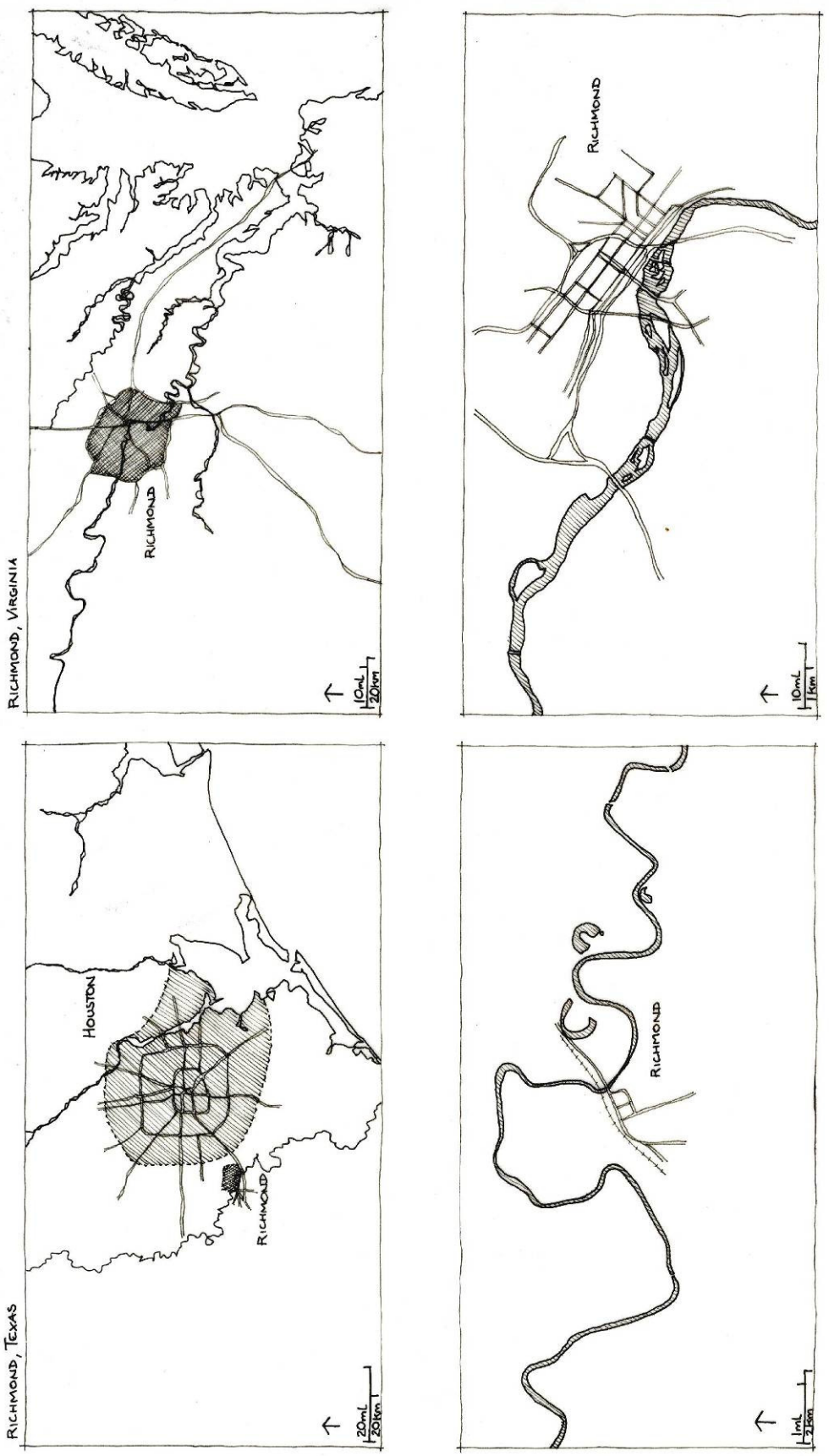


Fig. 4.7 Comparative drawings of North American Richmonds: Texas and Virginia. Images by author.

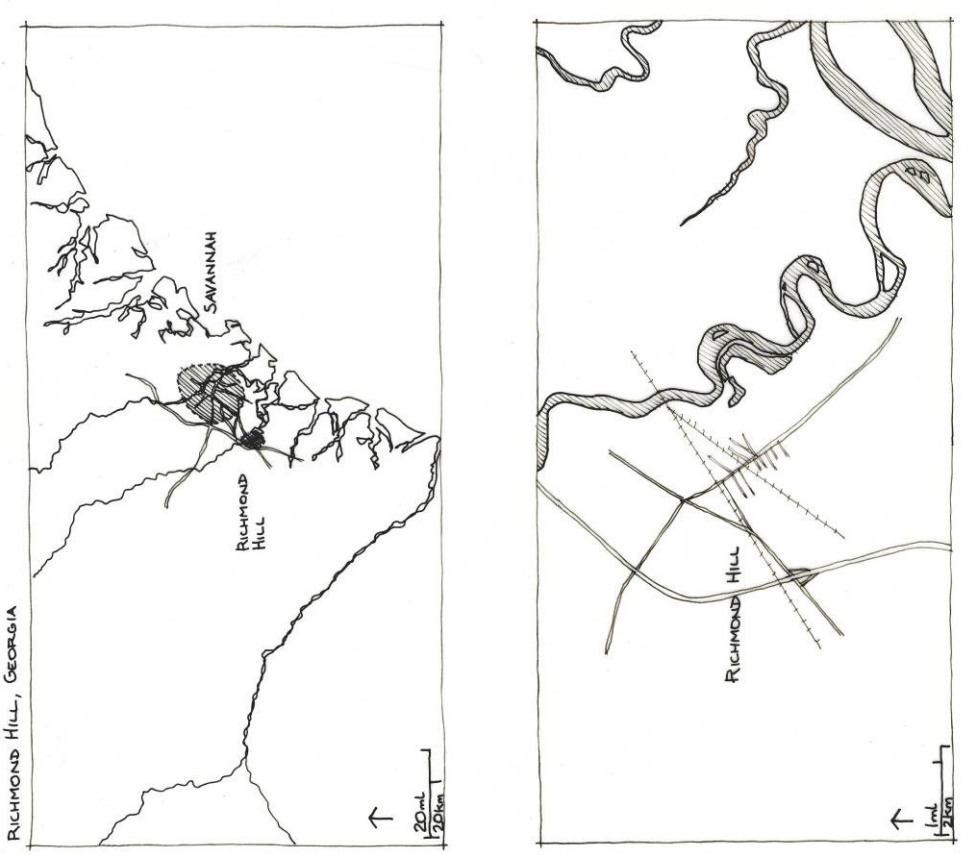


Fig. 4.8 Comparative drawings of North American Richmonds: Georgia. Image by author.



Fig. 4.9 Richmond, Tasmania is a particularly striking example of a 'Richmond' clearly named for the similarities of its topographical setting, on the bend of a broad river. Richmond, Tasmania is now marketed to tourists as a picturesque eighteenth century pastoral village, in much the same way as Richmond-upon-Thames sees itself. Image from www.discovertasmania.com [Accessed 10/12/12].

places respectively. This remains a vivid illustration of how powerful the image of the view from Richmond Hill must have been at the time of European colonisation. For example, in his *Travel Journal* of 1732, William Hugh Grove refers to aspects of Richmond in many parts of America, perceiving Yorktown, Virginia, as "like Black heath or Richmond Hill and Like that Overlooks a fine river Broader than the Thames."[8] Grove also described the Mattaponi River, Virginia, as "thick seated with gentry on its Banks […] Most of These have pleasant Gardens and the Prospect of the River render them […] equall [sic] to the Thames from London to Richmond."[9]

A topographical analysis of thirty North-American Richmonds reveals a number of surprising similarities, often sited on the summit of a hill overlooking the bend of a river or major body of water (figs. 4.4-4.8). The geographical distribution of sites is also illuminating, almost exclusively situated in fertile, lowland regions of rolling hills. Despite the proliferation of gold-rush towns which sprang up in the high Rocky Mountains and deserts of the mid-West, there is just a single mid-Western Richmond and this too, is situated in the fertile rolling hills of northern Utah's Cache River Valley.[10] While it is no surprise that settlements have flourished in these rich agricultural areas, it seems clear that early settlers drew comparisons between the topography of these American landscapes and popular contemporary depictions of Richmond-upon-Thames, naming their 'discoveries' accordingly. Similarities may also be observed among the topographies of Richmonds in South Africa, the Caribbean, Australia and New Zealand. A particularly striking example is the village of Richmond, Tasmania, popularly believed to have been named for the similarity of its river views, which survey Australia's oldest stone bridge and a gothic church in some curiously 'English' landscape compositions (fig. 4.9).

If topographical similarities played a part in the naming of new landscapes after those familiar from the old world, nostalgia, or a sense of longing for the motherland was certainly also a factor. As David Lowenthal has explained, "Nostalgic evocations long antedate our time. Virgil immortalised the heroic and the pastoral past; Petrarch sought refuge in antiquity from his own "wretched" and "worthless" age; bitter-sweet regret for an Arcadian past suffused sixteenth and seventeenth century poetry and the canvases of Claude and Poussin."[11] As we have seen, the landscape of Richmond-upon-

[8] G. A. Stiverson and P.H. Butler III, eds., 'Virginia in 1732: The Travel Journal of William Hugh Grove', *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 85 (January 1977), pp. 18-44
[9] Ibid.
[10] See Appendix 'World Richmonds'
[11] Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country,* p. 8

Thames was itself permeated with nostalgic sentiment; the villas of Pope and Burlington were evocations of the classical model while their gardens called to mind Claude Lorrain's paintings and Virgil's texts.

While American author Henry James argued, in *Hawthorne* (1879), that "History, as yet, has left in the United States so thin and impalpable a deposit that we very soon touch the hard substratum of nature,"[12] in reality, the American continent already possessed a long and illustrious native history. Nevertheless, as James' comments suggest, settlers of the 'New World' seemed reluctant to engage with native histories and cultures, supplanting them with romantic and nostalgic narratives of their own. The importation of place-names, and their associated histories, some – like Richmond – already deeply nostalgic in their own right, justified and legitimised the colonisation and Europeanisation of the Americas, rendering it seemingly inevitable, peaceful and just. Such imported histories became important in the construction of hierarchies of power within the New World, where any settler could "trace back their ancestry, institutions, culture [and] ideals to validate claims to power, prestige, and property."[13]

Given the power of nostalgic recollections of Britain, and the number of settlers originating from the capital, one might be surprised to find that the place-name of 'London' was exported far less than that of its small, rural neighbour, 'Richmond.' A possible reason is given in the accounts of the American military doctor Theodore Calhoun who claimed of nostalgia sufferers: "The soldier from the city cares not where he is or where he eats, while his country cousin pines for the old homestead and his father's groaning board."[14] Similarly, philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche has argued that modern man is a "deprived creature wracked with homesickness for the wild".[15] Nostalgia then, even when it was understood as a physical rather than psychological condition, has always been linked to rural imagery; the urban soldier does not pine for his city but for some semi-fictitious rural homeland. Calhoun even conceived of nostalgia as a shameful disease that "revealed a lack of manliness and un-progressive

[12] H. James, *Hawthorne* (1879) pp. 12-13
[13] Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country,* p. 53 While in this study I have focused on nostalgia within the Anglo-American context, as Lowenthal reminds us, it should not be forgotten that "equivalent yearning for lost pasts can be traced from Goethe and the Grimm brothers in Germany, from Victor Hugo and Viollet-le-Duc in France, and from much of the rest of Europe." For example, the German immigrants of Pennsylvania, Vermont and elsewhere, had equally strong nostalgic recollections for their German homeland, influencing much of their culture, from architecture to agriculture and literature. Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country,* p. 10
[14] S. Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia* (New York: Basic Books, 2001) p. 6
[15] Ibid., p. 26

attitudes."[16] This was the typical attitude in the urban north-eastern states of nineteenth-century America, where nostalgia was linked to idleness and inefficiency, of which pre-industrial rural communities (and the Southern states in general) were frequently accused. One could argue that to rural settlers, Richmond's familiar mass-produced image of Arcadia offered a utopian vision of a timeless 'old England' in opposition to the chaos and flux of the urban London many had escaped.

4.2 Translating the Richmond Landscape: The Founding of Richmond, Virginia

Not only was Richmond-upon-Thames, and specifically the view from Richmond Hill, repeatedly reproduced in paintings, poetry, postcards and literature, but it was physically reproduced by nostalgic colonials in the so-called 'New World'. This chapter takes another parallel path through the intellectual landscape of Richmond between seventeenth century ideas of reproducing classical Arcadia and the twenty-first century protected view. This path branches chronologically from the one followed in the previous chapter in the opening years of the eighteenth century. It tracks the export of Richmond's values to America, specifically to Richmond, Virginia. This trail charts another process of the nostalgic reproduction of picturesque images, another set of claims to authenticity, which are different to – but have striking parallels with – the process shaped by, and shaping, Richmond-upon-Thames. It leads towards ideas of the protected view whose intellectual origins are identical but whose flavour is subtly, importantly and interestingly different from the policies implemented in London.

While the precise circumstances surrounding the origins of most American Richmonds remains obscure,[17] there is one well documented city which can be directly attributed to the influence of the landscape view. Founded on the James River in 1733, the city of Richmond, Virginia, prospered as a centre of the tobacco and cotton trades, servicing extensive plantations on the tidal inlets of Chesapeake Bay.[18] These plantations fostered "the development of an affluent rural society grown up from the rich alluvium of the coastal plain and dispersed along the navigable waterways leading

[16] Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia*, p. 6
[17] Many are reputedly named after Charles Lennox, Duke of Richmond and Governor General of British North America (e.g. Richmond, MA; Richmond, NH; Richmond, ON and Richmond, QC). Others trace the name to Richmond, Virginia, one time capital of the Confederate States (e.g. Richmond, KY; Richmond, MO; Richmond, OH and Richmond, OR).
[18] This region, commonly referred to as 'Tidewater' Virginia, extends through much of Maryland, Virginia, the Carolinas and Georgia.

to the sea."[19] Each plantation was like a colony in miniature, governed from the great houses at their centre, whose stately lawns leading down to tidal waterways doubled as makeshift ports for the exportation of tobacco, rice and indigo and the importation of fine English furniture and the ubiquitous Tea.

The landowner and founding father of Richmond, Virginia, was William Byrd II, a British educated plantation owner, whose estate at Westover Hall, still standing, commands a fine view of the James River south of the city (fig. 4.10). Though born in Virginia, Byrd II had spent much of his youth in England, picking up a circle of influential friends including Sir Robert Southwell, President of the Royal Society. After inheriting his father's 26,000 acre Virginian estate in 1704, Byrd returned twice to England for long periods (first in 1714-19, second in 1721-26), conducting business as President of the Colonial Council and visiting acquaintances in estates up and down the country. Allan Brown argues that it was during these visits that Byrd must have become familiar with the Thames landscape around Richmond.[20] Although no explicit reference of Byrd visiting Richmond survives, he certainly visited the Earl of Orkney, then governor of Virginia, at his Thames-side home of Cliveden, Buckinghamshire.[21] Byrd was also a correspondent of Archibald Campbell, 3rd Duke of Argyll, Henrietta Howard's agent during the construction of Marble Hill House and a patron of two classical villas himself, the first at Sudbrook House, Petersham (1726-28),[22] the second at Whitton Park, Twickenham (c.1730).[23] It is plausible to suggest that it was in Twickenham that Byrd reputedly met with Mrs. Howard and Alexander Pope in 1719.[24] Indeed, it was at this time that Richmond and Twickenham were emerging as fashionable retreats from the bustle of the city and its affairs. It could be suggested that Byrd, well aware of the potency of this fashionable association, hoped it might encourage the marketability and prosperity of Richmond's Virginian namesake.

Byrd himself makes no mention of the connection between the two Richmonds, stating simply that the "two places being the uppermost landing of [the] James and Appomattox Rivers, are naturally intended for marts, where the traffic of the outer

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[19] Brown, 'Eighteenth-Century Virginia Plantation Gardens: Translating an Ancient Idyll', *Regional Garden Design in the United States*, p.126
[20] Brown, 'Eighteenth-Century Virginia Plantation Gardens: Translating an Ancient Idyll', *Regional Garden Design in the United States*, p.129
[21] Ibid.
[22] Designed by James Gibbs and illustrated in Gibbs's *Book of Architecture*, 1728.
[23] Attributed to Roger Morris, architect (after Colen Campbell) of Marble Hill House. James Gibbs was also involved in the design of Whitton Park's many garden structures.
[24] Brown, 'Eighteenth-Century Virginia Plantation Gardens: Translating an Ancient Idyll', *Regional Garden Design in the United States*, pp.133-4

inhabitants must centre."[25] Byrd's silence on the subject of the name may suggest that at this time it was still largely a personal reference, obvious only to those with first hand experience of Richmond-upon-Thames, as had Byrd, or those educated and wealthy enough to be familiar with Thomson's *The Seasons*, published in 1727. Whilst commerce was clearly an important consideration, there is evidence that Byrd also favoured the view and its 'classic' associations. The 1737 plan of Richmond, commissioned by Byrd, shows a series of large plots positioned on hills overlooking the river, clearly intended for suburban villa estates as suggested by the English names given to them, such as Hampstead, Kingston and Guildford (fig. 4.11). These estates were probably intended to follow the model of Byrd's son, William Byrd III's classical villa on Gamble Hill, to which he gave the Italianate name *Belvidere*; literally *Beautiful View*.[26] A watercolour depicting the Belvedere estate by British architect Benjamin Henry Latrobe (c.1798), demonstrates its commanding prospect over the river landscape (fig. 4.12). Reverend Andrew Burnaby wrote of a visit in 1759:

> "The honourable colonel Byrd has a small place called Belvedere, upon a hill at the lower end of the falls, as romantic and elegant as anything I have ever seen. It is situated very high, and commands a fine prospect of the river, which is half a mile broad, forming cataracts […]; there are several little islands scattered careless[ly] about, very rocky, and covered with trees; and two or three villages in view at small distance. Over all these you discover a prodigious extent of wilderness, and the river winding majestically along through the midst of it."[27]

Whether or not Byrd was recalling classical associations or the Thames landscape consciously, he was certainly knowledgeable enough to discuss classics as well as the latest fashions in art and architecture. A catalogue of Byrd's library at Westover Hall, Virginia[28] contains entries such as Palladio's *Quattro Libri* and Stephen Switzer's *Iconographia Rustica* (1718).[29] Thus, Byrd would seem to have been familiar not only with Palladio's villas of the Brenta, but with fashionable trends in Anglo-Palladianism and naturalistic gardening pioneered by Pope and Burlington. Byrd also had first-hand experience of picturesque landscape design. During his first visit to

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[25] T.T. Potterfield, 'The View from Richmond Hill and the Naming of Richmond' (City of Richmond: Department of Community Development, Historic Preservation Division, 2007) p.1

[26] Showing the relationship of the classical house and landscaped grounds to the extensive view over the bend of the James River (to the left of the image).

[27] A. W. Weddell, *Richmond Virginia in Old Prints* (Johnson Publishing Company, 1932) p. 117

[28] Approximately thirty miles south-east of Richmond, Virginia.

[29] T.T. Waterman has demonstrated that Westover's design derives from William Salmon's *Palladio Londinensis*; *or the London Art of Building* (1734).
'A Catalogue of the Books in the Library at Westover Belonging to William Byrd, Esqr.', in J.S. Bassett, ed., *The Writings of Colonel William Byrd of Westover in Virginia, Esqr.* (New York: 1901) pp. 413-43



Fig. 4.10 William Byrd II's estate at Westover on the James River (built c. 1730), about twenty miles south-east of Richmond, Virginia. Image by author.

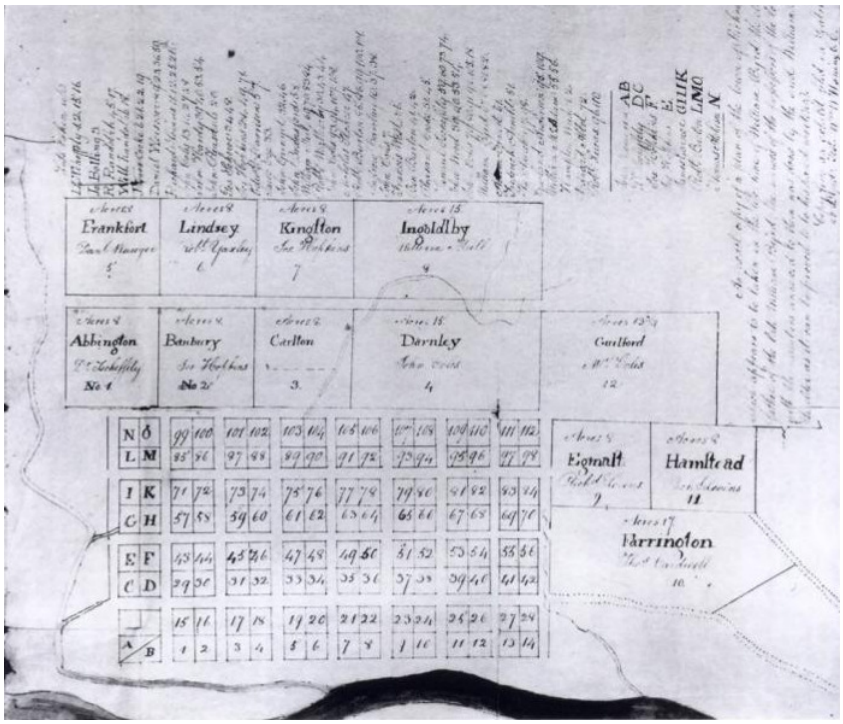


Fig. 4.11 William Mayo's 1737 plan of Richmond, Virginia, commissioned by William Byrd II. The large suburban plots north of the town are given distinctly English names, such as 'Hampstead,' 'Kingston,' and 'Guilford.' M. Tyler-McGraw, *At the Falls: Richmond, Virginia and its People* (UNC Press Books, 1994) p. 46



Fig. 4.12 Watercolour sketch, by English architect Benjamin Henry Latrobe, of William Byrd III's *Belvidere,* named for its impressive views over the James River (left). Image from M. Tyler-McGraw, *At the Falls: Richmond, Virginia and its People* (UNC Press Books, 1994) p. 47

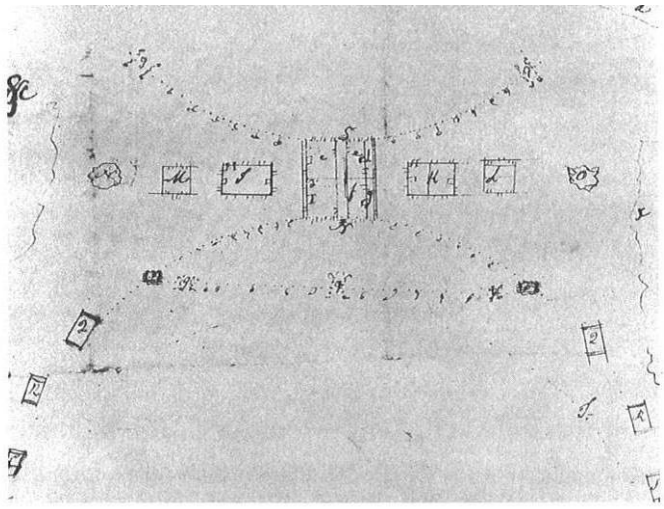




Fig. 4.13 Plan of Westover plantation by Thomas Lee Shippen, 1783, and an anonymous view from the James River, 1811. The images show how elliptical 'wings' of trees framed the house in views from the river. Compare to Augustin Heckell's engraving of Marble Hill from the Thames. Images from T. O'Malley, M. Treib, *Regional Garden Design in the United States* (Dumbarton Oaks, 1995) p. 136-7

England, Byrd accompanied Sir John Percival on a tour through England and Scotland in the manner of Gilpin, visiting a number of influential landscape gardens along the way.[30] Allen Brown has demonstrated that Byrd transferred these first-hand experiences of English landscapes to the gardens at Westover, which were admired as "the finest in that Country" for "the magnificence of the buildings, the beauty of its situation, and the pleasures of the society to be found there."[31] Among the alterations Byrd made to Westover influenced by contemporary English landscapes were the construction of a 'ha-ha' and the curation of 'seats' from which to admire garden vistas.[32] A sketch plan of Westover's gardens, produced after Byrd's death in 1783, also shows the house framed by elliptical arcs of trees (fig. 4.13), an effect which may be usefully compared to Pope and Bridgeman's layout at Marble Hill, Twickenham.

Byrd's Westover estate seems to demonstrate his self-identification with the genteel villa society of Richmond-upon-Thames, supplanting the Thames with the James River "as though the James were some far Western tributary."[33] Indeed, Byrd wrote of his return to the "solid pleasures of innocence, and retirement" at Westover in 1726, an echo of Pope's advocacy for Plinian pastoral retirement.[34] As Pope's garden at Twickenham had been, Westover would be Byrd's 'Tusculum,' the scene of his retirement from London affairs and an elegant setting for the intellectual pursuits of gardening, reading and writing. Byrd wrote: "a library, a garden, a grove, and a purling stream are the innocent scenes that divert our leisure."[35] Allusions to classical retirement, and the garden villas of Pliny and Horace, abound on either side of the Atlantic; Landon Carter was described as "at Sabine Hall [near Warsaw, Virginia], retir'd from public praise"[36] whilst Stephen Switzer, in his *Ichnographia Rustica,* wrote "twas in their *Villas*, that the Antient [sic] *Greeks* and *Romans* pass'd away the happiest

[30] Including those at Cliveden, Buckinghamshire, and Blenheim Palace, Oxfordshire. M. R. Wenger, ed., *The English Travels of Sir John Percival and William Byrd II: The Percival Diary of 1701* (Columbia, Missouri, 1989)
[31] H. C. Rice, ed., *Travels in North America in the Years 1780, 1781 and 1782* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1963) p. 430
[32] L. B. Wright, M. Tinling, eds., *The Secret Diary of William Byrd of Westover, 1709-1712* (Richmond, Virginia, 1941) p. 540. Similarly, the house has details derived from English precedents, particularly from *Palladio Londinensis; Or the London Art of Building* (1734). T. T. Waterman, *The Mansions of Virginia, 1706-1776* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1945) pp. 150-153
[33] Brown, 'Eighteenth-Century Virginia Plantation Gardens: Translating an Ancient Idyll', *Regional Garden Design in the United States*, p.134
[34] Ibid.
[35] William Byrd II to Mrs. Arminger, 25 June 1729, in M. Tinling, *The Correspondence of the Three William Byrds of Westover, Virginia, 1684-1776* (Charlottesville, Virginia, 1977) 1, 413.
[36] W. M. S. Rasmussen, 'Sabine Hall, A Classical Villa in Virginia', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 39 (December 1980) pp. 286-296

Part of their Times. How does *Horace* exult in his Sabine *Villa!*"[37] As Allen Brown has pointed out, "Virginia was, in essence, only a particularly distant English province,"[38] and Byrd clearly saw his Virginian plantation as a satellite of London when he stated "where's the difference between its lying in Virginia or in Berkshire as long as I receive the Profits of it in London?"[39] Thus, Byrd transferred the affluent pastoral image of Twickenham's 'classic village' to Virginia, an early example of the construction of a mythic American landscape, a theme which has surfaced repeatedly in the perception of American landscapes.[40] Allen Brown states, "These mythical settings were 'translated' from one cultural idiom into another and, in the archaic meaning of that word, were "carried across" the ocean from one hemisphere to another."[41]

In fact, Byrd's transferral of the name 'Richmond' to Virginia was an additional mythic overlay onto a landscape which had already been mythologised from at least the early seventeenth century. The James River or 'King's River,' named after James I in 1607, already tied this particular Virginian river to the King's ceremonial river Thames, lined as it was by Royal palaces at Greenwich, The Tower, Whitehall, Richmond and Hampton Court.[42] Explorer John Smith remarked of the native Powhatan village located on the site which later became Richmond, "No place we knew so strong, so pleasant and delightful in Virginia, for which we called it Non-such,"[43] an oblique reference to the unrivalled beauty of Henry VIII's destroyed Nonesuch Palace, formerly located within a few miles of Richmond-upon-Thames. Of course, even the naming of the colony 'Virginia' is indebted to Elizabeth I, the Virgin Queen. Chronicler Samuel Mordecai demonstrates the extent to which Virginian place-names were derived from members of the British Monarchy:

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[37] S. Switzer, *Ichnographia Rustica* (1718) 3, xvi
[38] Brown, 'Eighteenth-Century Virginia Plantation Gardens: Translating an Ancient Idyll', *Regional Garden Design in the United States*, p.134
[39] William Byrd II to Sabina, 28 March 1718, Woodfin and Tinling, *Another Secret Diary*, p.337
[40] On the perception of mythic American landscapes see R. Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind* (New Haven, Connecticut, 1973); C. L. Sanford, *The Quest for Paradise: Europe and the American Moral Imagination* (Urbana, Illinois, 1961); H. N. Smith, *Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1950).
[41] Brown, 'Eighteenth-Century Virginia Plantation Gardens: Translating an Ancient Idyll', *Regional Garden Design in the United States*, p.125
[42] M. Tyler-McGraw, *At the Falls: Richmond, Virginia and its People* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994) p. 9 See also, T. T. Potterfield, *Nonesuch Place: A History of the Richmond Landscape* (Charleston, South Carolina: The History Press, 2009) p. 15
[43] Potterfield, *Nonesuch Place,* p. 7

> "[Queen] Anne seems to have been a great favourite, for we have Princess Ann, Urbanna, Rivanna, Fluvanna, North Anna, South Anna, Rapid Ann – resigning to Maryland Queen Ann and Annapolis."[44]

Royal associations were not limited to place-names and the names of geological features such as rivers, bays, mountains and forests however. From the seventeenth century, the identity of American 'southerners,' and particularly the plantation gentry, were frequently compared to the "Cavaliers" of Civil War Britain. The common myth that the Southern gentry descended from England's pro-monarchy "Cavaliers," in opposition to the rebellious "Roundheads" of the Northern colonies entered circulation at this time. One contemporary observer commented that Virginia was "the only refuge left in His Majesty's Dominions […] for distressed cavaliers."[45] By the time of the American Civil War, this myth had gained such currency that one propagandist casually remarked "this cavalier or Anglo-Norman element that had presided at the founding of the original Southern colonies entered largely into the new populations; […] mingling the refinement of the courtier with the energy of the pioneer,"[46] while another wrote that the South had been settled by "persons belonging to the blood and race of the royal family […] a race distinguished in its earliest history for its warlike and fearless character, a race in all times since renowned for its gallantry, chivalry, gentleness and intellect."[47] The sense of identity the South drew from British sources is nowhere better demonstrated than in one commentator's furious remark that "the Saxonized maw-worms creeping from the [North] have [no] right to kinship with the whole-souled Norman British planters of a gallant race."[48]

Connections were not only drawn between Virginia, Britain and the monarchy but were elaborated with allusions comparing the New World with the biblical Promised Land. Allen Brown has demonstrated how a quote from the King James Bible (1611) which states "Judah and Israel dwelt safely, every man under his vine and under his fig tree", has been repeatedly referenced in correspondence to prospective English colonists, presenting the American colonies as an affluent, plentiful and godly landscape, despite the harsh realities of poverty, hostile natives and malarial swamps.[49]

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[44] S. Mordecai, *Richmond in By-Gone Days: Being Reminiscences of an Old Citizen* (Richmond, VA: George M. West, 1946) p. 249
[45] J. C. Cobb, *Away Down South: A History of Southern Identity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005) p. 22
[46] J. Quitman Moore, "Southern Civilisation; or the Norman in America," *DeBow's Review 32* (Jan-Feb 1862) p. 12
[47] Ibid., p. 14
[48] Cobb, *Away Down South,* p. 44
[49] Brown, 'Eighteenth-Century Virginia Plantation Gardens: Translating an Ancient Idyll', *Regional Garden Design in the United States*, p.125

For example, in 1616, John Rolfe portrayed Virginia as a land of "*Peace* […] every man sitting under his *figtree* in safety, gathering and reaping the fruites [sic] of their labours with much joy and comfort,"[50] while William Fitzhugh assured colonists that they might "sit safely under their own Vines and fig trees."[51] Byrd himself, in a letter to Charles Boyle, fourth Earl of Orrery, wrote that he was "like one of the patriarchs, I have my flocks and my herds, […] so that I live in a kind of independence […] we sit securely under our vines, and our fig-trees without any danger to our property […] Thus my Lord we are very happy in our Canaan."[52] The symbolism of the vine and fig leaf, which appears in an early nineteenth century oil painting held by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, not only drew out biblical associations but classical allusions of an affluent villa society (fig. 4.14). On his retirement to his plantation home at Mount Vernon, Virginia, George Washington wrote:

> "I am now enjoying domestic ease under the shadow of my own Vine and my own Fig tree; and in a small Villa, with the implements of Husbandry […] You will see the plain manner in which we live; and meet the rustic civility, and you shall taste the simplicity of rural life."[53]

Byrd made extensive use of such biblical and pastoral analogies, demonstrated by his authorship of a book entitled *A Journey to the Land of Eden Anno 1733*. In this remarkable work, Byrd describes his exploration and purchase of a tract of fertile meadow, now in North Carolina, which he promptly laid out as a utopian community to be named 'Eden' (fig. 4.15).[54]

The association of a bountiful Virginia with the biblical Garden of Eden is reflected in the eighteenth-century popularity there of the new naturalistic fashions for garden design which had emerged in the villas of Richmond-upon Thames. A 1787 site plan of the George Washington's own Mount Vernon Estate demonstrates how a formerly rectilinear layout of gardens and central driveway were re-worked by Washington into serpentine forms, revealing glimpses of the house on approach (fig. 4.16). The rear lawn sloping down to the Potomac River was also re-landscaped with groves of trees framing picturesque views of the river, as recorded in the watercolours

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[50] J. Rolfe, *A True Relation of the State of Virginia lefte by Sir Thomas Dale Knight in May Last 1616* (New Haven, Connecticut, 1951) p. 35
[51] R. B. Davis, ed., *William Fitzhugh and His Chesapeake World, 1676-1701: The Fitzhugh Letters and Other Documents* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1963) p. 203
[52] Letter to Charles Boyle, Earl of Orrery, 5 July 1726, in M. Tinling, *The Correspondence of the Three William Byrds of Westover, Virginia, 1684-1776* (Charlottesville, Virginia, 1977) 1, 355
[53] George Washington to the Marquise de Lafayette, 4 April 1784, in J. C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *The Writings of George Washington* (Washington, D.C., 1931) P. 385
[54] L. B. Wright, ed., *The Prose Works of William Byrd of Westover: Narratives of a Colonial Virginian* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1966) pp. 381-412

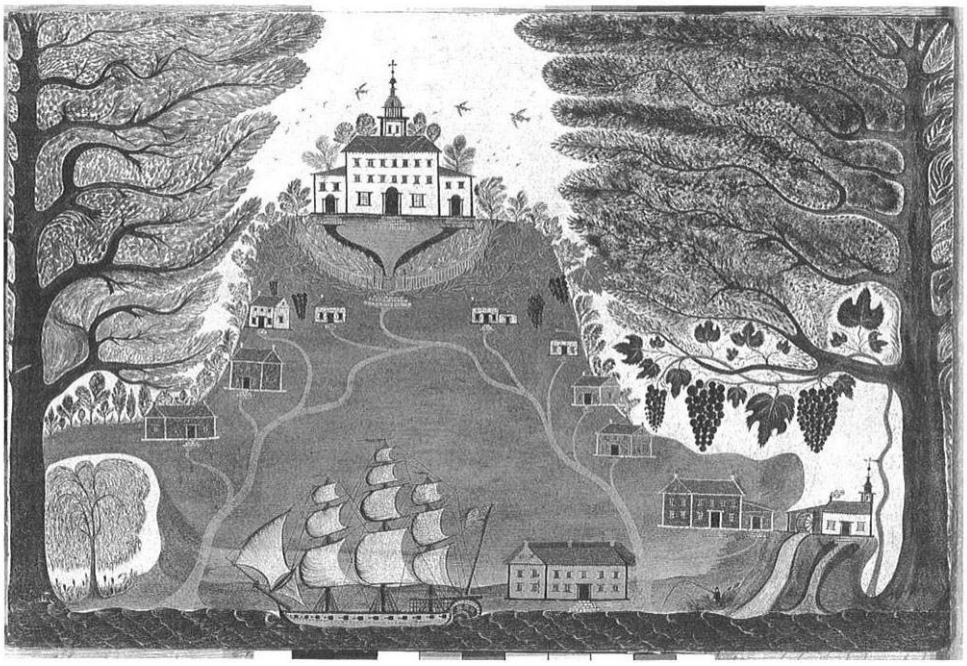


Fig. 4.14 Anonymous view of a Virginian plantation, in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, probably early nineteenth-century. Note the fig leaves and vine, a biblical reference to comfort and plenty. Image from T. O'Malley, M. Treib, *Regional Garden Design in the United States* (Dumbarton Oaks, 1995) p. 127

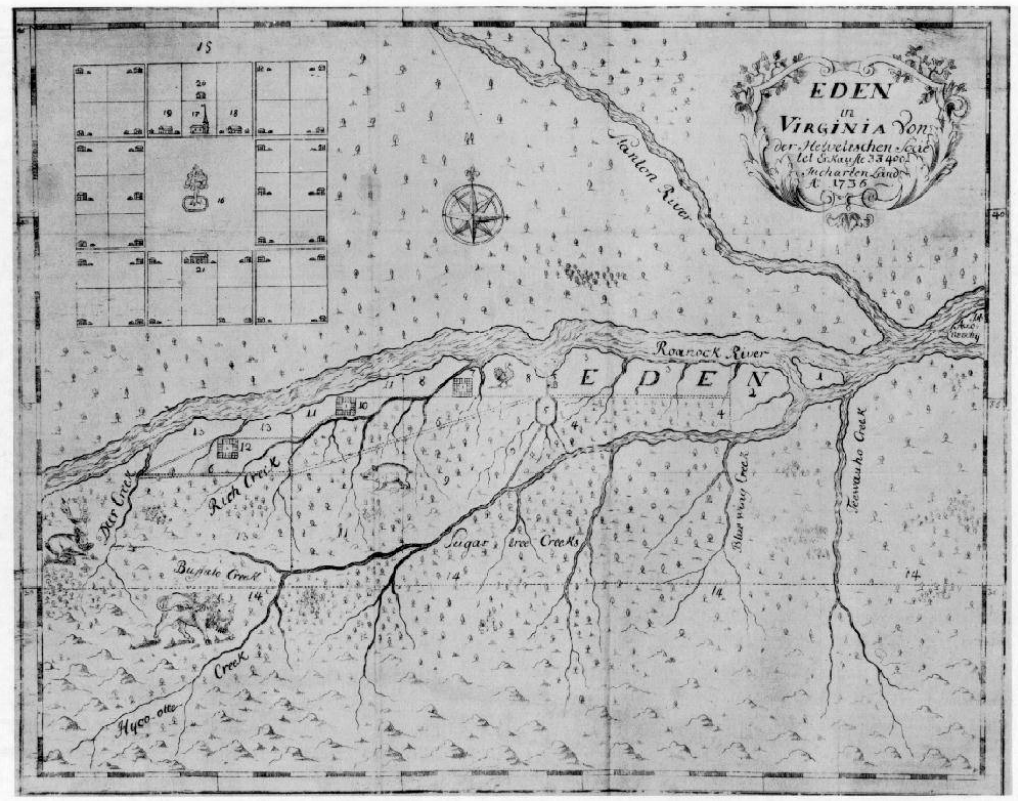


Fig. 4.15 Map of the 'Land of Eden', South Carolina, from William Byrd's *A Journey to the Land of Eden Anno 1733,* with a plan of one of the proposed utopian new towns inset to the top left.

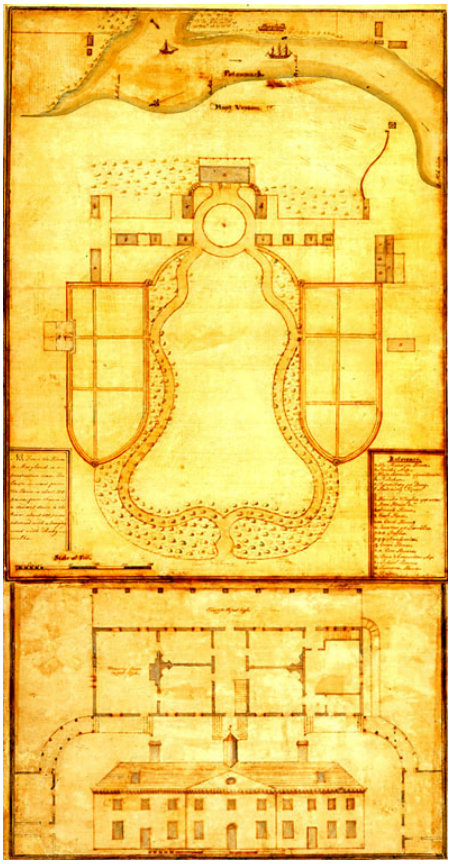


Fig. 4.16 Plan of the gardens at George Washington's Mount Vernon estate, Virginia, by Samuel Vaughan, 1787. The plans show the reworking of the approach drives in the fashionable serpentine manner, albeit at this stage still demonstrating a reluctance to break away from symmetry. Image courtesy of the Digital Archaeological Archive of Comparative Slavery.



Fig. 4.17 Watercolour view of the gardens at George Washington's Mount Vernon estate, Virginia, by British architect Benjamin Henry Latrobe (1796). The view, exhibiting classic picturesque compositional techniques, demonstrates how the gardens had been re-landscaped in the naturalistic style with undulating lawns and clumps of trees framing the majestic views of passing ships on the Potomac River. Image courtesy of the Prints and Drawings Collection, Library of Congress, Washington D.C.

of Latrobe, heightened by the addition of a portico to the house, from which to enjoy the prospect (figs. 4.17-4.19).[55] Two walled 'hippodrome'-shaped garden enclosures mirror those at Whitton Park and Marble Hill, Twickenham, themselves probably based on Robert Castell's depictions in *The Villas of the Ancients Illustrated* (1728). Washington's alterations, arguably the first attempts at naturalistic, or pictorial, garden design in the American colonies demonstrate the layering of classical associations and English fashions onto the landscape of America. The journals of traveller Baron Von Closen portray a society, and a landscape, which could easily be mistaken for a description of the riverside villas of Richmond-upon-Thames:

> "For the most part, both banks of [the James] river are embellished with plantations, one more beautiful than the other, and inhabited by the aristocracy of the country […]. Our journey along the James River seemed to us like a pleasant dream, or, to speak as a young man, like the flight of a butterfly, who goes from one flower to another."[56]

Thus "the seeds of an American ideal of affluent, independent, rural, or quasi-rural living were first sown on the Virginia plantation, and its garden became the conspicuous emblem of this cultural paradigm."[57] Byrd's further overlay of the cultural, literary and architectural associations of Richmond acted to reinforce this mythic view of the Virginia landscape, as at once a re-creation of the villa societies of the Thames, Palladio's Brenta and Pliny's campagna. Richmond, Virginia, was presented as both "Eden and Arcadia, the Promised Land and the Heperides."[58]

The translation of the Richmond Hill view onto American landscapes, or elsewhere, might be seen as a tool to obscure or obliterate native histories and to impose colonial authority and an 'English' identity. From a cynical and pragmatic point of view, the translation of an image of civility, wealth and prosperity might have been used to lure settlers on dangerous journeys to unproductive wildernesses and contested territories. The following sections will further explore the landscape of Richmond, Virginia in order to demonstrate that the values imported with the view from Richmond Hill have at times been exaggerated and reinforced, while at others they have been suppressed and denied. They show that the vista may be transformed into a political

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[55] Brown, 'Eighteenth-Century Virginia Plantation Gardens: Translating an Ancient Idyll', *Regional Garden Design in the United States*, p.157
[56] E. M. Acomb, ed., and trans., *The Revolutionary Journal of Baron Ludwig Von Closen, 1780-1783* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1958) p. 188
[57] Brown, 'Eighteenth-Century Virginia Plantation Gardens: Translating an Ancient Idyll', *Regional Garden Design in the United States*, p.126
[58] Ibid., p.135

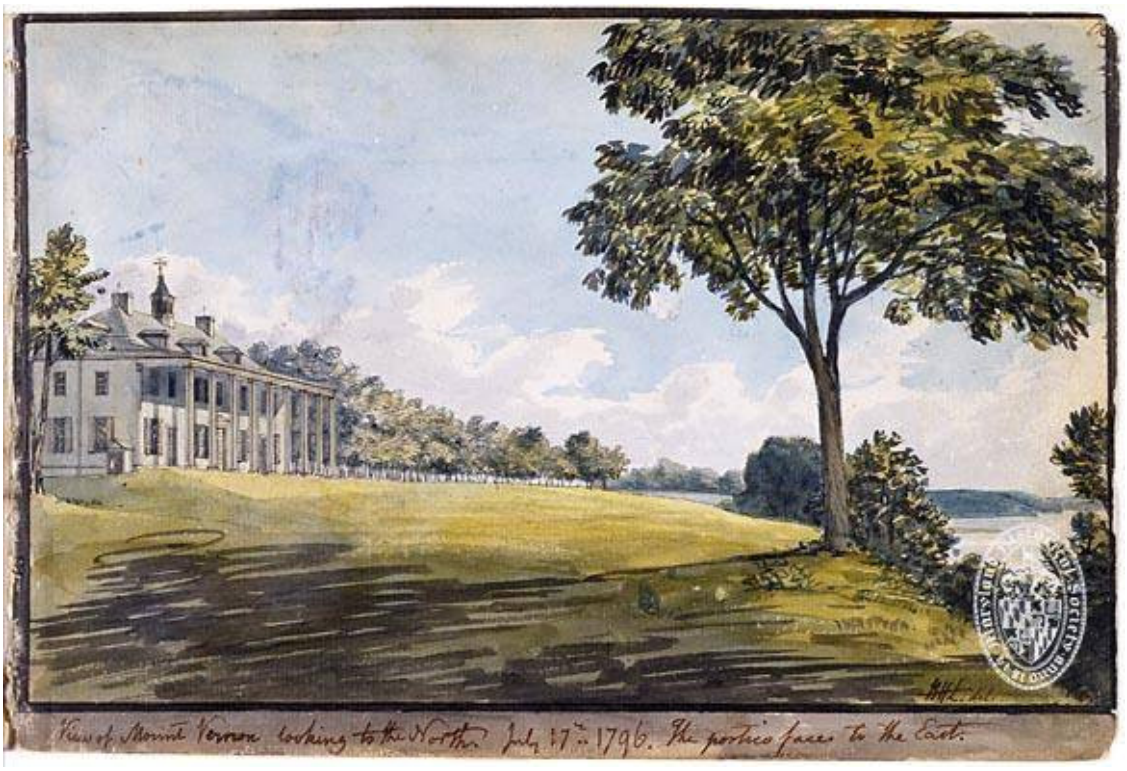


Fig. 4.18 Watercolour view of George Washington's Mount Vernon, by British architect Benjamin Henry Latrobe, 1796. This view shows the re-landscaped naturalistic gardens and the portico added to take advantage of the sweeping views of the Potomac River. Image courtesy of the Maryland Historical Society.



Fig. 4.19 Benjamin Henry Latrobe's depiction of the view of the Potomac River, from the portico of George Washington's Mount Vernon, 1796. Image courtesy of the Maryland Historical Society.



Fig. 4.21 St. John's Church, infamous as the site of Patrick Henry's revolution-inciting "Give me liberty, or give me death" speech (1775), crowns the district of Church Hill, Richmond, Virginia. Image courtesy of Virginia Commonwealth University's *Rarely Seen Richmond* digital postcard collection.



Fig. 4.22 A 1795 engraving by F. Jukes, of Richmond-upon-Thames showing architect Sir Robert Taylor's 'Asgill House' to the left. Richmond Hill is right of centre. Image courtesy of the British Library.

tool, the values encoded within it shaped according to contemporary cultural values and culture itself shaped by the values inherent in the vista.

4.3 The View as Symbol of American Nationalism: Church Hill, Richmond, Virginia

This section will examine the history of Richmond, Virginia's oldest district, Church Hill, established overlooking the James River by William Byrd I in 1733, by a reading of the personal journals of British architect Benjamin Henry Latrobe who emigrated to the Virginian colony in 1796. Latrobe's journals not only give a contemporary account of life in 1790s Richmond but also provide information regarding the early development of American forms of architecture, urbanism and landscape at a time when the nation still regarded itself as youthful. Visual perception, it is shown, was central to the ways in which the colonies expressed and formulated their identities, from landscape architecture to modern theatre and prison design. In each, the visual experience of buildings, cities and landscapes was crucial: not only in terms of picturesque beauty and delight, but in the notions of social reform brought about through the gaze of surveillance. These observations lead to a detailed reading of Latrobe's Virginia villas, designed for Richmond, which bore a direct relationship to views of the James River landscape. Thus, in Richmond, Virginia at least, the beginnings of an American architectural profession can be traced to intimate connections between visual perceptions of landscape, mediated through mass-produced representations of popular views - among them, the view of the Thames from Richmond Hill.

Visiting Richmond, Virginia, today, one is immediately struck by sweeping views of the James River. The river carves a meandering course through the city and its wooded banks form a series of verdant riverside parks. As we have seen, even before the city was founded, its topography had been compared to various European landscapes as well as that of its Arcadian namesake. This continues today in contemporary postcards which proclaim "Richmond (like ancient Rome) is built […] on seven hills."[59] It can be argued that Richmond's association with a mythologised and idealised history is reinforced by accounts of eminent local heroes who struggled for American independence, and later by the pivotal role the city played in the Civil War as

[59] See Appendix. Postcard, *Libby Hill Park* (1913)

Capital of the Confederate States. As we shall see, Church Hill district and its fine river views is the symbolic heart of this mythic landscape.

St. John's Church (fig. 4.21) was constructed on an area of high ground donated by William Byrd II in 1741. Commanding extensive views over the James River, it was in this building that one of America's heroes, Patrick Henry, gave his infamous speech at the second Virginia Convention (1775), ending with the words "Give me liberty or give me death!" Among those present for Henry's revolution-inciting speech were George Washington, Thomas Jefferson and General Lee. It is notable that discontent with the old world and its colonial masters was fuelled here, overlooking Byrd's symbolically named city and the river view reminiscent of 'Old England' that had inspired him.

In many ways, Patrick Henry's revolution-inciting speech on Church Hill is representative of America's contemporary internal identity crisis; a desire for change and modernity, defined in relation to romantic perceptions of 'Old England.' This identity crisis is highlighted by David Lowenthal:

> "Taught to disdain inherited precepts, succeeding generations were torn between antipathy toward authority and obligations to revere and defend the legacy of the Founding Fathers. To emulate them, they should throw off the shackles of the past; to safeguard their inheritance they must preserve, not create anew."[60]

This tension between an independent future and a reverence for the past is also evident in the writings of Henry David Thoreau who, "when not inveighing against the accumulated rubbish of antiquity,"[61] found it "much more agreeable to sit in the midst of old furniture [which has] come down from other generations, than in that which was just brought from the cabinet-maker's and smells of varnish, like a coffin!"[62] In Richmond, Virginia, a similar tension is evident in the Virginia conventions, which held up the American colonies and their picturesque landscapes as at least equivalent to those of the colonial power,[63] despite the fact they were imagined through their associations with romanticised imagery of Old England.

The apparent lack of acknowledgment at this time regarding the provenance of Richmond, Virginia's view may represent a deliberate quashing of memories of the 'old country'. It took an Englishman, architect Benjamin Henry Latrobe, to revive acknowledgment of Byrd's naming of Richmond in reference to the landscape of

[60] Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country,* p. xxi
[61] Ibid., p. 115
[62] H. D. Thoreau, *Journals,* 3 Oct. 1857, 10:59
[63] Thus, worthy of their own recognition and independence.

Richmond-upon-Thames. Latrobe, known chiefly for his later work on the White House and Capitol Building, Washington D.C., emigrated from England to Richmond, Virginia some twenty years after the American Revolution in 1796. Latrobe had trained in Britain under neo-classicist architect Samuel Pepys Cockerell. Cockerell's influence on Latrobe's early work was strong, as was the work of Cockerell's former partner Sir Robert Taylor.[64] It is quite likely that Latrobe was familiar with Taylor's works throughout the Thames valley region, including Asgill House and Bridge House, two riverside villas at Richmond (fig. 4.22), and similar villas at The Oaks, Carshalton and Harleyford Manor, Marlow (fig. 4.23). Taylor has also been credited with the design of No.3 The Terrace, a prominent classical townhouse crowning Richmond Hill which enjoys its expansive view.[65] Authors Michael Fazio and Patrick Snadon have suggested that Latrobe studied Taylor's work carefully through a series of watercolours, commissioned by his son, from which Latrobe derived his own drawing style.[66] Whether or not he was aware of Taylor's work in the area, Latrobe was certainly familiar with the topography and character of the Thames, having assisted canal engineer John Smeaton[67] with the construction of the Weybridge Navigation, linking the Thames to the Basingstoke canal in 1786. This familiarity is demonstrated by a description of the view from Church Hill in his *Virginia Journals* (1795-1798), which should be read in conjunction with two surviving watercolours Latrobe painted from the same spot (figs. 4.25, 4.26):

> "There are, I believe, few towns […] in old England that have not a namesake in North America. In few cases has similarity of situation had the smallest influence upon the sameness of name. Richmond however is an exception to this remark. The general landscapes from the two Richmond-hills are so similar in their great features, that at first sight the likeness is most striking. […] the windings of the James river have so much the same *cast* with those of the Thames, the amphitheatre of hills covered partly with wood partly with buildings, […] are so like the range of hills on the south bank of the Thames, and the situation of Twickenham on the north […], that if a man could be imperceptibly and in a instant conveyed from the one side of the Atlantic to the other he might hesitate for some minutes before he could discover the difference."[68]

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[64] Sir Robert Taylor was many years senior to Cockerell. Latrobe joined Cockerell's practice after the death of Taylor, which facilitated his meteoric rise from draughtsman to partner. M.W. Fazio, P.A. Snadon, *The Domestic Architecture of Benjamin Henry Latrobe* (JHU Press, 2006)

[65] F. H. W. Sheppard, ed., *Survey of London: St James Westminster* (English Heritage, 1960) p. 309

[66] Fazio, Snadon, *The Domestic Architecture of Benjamin Henry Latrobe,* p.19

[67] Smeaton, a renowned Civil Engineer, was also the designer of lighthouses. Presumably Latrobe gained some experience in this, offering to produce a lighthouse design for Old Point Comfort, Virginia, in 1798 and later producing a design for a lighthouse at the mouth of the Mississippi River, 1817.

[68] E.C. Carter II, J.C. Van Horne, and C.E. Brownell, eds., *Latrobe's View of America, 1795-1820: Selections from the Watercolours and Sketches* (New Haven, Connecticut, 1985) pp.120-21



Fig. 4.23 Three of Sir Robert Taylor's Thames-side villas: Asgill House, Richmond; No. 3 The Terrace, Richmond Hill and Harleyford Manor, Marlow. Images by author.



Fig. 4.24 Anonymous, late eighteenth-century view of the James River from Church Hill, Richmond, Virginia. Image courtesy of the Valentine History Centre, Richmond, Virginia.



Fig. 4.25 Watercolour sketch of the view from Church Hill, Richmond, Virginia, by British architect Benjamin Henry Latrobe, c. 1795. Compare this view with the landscape paintings of Richmond-upon-Thames by Tillemans, Marlow, Wilson and others which date prior to 1795, with which Latrobe may have been familiar through mass-produced prints. Image courtesy of the Library of Congress, Washington D.C.



Fig. 4.26 Latrobe's second view of Richmond, Virginia, from Church Hill c. 1795. Compare this view with those of Richmond-upon-Thames by Wenceslaus Hollar and Leonard Knyff, with which Latrobe may have been familiar through mass-produced prints. Image courtesy of the Library of Congress, Washington D.C.

That Latrobe had first hand knowledge of this reach of the Thames is further suggested by his ability to spot the following 'differences':

> "The want of finish and neatness in the American landscape would first strike his eye, while his ear would be arrested by the roar of the falls of James river below him. He would miss the elegance of Richmond bridge, and find in its place the impatient torrent tumbling over huge masses of granite […]. Instead of the velvet lawns of Mr. Cambridge's Park and the precise arrangement of Twickenham, the wild trees growing among the irregular islands and the rambling edifices […] would bewilder his attention. The neat walks and iron railings surrounding him there, would be changed into rough roads and wooden inelegant fences. The perfection of cultivation in the first instance, in the second, the grandeur of Nature, would fill his mind […]. When however the whole country was in wood, I am convinced that it was the *general* similarity of the characters of the two situations that impressed upon this spot the name of Richmond."[69]

Critical of the 'inelegance' of the wilder Virginian view, Latrobe indicates his opinion of the superiority of the serpentine picturesque landscape of the Thames. As an Englishman, it could be argued that Latrobe's comments once more take possession of Richmond, Virginia, for the defeated colonial masters. However, it is also conceivable that Latrobe's comments reflect a much wider expression of post-independence nostalgia for the romanticised former age of the Founding Fathers. This more generalised perception of an imagined golden age is reflected in Latrobe's analogies which draw to mind both English and Italianate landscapes. Writing of his purchase of Bushrod Washington's island in Richmond, Virginia, Latrobe states "It is a beautiful, fertile and romantic spot […] its scenery would not disgrace the magic rivers of Italy."[70] In familiar fashion, Latrobe invoked Richmond-upon-Thames through Arcadian imagery with reference to Italian as well as English landscapes. Thus, the newly independent nation was promoted as a new Arcadia; Richmond, Virginia as both Italian Renaissance city and Augustan age Richmond-upon-Thames of the 1720s.

Latrobe's Italianate references are akin to Pope's frequent analogies comparing the Thames and the Veneto's Brenta, and might also be viewed as a reference to the paintings of either man's hero, artist Claude Lorrain.[71] Classical allusion was common amongst Virginian society at this time, as described in chronicler Samuel Mordecai's

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[69] Carter, Van Horne, Brownell, eds., *Latrobe's View of America,* pp.120-21

[70] E. C. Carter II, *The Virginia Journals of Benjamin Henry Latrobe 1795-1798* (London & New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977) p.vii

[71] Latrobe said of Claude: "Words cannot describe his pictures. They live. The spectator can travel in them. They contain the geography of kingdoms […] Nothing can be more beautiful and correct […]." J. A. Cohen & C. E. Brownell, *The Architectural Drawings of Benjamin Henry Latrobe* (Yale University Press, 1994) p.16

Richmond in By-Gone Days. Though published in 1860, Mordecai's birth in 1786 renders his memoirs one of the last glimpses of eighteenth century Richmond society. He shows the abundance of classical allusion among the well-educated circles of Richmond, Virginia, at a time when the young Republic of America associated itself with the model of Athens and Republican Rome.

4.4 The View, and its Manipulation, in the Work of Benjamin Henry Latrobe

Latrobe's reputation in America – where he is still a familiar name among architects and historians – continues to outstrip his reputation in Europe, where he is now little known. As Richmond's most famous architect, his designs, themselves and through their imitations, did much to construct the idea of that city and its landscape. It is worth spending time, here, with Latrobe's works – a prison, several villas and some public buildings – to show in detail how they translated the values of one Richmond to the other. In doing so, they helped to shape the landscape of the new American republic as well as its intellectual landscape and its design practices.

The city of Richmond's growing wealth and new-found importance as Capital of the Commonwealth of Virginia (1780),[72] combined with a desperate need for reconstruction following its burning by British forces (1781)[73] and the jubilation following the colonies' new independence,[74] placed Latrobe in a lucrative position as one of America's first professional architects. Latrobe's first large commission of 1797, a penitentiary, reveals contemporary reforms founded on new principles of surveillance. British proponents of this reform, chiefly the writings of Jeremy Bentham and John Howard, argued for "the reduction of capital punishment to a minimal number of crimes, the substitution of imprisonment for the death penalty, and the transformation of jails […] from sordid places of confinement to healthy, secure institutions of moral reform."[75] In the Commonwealth of Virginia, Thomas Jefferson had been promoting reform based on Philadelphia's the legislative act of 1789. However, despite Jefferson's efforts, penal reform did not make an appearance in Virginia until the legislative act of

[72] Moved inland from the former capital of Williamsburg, to protect the city from British attack.
[73] Led by 'traitor' Benedict Arnold.
[74] Virginia declared its independence from the British Empire on the 15th May 1776, though the Constitution and Bill of Rights were not ratified until June 25, 1788.
[75] Cohen, Brownell, *The Architectural Drawings of Benjamin Henry Latrobe*, p.98

1796, which provided for the erection in Richmond of a "goal [sic] and penitentiary house."[76]

The Virginia Executive Council purchased a plot of land on a hill overlooking the James River in Richmond on 5th May 1797 (fig. 4.27). Latrobe's competition winning scheme for the site placed prisoner cells in a semicircle, watched over by a pair of bow-fronted guard residences, in a similar configuration to Bentham's fully developed circular 'Panopticon' designs of 1785.[77] Latrobe's familiarity with Bentham's designs can be attributed to his experience as surveyor to the London Police,[78] and by his apparent friendship in the 1790s with Bentham's brother Samuel,[79] also a proponent of penal reform.[80] Other contemporary works which may have influenced Latrobe's penitentiary design include William Blackburn's prisons at Liverpool (1779), Ipswich (1786) and Bridewell (1785), Thomas Harrison's Chester prison (1785-1801) and George Dance the younger's Newgate (1768-84). All of these examples share a common origin in the visual principles of Bentham's panopticon.

The revolution in visual principles which Bentham had brought about has been discussed by French philosopher Michel Foucault in *Discipline and Punish*, who shows that the Panopticon derives its power from the visual sense.[81] In effect, "visibility is a trap";[82] the prisoner "is seen, but he does not see; he is the subject of information, never a subject in communication."[83] The goal of absolute visibility reversed the idea of the traditional prison or dungeon, which was to "deprive of light and to hide,"[84] capturing the prisoner in constant glowing surveillance. The cunning of the Panopticon design is in its automatic function, whereby constant surveillance is affected irrespective of the guard's physical presence; the sight of the observation tower itself is enough to induce in the inmate a sense of being watched. Jaques Lacan might have called this powerful sense the 'gaze,' amplified by the architectural configuration of the Panopticon. In Richmond, the bow windows of Latrobe's guard houses are an architectural manifestation of this 'gaze,' allowing the attendant guard to command greater visibility

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[76] Cohen, Brownell, *The Architectural Drawings of Benjamin Henry Latrobe*, p. 98
[77] Another similarity noted by Cohen & Brownell which may suggest Latrobe's familiarity with Bentham is the treatment of the external elevation, of windows set within blind arches, and the contrast between the external and internal elevations.
[78] Revealed in a letter to Robert Mills, 12th July 1806.
[79] Cohen, Brownell, *The Architectural Drawings of Benjamin Henry Latrobe*, p.100
[80] In fact, Samuel Bentham constructed his own panopticon structures, including a St Petersburg school in 1806.
[81] M. Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, (London: Penguin Group, 1977)
[82] M. Foucault, 'Panopticism' in *Rethinking Architecture: A Reader in Cultural Theory*, ed. by N. Leach (London: Routledge, 1997) p.361
[83] Ibid., p.362
[84] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish,* p.200



Fig. 4.27 Engraving of Benjamin Henry Latrobe's Virginia State Penitentiary, Richmond, Virginia, in 1837. The penitentiary was built on a hill, with the cells arranged so as to take advantage of the James River view. The Arcadian view is, perhaps, utilised here for its perceived restorative and/or reformative power. As the engraving shows, the prison was also intended to be seen from within the landscape, a symbol of the State's moral and judicial systems. Image from J. A. Cohen, C. E. Brownell, *The Architectural Drawings of Benjamin Henry Latrobe* (Yale University Press, 1994).

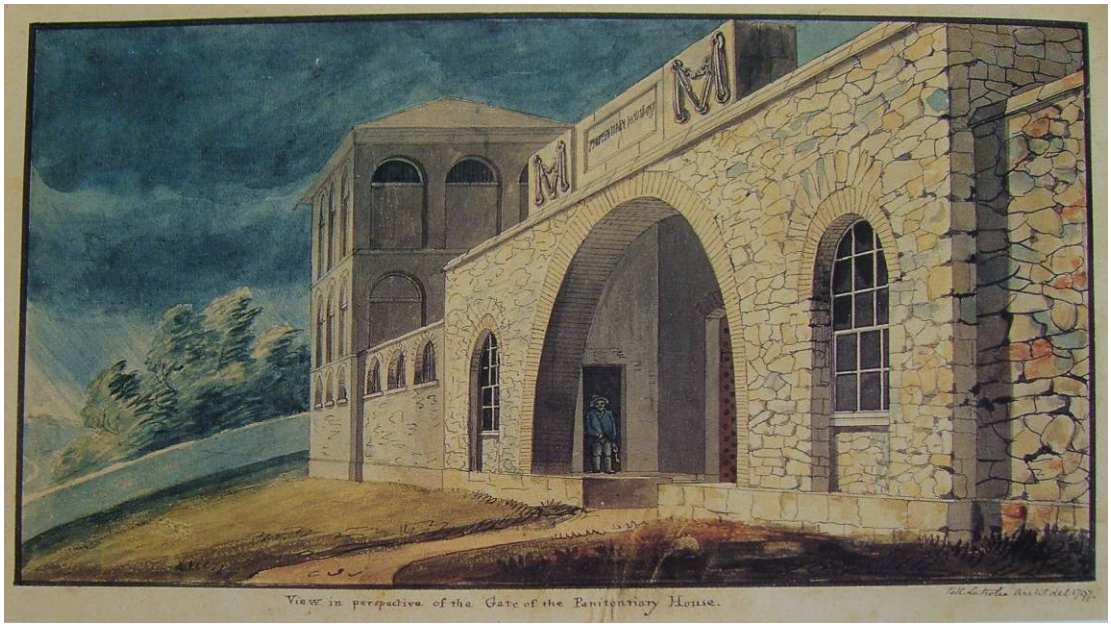


Fig. 4.28 A watercolour perspective of the main gate of Benjamin Henry Latrobe's Virginia State Penitentiary, Richmond, 1797. This sketch conveys something of the visual drama Latrobe intended of the building, perched on its hill under ominous dark clouds overlooking the James River, just shown by a curve to the left of the view. Image from J. A. Cohen, C. E. Brownell, *The Architectural Drawings of Benjamin Henry Latrobe* (Yale University Press, 1994).

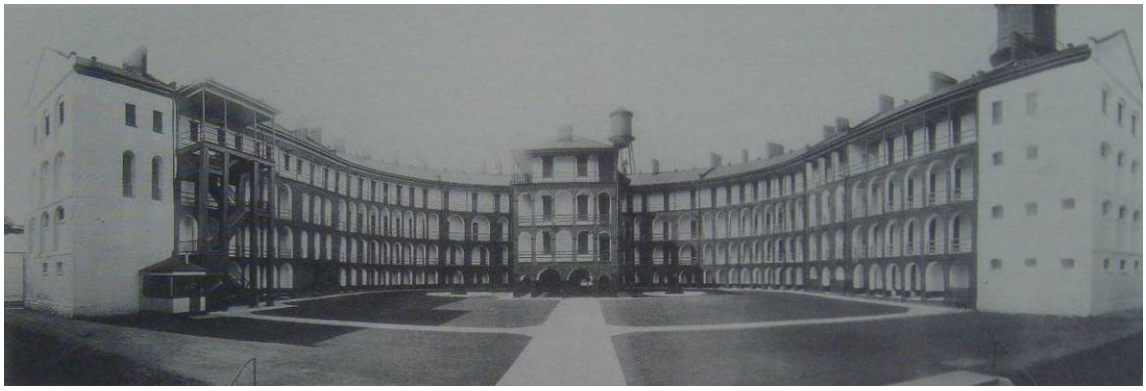


Fig. 4.29 View of Latrobe's Virginia State Penitentiary hemicycle, c. 1920. Image from J. A. Cohen, C. E. Brownell, *The Architectural Drawings of Benjamin Henry Latrobe* (Yale University Press, 1994).



Fig. 4.30 Early nineteenth-century engraving of Richmond Penitentiary, showing how it dominated views of the James River. Image courtesy of the Valentine History Centre, Richmond, Virginia.

of the semi-circular cell block beyond. This is clearly illustrated by the plan (fig. 4.31) where the watch tower of Bentham's prison is substituted with what looks like a conventional villa, its bows comparable with that of Asgill House. Similarly, Latrobe commonly deployed this architectural device on residential schemes, directing the bow towards the most picturesque prospects, as Taylor had done at Asgill House, Richmond (1757-8).

In many ways, the bow window of Latrobe's villas functions like a fragment of Bentham's panopticon, an architectural configuration which enhances the power of the gaze via the spatial construction of a power relationship between the viewer and the view. As Foucault explains, "power has its principle […] in a certain distribution of bodies, surfaces, lights, gazes in an arrangement whose internal mechanisms produce the relation in which individuals are caught up"; the Panopticon is an additional mechanism, configured in order to "assure dissymmetry, disequilibrium, difference"[85] and so deliver subjectivity unto the inmate. Penal reformers anticipated that this system of surveillance would improve the behaviour of the prisoner; Bentham went even further, promoting its use in school and factory design as a measure to increase productivity. In the case of Latrobe's classical Virginian villas the bow window surveyed a manicured landscape tended by slaves, another form of imprisonment, and another example of the manipulative power of the gaze. This observation also highlights the contradictions at work in depictions of Richmond's landscape, which was repeatedly presented as a bucolic Arcadia appealing to the picturesque sensibilities of the gentry, despite the realities of its industrial productivity laboriously worked by slaves.

As has been argued by Cohen & Brownell, Latrobe shared Bentham's belief in the power of surveillance shaped and enhanced by architectural form, feeling comfortable enough "about his provisions for confinement and for surveillance in general to make the screen walls bounding the [penitentiary] relatively low."[86] Foucault has seen the introduction of such structures at this time as symptomatic of a cultural shift from a society governed through physical threats and punishment, to a society of surveillance and discipline. Following Foucault's argument, one could argue that the introduction of the Panopticon demonstrates the new-found potency and power of the gaze in eighteenth century thought, and is an illustration of the deliberate and calculated manipulation of both viewer and view, manifest in contemporary architectural and landscape design.

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[85] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*
[86] Cohen, Brownell, *The Architectural Drawings of Benjamin Henry Latrobe*, p.100

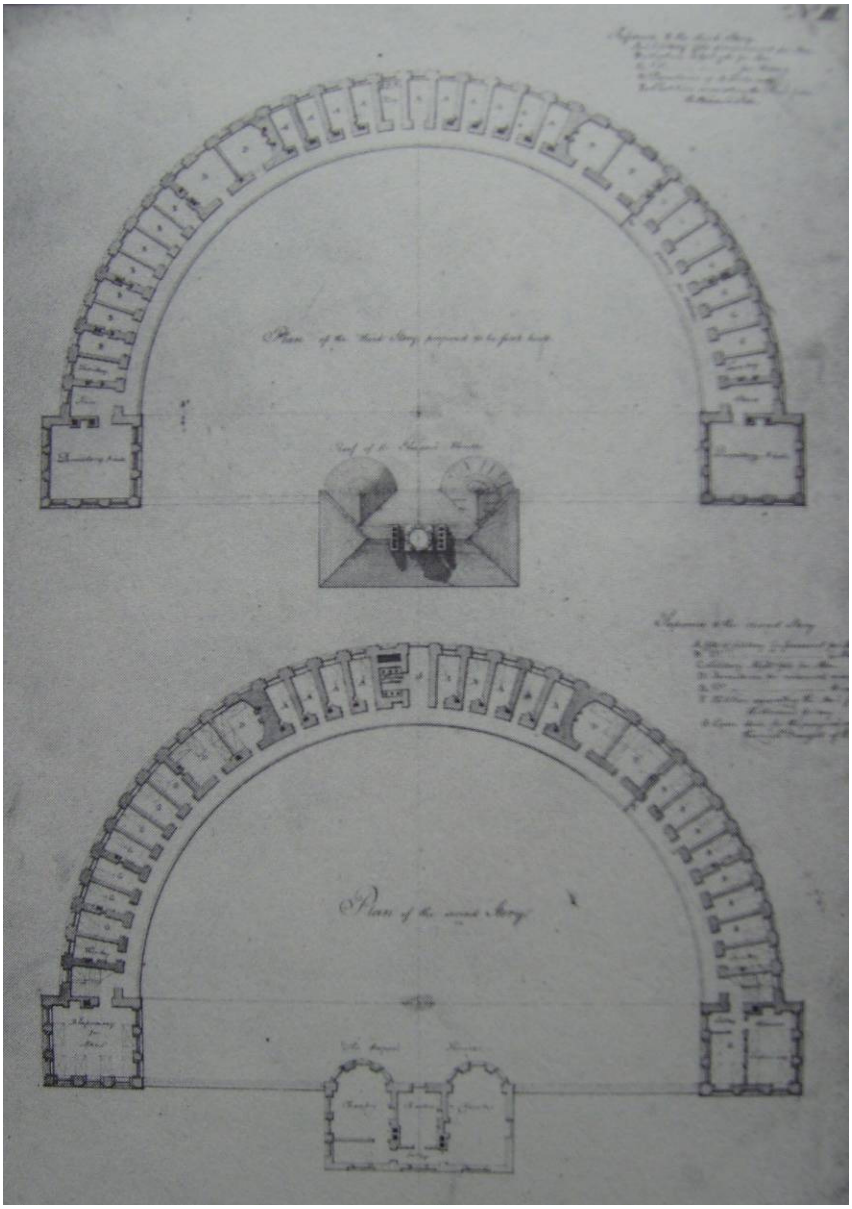
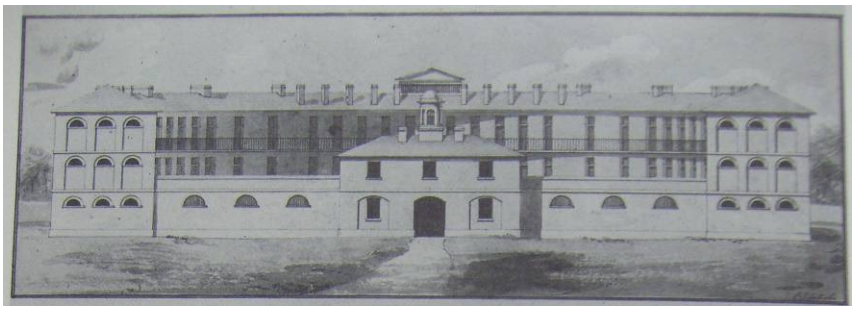


Fig. 4.31 Benjamin Henry Latrobe's plans and elevation for the Virginia State Penitentiary, Richmond, 1797, based on Jeremy Bentham's Panopticon principles. At the centre, the guards' house with projecting bay windows and observation tower for surveillance of the cells. Images courtesy of the State Library of Virginia.



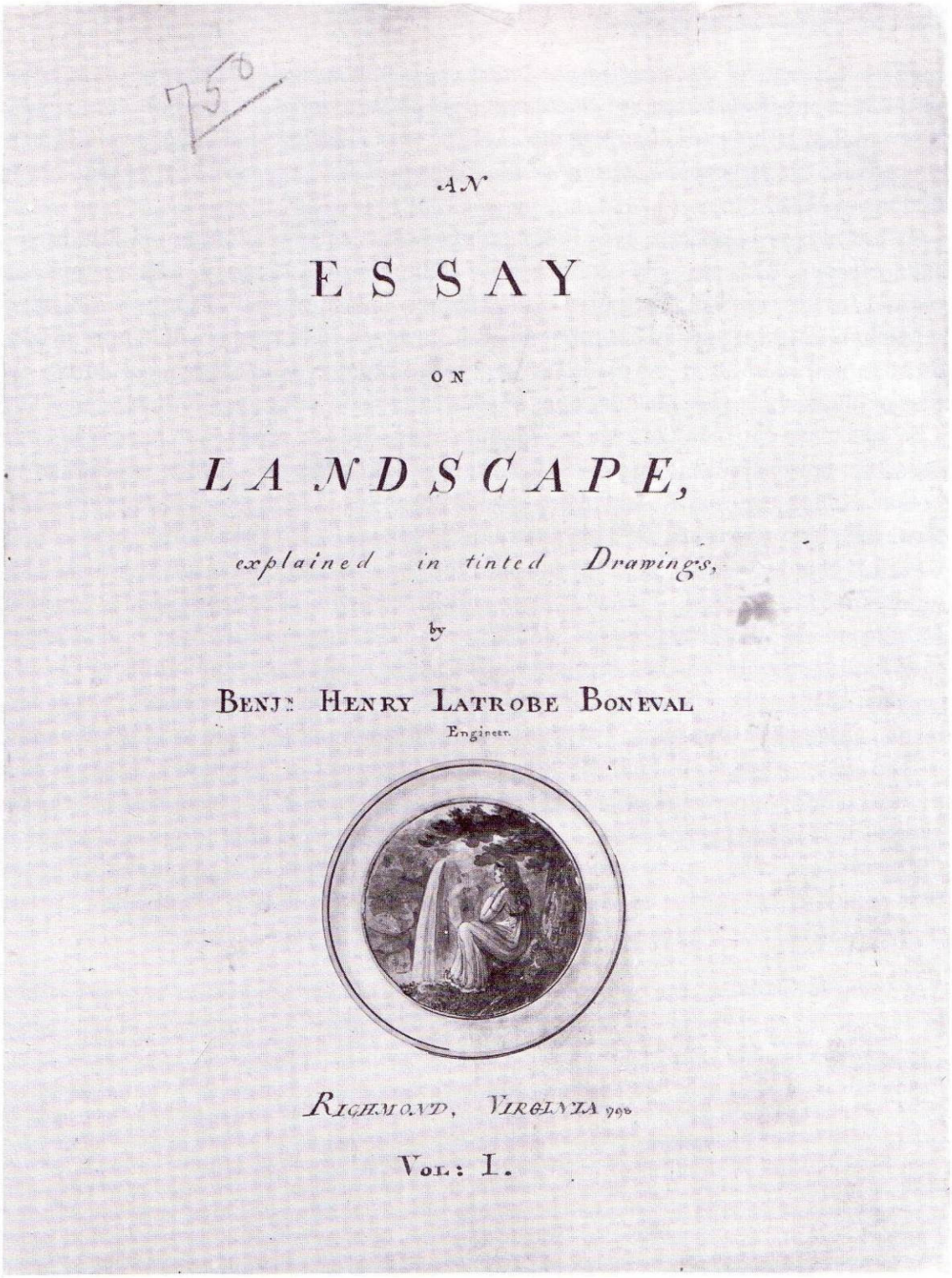


Fig. 4.32 Title page from Benjamin Henry Latrobe's unpublished *Essay on Landscape* (1798-9), no doubt inspired by the literary works of Humphrey Repton, Richard Payne Knight and Uvedale Price. Latrobe's *Essay* is a practical guide to landscape painting and composition, which shares many similarities with William Gilpin's painterly tips in *Observations on the River Wye* (1770). Image from *The Virginia Journals of Benjamin Henry Latrobe* (Yale University Press, 1977).

4.5 Latrobe and the Picturesque

Latrobe was not a pioneer in the manipulation of the viewer's gaze, nor would the principle have been alien to him before his work on Richmond's Penitentiary. Latrobe's surviving British works show him to have been up-to-date with contemporary fashions for picturesque landscape design and the creation of vistas, almost certainly designing the serpentine lake and grounds of Hammerwood Park, East Sussex (c. 1792) (fig. 4.34). Latrobe's familiarity with the picturesque is also suggested by his extensive correspondence which reveals him to have been an acquaintance of John "Jack" Repton, Humphrey Repton's son. Writing much later, Latrobe even claimed 'intimate acquaintance' with Humphrey Repton himself in 1794, though it is possible that he meant 1792 or 1793, during the architect's work at Hammerwood.[87]

Whatever the truth may be concerning Latrobe's acquaintance with Repton, it is clear that he was a "devotee of the picturesque".[88] Whilst most of his English papers, including his entire library, have been lost,[89] evidence remains in the form of fourteen volumes of sketchbooks and correspondence. Of particular note is an apparently unfinished and unpublished work, *An Essay on Landscape* (1798-9), written as an instruction in landscape painting to a friend, Ms. Susanna Spotswood (fig. 4.32). This work, one of the earliest drawing books to be written in America,[90] shares many similarities with Gilpin's famous travel guides.[91] Indeed, at this time the boundaries between travel writing on landscape, landscape perception and garden design were increasingly blurred; Latrobe, for example, also edited and provided illustrations for William Bruce's *Travels to Discover the Source of the Nile* (1790).[92] The works of both authors instructed the reader not only in the historical and political narratives of landscapes, but in how to create pictorial compositions worthy of the great Italian painters such as Lorrain. In *An Essay on Landscape,* Latrobe reveals the debt his visual perceptions owe to Lorrain, remarking:

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[87] Repton even remarked he learned much about lake-building from canal engineers, and if we are to believe Latrobe's claim of acquaintance, perhaps he even had Latrobe in mind. Fazio, Snadon, *The Domestic Architecture of Benjamin Henry Latrobe,* p.92

[88] Cohen, Brownell, *The Architectural Drawings of Benjamin Henry Latrobe*, p.16

[89] Latrobe's library of 1500 books was apparently captured by French pirates during his emigration to America in the late 1790s. K. Hafertepe & J. F. O'Gorman, *American Architects and their Books to 1848* (University of Massachusetts Press, 2001) p.112

[90] There were over 100 by 1800. Carter, *The Virginia Journals of Benjamin Henry Latrobe*, p.465

[91] For example, W. Gilpin, *Observations on the River Wye, and several parts of South Wales, etc., relative chiefly to picturesque beauty: made in the summer of 1770* (London: A. Strahan, 1800)

[92] W. Bruce, *Travels to Discover the Source of the Nile* (Edinburgh & London, 1790)

> "Words cannot describe his pictures. They live. The spectator can travel in them. They contain the geography of kingdoms […] Nothing can be more beautiful and correct than his architecture, in which most landscape painters fail."[93]

Edward Carter, editor of Latrobe's *Virginia Journals* writes, "The influence of Claude, in fact, underlies both the subtle atmospheric effects and the composition of many Latrobe drawings" (fig. 4.33).[94] Gilpin and Lorrain are among dozens of references Latrobe makes to proponents of the picturesque in his writings, proving his familiarity with contemporary works such as Richard Payne Knight's *The Landscape, A Didactic Poem* (1794) and William Mason's *Heroic Epistle to Sir William Chambers* (1773) among others.[95]

Though Latrobe's *An Essay on Landscape* was never published, his work did influence indirectly the course of American landscape painting and perception. Carter has pointed out that Latrobe's pupil, William Strickland, produced the title vignette for Fielding Lucas' *The Art of Colouring and Painting Landscapes in Water Colours* (1815). In addition, Benjamin's son John Latrobe wrote *The Progressive Drawing Book* (1827-8), profusely illustrated with English as well as American views, signifying the trans-Atlantic absorption of the picturesque taste. Carter notes, "John H. B. Latrobe based at least eight of his fifteen plates of American scenery on drawings by his father, an English-born amateur who had carved the Picturesque point of view into the American landscape."[96]

The picturesque conventions by which Latrobe tended to view American landscapes, learned from his appreciation of English landscape architecture, is indicated by his following description of a hilltop prospect, and how that vista might be 'improved'. Latrobe writes:

> "When you stand upon the summit of a hill, and see an extensive country of woods and fields […] spread before you, you look at it with pleasure […] turn yourself […] to include in your view a wide expanse of water [and] your pleasure is immediately doubled."[97]

In an echo of picturesque landscape architects from Brown to Repton, Latrobe suggests that a body of water could increase the beauty of a prospect. Latrobe's enhancement or

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[93] Carter, *The Virginia Journals of Benjamin Henry Latrobe*, p.468
[94] Ibid., p.461
[95] Hafertepe, O'Gorman, *American Architects and their Books,* p.124
[96] Carter, *The Virginia Journals of Benjamin Henry Latrobe*, p.466 Though Latrobe is often credited with introducing the picturesque to America, it had already arrived as is evident in the picturesque language adopted by Thomas Jefferson, particularly in *Notes on the state of Virginia* ed. William Peden (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1955) pp.19, 24-25.
[97] Carter, *The Virginia Journals of Benjamin Henry Latrobe*, p.473

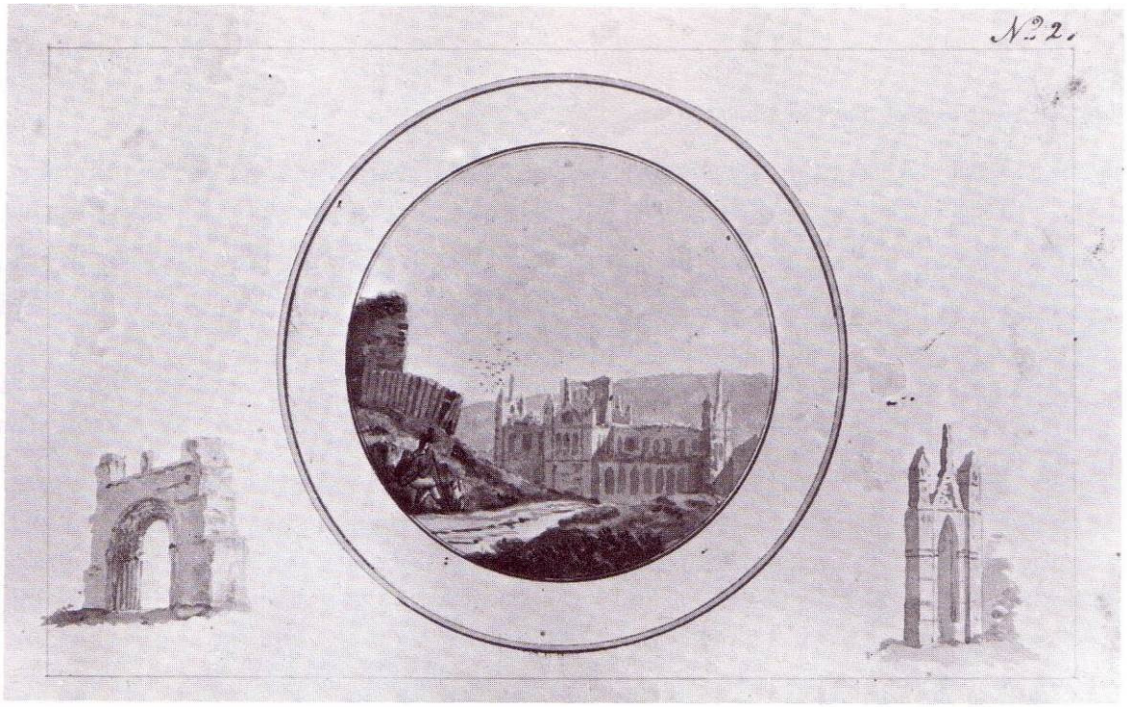


Fig. 4.33 A demonstration of picturesque composition: watercolour sketch of Kirkstall Abbey in Benjamin Henry Latrobe's *Essay on Landscape* (1798-9). Image from *The Virginia Journals of Benjamin Henry Latrobe* (Yale University Press, 1977).



Fig. 4.34 Benjamin Henry Latrobe's watercolour of Hammerwood Park, East Sussex, as originally proposed. The viewpoint is from the south-east, coinciding with the position of a landscape vista which survived until at least the 1940s, and which, it is just possible, may have formed part of Latrobe's original landscape plan. Image courtesy of the Pinnegar family.



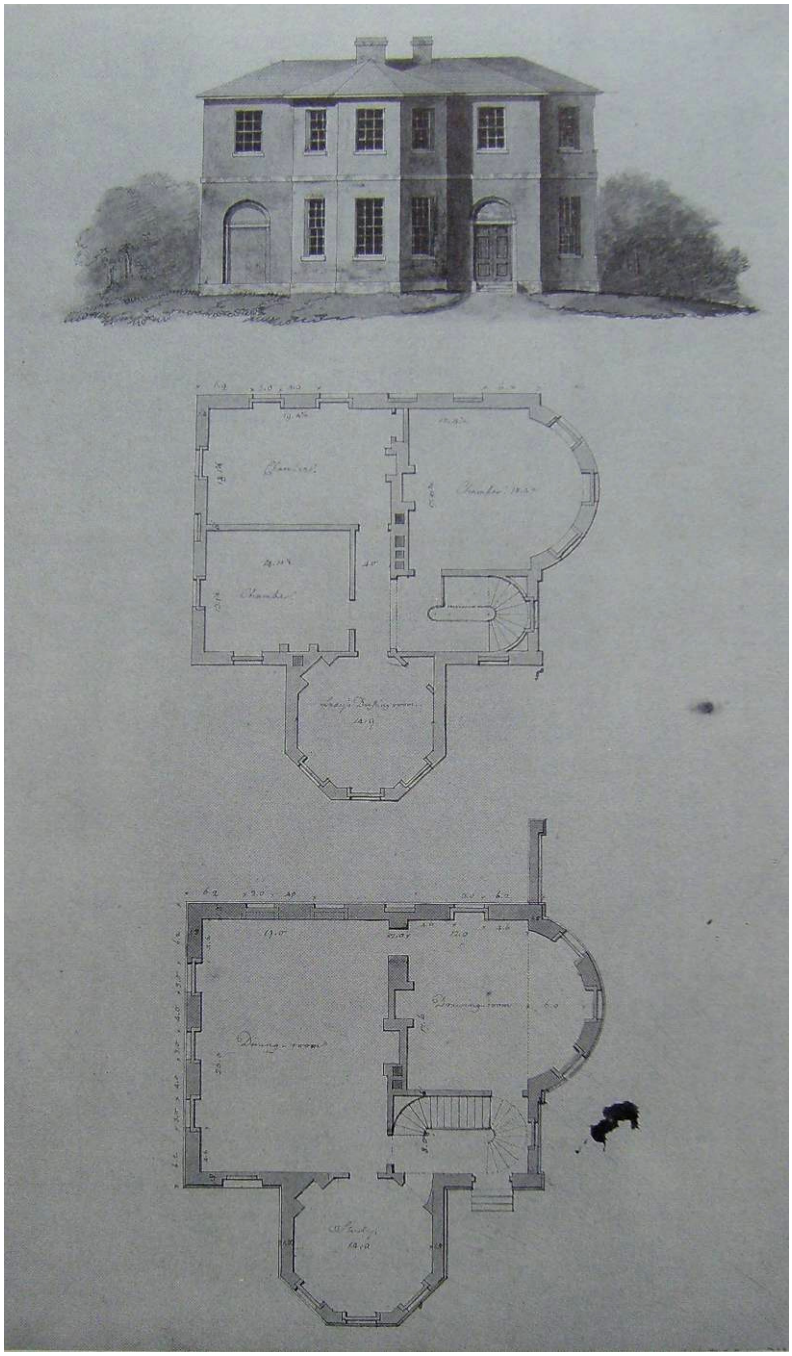


Fig. 4.35 Benjamin Henry Latrobe's 'Irregular Villa', designed for a site on Church Hill, Richmond, Virginia, in 1797. The irregular nature of the plan, designed to take advantage of sweeping views of the James River (as seen to the left of the perspective), enhances the picturesque massing of the building as viewed from the landscape and creates a diverse sequence of interior spaces. Image from B. H. Latrobe, *Designs of Buildings Erected or Proposed To Be Built In Virginia 1795-1799.*

'improvement' of the picturesque scene is a form of subtle manipulation, deceiving the viewer into believing that what one sees is a grander, more expansive and more historically charged landscape. Latrobe's use of illusion and artifice in the description of landscapes is mirrored by his comments on landscape painting. For example, in the introduction to *An Essay on Landscape,* Latrobe lays down "some general principles, […] a sort of stage-trick to which the imperfection of human art renders it necessary that the greatest painters should stoop."[98]

4.6 Latrobe's Virginia Villas

Latrobe's advocation of picturesque conventions in landscape art and architecture may also be apparent in his built architectural works. In particular, Latrobe's design for an irregular villa intended for a hilltop site in Richmond, Virginia (1797) – conceived in direct relation to the landscape – could be interpreted as an exceptionally early example of picturesque architectural planning.[99] Known to us only from a plan and perspective drawing (fig. 4.35) produced for Latrobe's folio of work entitled *Designs of Buildings Erected or Proposed To Be Built In Virginia 1795-1799*, the villa is one of a number of executed, as well as unexecuted, schemes proposed for Richmond's Church Hill district. The title-page vignette in Latrobe's own hand (fig. 4.36), depicts many of these projects clustered around the hill as an Arcadian scene of classical villas set within undulating landscape.[100]

Curiously, the aforementioned irregular villa cannot be identified in Latrobe's vignette, perhaps because the project was still unrealised at the time of writing. It has been suggested that the design may even have been intended for the architect's own home, supported by the setting of the perspective drawing which seems to indicate the site Latrobe himself owned adjacent to Harvie's property. Certainly, Latrobe was planning to build himself a home on Church Hill, writing that it was his intention to "have a little house upon my beautiful little hill here by the end of summer [1798]."[101] The attribution is also supported by the unusual nature of the plan, an odd choice for a client at a time when asymmetrical planning was in its infancy. In fact, Snadon & Fazio

[98] Carter, *The Virginia Journals of Benjamin Henry Latrobe*, p.469
[99] For a related argument on the picturesque planning of Latrobe's Hammerwood Park, East Sussex, see Fazio, Snadon, The *Domestic Architecture of Benjamin Henry Latrobe,* p. 122
[100] To the right, the winged figure of Philadelphia raises up victoriously an image of Latrobe's Bank of Pennsylvania, his first great commission and, one suspects, a symbol of Philadelphia's gain as Richmond's loss.
[101] Cohen, Brownell, *The Architectural Drawings of Benjamin Henry Latrobe*, p.81

have described the villa as "without doubt one of the most imaginative domestic solutions proposed in America in the eighteenth century" adding that "it antedates most published English experiments with such an asymmetrical type."[102] For example, James Malton's *An Essay on British Cottage Architecture* appeared a year later in 1798[103] while John Nash's irregular cottages largely appear post-1800. The informality of Latrobe's planning suggests a form of semi-rural and unpretentious existence; to which, if we are to believe the attribution, Latrobe himself must have aspired.[104] Internal volumes are expressed externally, though here Latrobe's concern for a degree of classical symmetry is illustrated by his somewhat forced addition (indeed it was apparently added to the plan drawing at a later stage) of a single storey spur wall, intended to centre the bow window in elevation. As in Latrobe's English works,[105] each room's orientation is carefully considered, so that each possesses its individuality of form and, accessed one after another, reveals a sequence of distinctive landscape vistas (fig. 4.35). Though Latrobe never did build his new life on Church Hill, the dream persisted, leading him to later purchase a second property known as Bushrod's Island in the James River (fig. 4.49).[106] Here, Latrobe planned his comfortable retirement, writing that he would "[shut] myself up in my island to devote my hours to literature, agriculture, friendship, and the education of my children."[107]

If landscape vistas from the villa were an important consideration of its internal planning, one could also argue that the irregularity of exterior form created by Latrobe's blind openings, stepping volumes and projecting bows was intended to enhance the stereometry of kinetic and oblique views of the villa from within its landscape setting, suggested by Latrobe's own perspective views. Robert Adam might have called this concept of kinetic architectural form 'movement.' As Adam explains in *Works in Architecture* (1773):

> "*Movement* is meant to express, the rise and fall, the advance and recess, […] of form […] so as to add greatly to the picturesque of the composition. For the rising and falling, advancing and receding, […] have the same effect in architecture, that hill and dale, fore-ground and distance, swelling and sinking have in landscape: That is, they serve to produce an agreeable and diversified contour, that groups and contrasts

[102] Fazio, Snadon, *The Domestic Architecture of Benjamin Henry Latrobe,* p.237
[103] J. Malton, *An Essay on British Cottage Architecture: being an attempt to perpetuate on principle, that peculiar mode of building, which was originally the effect of chance…* (Farnborough: Gregg, 1972)
[104] Latrobe's English career had been dogged with financial woe, which combined with the death of his wife, it has been suggested, influenced his emigration to America.
[105] Such as Hammerwood Park, East Sussex.
[106] Purchased from George Washington's nephew Bushrod Washington.
[107] D. Upton, 'Pattern Books and Professionalism': Aspects of the Transformation of Domestic Architecture in America, 1800-1860', *Winterthur Portfolio* (Winterthur Museum, 1984)

like a picture, and creates a variety of light and shade, which gives great spirit, beauty and effect to the composition."[108]

That Latrobe considered the 'movement' of his villa's composition from a kinetic viewpoint[109] is suggested by the presence of perspective construction lines faintly visible on the ground floor plan; Snadon & Fazio have pointed out that converging rays to the upper-left indicate Latrobe's consideration of a view of the villa from at least one other oblique angle (now lost).[110]

The apparent complexities of Latrobe's irregular villa then, suggest the architect's consideration of picturesque visual effect in both prospect and aspect. This is reflected by the manner in which Latrobe's representation of the project is decidedly pictorial, the villa depicted obliquely within its landscape setting, rather than as a standard series of flattened elevational drawings. Latrobe wrote that "The elevation is the very last thing to be thought of: it must grow out of the plan, and the same plan may give scope to much fancy and variety in the choice of Elevation."[111]

Of the projects collected in *Designs of Buildings Erected or Proposed To Be Built In Virginia*, only two were completed by the time Latrobe left Virginia. Of these, the Harvie-Gamble House on Church Hill, Richmond, was so altered during construction that Latrobe dismissed it as "garbled and disgraced, and I disdain it."[112] Latrobe's design intent however, is clear from his remaining drawings for the house (figs. 4.37, 4.38). A longitudinal section demonstrates how the arcaded wings (unexecuted), were to frame landscape views - a surprise revelation of the sweeping James River vista, hidden to the visitor approaching the house from the rear. A similar arrangement was intended for Latrobe's 'Clifton' project,[113] another villa overlooking the James River from its dramatic hilltop site.

Latrobe's landscape plan and perspective watercolours of Clifton demonstrate the importance of the naturalistic landscape, enhanced by his provision of undulating serpentine pathways from which the house was to be observed within its setting (figs. 4.39, 4.40).[114] This connection with the landscape is also highlighted by his depiction of figures standing at the open windows of the James River façade. However, the reality of

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[108] R. & J. Adam, *Works in Architecture* vol.1 no. 1
[109] Latrobe's design for another palatial house in Richmond, his 'Mill Hill' project, shares attributes with Adam's description of 'movement', with projecting polygonal and rectangular bays heightening the dynamic stereometry of the building.
[110] Fazio, Snadon, *The Domestic Architecture of Benjamin Henry Latrobe,* p.239
[111] Latrobe in a letter to Robert Carter Burwell 26 April 1811.
[112] Cohen, Brownell, *The Architectural Drawings of Benjamin Henry Latrobe*, p.155
[113] Also evident in Latrobe's design of a house named 'Riversdale', Maryland.
[114] In the manner of Horace Walpole's Strawberry Hill, Twickenham.



Fig. 4.36 Title page vignette of Benjamin Henry Latrobe's *Designs of Buildings Erected or Proposed To Be Built In Virginia 1795-1799*. Latrobe's executed buildings, Captain Pennock's House and the Harvie Gamble House, appear rooted to the ground, while his other, unbuilt, schemes appear as 'castles in the sky'. To the right, Philadelphia appears holding up Latrobe's Bank of Pennsylvania triumphantly, the scheme that would launch his career on a national scale.

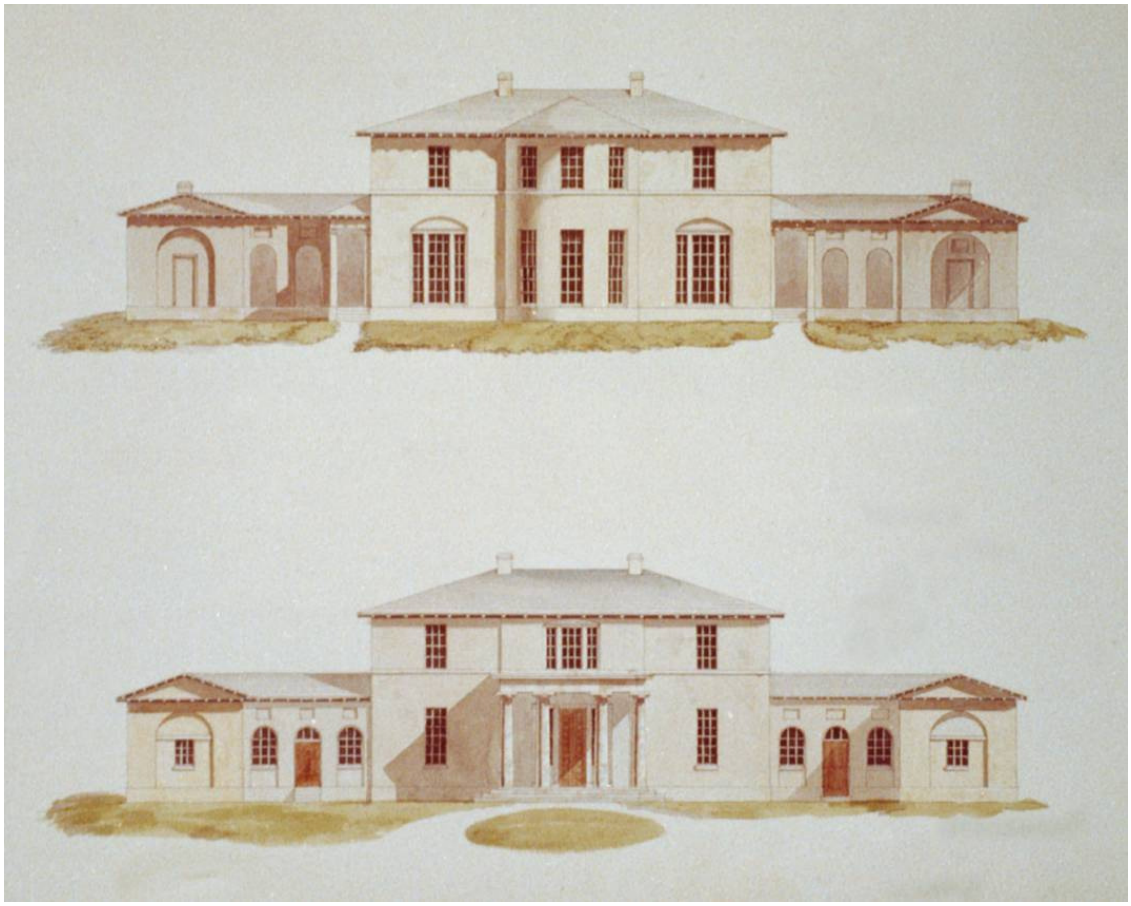


Fig. 4.37 Elevation of the Harvie-Gamble House, Church Hill, Richmond, Virginia, by B. H. Latrobe, 1798-9. Image from W. Fazio, P. Snadon, *The Domestic Architecture of Benjamin Henry Latrobe* (John Hopkins University Press, 2006).

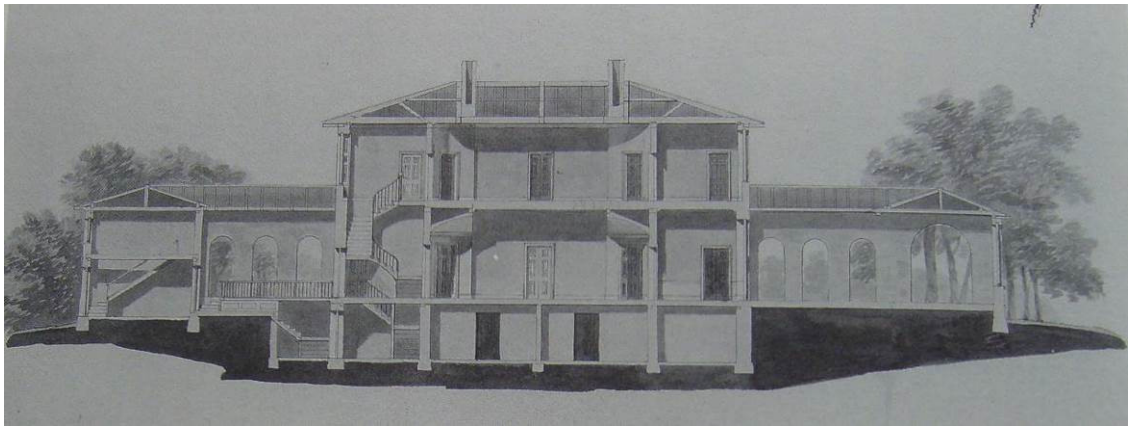


Fig. 4.38 Section drawings of the Harvie-Gamble House, Church Hill, Richmond, Virginia, by B. H. Latrobe, 1798-9. The upper drawing shows how the sweeping landscape views from Church Hill were to be framed by the colonnaded wings (unexecuted), which also acted to screen the view from the approach (above) to increase the sense of surprise. Image from W. Fazio, P. Snadon, *The Domestic Architecture of Benjamin Henry Latrobe* (John Hopkins University Press, 2006).

Clifton's site was far from Latrobe's idealized vision; research has shown the site to have been bordered by a three storey tobacco factory, along with the noise and pollution of a wash and smoke house.[115] Latrobe's design clearly sought to screen and disguise these intrusions into the Arcadian landscape he imagined, directing views from the peripheral pathways towards the house itself and the James River beyond, to create, as had Walpole at Strawberry Hill, a picturesque timeless oasis within what was actually becoming a busy industrial suburb.[116]

One simple way in which unavoidable structures could be 'improved' in the picturesque manner, was to dress them as suitable embellishments within the landscape. Latrobe would have known many examples of this practice in Britain, and even proposed structures of his own to his Virginian clientele. The most interesting of these is a project for a small dairy, apparently intended for Richmond, though no indication of patron or site survive (fig. 4.41). It may be that the exceptional detail and quality of the drawings point to their use as a presentation model for prospective patrons rather than as the working drawings of a live project.[117] Even at the diminutive scale of this garden structure, Latrobe reveals his consideration of landscape views, depicting with dashed lines the multiple axes of the plan. As in his irregular villa, each room is individually orientated by the positioning of fireplaces and doors. A visitor would therefore be presented with a dynamic sequence of internal as well as external scenery, culminating in an expansive view across the landscape framed by the Doric columns of an ornamental portico.

A scenic device of particular novelty employed by Latrobe is the chimneybreast window designed by him for Mr. Tayloe's House, Washington, in 1796-7. This curious device places the real garden landscape over the mantelpiece, as if it were a painting. This impression is highlighted by Latrobe's depiction of Tayloe's dining room (fig. 4.42), where picturesque landscape paintings lining the walls are mirrored by the

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[115] Cohen, Brownell, *The Architectural Drawings of Benjamin Henry Latrobe*, p.295

[116] In 1772 Walpole's Strawberry Hill suffered from the consequences of an accident at a nearby gunpowder factory. Walpole, in a letter to his cousin dated 7th January 1772, writes "My castle is blown up […] In short, nine-thousand powder-mills broke loose yesterday morning on Hounslow-heath […] and have broken eight of my painted glass windows; and the north side of the castle looks as if it has stood a siege." A. Chalcraft, J. Viscardi, *Strawberry Hill: Horace Walpole's Gothic Castle* (Frances Lincoln ltd., 2007) p.38

[117] Either way, it has been described as "beyond the means or needs of late eighteenth century American patronage," though exceptions exist in Richard Stockton's facsimile of Pope's grotto at Morven, New Jersey and Thomas Jefferson's planned grotto at Monticello (1771) Fazio, Snadon, *The Domestic Architecture of Benjamin Henry Latrobe,* p.170 In 1766 Stockton wrote to his wife from England: "I inform you that I design a ride to Twickenham the latter end of next month, principally to view Mr. Pope's gardens and grotto, which I am told remain nearly as he left them; and that I shall take with me a gentleman that draws well, to lay down an exact plan of the whole." N. Hawthorne, 'Colonial Garden Making', *American Notebook* (1901)



Fig. 4.39 Perspective drawing by B. H. Latrobe, for ‘Clifton’, Church Hill, Richmond, Virginia c.1798-9. The project shares a similar configuration to the Harvie-Gamble House, where a closed entrance facade conceals a more open rear, with colonnaded wings and bow windows to take advantage of the extensive views. The house was also clearly designed to be seen from within the landscape, as a picturesque subject in itself; all this despite the fact that the site was adjacent to a noisy, and dirty, tobacco factory – though Latrobe’s idyllic image successfully conceals this fact. Image courtesy of the Prints and Drawings collection, Library of Congress, Washington D.C.

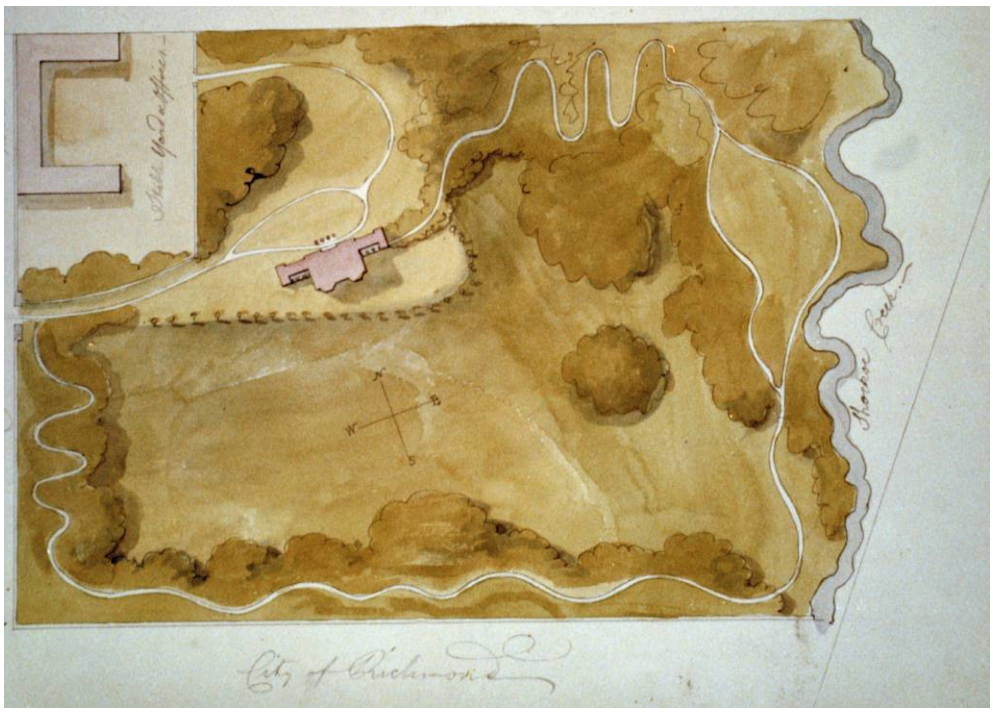


Fig. 4.40 B. H. Latrobe’s landscape plan for ‘Clifton’, Church Hill, Richmond, Virginia c.1798-9, one of America’s earliest picturesque landscape plans. A circuitous, serpentine path in the manner of Horace Walpole’s at Strawberry Hill, Twickenham, directs views of the house and landscape. Image courtesy of the Prints and Drawings collection, Library of Congress, Washington D.C.

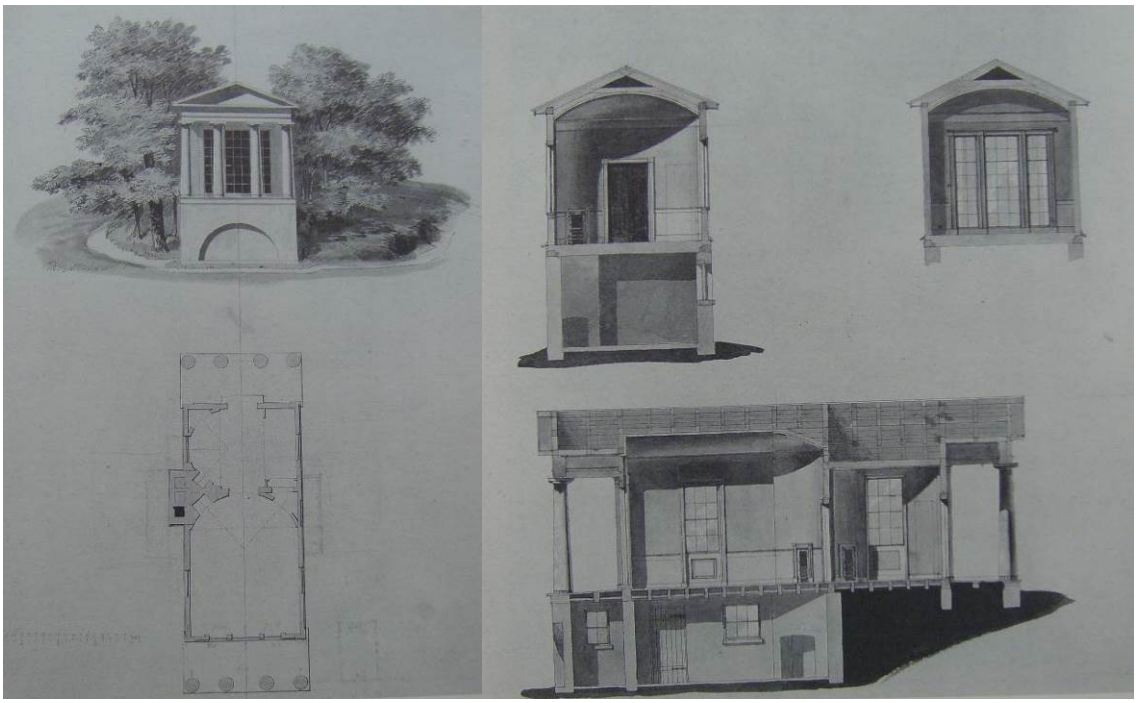


Fig. 4.41 Elevation, plan and sections by B. H. Latrobe, for an ornamental dairy/summerhouse, apparently intended for Richmond, Virginia (since it appears in the frontispiece to Latrobe's *Designs of Buildings Erected or Proposed To Be Built In Virginia 1795-1799*, fig. 5.38). Images courtesy of the Prints and Drawings Collection, Library of Congress, Washington D.C.

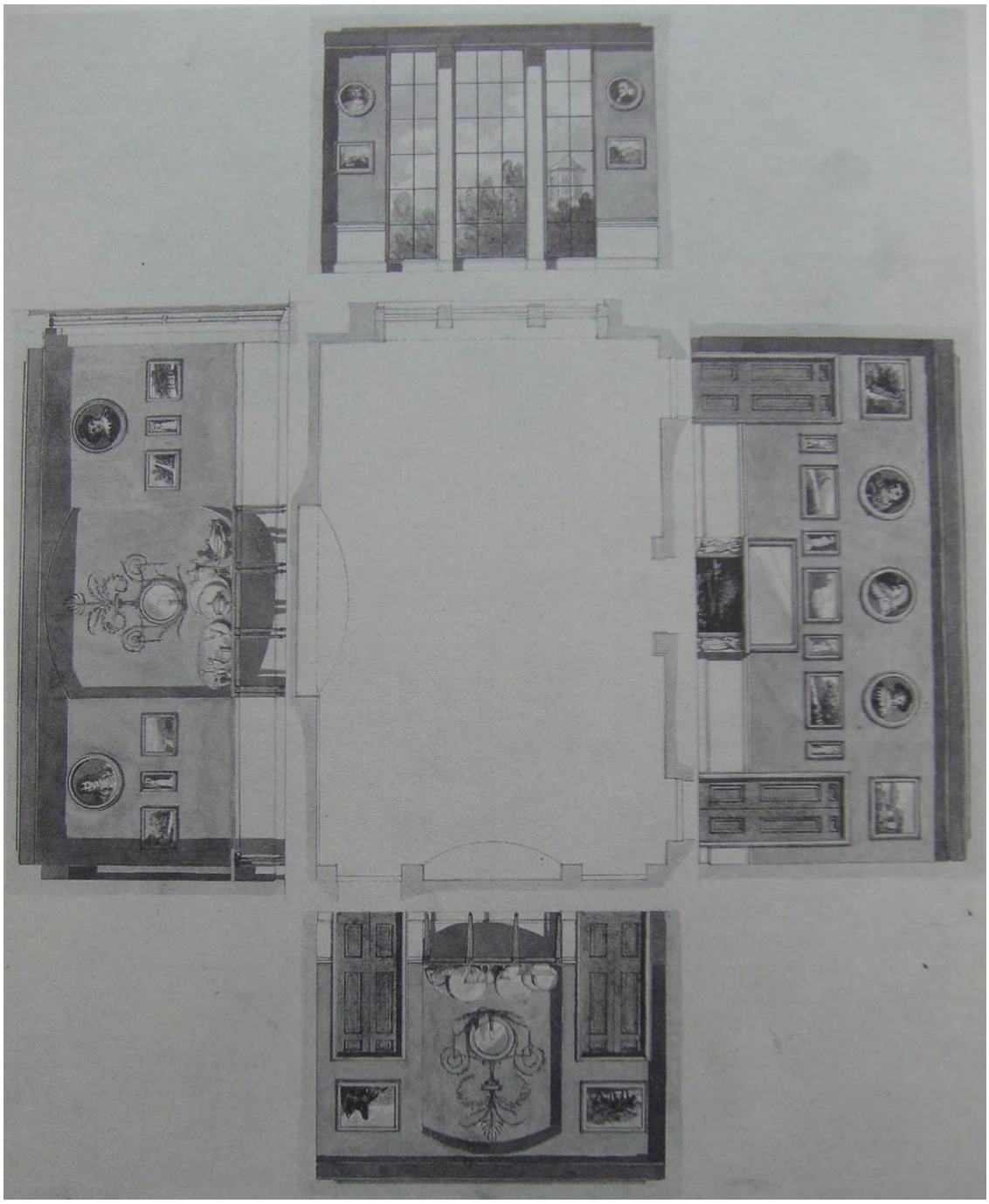


Fig. 4.42 Developed surface drawing of Mr Tayloe's Dining Room, Washington D.C., by B. H. Latrobe, 1796-7. The landscape paintings displayed on the walls of the room are echoed by the landscape seen through the floor-to-ceiling garden windows. Image from W. Fazio, P. Snadon, *The Domestic Architecture of Benjamin Henry Latrobe* (John Hopkins University Press, 2006).

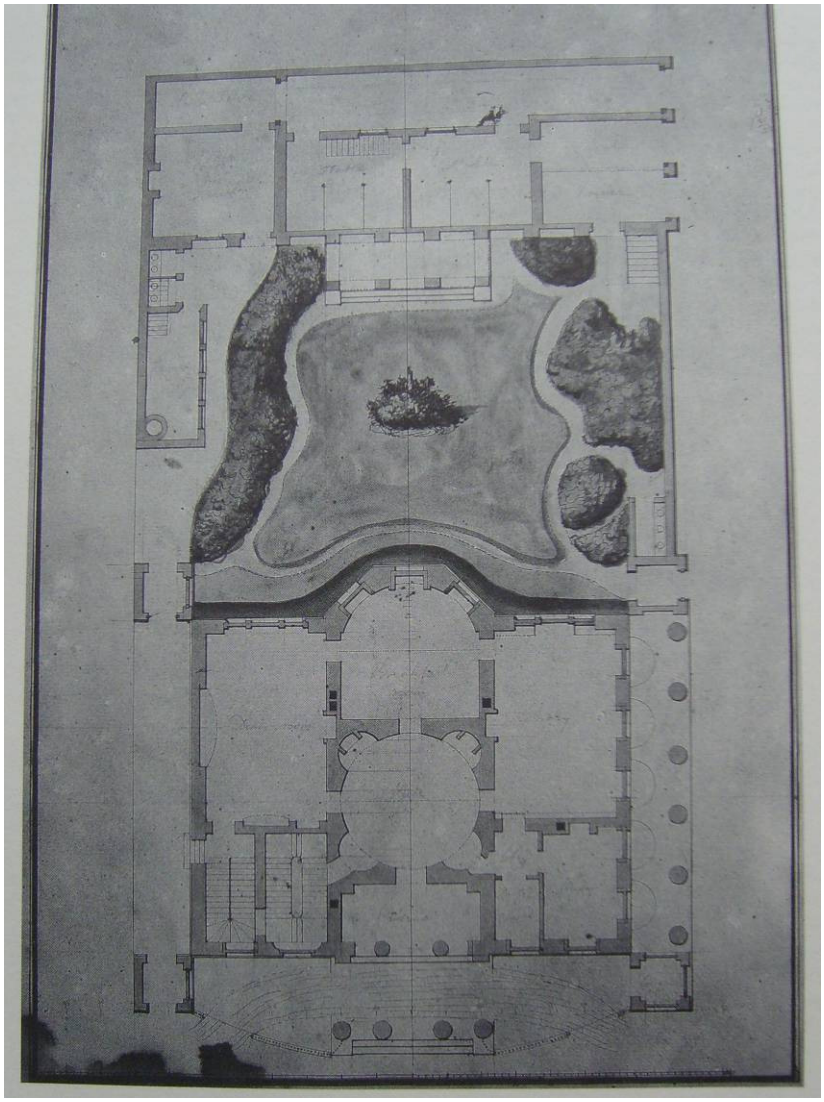
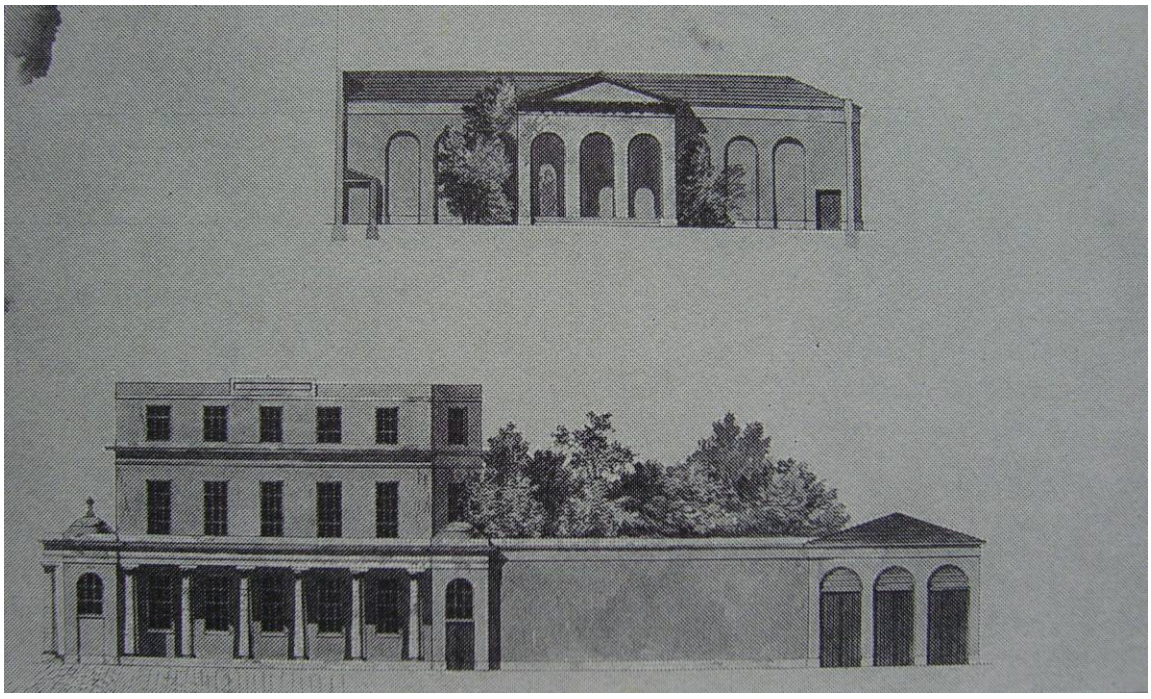


Fig. 4.43 Plan and elevations for Mr Tayloe's house and garden, Washington D.C., by B. H. Latrobe, 1796-7, described by Snadon and Fazio as "the first formal design drawing for an American house integrated with a designed landscape." The service quarters to the rear of the site are screened by picturesque plantings and a temple portico. This garden has no access from the house, it is simply a 'scene' to be observed from the house. Image from W. Fazio, P. Snadon, *The Domestic Architecture of Benjamin Henry Latrobe* (John Hopkins University Press, 2006).



landscape of the garden as seen through its large windows. Latrobe's plan of house and garden (fig. 4.43) has been described by Snadon and Fazio as "an extraordinary document in American architecture; the first formal design drawing for an American house integrated with a designed landscape" adding that "its picturesque composition precedes the groundbreaking planning of American picturesque cemeteries by more than thirty years."[118] Latrobe seems to have been influenced here by his experiences in England, Snadon and Fazio have indicated Taylor's Asgill House, Richmond-upon-Thames as possible precedent, especially the prominent bow facing the landscape.[119]

As we have seen, Latrobe's villa designs owe certain influences to British models. Perhaps the clearest instance of this is the unfinished sketch design Latrobe produced for a domed Virginian villa, which Cohen & Brownell trace to Robert Morris' designs, notably Marble Hill, Twickenham. As an amateur architect himself, Jefferson had also been experimenting with the square-plan domed villa,[120] creating various designs for Virginia governors (1772-3) and for the President's House, Washington (1792).[121] Certainly, Anglo-Palladian influence can be detected in Latrobe's 1810 designs for the coincidentally named Pope Villa,[122] Lexington, Kentucky (fig. 4.44), particularly its elevation of three Venetian windows reminiscent of Burlington's Chiswick.[123] In another notable coincidence, the Pope Villa sat amid large landscaped grounds bordering the main road to another American Richmond in Kentucky, a developing suburb of commuter villas from the early 1800s. It is tempting to suggest that the suburban retirement of the coincidentally named 'Popes' at 'Richmond' may have been factors in Latrobe's evocation of Chiswick House.

4.7 Thomas Jefferson in Richmond

The importance Latrobe placed upon surveillance in his Penitentiary design, and the frequent use of classical reference and picturesque optical devices in his Virginian

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[118] Fazio, Snadon, *The Domestic Architecture of Benjamin Henry Latrobe,* p.253

[119] Despite the novelty of Latrobe's groundbreaking designs for Tayloe's House, his scheme remained unexecuted. Tayloe did build a house in Washington, known as the 'Octagon', though evidently on a different site and by the architect William Thornton in 1799-1801.

[120] Jefferson was influenced by the work of Palladio, via the Anglo-Palladianism of Morris, Kent and Burlington.

[121] Though none of these designs were executed. Fazio, Snadon, *The Domestic Architecture of Benjamin Henry Latrobe,* p.395

[122] Named after the client, Senator John Pope (1770–1845).

[123] Further evidence of Chiswick's influence can be seen in Latrobe's competition perspective for New York City Hall of 1802. Among many similar features, Latrobe shows Burlington's curious obelisk chimneys, venetian windows set within arches, pedimented portico and central rotunda.

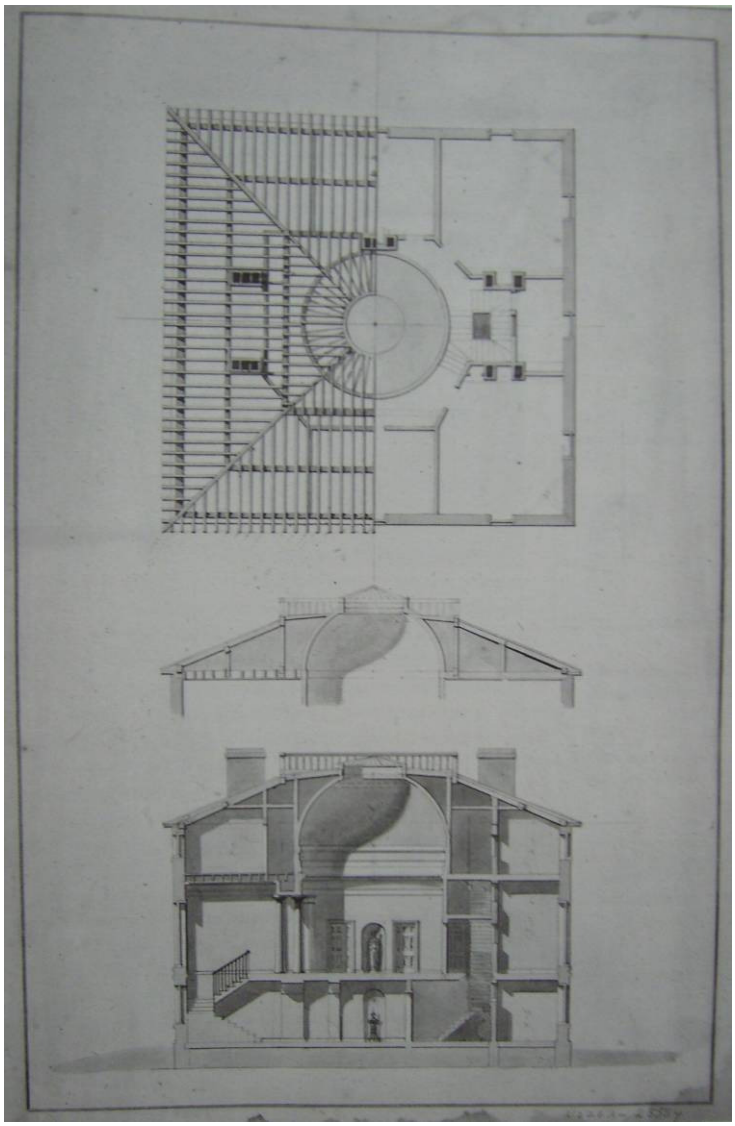




Fig. 4.44 (Top) Plan and section of the Pope Villa, Lexington, Kentucky, by B. H. Latrobe. Image from W. Fazio, P. Snadon, *The Domestic Architecture of Benjamin Henry Latrobe* (John Hopkins University Press, 2006). (Below) The Pope Villa, as restored. Image by author. Not the similarities between Latrobe's rotunda villa, and Lord Burlington's villa at Chiswick.

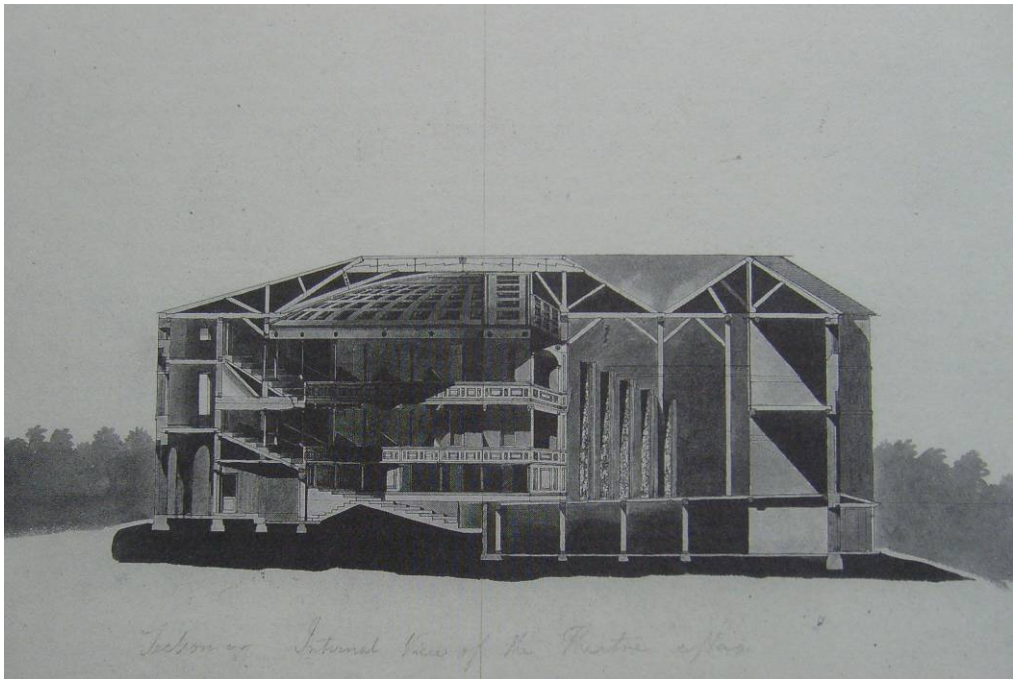


Fig. 4.45 Section through the theatre and stage building designed by Benjamin Henry Latrobe, for Richmond, Virginia, showing European perspective-enhancing features such as the raked stage and angled scenery. Image from J. A. Cohen, C. E. Brownell, *The Architectural Drawings of Benjamin Henry Latrobe* (Yale University Press, 1994).

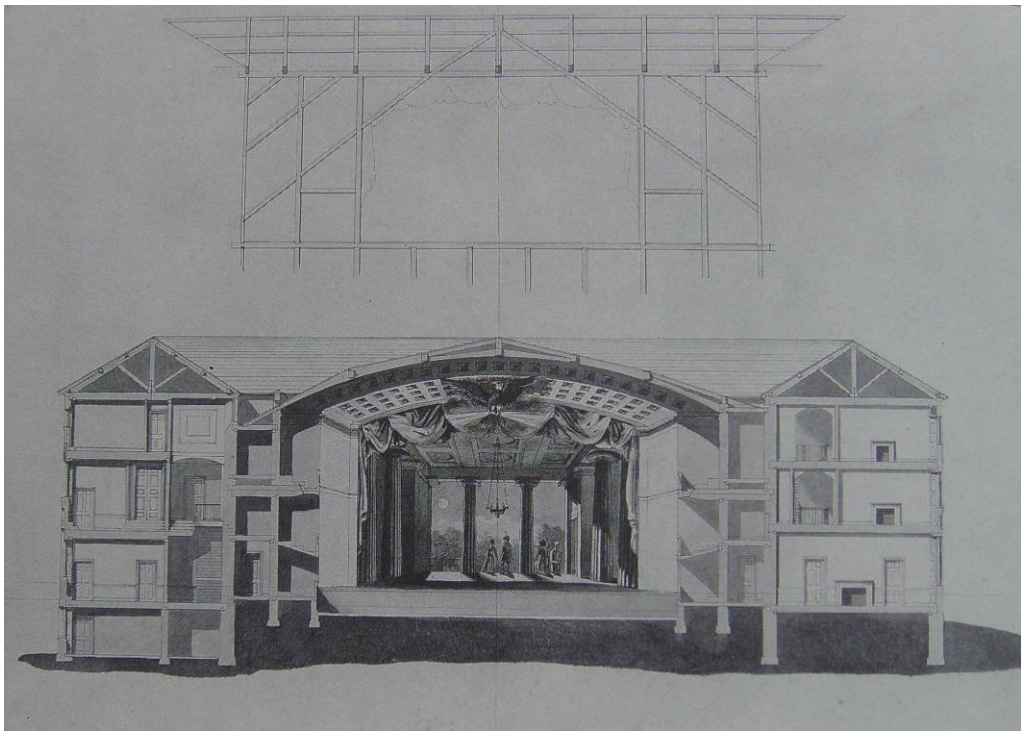


Fig. 4.46 Section through the theatre, designed by Benjamin Henry Latrobe, for Richmond, Virginia. Latrobe's drawing emphasises the pictorial effect of the stage by depicting an Arcadian set with picturesque landscape beyond. Image from J. A. Cohen, C. E. Brownell, *The Architectural Drawings of Benjamin Henry Latrobe* (Yale University Press, 1994).

villas is also evident in the work of Thomas Jefferson. In 1785 Jefferson had been asked to procure in Europe designs for a government building to be erected high on a hilltop overlooking the James River (fig. 4.48).[124] Following a European Grand Tour of classical ruins and picturesque landscapes, Jefferson submitted plans based on the Maison Carrée at Nîmes,[125] which he stated "is allowed without contradiction to be the most perfect and precious remain of antiquity in existence […] [superior to] anything at Rome, in Greece, at Balbec [sic], or Palmyra."[126]

Just as Jefferson had first seen the Maison Carrée on his travels in Europe, so too, his importation of the Roman temple was explicitly designed to appeal to the tastes of the picturesque tourist. An example of this is Jefferson's statement that "it is noble beyond expression and would have done honor [sic] to our country as presenting to travellers a morsel of taste in our infancy, promising much for our maturer age."[127] Jefferson imagined that his Virginia State Capitol would promote good taste in America and inspire a great future, mirrored by Early's suggestion of the important role Richmond's Capitol played in the development of the classical and later romantic movements in American architecture. Early writes:

> "Virginia's capitol became the first modern building modelled after a specific ancient edifice and the first example in the United States of the new type of classicism characteristic of the romantic movement."[128]

With Latrobe's classical villas and public buildings, and Jefferson's gleaming white Roman temple perched high above the river, the James River landscape was becoming established as an English landscape garden, emulating the Italian landscape paintings which had inspired such gardens. Jefferson surely recognised this, as he had toured English picturesque gardens on his travels, stating that "The gardening in that country is the article in which it excels all the earth."[129] Extracting ideas from these gardens, Jefferson imagined a garden pavilion for his 'Plinian' villa-estate at Monticello, Virginia, where "the roof may be Chinese, Grecian, or in the taste of the

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[124] Completed in 1788.
[125] These had been drawn under his direction by Charles-Louis Clerisseau, who had studied and measured the Roman temple for his book, *Les Monuments de Nîmes* (1778). C. Clerisseau, *Les Antiquités de la France, Monuments de Nîmes* (1778). J. Early, *Romanticism and American Architecture* (New York: A.S. Barnes & Co., 1965) p. 13
[126] *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson* (Princeton: Princeton University Presss, 1954) IX, pp. 220-222
[127] Tyler-McGraw, *At the Falls: Richmond, Virginia and its People,* p.72
[128] Early, *Romanticism and American Architecture,* p. 14
[129] E. Dumbauld, "Jefferson and Adams' English Garden Tour," in W. H. Adams, ed., *Jefferson and the Arts: An Extended View* (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1976) p. 139 See also J. Early, *Romanticism and American Architecture* (New York: A. S. Barnes, 1965) p. 39

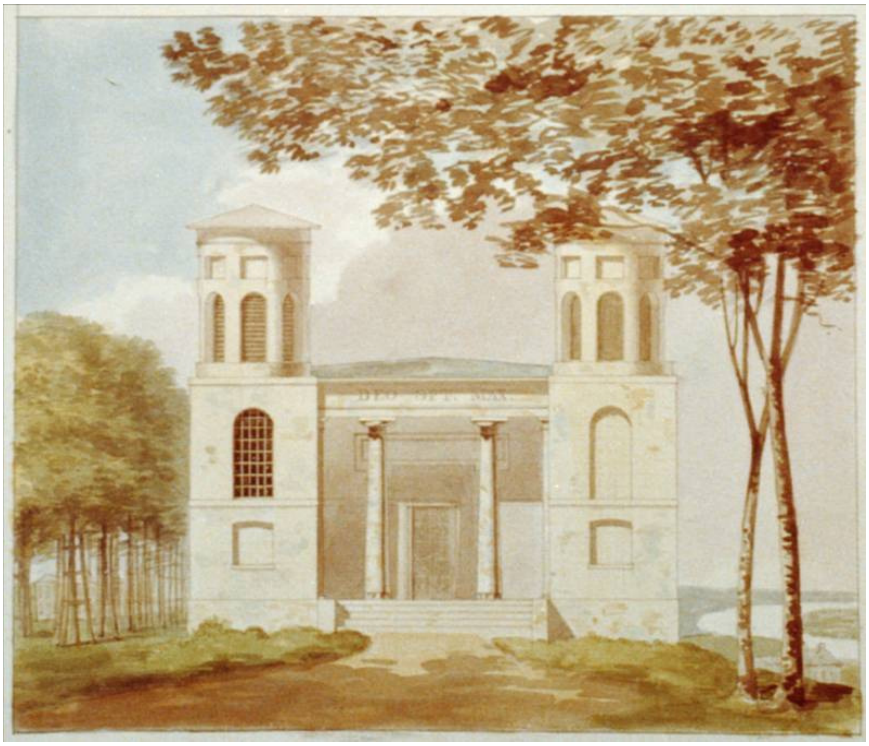


Fig. 4.47 Elevation for a church at Richmond, Virginia, by Benjamin Henry Latrobe. The church was to terminate a vista along Broad Street at a point where the road leads down to the river crossing. Latrobe's inclusion of the view over the river, to the right, suggests that the right-hand tower, with its open arcade, may have been intended as a belvedere for admiring the prospect. Image courtesy of the Library of Congress, Washington D.C.

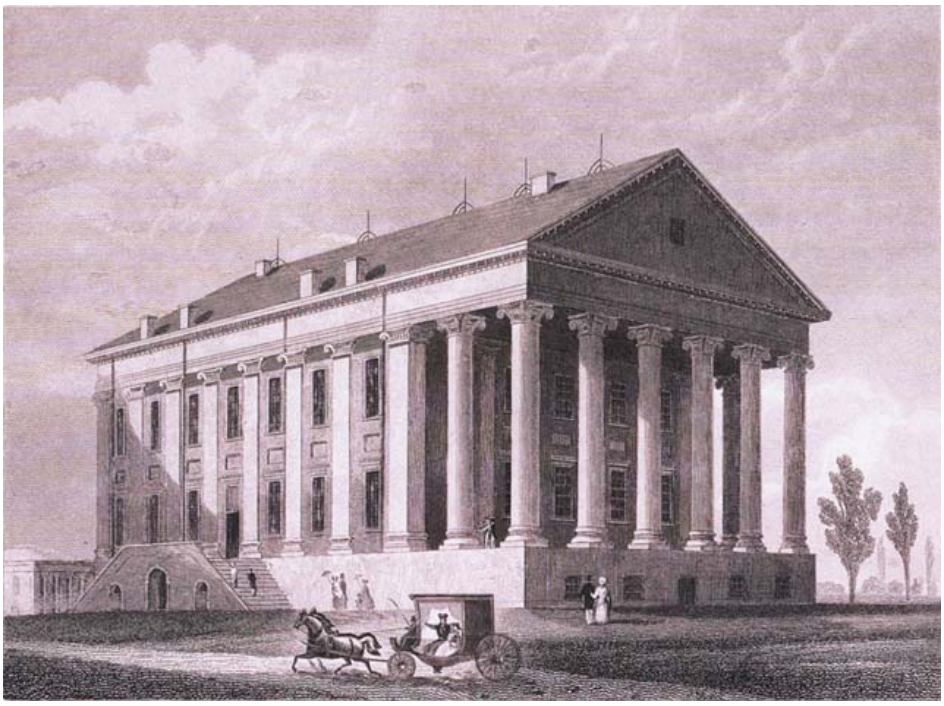


Fig. 4.48 Engraving, undated, of Thomas Jefferson's Virginia State Capitol, Richmond, based on the roman temple, the Maison Carrée at Nîmes, France. Image courtesy of the State Library of Virginia.

Lantern of Demosthenes at Athens."[130] He also considered building "a small Gothic temple of antique appearance" and noted in his journal the pyramid he had seen at Stowe.[131] Though the square surrounding Jefferson's Capitol building in Richmond received no formal landscape plan, picturesque landscape ideas were certainly integrated into Jefferson's design. For example, in its original configuration the raised podium of the portico was not reached directly by steps, as at the Maison Carrée, but by a pair of imperial stairs on the broad sides of the building. This arrangement shares similarities with Lord Burlington's Chiswick House where the stairs lead the visitor to the first floor porticos from which to take in vistas of the landscape beyond. Similarly, the Capitol's portico served as a viewing terrace from which to view the expansive river landscape. Writing later, in 1846, Scotsman George Mackay noted that the river was "so directly beneath you that it almost seems that you could leap into it."[132] This viewing function of Jefferson's Capitol is today regrettably lost, the result of a dense crowding of later, and much taller buildings, and the addition of steps to the portico.

As well as serving as a place from which to view the landscape, Richmond's Capitol also embellished it in a manner typical of the picturesque. This, I suggest, was not lost on Latrobe, whose watercolour sketch of the Virginia capitol from the proposed site of his island villa has all the compositional hallmarks of picturesque landscape painting; a foreground tree carefully positioned to frame the view, balancing shrubs opposite and a middle ground of water and clumps of trees enlivened by the distant classical temple (fig. 4.50). As Latrobe wrote in *An Essay on Landscape*:

> "Having satiated your eye with this prospect, retire within the Grove, so that the foreground shall consist of trees, and shadowy earth. The landscape is immediately lightened up with a thousand new beauties, arising from the novelty of the contrast. This particular effect, of seeing a distant view glittering among near objects is familiar to every observer. The Landscape is now become a perfect composition."[133]

Just as the disparate villas and gardens of the Thames were imagined to be united in one great picturesque landscape from the viewpoint on Richmond Hill, so too Latrobe unites the city, the river, the villas and their gardens in one great Arcadian landscape composition.

America's renowned landscape architect, Frederick Law Olmsted, would later write in his travel journal *A Journey in the Seaboard Slave States* (1856):

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[130] Ibid.
[131] Ibid.
[132] Potterfield, *Nonesuch Place,* p. 21
[133] Carter, *The Virginia Journals of Benjamin Henry Latrobe*, p.473



Fig. 4.49 View of Bushrod Washington's Island, now Belle Isle, Richmond, which Benjamin Henry Latrobe purchased for his own home in the 1790s. Watercolour by B.H. Latrobe, courtesy of the Prints and Drawings collection, Library of Congress, Washington D.C.

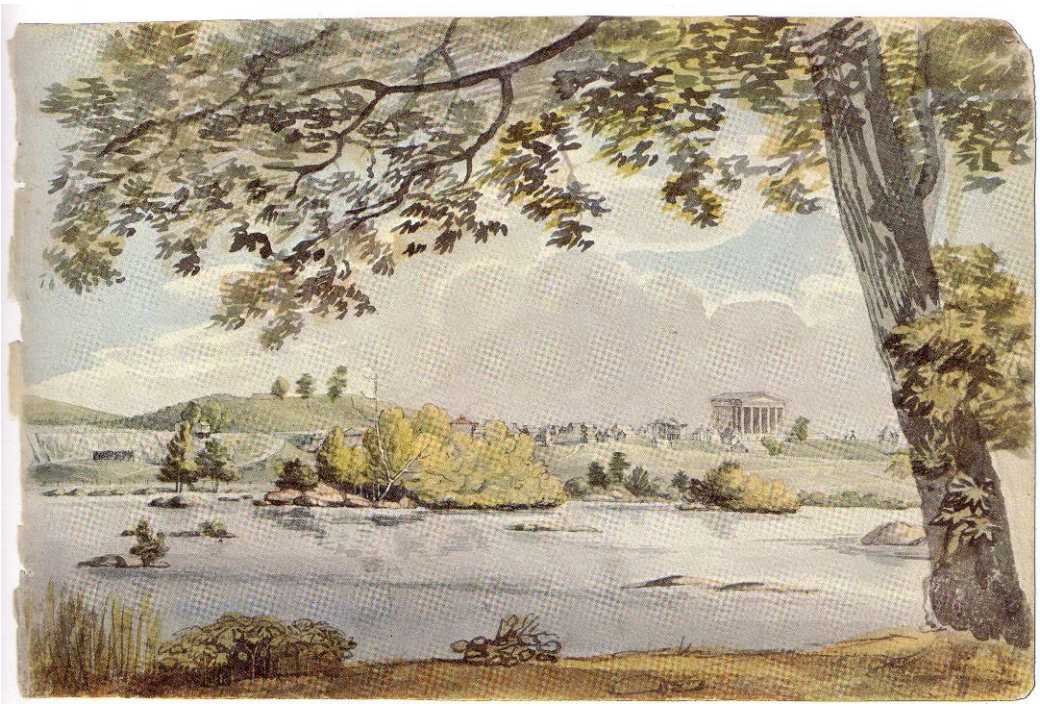


Fig. 4.50 Benjamin Henry Latrobe was particularly drawn to purchase Bushrod Washington's Island for its picturesque views. In this watercolour by B. H. Latrobe, Jefferson's Capitol forms the centrepiece of an Arcadian landscape, which may easily be compared to English landscape gardens such as those at Stowe. Latrobe envisaged building a villa, and living a noble, back to basics, lifestyle on the island, though he never achieved this, as his work increasingly saw him in Philadelphia and Washington. Image courtesy of the Prints and Drawings collection, Library of Congress, Washington D.C.

> "Richmond, at a glance from adjacent high ground, […] has a very picturesque appearance […]. It is […] situated upon and among some considerable hills, but the moment it is examined at all in detail, there is but one spot, in the whole picture, upon which the eye is at all attracted to rest. This is [Jefferson's] Capitol, an imposing Grecian edifice, standing alone, and finely placed on open and elevated ground."[134]

Richmond's picturesque townscape was increasingly enlivened with Grecian edifices as an increasing number of affluent villas, set within picturesque landscaped gardens of their own, filled the view. One contemporary writer would describe Richmond as "a beautiful little city, built up of rich and tasteful villas, and embellished with all the varieties of town and country, scattered with a fine and exquisite skill."[135] Its developing suburban morphology reflected the developing morphology of its Thames-side namesake. A resplendent image of the city is illustrated in Lewis Clover's watercolour of 1834 (fig. 4.51), depicting both Latrobe's Penitentiary and his idyllic island retreat. This view of a prosperous Arcadian landscape is similar to the impression Alexis de Tocqueville had on his arrival to New York by way of the East River in 1831. De Tocqueville was delighted by "a number of little palaces of white marble, several of which were of classic architecture." However, his enthusiasm was dampened when he learned, upon closer inspection, that the "marble temples" had walls of whitewashed brick and columns of painted wood. As Early states:

> "In the deception De Tocqueville found evidence of the "hypocrisy of luxury", a vice he believed inherent in democracies where "appearance is more attended to than reality." […] Showiness was almost inevitable in a period that characteristically valued the aura of nostalgic associations surrounding particular architectural forms more than the forms themselves."[136]

De Tocqueville found that the Arcadian image was just that, a romantic, optimistic image projected onto the landscape. Perhaps Tocqueville would have been bewildered by the stuccoed brick of Jefferson's Roman Capitol, as landscape architect Frederick Law Olmsted was in 1856. Olmsted stated:

> "I perceived that the imposing edifice, as I had thought it at a distance, was nothing but a cheap stuccoed building; nor would anything short of test by touch, have convinced me that the great state of Virginia would have been so long content with such a parsimonious pretense

[134] F. Law Olmsted, *A Journey in the Seaboard Slave States; With Remarks on Their Economy* (New York: Dix and Edwards, 1856) p. 19
[135] Brown, 'Eighteenth-Century Virginia Plantation Gardens: Translating an Ancient Idyll', *Regional Garden Design in the United States*, p.125
[136] Early, *Romanticism and American Architecture,* p. 27



Fig. 4.51 Watercolour view of Richmond, Virginia, by Lewis Clover, 1834. Latrobe's penitentiary is to the left, and his island home, Belle Isle, is to the right. Richmond is presented here as an Arcadian landscape of charming classical buildings set within a picturesque landscape. Despite the presence of industry shown by the canal and factory buildings, the city is presented as agrarian through the depiction of the foreground cattle, and civilised through the depiction of the canal boat as Venetian gondola. Image courtesy of the Prints and Drawings collection, Library of Congress, Washington D.C.

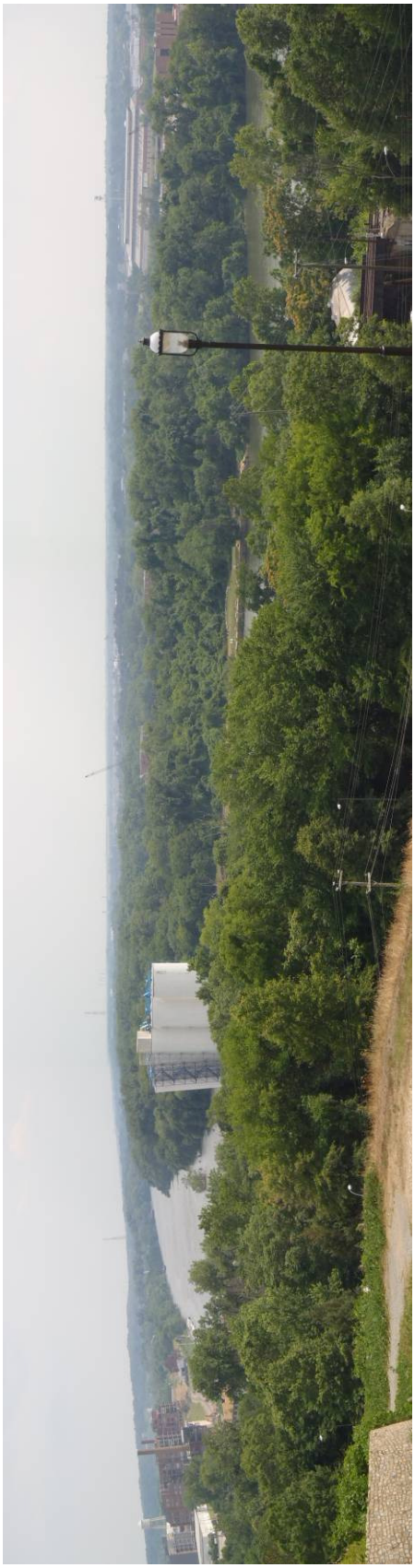




Fig. 4.52 The panoramic view of the James River from Libby Hill Park, Church Hill, Richmond, Virginia. Images by author.

> [sic] of dignity as is found in imitation granite and imitation marble."[137]

The point, perhaps, was that these buildings were imagined as more than themselves, as objects part of a greater whole – the object of the landscape itself. The actual fabric of these buildings mattered less than the fictive reality of which they were a part, a new classical landscape claimed from the ancients via the Thames banks for a new American city. For all this classical authority was imagined as a romantic conceit, it was no less authentic to its authors than the original.

In this section I have demonstrated how the very foundations of an American architectural profession, and a mode of vision for the viewing of American landscapes and townscapes, grew from culturally-engrained examples of Anglo-Palladian architecture and the 'English landscape' movement. Specifically, the Virginian capital of Richmond was shaped via the mediated images of Richmond-upon-Thames. Despite a direct translation of many of the values encoded in the picturesque view onto the landscape of Richmond, Virginia, it will be seen that these values were not static, but in constant flux. In the following sections, the dynamic nature of the vista's shifting cultural and political values in the build-up to, and aftermath of, the American Civil War will be examined via a study of picturesque images of the Virginian landscape and, more specifically, the vista from Church Hill district's Libby Hill Park.

4.8 Libby Hill's Greek Revival Villas: Richmond as Classic City

As the previous chapter discussed, Richmond's hills were long admired for their scenic prospects and Church Hill in particular, the site of the Powhatan village dubbed 'Nonesuch' and the location of historic St. John's Church, became one of the city's most fashionable spots for admiring the picturesque view, home to the suburban belvederes of a new gentry society. This chapter will follow the next steps in the intellectual history of the view's development and the shift in its imaginative construction from a rural landscape to a city suburb. It will account for the designation of Libby Hill Park and the construction of a viewing terrace, pavilion and serpentine scenic carriageways. The chapter will argue that through this process, Church Hill's expansive prospect was concentrated into a narrowly defined and controlled vista, while at the same time its associated values were reinforced through the construction of scenic

[137] Law Olmsted, *A Journey in the Seaboard Slave States,* p. 19



Fig. 4.53 Map of key landscape features, Richmond, VA, showing the location of Libby Hill Park. Drawing by author.

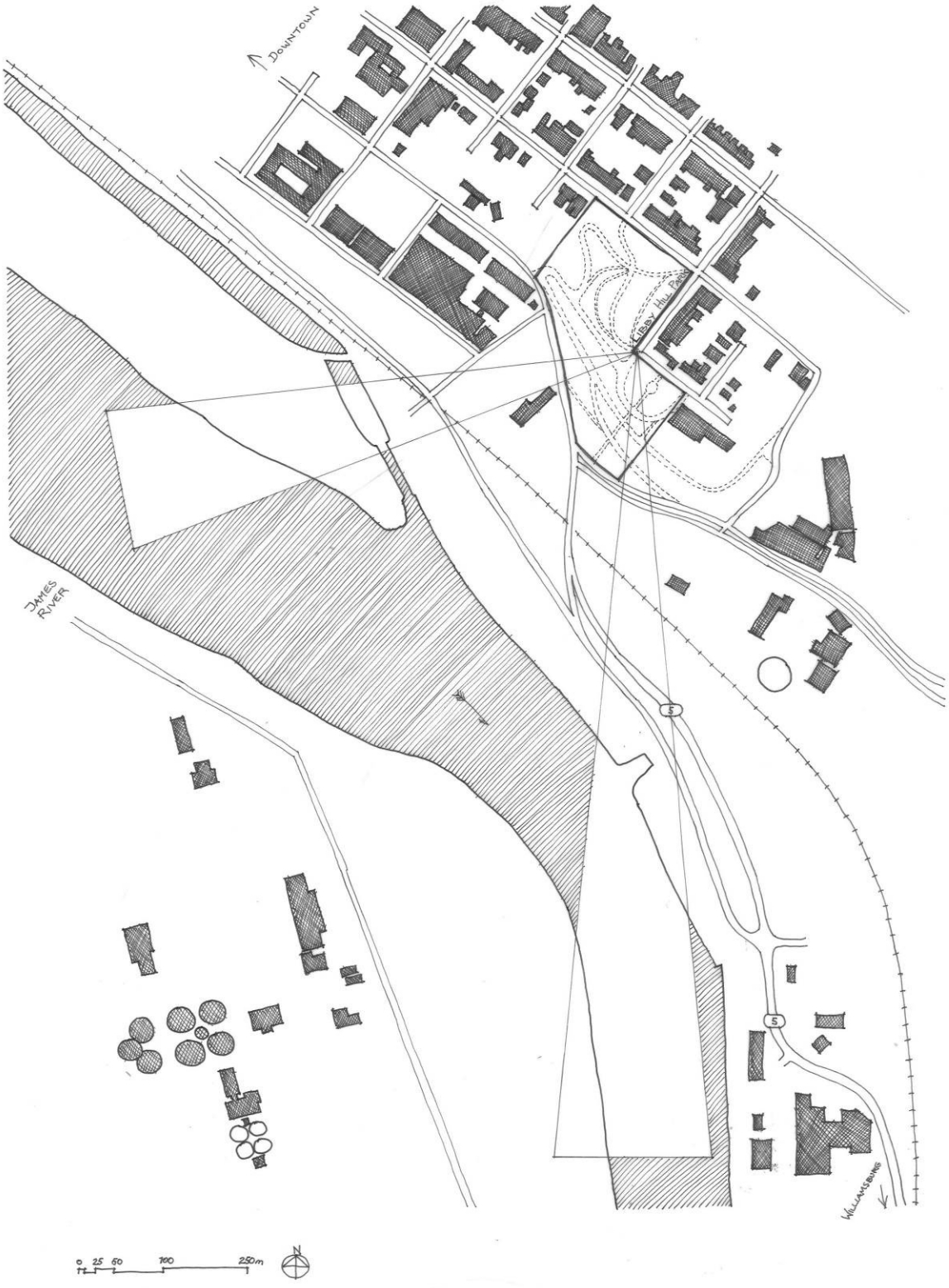


Fig. 4.54 Plan of Church Hill and the view from Libby Hill Park. Drawing by author.

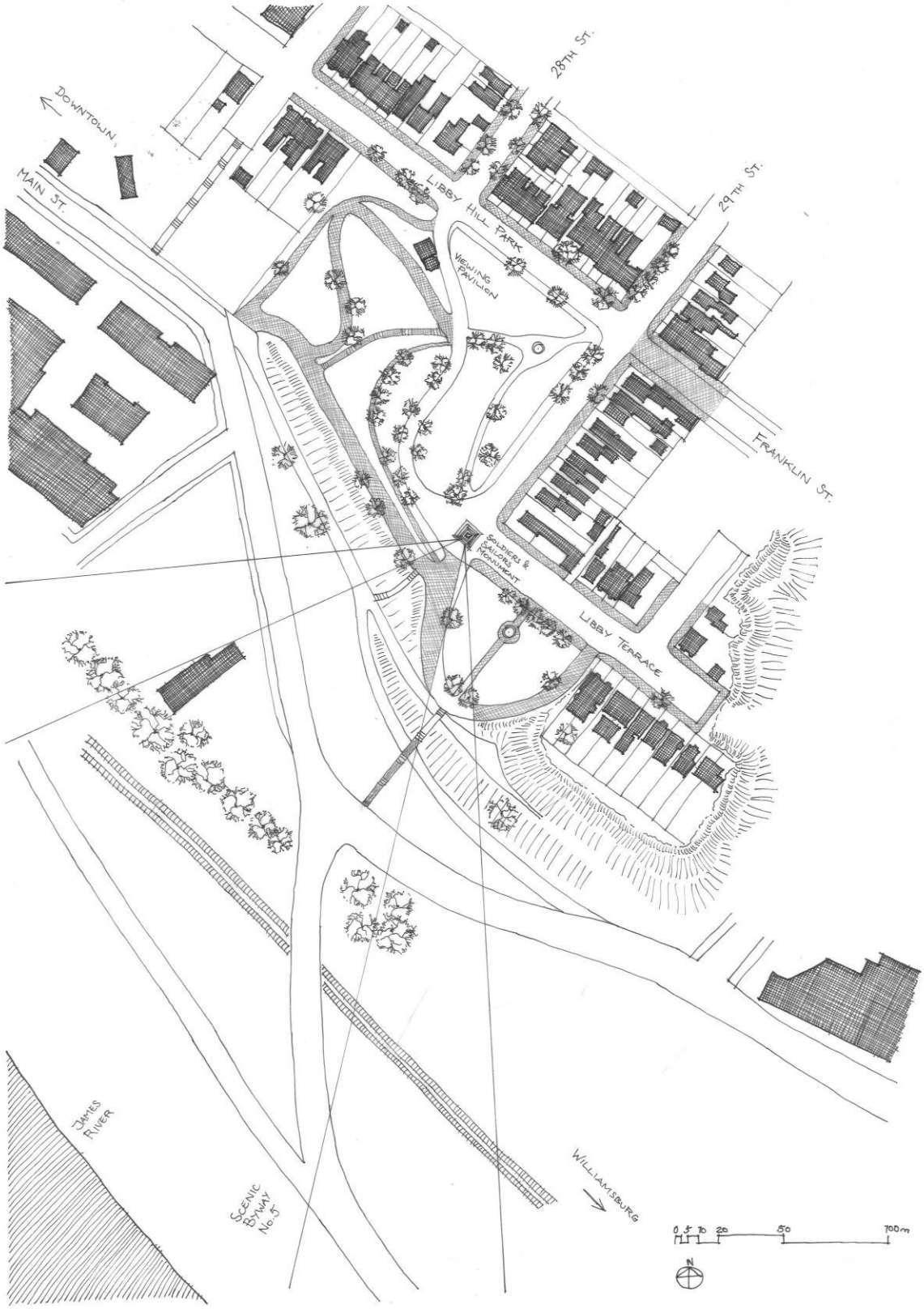


Fig. 4.55 Plan of Libby Hill Park. Drawing by author.

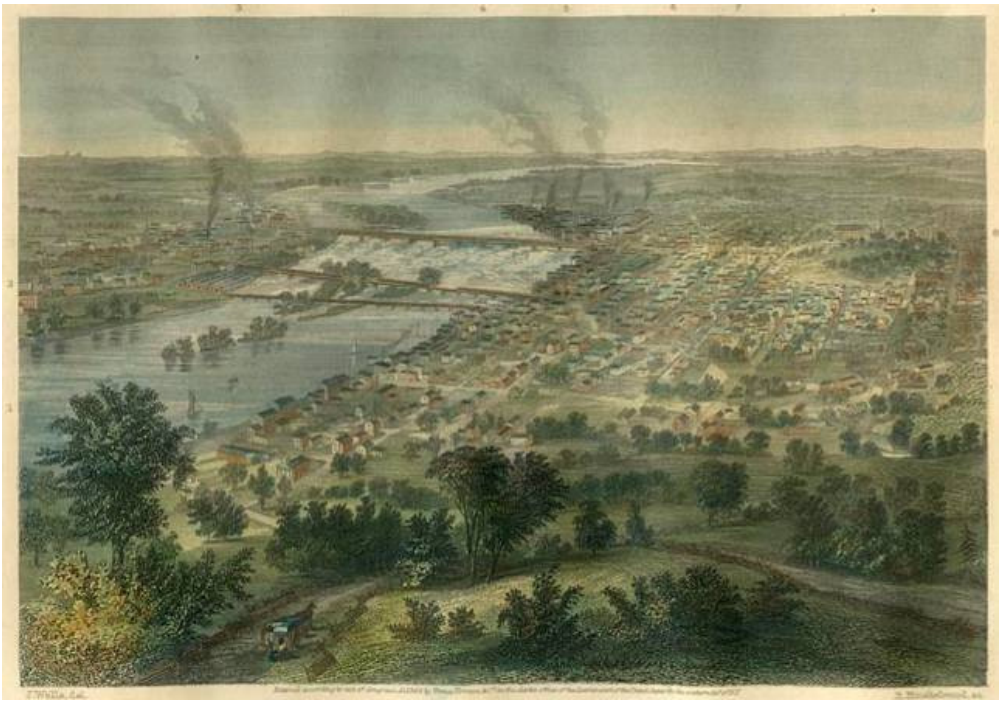


Fig. 4.56 Aerial view of Richmond, Virginia, by J. Wells and R. Hinshelwood. Though the height is exaggerated, the viewpoint is from Libby Hill Park, Church Hill. Image courtesy of the State Library of Virginia.

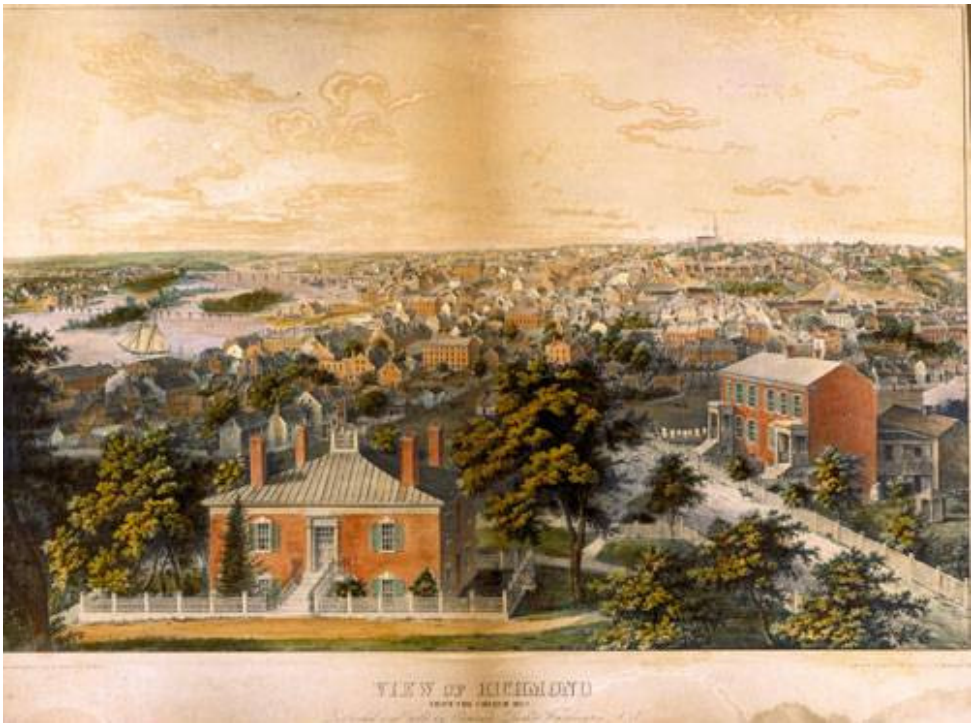


Fig. 4.57 Lithographic view of Richmond, Virginia, from Church Hill by Edward Sachse c. 1851. The image captures the gradual replacement of Church Hill's comfortable villas (such as the Palladian villa in the foreground), with denser developments of row houses, (right of centre), a reflection of the rising industrial middle classes. Image courtesy of the Virginia Historical Society.

parks, cemeteries, monuments and a proliferation of inexpensive, mass-produced images.

Within the district of Church Hill may be found one of Richmond's smallest, but perhaps its most important public park, an area of gardens laid out at the edge of steeply sloping Libby Hill. Overlooking the bend of the James which so resembled the river's serpentine course at Richmond-upon-Thames, the viewing terrace at Libby Hill Park demonstrates, more than anywhere else, why the city received its name (fig. 4.52). Established in 1851, the ground which was to become Libby Hill Park was one of the first to be designated in a system of municipal public parks.[138] Its goal was to preserve for public use an area of open ground from which to observe the view, as much had passed into the private ownership of property developers and architects including Latrobe, who had packed the hillside with the villas of an early industrial elite.

Many of Church Hill's villas were built from the wealth of Richmond's flourishing nineteenth-century industries, including its famous ironworks and tobacco factories. Contemporary artists made a point of depicting the smoking chimneys, warehouses and railway viaducts of these industries as advertisements of the city's prosperity. Indeed, Libby Hill afforded the finest panorama of Richmond's prosperous semi-rural villas set against the background of this industrious activity, marking it out as *the* viewpoint of choice for touring draughtsmen, including J. Wells and R. Hinshelwood who mapped an aerial view of the city from Libby Hill in 1863 (fig. 4.57).

An earlier, more detailed lithograph by Edward Sachse demonstrates the semi-rural character of Church Hill's many villas, interspersed with their landscaped gardens c.1851 (fig. 4.58). Sachse depicts an elegant Palladian style villa, reminiscent of Latrobe's experimental Pope Villa at Lexington, Kentucky. Set on its large plot, planted in a neat, naturalistic style crossed by serpentine paths, this plantation estate in miniature contrasts with a pair of early row houses, complete with washing hung conspicuously in one of the diminutive front yards. As such, Sasche's image serves as a snapshot of the changes Richmond's communities were undergoing at a time of increasing prosperity and population growth. These decades immediately following the War with Britain (1812-1814), have been described as Richmond's "Flush Time," a period of unprecedented growth enhanced by the removal of British bureaucracy and taxes. Local historian Samuel Mordecai wrote that:

[138] 'St John's Church Historic District', *Discover Our Shared Heritage Travel Itinerary* (National Park Service) http://www.nps.gov/nr/travel/richmond/St.Johns.htm [accessed 17/03/2011]

> "Now is the time for speculative and dreaming or designing men. They relate their dreams and projects to the ignorant and credulous, dazzle them with golden visions and set them crazed after shadows. The example of one stimulates another – speculation rises on speculation – bubble rises on bubble – every one helps with his breath to swell the windy superstructure, and admires and wonders at the magnitude of the inflation he has contributed to produce."[139]

Church Hill's grand Greek Revival villas, transforming the idea of the landscape from rural to rus-in-urbe, are a testament to Richmond's "Flush Time." Though only the Wickham-Valentine and Brockenbrough houses remain, these white stuccoed mansions, often with two-storey porticos facing the river, played a significant role in defining the character of Richmond's river views. The contemporary proliferation of classical villas is demonstrated by the remark of a character in James Fenimore Cooper's *Home as Found* (1838), who states: "An extraordinary taste is afflicting this country in the way of architecture, nothing but a Grecian temple being now deemed a suitable residence for a man in these classical times."[140] Though the Greek Revival style was prevalent throughout much of the east coast of America at this time, Virginia is often credited as its birthplace, and Jefferson as its founding father. One historian of the Greek Revival has written that:

> "The historians of art […] dispute the origin of the neo-classic style in America, but here in Richmond there can hardly be a doubt that residences of this type were inspired by the model Jefferson gave in the Capitol. The columns of a Roman façade, set on a bold Richmond hill, fired the imagination of not a few ambitious gentlemen."[141]

In Richmond too, one can trace Jefferson's influence upon architect Robert Mills, the author of several early Greek Revival villas and, as architect of the Washington Monument and United States Treasury, America's most influential Greek Revival architect. Of Richmond's two remaining villas, the Brockenbrough House (fig. 4.59) is attributed to Mills, Latrobe's protégé and rival in his late career. A grand, but plain, house with a two-storey colonnade facing over the formerly open hillside towards the river, the Brockenbrough House is chiefly known for its legendary role as 'White House of the Confederacy' during the American Civil War. The villa's present setting could not be more different from the original; the river views from the rear portico have been blocked in recent years by tall buildings and the steep hillside re-graded. Though

[139] Mordecai, *Richmond in By-Gone Days,* p. 218
[140] Early, *Romanticism and American Architecture,* p. 45
[141] A. W. Weddell, *Richmond Virginia in Old Prints* (Johnson Publishing Company, 1932) p. xxix



Fig. 4.58 Architect Robert Mills's Brockenbrough House (built 1818), later Jefferson Davis's 'White House of the Confederacy', Richmond, Virginia. Originally, the house was a conspicuous feature of the city skyline, and its colonnade enjoyed wide views over the James River, now blocked by later buildings. Image by author.



Fig. 4.59 The Wickham-Valentine House, Richmond, Virginia (built 1812), widely considered Richmond's finest surviving classical villa, originally attributed to Robert Mills, but now confirmed as the work of Alexander Parris (with advice from B. H. Latrobe). Image by author.

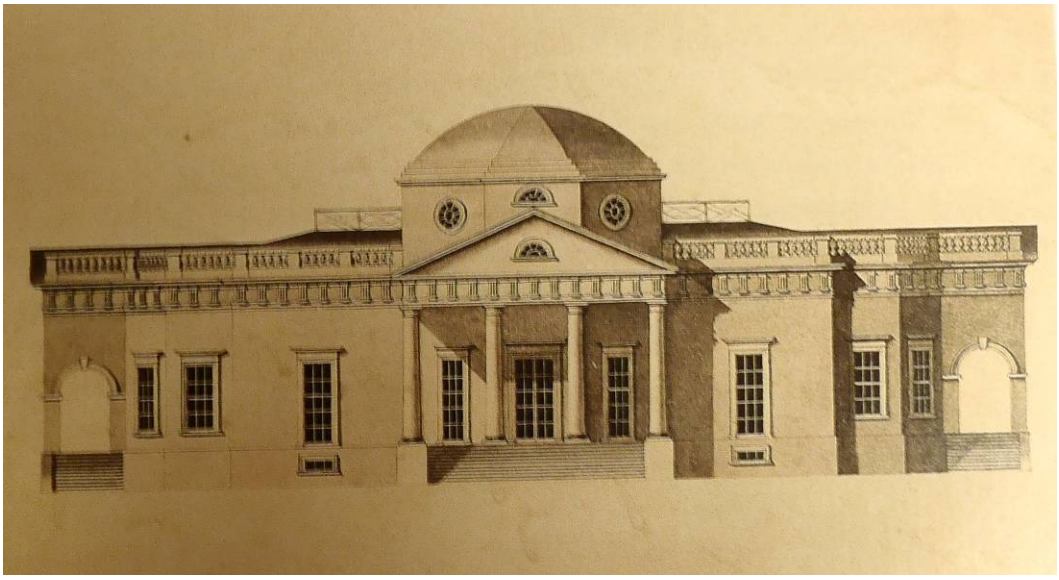


Fig. 4.60 Drawing of Thomas Jefferson's Monticello, by Robert Mills c. 1830. Image from J. M. Bryan, *Robert Mills: America's First Architect* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2001) p. 22

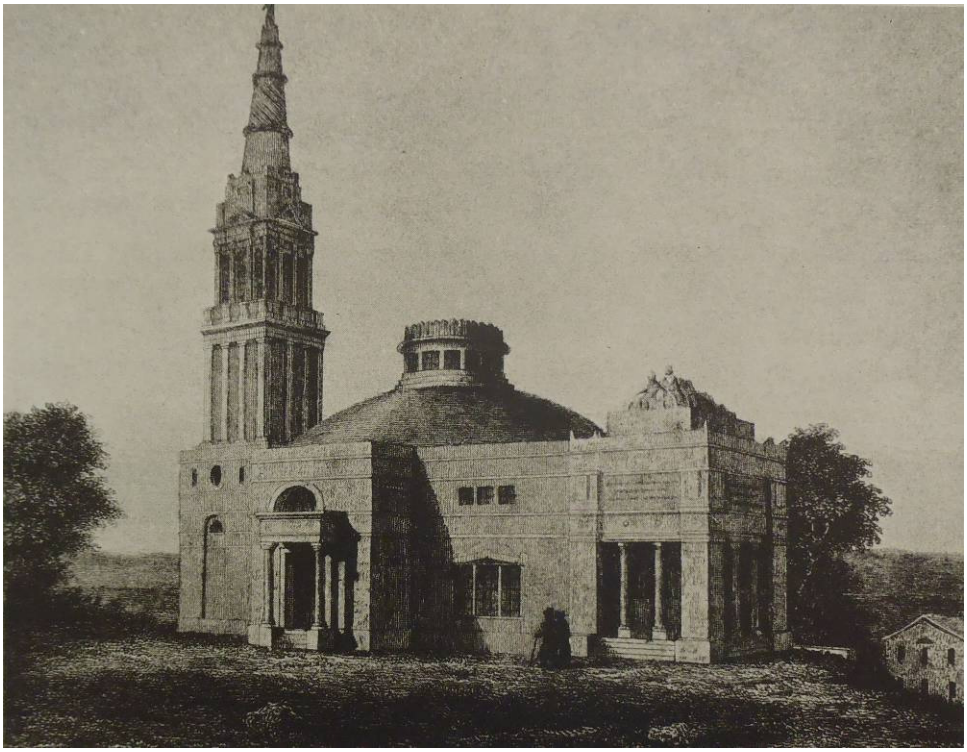


Fig. 4.61 Engraving, by William Strickland, of Robert Mills's curiously picturesque Monumental Church, Richmond, Virginia, exhibited at the Society of Artists in 1812. The church remains, but the spire was not executed. Image from J. M. Bryan, *Robert Mills: America's First Architect* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2001).

of a different building, Mordecai's account of a similarly sited house on Ross Street, Richmond, gives an impression of its former setting:

> "The house […] had no claim to antiquity, but it excited admiration by the beauty of its elevated position and its Italian aspect. A centre building with wings, and a portico in the rear fronting the river displayed an arcade in the entire length of the edifice, commanding an extensive view of the city beneath, of the country around, of the river, its islands and its falls and its smooth water; with the sails of vessels glancing through the trees in the sinuosities of the stream; of yellow fields of wheat and green fields of corn, with a back-ground of forest […]; these combined to form an exquisite landscape."[142]

Richmond's villas, such as the one Mordecai describes here, not only enjoyed spectacular views of the landscape, but like Jefferson's Capitol, they were intended as embellishments of it, contributing to the burgeoning image of Richmond as a classical city. Richmond's second remaining Greek Revival villa, the Wickham-Valentine House (fig. 4.60), has also been attributed, incorrectly, to Mills. Built in 1812, Alexander Parris is now widely accepted as the villa's architect, along with a little advice provided by Latrobe.[143]

Mills *was* employed with the design of Richmond's Monumental Church (1812-1814), a commission which he won in direct competition with Latrobe. It had been Jefferson whom had initially spotted Mills' talent, possibly during the construction of Washington's White House.[144] Soon after, Jefferson instructed Mills to make drawings of his Monticello estate (fig. 4.61) along with a series of domed villas, probably based on Jefferson's Leoni edition (1715) of Palladio's *I Quattro Libri dell' Architettura.*"[145] Early in his career, Mills had described his first view of Jefferson's Capitol in Richmond as giving him "the idea of the position of those Greek temples which are the admiration of the world."[146] If Jefferson's Capitol brought images of Athens to Mills' mind, he was certainly influenced by the model of Rome's Pantheon[147] in the design of his Monumental Church, a circular domed space preceded by a temple pavilion. Mills' integration of dome, cupola, temple façade and steeple (unexecuted) would have been peculiarly kinetic, or picturesque, in form. The mass-production and widespread distribution of prints of Mills' buildings during the first decades of the nineteenth

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[142] Weddell, *Richmond Virginia in Old Prints,* p. 30
[143] M. Wingfield Scott, *Houses of Old Richmond* (Richmond, VA: The Valentine Museum, 1941) p. 104
[144] J. M. Bryan, *Robert Mills: America's First Architect* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2001)
[145] Ibid., p. 22
[146] R. Mills, "The Progress of Architecture in Virginia," a fragmentary essay in the collection of Tulane University, cited in Bryan, *Robert Mills: America's First Architect,* p. 12
[147] As Jefferson had been in the design of his University of Virginia, Charlottesville.



Fig. 4.62 Early interior view of the Valentine Museum, Wickham-Valentine House, Richmond, Virginia. Visitors to the collection, full of classical sculptures and plaster casts and housed in a classical villa, would have left with the strong image of Richmond as classical city. Image courtesy of the Valentine History Center.



Fig. 4.63 Richmond as glorious classical city, poster designed for sale by the Richmond Valentine History Center. Image courtesy of the Valentine History Center.



Fig. 4.64 Early photograph (c.1920) of the Adams-Van Lew House, Church Hill, Richmond, Virginia. This house and its extensive gardens features in authoress Ellen Glasgow's novel, *Romance of a Plain Man* (1909). Image from M. Wingfield Scott, *Houses of Old Richmond* (Richmond, VA: The Valentine Museum, 1941).

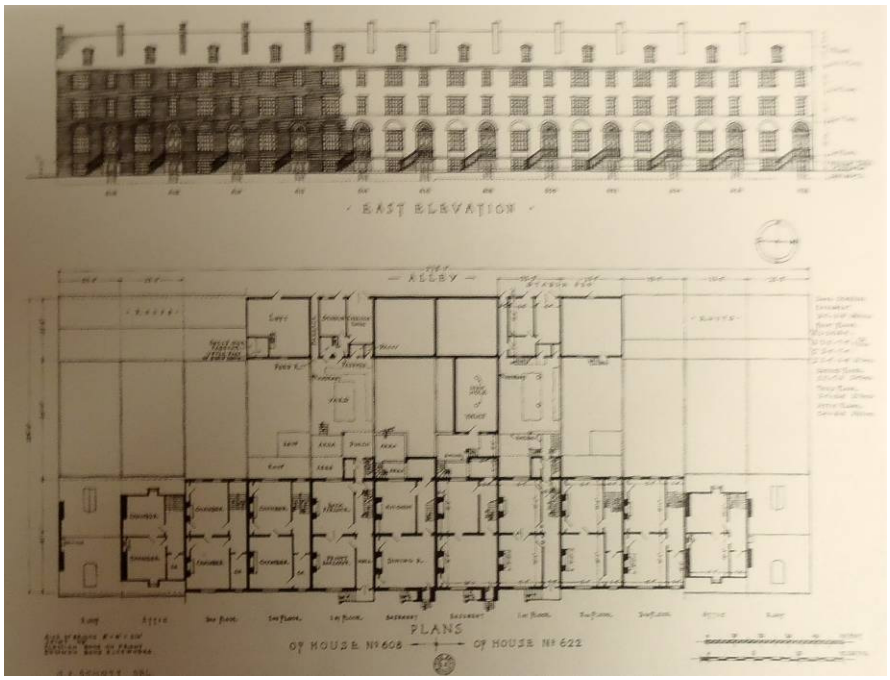


Fig. 4.65 Architect Robert Mills's plans for Waterloo Row, Baltimore (1817-19), a terrace of classical villa row-houses. Image from J. M. Bryan, *Robert Mills: America's First Architect* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2001).

century[148] contributed to the popular notion, promoted at this time, that Richmond was a city of elegant classical buildings set within a picturesque Arcadian river landscape. [149]

The image of Richmond as classical city has also been promoted by the city's Valentine History Museum which began its life housed in Parris's Greek Revival Wickham-Valentine House. The Valentine History Museum evolved from the collection of Mann S. Valentine Jr., whom, like many gentlemen of his time, collected antiquities, sculpture and paintings. The display of Valentine's collection of classical sculpture in the surroundings of his Greek Revival home must certainly have left an impression in the minds of a generation of visitors, who viewed Richmond through a lens of classical romanticism (fig. 4.63). This mythic image was heightened by the aforementioned incorrect attribution of the house, and many others in Richmond, to Mills, who grandly proclaimed himself the 'first American architect,'[150] and whose popular works, from the United States Treasury to the Washington Monument, have become defining images of an American classical style. By association, the suggestion that Mills honed his skills in Richmond presents the city as the origin of an elegant, classical past.

Today, a poster produced by the Valentine Museum depicts the city in this familiar manner (fig. 4.64); the Richmond landscape is presented as an imaginary gallery stocked with classical buildings, a popular format for depicting the monuments of great cities popularised from the eighteenth century onwards[151] and reminiscent of Lowenthal's description of "a family portrait or a mantel full of snapshots that gather one's dear ones together, such pictures let the lover of antiquity gaze on all his favourite monuments at once."[152]

4.9 The Literary Portrayal of Libby Hill and the Construction of a Southern Regional Identity

If one perceives a certain sense of nationalistic sentiment in Richmond's associations with Mills, 'America's first' architect and with Jefferson, key protagonist in the story of American neo-classicism as well as the country's third president, there is

[148] Mills exhibited a drawing of the church at the Society of Artists, Philadelphia, in 1812 and set about publishing it as an engraving, describing it as "a handsome picture, capable of ornamenting any room." Bryan, *Robert Mills: America's First Architect,* p. 107
[149] Ibid.
[150] "Mills always claimed to be the first native born American to study specifically to become an architect." Ibid., p. xi
[151] For example John Soane's twin paintings showing the monuments of Rome alongside the buildings he himself had designed.
[152] Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country,* p. 283

an equally strong sense of regionalism in much contemporary literature. As the city's population boomed and a prosperous middle class developed, the value of land on fashionable Church Hill escalated, encouraging shrewd developers to infill large villa plots with denser compact housing. The upper classes, tired of their increasingly old-fashioned mansions, and aware of the value of their plots for middle-class housing, soon began to move away towards the West.[153] This moment is captured in local author Ellen Glasgow's *Romance of A Plain Man* (1909). Glasgow's protagonist is a relatively poor man, living during the late 1800s on "Church Hill, a portion of the city which had been left behind in the earlier fashionable progress westward."[154] The story takes place post-Civil War, at a time when the hierarchical society of the American South, considered outdated by the northern victors, was beginning to unravel. A love story revolving around the unlikely affair of an upper class woman and a 'plain' man, who through hard work, rises through the ranks of society, Glasgow's writing presents a nostalgic account of a society in flux. In *Away Down South*, James Cobb has written that, in both North and South, authors such as Glasgow and Thomas Nelson Page "churned out treacly romantic portraits of the Old South"[155] where "estates swelled in size and mansions grew proportionately great. Gentlemen were perfected in lovely grace, gay girls in loveliness, slaves in immeasurable devotion."[156] Fenimore Cooper was also guilty of this hyperbole when he wrote that the South had "more men who *belong to the class of what is termed the class of gentlemen"* than "any other country of the world."[157] Similarly, in John Pendleton Kennedy's *Swallow Barn* (1832), set in the fictional Tidewater plantation of the same name, protagonist Frank Meriwether, the very personification of the Southern Cavalier gentleman, seldom ventures beyond Richmond which is for him "indisputably the centre of civilisation."[158] The collective works of these writers have been dubbed the 'Southern Renaissance,' when, "in the absence of a critical historical tradition, southern writers began to ask how such an appealing and glorious past could have degenerated into such a dismal and defective present."[159]

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[153] Demonstrated by contemporary newspaper advertisements for 'modern' properties in the west of the city. For example, a 1910 Blanton & Company advert for property in 'Monument Annex'. "Rapidly Richmond Moves Westward," *Richmond Times-Dispatch* (7 August, 1910)
[154] E. Glasgow, *Romance of a Plain Man* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1909) p. 3
[155] Cobb, *Away Down South,* p. 77
[156] F. Pendleton Gaines, *The Southern Plantation: A Study in the Development and the Accuracy of a Tradition* (New York, 1925) pp. 63-4
[157] J. F. Cooper, *Notions of the Americans: Picked up by a Travelling Bachelor* (London: Colburn, 1828) in Cobb, *Away Down South,* p. 24
[158] J. P. Kennedy, *Swallow Barn; or a Sojourn in the Old Dominion* (Philadelphia, 1832) p. 28-31
[159] Cobb, *Away Down South,* p. 130

Perceptions of the South were not only affected by American novels but were also certainly influenced by works of popular international literature. Mark Twain even blamed the secession of the southern states on the nostalgic and nationalistic novels of Walter Scott, stating that Scott "had so large a hand in making Southern character […] that he is in great measure responsible for the War."[160] While literature played an important part in the shaping of romantic perceptions of the South, so too did the popular song *Dixie* (1859), which became the popular anthem of the Confederate cause. Though to many the song represents the oppression and moral corruption of slavery, to others the song paints a romantic vision of the Old South, particularly the opening lines, "I wish I was in the land of cotton, old times there are not forgotten". The initial popularity of *Dixie* among New Yorkers reflected "an already well-established tendency to see the South as a primitive and exotic land distinctly apart from the rest of America".[161] Such romanticised visions of the Old South were berated as such by northern reviewers at the time. A 1909 New York Times reviewer lamented that:

> "it is a pity that a novelist of Miss Glasgow's gifts should select a theme, no matter how true it may be locally, so at variance with our National spirit and so impossible in any other locality. For the spirit of caste dominates the whole story."[162]

This damning review reveals how, some forty years after the end of the Civil War, southern society, and the South in general, were still perceived in the north as alien to the "National spirit." This alien South was still later represented in Wilbur Joseph Cash's *The Mind of the South* (1941) and Howard Zinn's *The Southern Mystique* (1964) as "a savagely racist, intellectually stunted, emotionally deranged society unwilling to admit it was sick, much less heal itself."[163] Cash ridiculed the Old South fantasy as a "sort of stage piece out of the eighteenth century" where "every farmhouse became a Big House, every farm a baronial estate, every master of scant red acres […] a feudal lord."[164] However, as Cobb has explained, much southern renaissance literature was both critical of the "intellectual stagnation bred by the Old South" and the tendency for Reconstruction-era 'New South' politics "to marginalize any thought not calculated to produce immediate and substantial material gain."[165]

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[160] Particularly Scott's *Ivanhoe* (1820), which presented Scotland's struggles against English oppression in a way that seemed to evoke the South's struggles against the North. Cobb, *Away Down South,* p. 45
[161] Ibid., p. 1
[162] "Class and Caste in Old Virginia," *The New York Times* (26 June, 1909)
[163] Cobb, *Away Down South,* p. 1
[164] W. J. Cash, "The Mind of the South," *American Mercury* (October 1929) p. 185
[165] Cobb, *Away Down South,* p. 131

Despite negative press from northern reviewers, Glasgow's *Romance of a Plain Man* contains much of interest to historians of Richmond in particular and the South in general. Chiefly, Glasgow's nostalgic view of the caste system illustrates the middle-class white southern perception that a supposedly noble, agrarian, Jeffersonian and 'American'[166] society was being eroded by the Wordsworthian 'dark and satanic' modernising forces of the Yankee North. Glasgow writes:

> "Our prosperity, with our traditions, had crumbled around us, yet there were still left the ancient church, with its shady graveyard, and an imposing mansion or two inherited from the forgotten splendour of former days. […] The other [modern] Richmond – that "up-town" I heard sometimes mentioned – I had never seen, for my early horizon was bounded by the green hill, by the crawling salmon-coloured James River at its foot, and by the quaint white belfry of the parish of old St. John's."[167]

Glasgow imagines Church Hill as a 'ghost town' haunted by memories of a splendid past; her nostalgic writing abounds in examples of a contemporary obsession with the picturesque ruination that had long been a trope in landscape composition:[168]

> "on Church Hill it seemed almost as if we had been forgotten […]. The grip of poverty, which was fiercer than the grip of armies, still held us, and the few stately houses showed tenantless and abandoned in the midst of their ruined gardens."[169]

In many ways, Glasgow's juxtaposition of the modern industrial "up-town" with the crumbling plantation houses of old Richmond is representative of the divide between the modernising Yankee North, the unseen enemy beyond the visible landscape, and the pastoral nostalgia for a half-imagined 'Old South.' It is also testament to the urbanisation of the idea of the rural landscape. Thus, one could argue that Glasgow's novels contributed to a wave of anti-modern sentiment common at this time, as Lowenthal has written:

> "The Civil War may have freed Americans from the burden of filial piety, but in its wake came a wave of nostalgia for other periods or aspects of the American past. Increasing dissatisfaction with the present led Americans to yearn for the fantasised ideals and artefacts of the Colonial or Revolutionary golden age."[170]

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[166] In the sense of the Jeffersonian ideal of the American yeoman farmer, living comfortably from the land.
[167] Glasgow, *Romance of a Plain Man,* p. 3
[168] "Picturesque taste enshrined ruins as consummate exemplars of the irregular, the accidental, and the natural; for the sake of pleasing decay houses were deliberately made ruinous and new ruins manufactured." Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country,* p. 149
[169] Glasgow, *Romance of a Plain Man,* p. 24
[170] Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country,* p. 121

As such, Glasgow was not alone, she was just one of Lowenthal's "Romantics and reactionaries" who "[blaming] the brutal "machinery" of change for a mean and rootless modernity, […] propped up and reinstated anachronistic features of pre-industrial pasts."[171]

In Glasgow's *Romance of a Plain Man*, an obvious anachronistic feature the author chose to reinforce was the architecture of Richmond's greek revival villas. In the novel just one mansion on Church Hill, a grand classical villa based on the Adams-Van Lew House (built 1815)[172] was still occupied (fig. 4.65). Glasgow described the house as:

> "a fine old mansion, with a broad and hospitable front, from which the curved iron railing bent in a bright bow to the pavement. It was the one great house on the hill, with its spreading wings, its stuccoed offices, its massive white columns at the rear, which presided solemnly over the terraced hillside."[173]

Before its demolition in 1927, the Adams-Van Lew House was the best-known of all of Richmond's classical villas and was imagined as the quintessential example of a Richmond typology. Glasgow was not alone in her admiration for the structure, which was extolled in memoirs, sketches and newspaper articles, including a full page spread in the *Richmond Times-Dispatch* (25 August, 1912).[174] Traditionally, though doubtfully, also attributed to Mills, Glasgow used this villa as the setting for her wealthy female protagonist's family and the faded grandeur of the villa in which they lived as a symbol of the rapid disintegration of an old society. Whether or not Mills had any hand in its design, the "enchanted garden" of the Van-Lew House plays a significant role in the setting of Glasgow's romantic novel. A contemporary newspaper described the garden as "a miracle of beauty, a terraced wilderness of flowers and trees and shrubbery, just sufficiently cared for to heighten without impairing the privileges of nature through the art of landscapes."[175]

Along with the imagery of the classical house and its picturesque garden setting, the view of the James River is also an important component of Glasgow's writing. In *Romance of a Plain Man,* the vista from Libby Hill takes on a symbolic role; Glasgow repeatedly connects imagery of the Church Hill neighbourhood with the rural associations of the river view, whilst disconnecting the modern industrial 'up-town' by

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[171] Ibid., p. 97
[172] M. Wingfield Scott, *Houses of Old Richmond* (Richmond, VA: The Valentine Museum, 1941) pp. 119-121
[173] Glasgow, *Romance of a Plain Man,* p. 31
[174] "The Adams Home on Church Hill," *Richmond Times-Dispatch* (25 August, 1912)
[175] Ibid.

removing it from view. In doing so, the picturesque view of the river from the old mansions of Church Hill acts as a nostalgic symbol of a former age when the river was the life-blood of the city. Glasgow writes:

> "Before our feet the ground sank gradually to the sparkling river, and farther away I could see the silhouette of an anchored vessel etched boldly against the rosy clouds of the sunset."[176]

It could be argued that Glasgow's image of the sun setting over an anchored vessel on the river is a literal 'rose-tinted' vision of the end of an economic era and a supposed 'golden age'. Local historian Doctor Little also used the romance of sunset to bathe his writing in flattering golden hues. Little writes:

> "Among the most beautiful views in or about Richmond, that which is seen from the top of Church Hill strikes me as superior to all others. As a walk around Calton Hill in Edinburgh is said to have first suggested the idea of the panorama […]; so here we have at once suggested the same idea, because of the exceeding and diversified loveliness of view that nature and art have combined their efforts to produce. No man of taste has ever stood upon the point of Church Hill at sunset […] without being enraptured with the exquisite beauty of the view, and struck with the panorama-like character of the picture presented to his gaze […] while over the whole scene the gorgeous hues of a summer sunset give colouring and softness and finished beauty to the picture […] enriching with its flood of light the combined view of city, river, and country landscape."[177]

Writing in 1852, Little evokes the picturesque with his reference to the combined efforts of "nature and art," the idea of the men "of taste," and his description of the view as a "picture" or "panorama." Little's picturesque imagery and romantic lighting serve to disguise the contemporary development of the hilltop where the spattering of villa estates had become condensed, multiplied and further urbanised; the row house, with its classical detailing, raised principal floor and neat picket-fenced gardens imitated the plantation villa on a further reduced scale.[178]

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[176] Glasgow, *Romance of a Plain Man,* p. 26
[177] Weddell, *Richmond Virginia in Old Prints,* p. 26
[178] A typical example of this compaction from plantation mansion to row house is Mills's design for Waterloo Row, Baltimore (1817-1819), a row of classically detailed terraced homes for the rising middle classes of industrial Baltimore. Bryan, *Robert Mills: America's First Architect,* p. 142

4.10 Richmond's Municipal Park System: Institutionalisation of the View

Richmond's earliest photograph, indeed very early in the history of photography, a daguerreotype taken from a similar spot to Sasche's painting, demonstrates the rapid development of the Church Hill neighbourhood with speculative row housing by c.1855 (fig. 4.66). This pre-crash property boom in cities of the 'New South' was a favoured subject of 'Southern Renaissance' authors, in particular Phillip Alexander Bruce's *The Rise of the New South* (1905), Mildred Rutherford's *The Old South: What Made It, What Destroyed It, What Has Replaced It* (1916) and the novels of Thomas Wolfe.

Wolfe's semi-autobiographical accounts of life in Ashville, North Carolina, such as *Look Homeward, Angel* (1929), *The Web and the Rock* (1939) and *You Can't Go Home Again* (1940) all deal with the impacts of 'New South' modernity in historic southern towns during the late-nineteenth century. Significantly, in *The Web and the Rock,* Wolfe gave his hometown the fictional pseudonym 'Libya Hill.' It is tempting to speculate that Wolfe penned this name in reference to Richmond's Libby Hill, embellishing his fictional story with his characterisations of real individuals and the realities of Richmond's formerly grand but declining townscapes.[179] Certainly, the sections of Wolfe's novels set in Richmond demonstrate his affinity with the topography and historical geography of the city; in one passage, character George Webb is instantly transported back in time by views of the city - Wolfe states:

> "They saw [Jefferson's] state house and heard the guns. They knew that Grant was pounding at the gates of Richmond. [...] They felt, they knew, they had their living hands and hearts upon the living presence of these things."[180]

It is important to note here that the widespread assumption that the 'Old South' declined as a result of the North's modernising 'New South' policies is misleading. The glorious past described in the writings of Southern Renaissance authors is as much a figment of their imaginations as the exclusive association of industrialisation with the North. For example, the common picturesque description of Richmond's landscape in later novels is often at odds with eyewitness accounts of the city, which was, even at the height of its supposed glory in the 1850s, a rather ramshackle affair. Former president

[179] Wolfe's descriptions of the faded grandeur of southern mansions may well have been based on those of his home town, Ashville, such as the coincidentally named 'Richmond Hill', close to Wolfe's own childhood home.
[180] T. Wolfe, *The Web and the Rock* (New York, 1939) p. 183



Fig. 4.66 Richmond's earliest surviving photograph, c. 1854-56, a daguerreotype of the city from Church Hill, showing the spread of row-house development (compare to fig. 5.59). Image courtesy of the State Library of Virginia.



Fig. 4.67 View of Richmond, Virginia, c. 1822, showing one of the many islands (left of centre) connected via footbridges. These islands provided recreation space for citizens, 'Vauxhall Island' was even run as a commercial pleasure garden based on the model of Vauxhall Gardens, London. Image from A. W. Weddell, *Richmond, Virginia, in Old Prints 1737-1887* (New York: Johnson Publishing Company, 1932).



Fig. 4.68 A view, c. 1822, of Philadelphia's ornamental Fairmount Waterworks, initiated by B.H. Latrobe and completed by architect Frederick Graff. Image courtesy of the Library of Congress, Washington D.C.

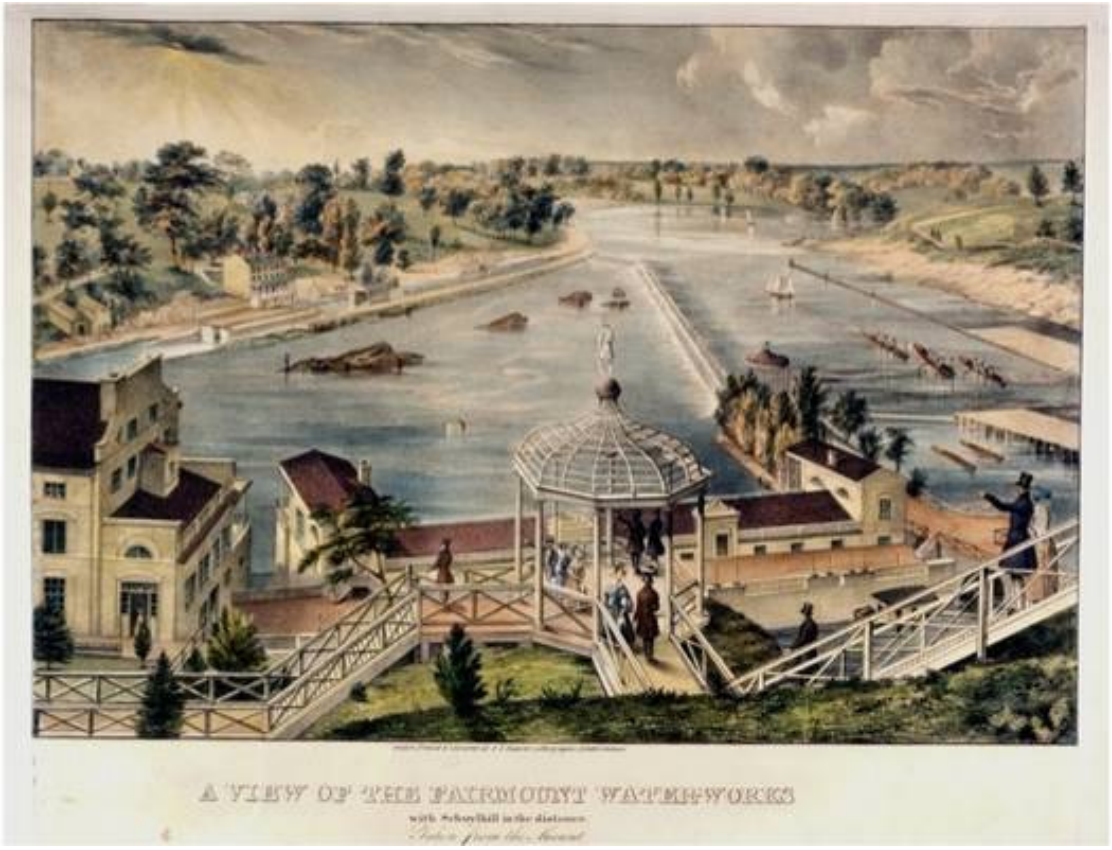


Fig. 4.69 J. T. Bowen's engraving of the viewing terraces and gazebo above the Fairmount Waterworks, Philadelphia (1838). Image courtesy of the Library of Congress, Washington D.C.

John Tyler described the "surface on which the city stood [as] untamed and broken," adding that:

> "Almost inaccessible heights and deep ravines everywhere prevailed. The capitol square was *ruda indigestaque moles*, and was but rudely, if at all, enclosed. The ascent to the building was painfully laborious. The two now beautiful valleys were then unsightly gullies, which threatened, unless soon arrested, to extend themselves across the street north […]."[181]

Far from the tidy image conveyed in the writing of authors and journalists, and in lithographic illustrations circulated in the newspapers,[182] it is clear that Richmond had its share of problems. The popular picturesque description compensated for the visual shortfalls of the city, as revealed by early photography. Former wastelands would gradually be absorbed and landscaped as public parks, providing suitably picturesque foregrounds to landscape and townscape views beyond. A writer in the *Daily Richmond Whig* commented that:

> "This beautiful spot […] acts as a ventilator to Church Hill. Over its summits blow the breezes which old father James imports from the ocean, and from it the eyes take in a grand sweep of country. Here, in days gone by, ladies, and children with their mammies, used to assemble in happy groups to enjoy the freshness of the morning and the coolness of the evening air."[183]

As this passage reminisces fondly, prior to the establishment of the municipal park system, Libby Hill had served as a popular promenade. Other popular destinations were the private pleasure gardens of 'Vauxhall Island' in the James (c.1800-70).[184] In much the same way as its London counterpart, Vauxhall gardens entertained visitors with refreshments, illuminations and concerts. Influenced, no doubt, by the international acclaim of British landscaped examples, a wooded grove at the centre of the island concealed a number of entertainment pavilions including an inn, shuffleboard house and bathhouse, though no depiction of them survives.[185]

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[181] Weddell, *Richmond Virginia in Old Prints,* p. 31

[182] Prior to photography and the development of the photographic magazine, newspapers were an important medium in the circulation of lithographic images. The invention of the rotary press, which could print simultaneously on both sides of a continuous sheet, dramatically increased the speed with which images could be reproduced and distributed. For example, the New York *Tribune's* high speed press, installed in the 1870's, could turn out 18,000 papers per hour. The first reproduction of a photograph in a newspaper did not occur until 1880. D. J. Boorstin, *The Image, or What Happened to the American Dream* (New York: Atheneum, 1962) p. 13

[183] *Daily Richmond Whig* (August 1, 1865) in M. Wingfield Scott, *Old Richmond Neighborhoods* (Richmond, VA: Whittet & Shepperson, 1950) p. 28

[184] Potterfield, *Nonesuch Place,* p. 25

[185] Ibid.

Vauxhall Island was just one of a myriad of James River islands used for recreational purposes at this time. Footbridges connected some of these islands, linking together a string of common lands where Richmond residents could meet, and eat (fig. 4.68); Englishman Isaac Weld noted in 1794 that residents "bordering the James River are extremely fond of an entertainment which they call a barbecue", which consisted of a "large party meeting together" to eat "sturgeon or pig roasted in the open air, on a sort of hurdle, over a slow fire."[186] One could argue that this pursuit, imagined as a return to the rustic rural living of the early settler set amid the picturesque groves of the James River islands, shares the same impulse and values as Queen Caroline's contemporary 'fêtes galantes', in the grounds of her Thames-side palace at Richmond.

Mordecai's description of another pleasure garden, Prior's Gardens (c.1790 – 1815), downstream at the foot of Seventh Street, provides us with a vivid account of Richmond's public gardens and their relationship to the wider river landscape. Mordecai describes it as:

> "a capacious inclosure [sic], with a graduated lawn in front of the large mansion, which, with its extended wings […], divided the lawn from the garden in the rear. A succession of grassy or flowery slopes and terraces extended down to the [water] […] and the upper portion of the garden commanded a fine view of the river, the islands, and of the country beyond. Here fireworks delighted the spectators, and equestrians and rope-dancers astonished them."[187]

The river views enjoyed from Prior's Gardens could also be enjoyed from a promenade and garden established at the James River waterworks (1831). Like those of Philadelphia, initiated by Benjamin Henry Latrobe and completed by architect Frederick Graff between 1819 and 1822,[188] the James River waterworks were designed to complement and enhance the landscape with a series of picturesque classical pavilions. That the waterworks were to be viewed as an embellishment of the landscape is suggested by the presence of onlookers admiring the view in the foreground of a contemporary landscape painting (c.1822) (fig. 4.69) and by the series of viewing terraces and gazebos constructed above the waterworks illustrated in J. T. Bowen's etching of 1838 (fig. 4.70). Richmond's waterworks served a double function as both an embellishment of the landscape and a place from which to view it. As in Philadelphia, trails led above the works to a popular viewpoint over the city and its landscape setting,

[186] Potterfield, *Nonesuch Place,* p. 26
[187] Weddell, *Richmond Virginia in Old Prints,* p. 38
[188] Potterfield, *Nonesuch Place.*

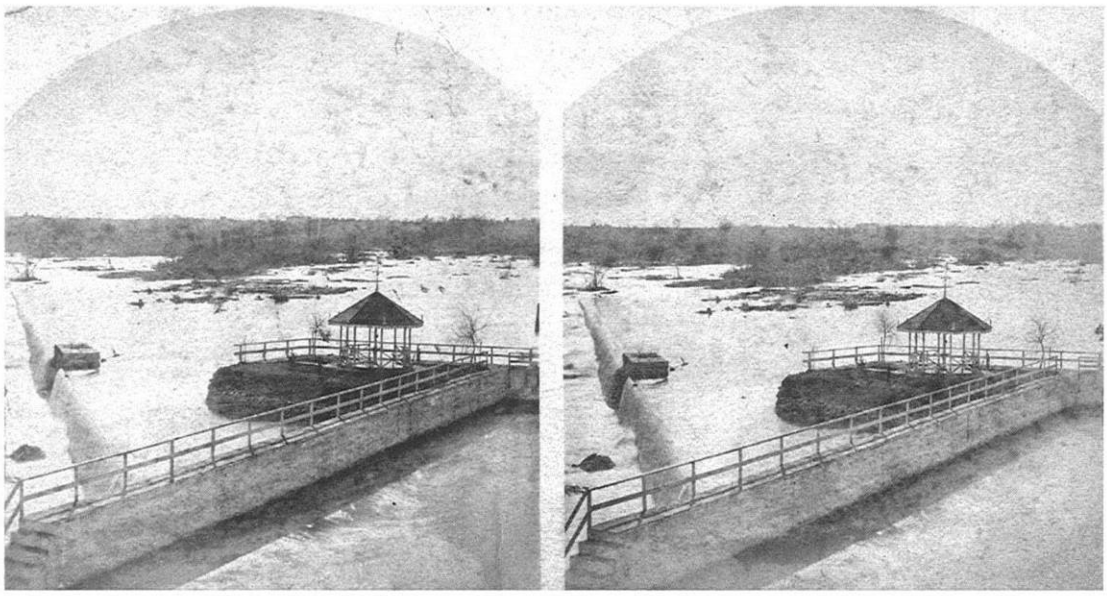


Fig. 4.70 Stereographic view of the Richmond Waterworks viewing pavilion, shortly before its destruction by floodwaters in 1877. Image from T. Tyler Potterfield, *Nonesuch Place: A History of the Richmond Landscape* (Charleston & London: The History Press, 2009).

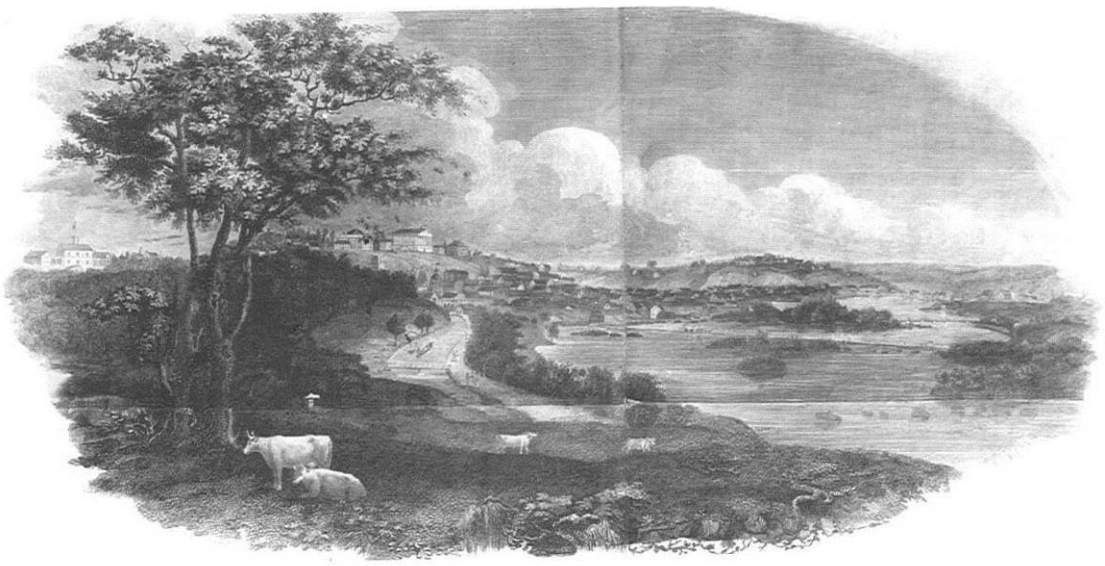


Fig. 4.71 This view of Richmond from the West, from the Herman Boye map of Virginia (1827), presents the city as an Arcadian landscape punctuated with classical buildings. Image from T. Tyler Potterfield, *Nonesuch Place: A History of the Richmond Landscape* (Charleston & London: The History Press, 2009).

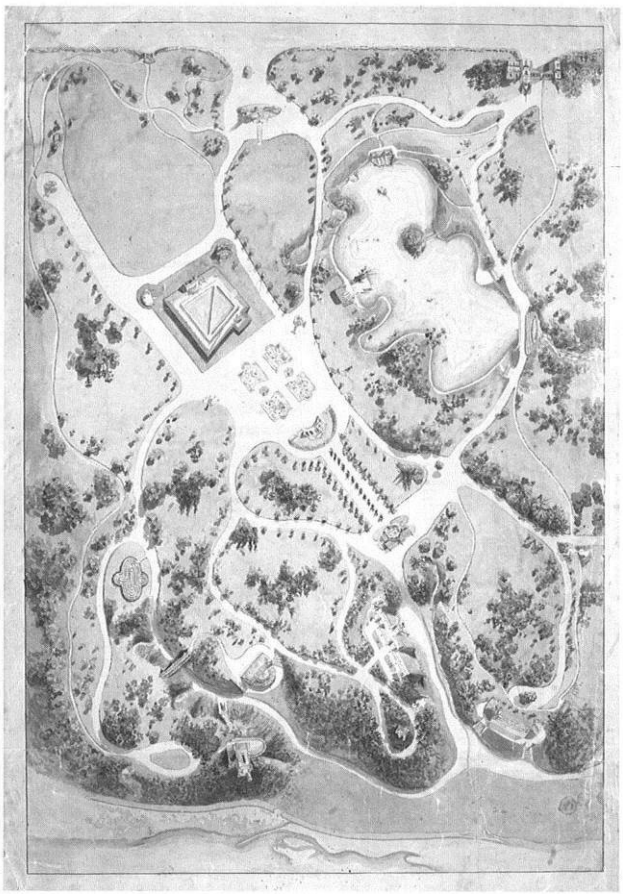


Fig. 4.72 Non-attributed and unexecuted plan for New Reservoir Park, Richmond, in the style of Calvert Vaux and Frederick Law Olmsted (c.1875). The design is complete with gothic gatehouse (top right) and belvedere tower overlooking the river (middle, bottom). Image courtesy of the State Library of Virginia.

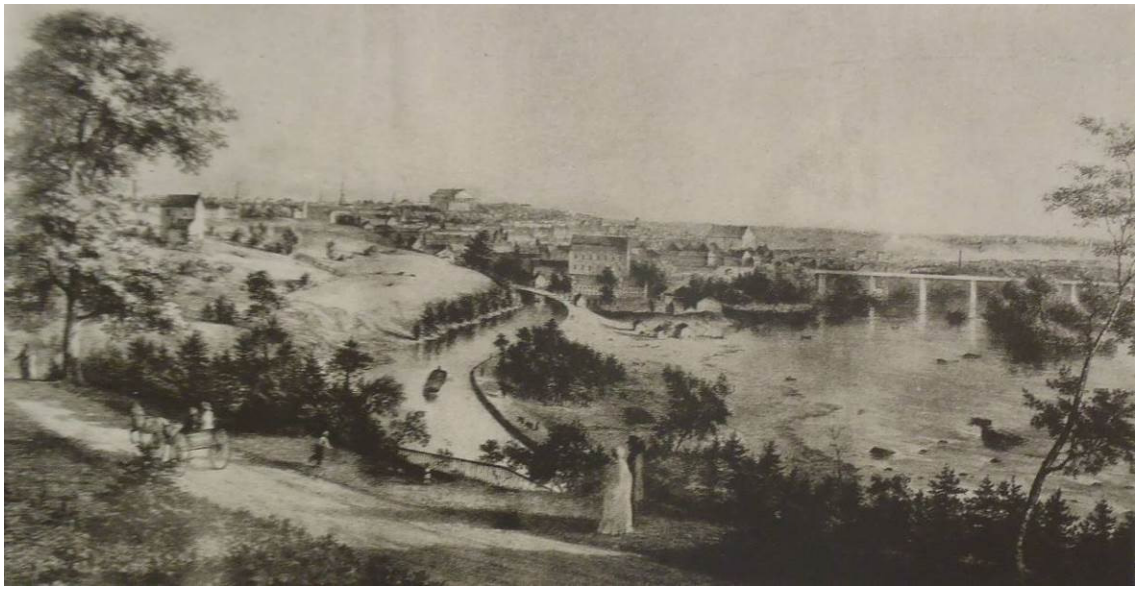


Fig. 4.73 Engraving, by William McLeod, of Richmond from Hollywood Cemetery (1854). The cemetery was a popular destination for carriage drivers and strolling couples, who were attracted by the picturesque views and historical monuments. Image from A. W. Weddell, *Richmond, Virginia, in Old Prints 1737-1887* (New York: Johnson Publishing Company, 1932).

depicted in W. J. Bennett's *Richmond from the Hill above the Waterworks* (1834)[189] and in a similar view on the Herman Boye map of Virginia (1827) (fig. 4.72).

Little described the "fine view of Richmond presented from the upper extremity of the [waterworks]," continuing that:

> "Here I climbed a hill that rises on the river bank near the reservoir, and sat down to enjoy the beauty of the view. It certainly [is] […] a most beautiful one, as the ground is covered with forest trees, and instead of the dead level […] is beautifully undulated."[190]

The genesis of Richmond's Municipal Park System can, to a significant degree, be credited to Richmond's waterworks. As a measure to solve the contamination of springs through increasing industrial development, the city purchased thirty-two acres above the James River on which to construct Marshall Reservoir, the same described by Little. When this proved inadequate, the city was advised by engineer Wilfred Cutshaw to purchase land at Three Mile Locks, to be developed as a larger reservoir and municipal park.[191] Known as New Reservoir Park, the three hundred acre site encompassed a terrain of hills, creeks and groves, to be enhanced with the creation of a lake and gravelled walks. A comprehensive landscape plan (un-attributed, c.1875, fig. 4.73) survives in the Library of Virginia, depicting a central formal zone encircled by a picturesque landscape of wooded gullies and viewing pavilions including a gothic belvedere. In its exuberance, both as landscape design and in the manner of its drawing, the scheme may be compared to the work of Calvert Vaux and Frederick Law Olmsted's Central Park, New York (1859) and Prospect Park, Brooklyn (1869), though Richmond's most ambitious park scheme would remain largely unexecuted.

4.11 Richmond's 'Rural Cemeteries'

The influence of a picturesque mode of vision upon American park design is mirrored by parallel developments in cemetery design and landscaping, known as the 'Rural Cemetery Movement.' Two Richmond businessmen, inspired by the success of park-like landscaping at Mount Auburn Cemetery, Boston, formed Richmond's Hollywood Cemetery Company in 1847.[192] The company promptly commissioned landscape architect John Notman to oversee the design of Hollywood cemetery on land purchased above the James River waterworks. This extensive tract of woodland, with its

[189] After George Cooke (1793-1849)
[190] Weddell, *Richmond Virginia in Old Prints,* p. 80
[191] Potterfield, *Nonesuch Place,* p. 106
[192] Potterfield, *Nonesuch Place*, p. 84

undulating terrain and expansive river prospects, had been specifically identified by the company for its picturesque qualities, which Notman enhanced with serpentine carriageways and strategically placed groves (fig. 4.74). Mordecai wrote that at Hollywood Cemetery:

> "Nature has done her part in hills, valleys, rivulets and woods, and Art has embellished, without rendering formal, the beauties of Nature. The landscape embraces every variety of forest and placid stream, hills crowned with woods, or with steeples, shaded valleys and blazing furnaces, bridges, on which railroad vehicles are moving sixty feet in the air, and, almost beneath your feet, boats gliding on the gentle curve of a broad canal."[193]

Mordecai's description demonstrates how even the industrial landmarks of the city – the "blazing furnaces" of the ironworks and the railway viaducts which cut through the valley – were capable of being viewed with picturesque vision if suitably framed by naturalistic landscaping.

Following Hollywood's success, Mount Calvary (1885) and River View (1887) cemeteries were similarly sited for their picturesque situations, re- developing the former Marshall Reservoir. Developed as destinations in their own right, the James River cemeteries were to be enjoyed aesthetically in the same manner as municipal parks, with ornate funerary monuments enlivening the visual experience of the promenade.

Some years later, Hollywood Cemetery was embellished with a ruinous gothic carriage entrance (1877-1897) complete with trailing ivy (fig. 4.75).[194] One could argue that Hollywood's gatehouse reflects a somewhat morbid interest in the picturesque qualities of ruin and decay popular throughout the late nineteenth century. By this time the cemetery, with its plethora of grand funereal monuments, including the iron canopy of James Monroe's tomb and the granite Pyramid to the Confederate dead (1869), had become a popular tourist attraction, demonstrated by the mass-production of postcards and a bustling view of 1867 (fig. 4.76).[195] A contemporary visitor to Richmond's rural cemeteries would be confronted with both an aesthetic experience and an historical one, with monuments and landscape acting to narrate supposedly glorious events, people and places past. Of course, one should note here that the touristic appeal of these cemeteries owed much to their elitism, a fantasy picturesque landscape closed in behind miles of stone wall and imposing gates; the visitor was a privileged guest on hallowed ground,

[193] Mordecai, *Richmond in By-Gone Days,* p. 124
[194] Potterfield, *Nonesuch Place,* p. 90
[195] Ibid., p. 95

the preserve of the wealthy, influential, and even white sectors of society. Thus, it could be argued that 'Rural Cemeteries' played a part in the historicising of native American landscapes, legitimising the story of Richmond's European white colonial roots.[196]

4.12 The American Picturesque in Landscape Art and Architecture

Along with the fantasy gothic structures of Richmond's parks and cemeteries, engineer William Cutshaw was also involved in the development, on the banks of the James River at Three Mile Locks, of a Pump House and Assembly Rooms (1882) (fig. 4.77). This remote spot was a fitting location for rustic soirees, where guests arrived by boat to take the waters and to attend lavish balls held in the upper assembly room, whose open loggia offered extensive views of the river. Cutshaw's new pump house appears, along with Libby Hill Park, in a series of picturesque locations illustrating an 1892 article on the benefits of Richmond. The article, which is mainly concerned with wealth and property values, seems to equate the city's picturesque landscape setting and structures with prosperity, whilst also using them as alluring advertisements for attracting investment.[197]

The fascination with picturesque ruin and decay evident in Cutshaw's gothic park structures and the monuments of Richmond's Rural Cemeteries reflects themes common to the work of contemporary landscape artists, particularly that of America's most revered Romantic painter, Thomas Cole. Cole, who emigrated from England to America at the age of seventeen, had toured extensively in Europe studying the paintings of Claude Lorrain and the landscapes which had inspired him.[198] Perhaps Cole's greatest, and certainly his best known work is *The Course of Empire* (1836), a series of five landscapes depicting the rise, decline and fall of a civilisation. At a time when youthful America popularly associated itself with the early Roman Republic, Cole's painting told a cautionary tale of what might yet befall rapidly modernising American society, whilst nostalgically alluding to the supposed blissful innocence of an Arcadian past. Cole's work, along with that of Turner, proved immensely influential upon a generation of American landscape artists including Jasper Francis Cropsey

[196] A contemporary advertisement for W. M. R. Mason, General Stone Contractor, shows a Roman style Mausoleum which seems to connect the cemetery landscape with classical allusions to Elysium and Arcadia.
[197] "As a Place to Live: Richmond Has More Advantages," *Richmond Times Dispatch* (25 September, 1892)
[198] L. S. Ferber, *The Hudson River School: Nature and the American Vision* (The New York Historical Society, 2009) p. 190

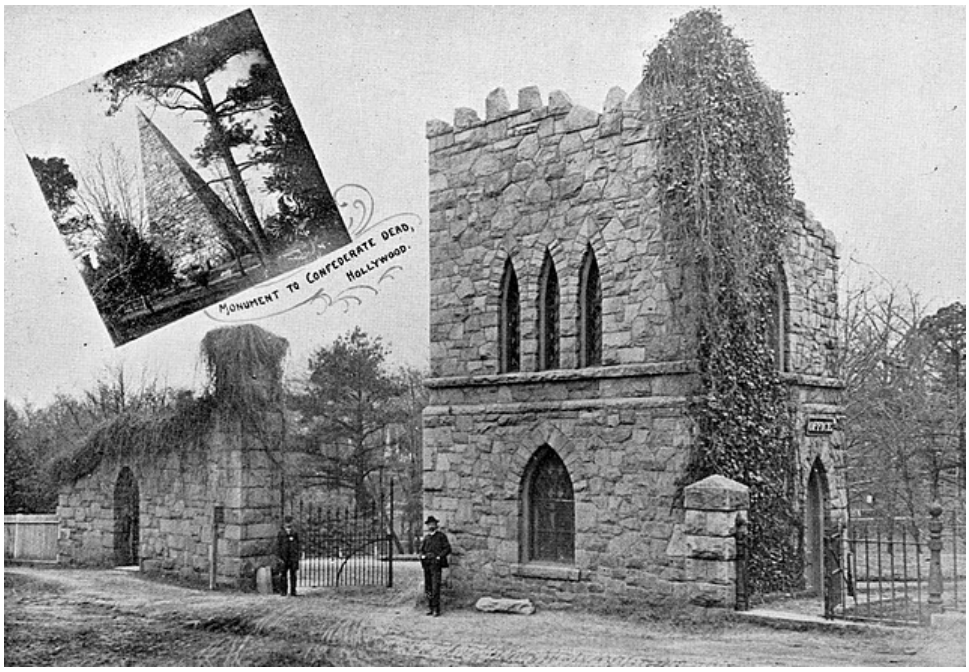


Fig. 4.74 Postcard, dated 1895, showing the ruinous gothic carriage entrance and the Monument to Confederate Dead, Hollywood Cemetery, Richmond, Virginia. Image courtesy of Virginia Commonwealth University.

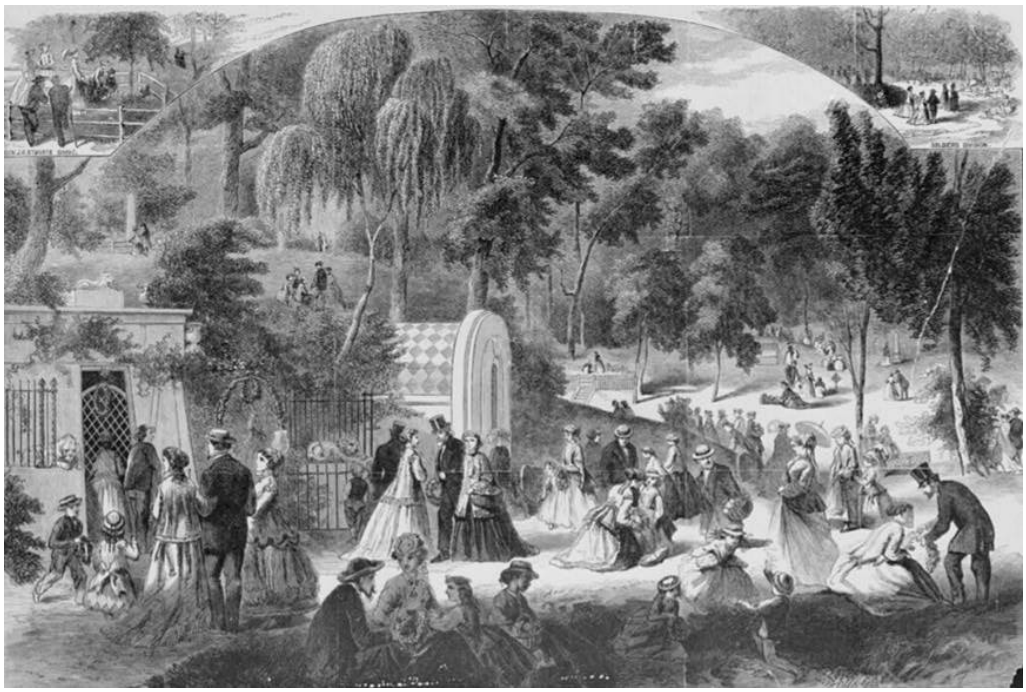


Fig. 4.75 Visitors are shown flocking to Hollywood Cemetery, Richmond, to take in the picturesque scenery and its fantastical historical monuments, in this view of 1867. Image courtesy of Virginia Commonwealth University.

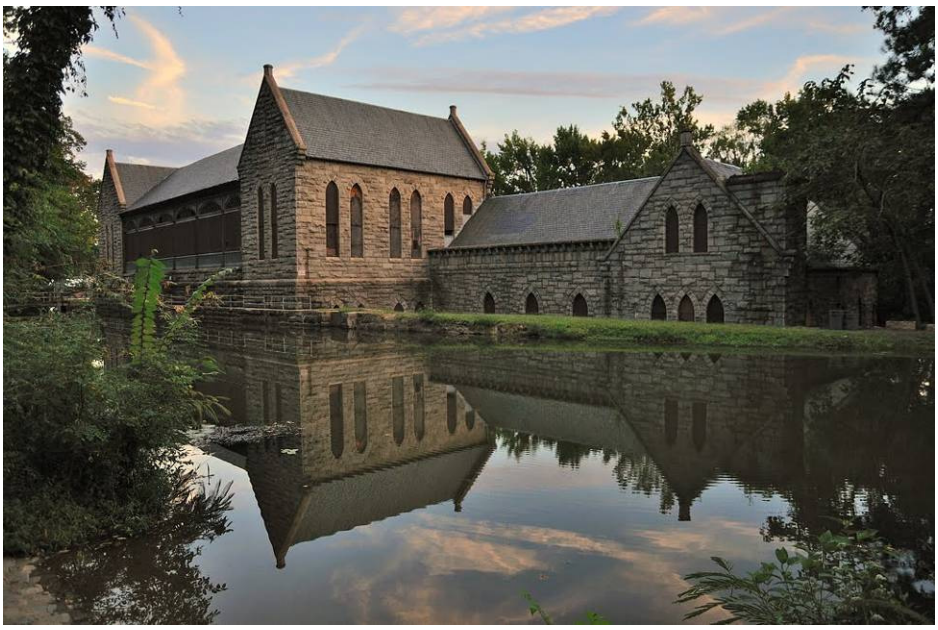


Fig. 4.76 The gothic Pump House and Assembly Rooms, at Three Mile Locks, Richmond, Virginia. Engineer William Cutshaw envisaged the building as a setting for rustic balls amid the naturalistic scenery of the river rapids, with guests arriving by boat from the city. Image by author.



Fig. 4.77 Jasper Francis Cropsey's *Starrucca Viaduct* (1856). This view shares many compositional qualities with the view from Libby Hill, Richmond, in particular, the bend of the river observed from a high point, and the absorption of industry by the picturesque, shown here by Cropsey's depiction of the steam train and viaduct. Image from J. A. Mott, ed., *Jasper F. Cropsey: Artist and Architect* (New York: The New York Historical Society, 1987) p. 82

(1823-1900).[199] Cropsey was considered to be a principal figure of the so-called 'Hudson River School' of landscape art[200] which promoted the establishment of a national landscape vision. The Hudson River School played a significant part in the creation and propagation of a national style by depicting landscapes as expressions of cultural and national identity, leading to its current conception "as shorthand for the dominant American landscape vision […] between 1825 and 1875."[201] The promotion of landscape art at this time can be seen as a reaction to rapid urbanisation and industrialisation, and a deeply felt desire for a reconnection to the perceived values of a romanticised rural past.[202] If an appreciation of landscape art could compensate for a disconnection from nature, it could also mediate between the urban and rural, assimilating symbols of industrial modernity through picturesque composition.

Cropsey, like Turner, was fascinated by the railways springing up across America at this time.[203] In his *Starrucca Viaduct* (1856) (fig. 4.78) which, like Turner's *Rain, Steam and Speed,* is a study of a railway viaduct and river, Cropsey juxtaposes modern and ancient modes of transport, demonstrating the new picturesque vantage points the railway afforded of the river and valley. He wrote,

> "What a beautiful view from the [railway] bridge looking over the Susquehanna [Valley], how green and delightful were the meadows – how luxuriant and beautiful were the trees – how white and tidy were the houses and how many wealthy looking cottages among them – how the horses did scamper as the train passed their full mane long tail and graceful movements came in very beautiful with the flourishing and suburban appearance of all around."[204]

In the same way as naturalistic landscaping softened the impact of modern cemeteries and suburban developments, the absorption of the railways by landscape art seamlessly assimilated symbols of modernity, veiled in the conventional imagery of picturesque composition.

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[199] Cropsey collected engravings after many artists, preserved at his home of Ever Rest, Hastings-On-Hudson, NY. By far the greatest number after a single artist are attributed to J. M. W. Turner. J. A. Mott, ed., *Jasper F. Cropsey: Artist and Architect* (New York: The New York Historical Society, 1987) p. 14

[200] Named for the proliferation of views produced of the Hudson River landscape of New York State.

[201] Ferber, *The Hudson River School,* p. 13

[202] Writing of the restorative power of art in his *Letters on Landscape Painting* (1855), artist Asher Durand stated that "the rich merchant and the capitalist," having completed "his daily drudgery," could sink into "his favourite armchair, with one or more faithful landscapes before him, and making no greater effort than to look into the picture instead of on it" will find that "pleasant reminiscences and grateful emotions will spring up at every step, and care and anxiety will retire far behind him." Ferber, *The Hudson River School,* p. 59

[203] Cropsey's interests in the railways were more than aesthetic, as an Architect, he actually designed fourteen elevated railway stations for the Gilbert Elevated Railway, New York.

[204] J. A. Mott, ed., *Jasper F. Cropsey: Artist and Architect* (New York: The New York Historical Society, 1987) p. 82

Cropsey travelled twice to Europe. Even before he came to tour England, Cropsey already had a romantic vision of 'Old England,' painting scenes of gothic castles amid picturesque landscapes in *Days of Elizabeth* (1853) (fig. 4.79) and *Days of Chivalry* (1854). In *Jasper F. Cropsey: Artist and Architect*, biographer J. Mott suggests Cropsey may have been inspired by readings of Walter Scott's romantic novels.[205] It may even have been Scott's romantic accounts of eighteenth-century Richmond-upon-Thames, in *Heart of Midlothian* (1818), which encouraged Cropsey to visit, and to paint, the view from Richmond Hill in 1862 (fig. 4.80).[206]

One could argue that Cropsey's later paintings of American landscapes sought to reproduce American equivalents of the Richmond Hill view, treating the Hudson River Valley as a glorious, patriotic landscape in the manner of the Thames Valley. Compositionally speaking, Cropsey's Hudson River paintings share many characteristics of his *View from Richmond Hill* (1862); a high wooded vantage point overlooking a bend in a river, often dramatically lit by the golden rays of the setting sun. In fact, one may easily compare Cropsey's Richmond Hill with his later American landscapes *Sunset, Lake George, New York* (1867) and *Bend in the River* (1892) (fig. 4.81).

Cropsey's landscape art is particularly interesting to the architectural historian as he had originally trained as an architect. Significantly, during his five year apprenticeship in the office of New York architect Joseph Trench,[207] Cropsey first learned to paint landscapes as backgrounds to architectural drawings.[208] Of the surviving drawings in Cropsey's hand, a series of rural cottage plans demonstrate his affinity to the eclectic works of architectural theorist and landscape architect Andrew Jackson Downing.[209] Downing's hugely popular pattern books for fantasy gothic retreats no doubt also acted as inspiration behind the design of Cropsey's own fantastical country house 'Aladdin,' near Warwick, New York, constructed at the height of his career in the 1860s (fig. 4.82).[210] Downing wrote:

> "the man of sentiment or feeling and the man of imagination are the men for picturesque villas, country houses with high roofs, steep gables, unsymmetrical and capricious forms. The architect may safely

[205] Mott, ed., *Jasper F. Cropsey: Artist and Architect,* p. 139
[206] Ibid., p. 58
[207] 1837-1842
[208] Mott, ed., *Jasper F. Cropsey: Artist and Architect,* p. 136
[209] Ibid., p. 135
[210] Ferber, *The Hudson River School,* p. 145



Fig. 4.78 J. F. Cropsey's romantic *Days of Elizabeth* (1853), probably inspired by the writing of Sir Walter Scott. Image from J. A. Mott, ed., *Jasper F. Cropsey: Artist and Architect* (New York: The New York Historical Society, 1987).



Fig. 4.79 J. F. Cropsey painted *Richmond Hill and the Thames, London* during his visit to England in 1862. On his return to America, Cropsey refined his patriotic picturesque style, producing some of the most famous canvasses of the Hudson River School. Image from J. A. Mott, ed., *Jasper F. Cropsey: Artist and Architect* (New York: The New York Historical Society, 1987).

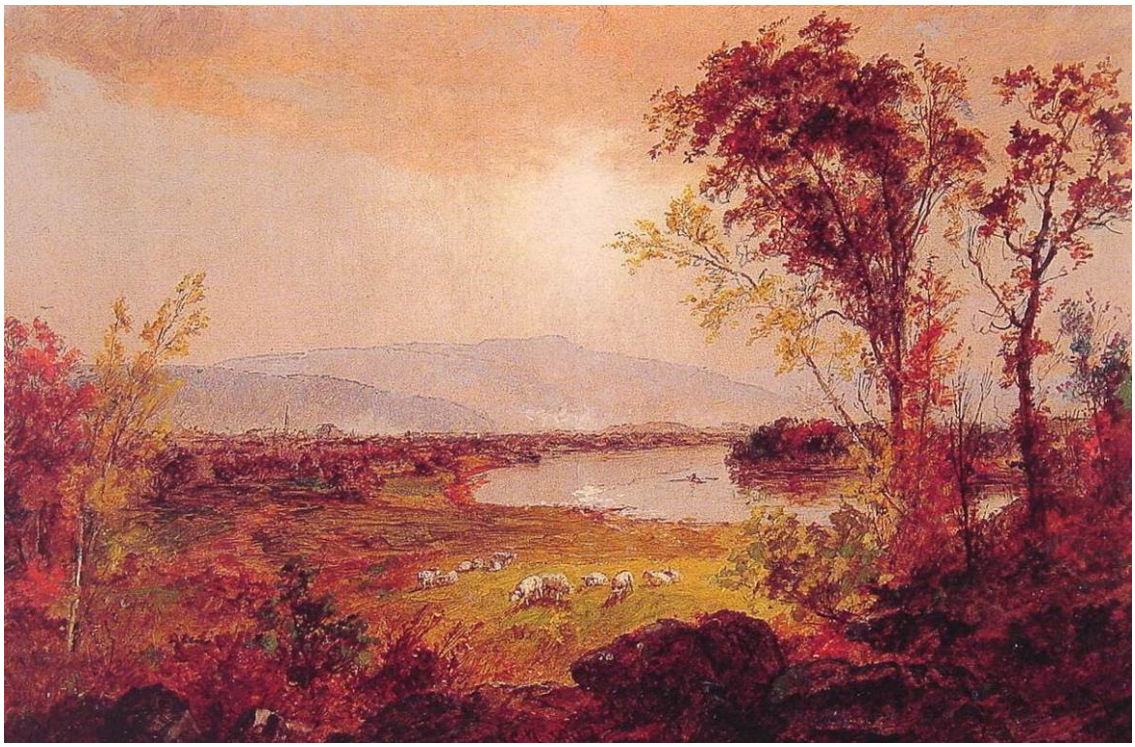


Fig. 4.80 J. F. Cropsey's *A Bend in the River* (1892), presumably a location in the Hudson Valley, shows many compositional similarities with his earlier *Richmond Hill and the Thames, London*, and with the work of English artist J. M. W. Turner. Image courtesy of the Google Art Project.

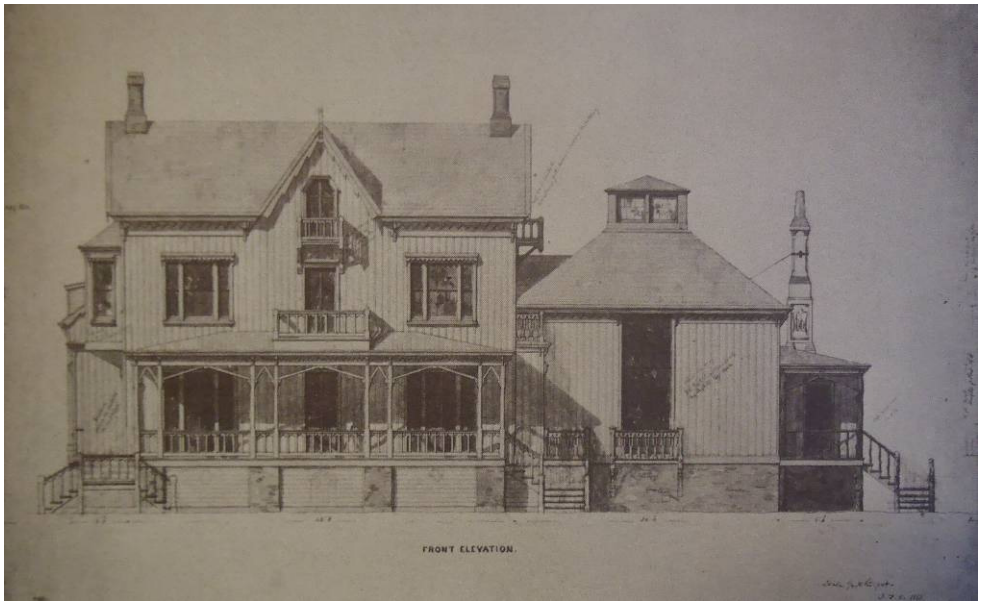


Fig. 4.81 Architectural drawing, by J. F. Cropsey, of his own fantastical country house 'Aladdin', near Warwick, New York State. Image from L. S. Ferber, The *Hudson River School: Nature and the American Vision* (The New York Historical Society, 2009) p. 145

introduce tower and campanile – any and every feature that indicates boldness, energy and variety of character."[211]

4.13 Scenic Architecture and the Invention of Photography

Downing's comments neatly tie together concepts of the picturesque, to be achieved through 'variety' and 'character,' and the notion that through historical allusion, picturesque architecture appealed to the learned and cultured man of 'sentiment or feeling.' Downing's picturesque architecture found particular resonance among the growing industrial middle classes, reflected in many of Richmond's late nineteenth century buildings. Of the city's many fantasy structures, none demonstrates an affinity for scenic effect more so than Pratt's Castle, constructed by William Abbott Pratt on Gamble Hill in 1854 and demolished in 1958 (fig. 4.83). Pieced together from rolled sheet iron scored and painted in imitation of stone,[212] Pratt's castle accented the western skyline of the city as viewed from Libby Hill. Mordecai stated that the "Gothic tower, on the very apex of the hill; […] [gave] a distant view of […] the hill a Rheinish aspect."[213] In the manner of Walpole's sham castle at Strawberry Hill, the interior of Pratt's Castle was designed as a picturesque sequence of varied room shapes, sizes and aspects, dramatised with coloured glass and chivalric devices. Pratt, an Englishman trained in architecture and engineering, had served as Superintendent for Baltimore's Green Mount Rural Cemetery where he certainly had input in the picturesque landscape design.[214] Pratt's talent for the scenic is also demonstrated by the success of his Virginia Sky Light Daguerrean Gallery, the first such gallery in Virginia, opened in 1846.[215] Pratt's Gallery produced the first photographic postcards of his sham 'castle,' which he no doubt hoped would became a favourite subject of city views, and a popular tourist destination in its own right.

The allusion to romanticised medievalism exhibited in Pratt's iron castle shares attributes with his early daguerreotype photographs, many of which exhibit the contemporary fashion for themed costume scenes. Lowenthal has written, "the very notion of 'seeing' the past gained currency from the […] proliferation of book

[211] Mott, ed., *Jasper F. Cropsey: Artist and Architect,* p. 141
[212] The iron sheet for Pratt's castle was manufactured at Richmond's riverside foundry, thus one could argue that it served as an advertisement for one of the city's principal industries – another example of the increasing commodification of the city's vistas.
[213] Mordecai, *Richmond in By-Gone Days,* p. 75
[214] http://www.richmag.com/blogs.php?blogID=24c69db86ec91795 [Accessed 18/03/2011]
[215] Daguerreotypes were at this time a relatively new technology, having been introduced to the United States only seven years previously.

illustrations that began to accustom people to the past as a visual experience. Photography made such images accurate and ubiquitous, replacing not only the tangibly antique but history and memory as well."[216]

The impact of the invention of photography, and the possibility of its infinite reproduction,[217] on the perception of the city cannot be underestimated. In *Kodak and the Lens of Nostalgia* (2000), Nancy Martha West suggests that, through advertising, the Kodak company taught consumers to "apprehend their experiences and memories as objects of nostalgia, for the easy availability of snapshots allowed people for the first time in history to arrange their lives in such a way that painful or unpleasant aspects were systematically erased."[218] Equally, the photograph captured the realities of American cities and instilled in citizens a heightened sensitivity towards what was, and was not, picturesque or photogenic. As cultural theorist Marshall McLuhan has written:

> "This immense tidying-up of our inner lives, [...] has had its obvious parallels in our attempts to rearrange our homes and gardens and our cities. To see a photograph of the local slum makes the condition unbearable. The mere matching of the picture with reality provides a new motive for change."[219]

Where the landscape artists of previous generations could 'tidy' up unsightly portions of the city with a brushstroke, like the unkempt wasteland which had always encircled Jefferson's Capitol, photography made such spaces new objects of civic shame. It is no coincidence that a movement of civic beautification began to sweep through American cities at around this time: the 'City Beautiful Movement' of the late 1890s.[220]

These newly tidied-up cityscapes would feature heavily on millions of photographic postcards. The early years of the photograph coincided with the professionalisation of American advertising; marketing experts, brand names, labels and packaging were all in their infancy.[221] According to the Special Collections department of Virginia Commonwealth University Library, photographic postcards began to be widely used in the United States after the introduction of the Private Mailing Card Act in 1898. In the next few years the demand for postcards grew as a craze for collecting them spread throughout the country. This 'golden age' of postcard publishing and

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[216] Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country,* p. 257
[217] First enabled by the wet collodion process, introduced in 1851.
[218] N. M. West, *Kodak and the Lens of Nostalgia* (Charlottesville & London: University Press of Virginia, 2000) p.1
[219] M. McLuhan, *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1994) p. 197
[220] McLuhan is of the opinion that the invention of photography directly influenced the City Beautiful Movement in landscape and architecture. McLuhan, *Understanding Media,* p. 197
[221] West, *Kodak and the Lens of Nostalgia,* p. 29

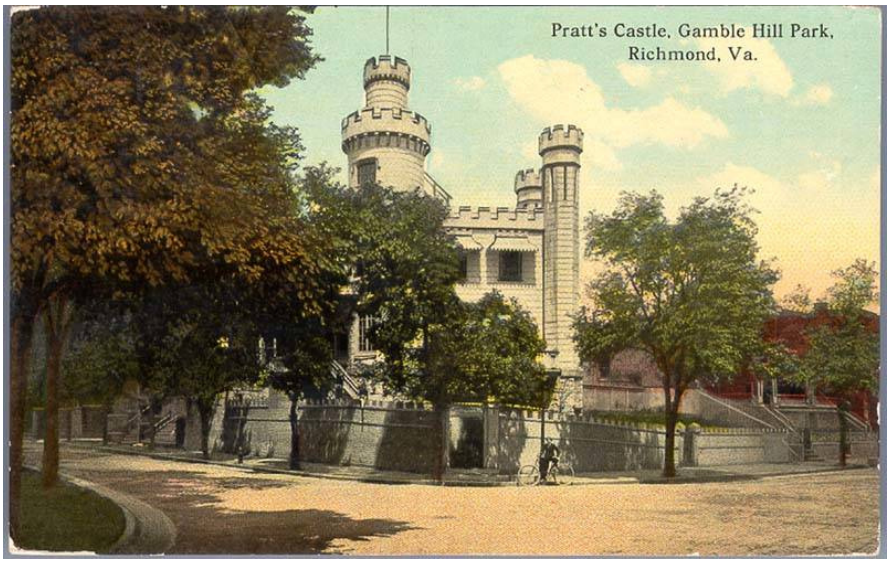


Fig. 4.82 Postcard view of William Abbott Pratt's 'Castle', Richmond, Virginia, c. 1917. Image courtesy of Virginia Commonwealth University.

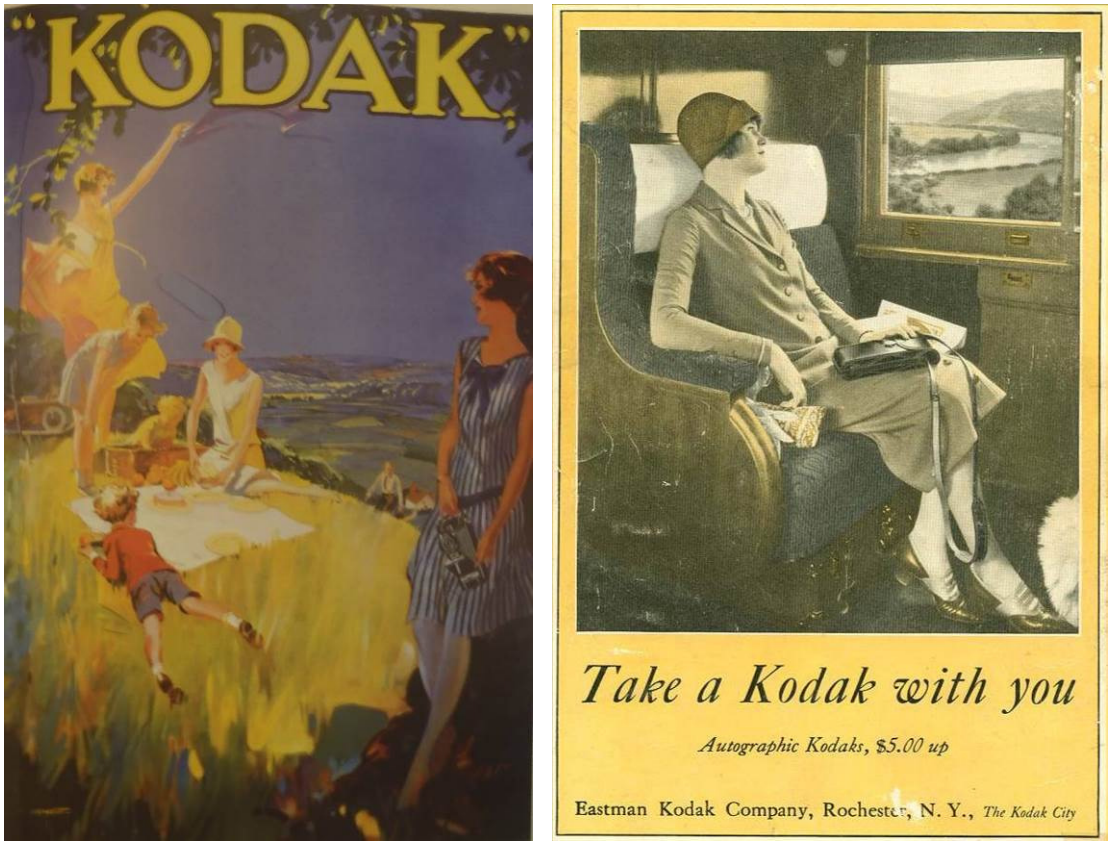


Fig. 4.83 Two1920s Kodak posters. Kodak successfully marketed the camera as an essential companion for capturing happy excursions in the countryside. The poster to the right, from the back cover of *National Geographic Magazine* promotes the railway as picturesque experience, and the camera as collector of scenes and memories. Note the river's bend framed through the train window as signifier of the picturesque. Images from N. M. West, *Kodak and the Lens of Nostalgia* (Charlottesville & London: University Press of Virginia, 2000).

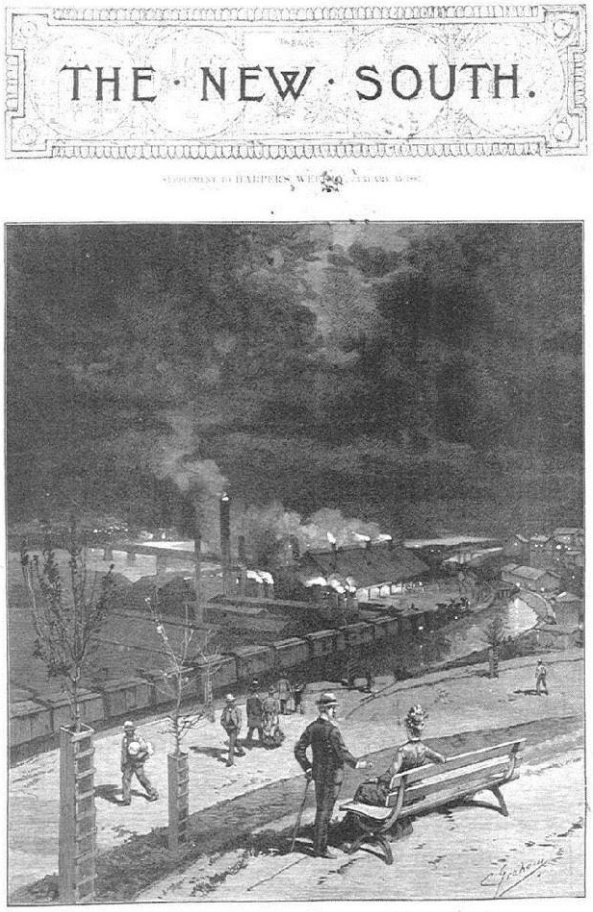


Fig. 4.84 Cover of *Harper's Weekly Magazine*, showing the view from newly laid out Gamble Hill Park, Richmond, VA. The view of heavy industry and the middle class couple in the foreground represent the 'New South', liberated from the shackles of an outdated and hierarchical plantation economy, which was itself represented by the pastoral view from Libby Hill Park. Image from T. Tyler Potterfield, *Nonesuch Place: A History of the Richmond Landscape* (Charleston & London: The History Press, 2009).



Fig. 4.85 A heavily romanticised pastoral view of the James River from Libby Hill Park, Richmond, Virginia, by Lefevre Cranstone, 1859. Image courtesy of the Valentine History Centre.

collection lasted from 1898 through to the mid-twentieth century. One estimate has put the number of different postcard views of Richmond, Virginia produced during this period at around two thousand.[222] In America, as in the UK and mainland Europe, the effect of the photographic postcard was to turn city views into commodities to be consumed. As West writes:

> "beginning at mid-century, [...] objects assumed an increasingly symbolic value, emerging as signs for or symbols of a seemingly endless variety of social meanings. Such a transformation occurred because formations such as advertising emerged during this period to represent commodities as spectacles, as objects that possessed unprecedented special meanings."[223]

The trend for increasing commodification is reflected by the Great Exhibition of 1851 and the series of American 'world's fairs' which followed. Richmond too held an exhibition in 1892 at which all manner of products could be viewed and/or purchased. A contemporary newspaper image depicts the city itself, its landscape and its architectural objects, as a series of commodities to be viewed, presented to the observer as if arranged for perusal in a gallery.[224] Through the mass-production and distribution of photographic prints, the city view as commodity could now also be owned by anyone, anywhere. At the same time, the photographic image of a city could be nostalgic, a visual cue preserving the personal memories of a particular time and place. The American Kodak company certainly promoted this interpretation, shifting their advertising focus from the pleasures of taking photographs (1880s onwards) to the recording of home-life and the preservation of domestic memories (post-1900s) (4.84).[225] As Lowenthal has written,

> "Nostalgia is now even planned for, [...] we look back in the midst of our enjoyment to recapture it for memory. No single force has so well conditioned this mentality as snapshot photography. Posing for a photograph in the midst of an experience, we already imagine that experience as an idealized memory before the camera's button has even been pressed."[226]

Communicated through a burgeoning illustrated magazine industry,[227] Kodak's message reached out to a readership of nearly twenty-five million by the early years of the

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[222] Virginia Commonwealth University Library exhibition entitled: *Rarely Seen Richmond: Early twentieth century Richmond, Virginia as seen through vintage postcards.* See also K. Henderson, "The Art of the View: Picture Postcards of Virginia, 1900-1925," *Virginia Cavalcade,* vol. 40, no. 2 (Autumn 1990) pp. 66-73

[223] West, *Kodak and the Lens of Nostalgia,* p. 4

[224] "Welcome Friends!: Richmond Throws Open Her Gates to the Exposition Visitors," *The Richmond Dispatch* (6 October, 1892).

[225] West, *Kodak and the Lens of Nostalgia,* p. 13

[226] Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country,* p. 12

[227] Including *Harper's*, *Century*, *Scientific American*, *Scribner's* and *Puck*.

twentieth-century, which West believes taught a whole generation to read images with nostalgic sensibility.[228] Kodak's success can, at least in part, be attributed to the success of these magazines, that exploited new photo-reproduction technologies such as the improvement of the halftone process (1890) and the photogravure process (1895). Boorstin has described these technical innovations as "part of a great, but little-noticed, revolution," dubbing it "the Graphic Revolution," a period in which "Man's ability to make, preserve, transmit, and disseminate precise images – images of print, of men and landscapes and events […] grew at a fantastic pace."[229] An equally important factor in the success of these photographic magazines was their marketing as the natural accompaniment to leisure time. As a correspondent in a 1902 issue of *Printer's Ink* wrote:

> "Years ago it was discovered by advertisers that a first-class magazine was valuable because it was the companion of the hour of rest. If you wished to reach people with minds free from business cares you could do so in these periodicals – on grassy banks, stretched at full length, magazine in hand; in parlor car, travelling leisurely across the continent."[230]

The railway tourist or Sunday picnic party, exposed to Kodak's magazine advertisements, now sought to capture (and preserve the memory of) the landscapes they saw before them, particularly as periodicals such as *Outing Magazine* and *Outdoor World and Recreation* had begun to promote the camera as an essential accessory of the outdoor excursion (4.84).[231] By the time Kodak introduced the $1 Brownie camera in 1900, the amateur photographer was trained to see, and equipped to capture, scenes of picturesque, historic and/or natural interest like those of Richmond's public parks, and Libby Hill was no exception.[232]

A study of Richmond's many postcard views demonstrates a shift in popularity from Western viewpoints of the City, towards the more idyllic rural view from Libby Hill in the east. With the arrival of heavy industry in the western part of the city, attracted by the canal and abundance of free water-driven power, western viewpoints became increasingly industrialised, as demonstrated by the cover image of Gamble Hill Park in *Harper's Weekly* (1887) (fig. 4.85). Set against the headline "The New South," this image glories in the sublime scale of Richmond's factories, presenting them as a

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[228] West, *Kodak and the Lens of Nostalgia,* p. 31
[229] Boorstin, *The Image, or What Happened to the American Dream,* p. 13
[230] West, *Kodak and the Lens of Nostalgia,* p. 31
[231] Ibid., p. 32
[232] By 1905 Kodak had sold over 1.2 million cameras to roughly one-third of the population of the United States. Ibid., p. 41

spectacle to be observed from the foreground park bench. Post-Civil War, the defeated South was committed to a program of 'reconstruction,' or the modernisation and industrialisation of its primarily agricultural economy. In this image, mechanisation is presented as a liberating force, freeing an increasingly prosperous middle-class from the drudgery of labour intensive work, and at the same time allowing for leisure time in which to admire the city's picturesque public parks and open spaces.

If the 'New South' politics of reconstruction promised a future golden age, its potency was reliant upon deep rooted nostalgic sentiment for a former golden age. As Cobb suggests, "Defeated and embittered, southern whites drew determination and hope from the New South's promises of an affluent golden age just ahead," just as they "also found pride and reassurance in [the south's] celebration of a carefully constructed golden age behind, the glorious and heroic heritage of the Old South and the Lost Cause."[233] If the Gamble Hill image stands for the 'New South,' the Libby Hill view could emphasise a nostalgic, picturesque rurality, a heavily romanticised image of the 'Old South' in which the Confederate Cause found expression. A painting by Lefevre Cranstone (1859) turns away from the city completely, taking in the rural view which had inspired Byrd and moved Latrobe (fig. 4.86). It was this view in particular which most frequently drew upon the ideals of the Picturesque movement. Editor of the *Southern Literary Messenger,* George W. Bagby, stated the view contained the "rocks that Salvator would love to paint, and the skies that Claude could never limm [sic]."[234] Similarly, an 1848 article in the same journal stated the view from Libby Hill was a "picture" that could not "fail to fascinate the lover of the rich, the varied, and the beautiful in landscape painting."[235]

4.14 Making a Monument of the View: Libby Hill as Memorial to the Confederate Cause

In 1894, a memorial to confederate soldiers and sailors – and implicitly to the confederate cause – was constructed on Libby Hill. This memorial effectively sought to claim a particular politics for the landscape of Richmond and its picturesque images. It also claimed the landscape for a particular politics. Its new re-imagination of the idea of Richmond's landscape, rooted in familiar claims to nostalgia and authenticity, are worthy of note.

[233] Cobb, *Away Down South,* p. 68
[234] Potterfield, *Nonesuch Place,* p. 20
[235] Ibid., p. 20

Though admired often for its picturesque qualities, Libby Hill also afforded a near cartographic birds-eye view of the city. The strategic nature of this prospect led to its use by Latrobe in mapping the Capital of the Commonwealth (c.1798), by the newspaper *Harper's Weekly* in mapping the militarisation of the Capital of the Confederacy (1862), by J. Wells and R. Hinshelwood in the depiction of the smoking chimneys of the city's strategic ironworks (1863) and by a series of photographers to record the destruction of the city in the wake of the American Civil War (1865) (fig. 4.87). These latter photographs demonstrate a fascination with the smouldering ruins of war, depicting the shattered remains of the city's grand buildings in a deeply moving and eerie fashion. This incredible photographic record of Richmond's Civil War destruction formed the basis for the collections of the Southern Historical Society, established soon after in 1869. The Society's comment that its collections would form "a complete arsenal from which the defenders of our cause may draw any desired weapon"[236] would seem to corroborate photographer Susan Sontag's much later observation that the language of photography borrows much from the military (you 'aim' and 'shoot' the camera).[237] The creation of historical societies, and the assembly of these visual 'arsenals', also represented a militaristic defence of a Southern collective memory, or "a Confederate historical memory that would vindicate both the Confederate cause and those who served it".[238] One could argue that regional identities were strengthened rather than weakened by Civil War. Cobb has written, "if the defeated southern states had emerged from the Civil War as a relatively cohesive 'South', the triumphant North had simply affirmed its credentials as 'America.'"[239] Thus, in the immediate aftermath of the Civil War, Richmond posited itself as anti-North, the 'real America' or even anti-American, adopting the varied imagery and associations of ancient Greece, Rome, Augustan England and the semi-fictitious romanticised landscapes of American artists as its model. Richmond's Civil War photographs lamented the destruction of a supposedly glorious 'Old South' (despite the fact that the city had been burned by retreating Confederate forces), romanticising the ruins of the Southern Union in the fashion of a fallen Empire. As if to underline this, Jefferson's war-ravaged Capitol, captured by Unionist cannon, and then by their cameras and photographic film, plays a symbolic lead role in many of the images.

[236] Cobb, *Away Down South,* p. 100
[237] S. Sontag, *On Photography* (Picador, 1977)
[238] Cobb, *Away Down South,* p. 100
[239] Ibid., p. 215





Fig. 4.86 The destruction of Richmond in the wake of the American Civil War (1865) was captured by hundreds of photographs. Jefferson's damaged Capitol takes centre stage in many of these, inviting comparisons between the fall of the South and of classical Rome or Carthage. Images courtesy of the Virginia Historical Society.

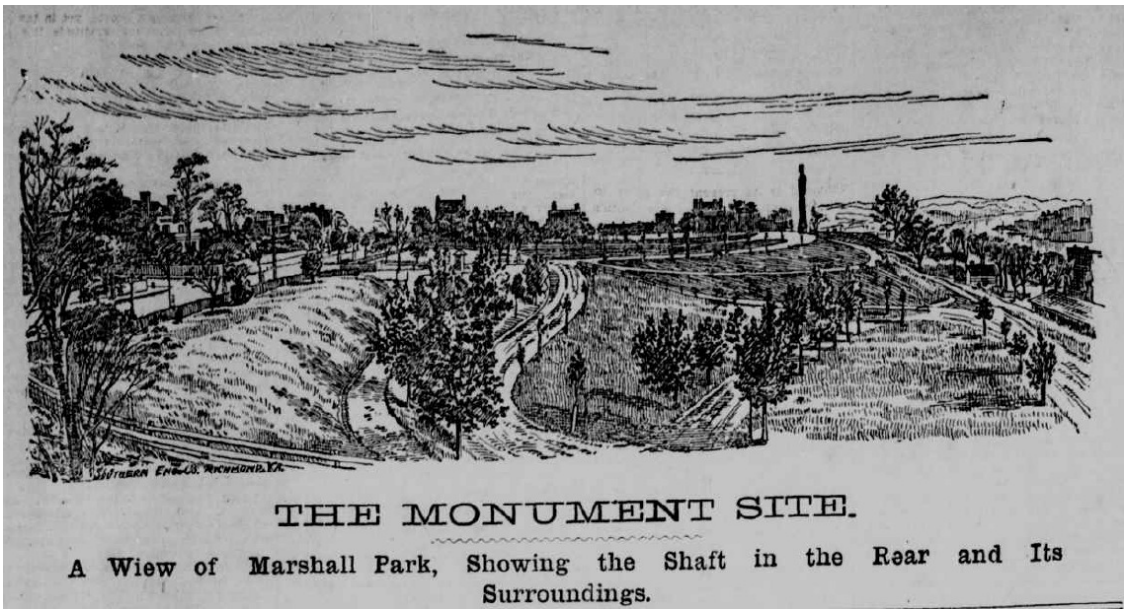


Fig. 4.87 View of Libby Hill Park (formerly Marshall Park), showing the Confederate Soldiers and Sailors Monument to the right of centre with the view over the James River to the right. Image from "How It Was All Done: A History of the Confederate Soldiers and Sailors Monument," *Richmond Times-Dispatch* (30 May, 1894).



Fig. 4.88 The city of Richmond throws open her gates to welcome visitors to the 1892 exhibition. In this image, the city is itself represented as a collection of classical objects, arranged for exhibition. The Confederate Soldiers and Sailors Monument is centre-right. Image from "Welcome Friends!: Richmond Throws Open Her Gates to the Exposition Visitors," *The Richmond Dispatch* (6 October, 1892).

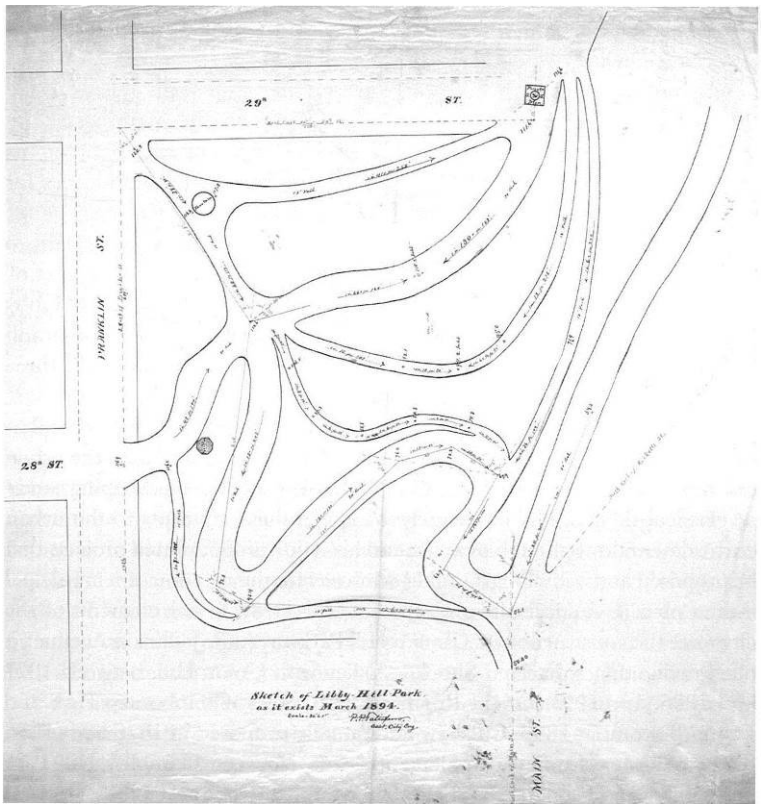


Fig. 4.89 Working drawing showing gradient calculations, c. 1880, for carriageways and footpaths, Libby Hill Park. Image courtesy of the State Library of Virginia.

In an explicit reference to imperial Rome, Cutshaw, charged with the development of the municipal parks, designed the Monument to Confederate Soldiers and Sailors, erected on Libby Hill in 1894.[240] This took as its model Alexandria's 'Pompey's Pillar', erected for Emperor Diocletian in 293AD, standing 73 feet high and topped with a bronze Confederate Soldier. As if to highlight this classical reference, contemporary postcards depicting the monument claim that "it occupies one of the seven hills from which Richmond (like ancient Rome) is built," adding that "from its summit may be obtained a magnificent panoramic view of the city and surrounding country, while at its foot, sweeping […] in a wide and graceful 'bend', flows the historic James river."[241]

In the decades following the Civil War, this spot had first been earmarked for a monument to General Lee; the Ladies' Lee Monument Association proposed the site in 1882.[242] However, opinion on the location of the monument was divided and, following the amalgamation of the Ladies' and State Lee Monument Associations, a site was identified on Richmond's Monument Avenue development. In this light, the Confederate Soldiers and Sailors Monument can be seen as somewhat of a compromise; Cutshaw, whom had always advocated the building of the Lee monument on Libby Hill, simply continued with his plan to erect a monument, albeit to a different facet of the Confederate cause. Central to Cutshaw's argument to build on Libby Hill was the site's visibility within the landscape, and thus its visual power. A correspondent to the *Richmond Dispatch* (1886) remarked:

> "There alone will it be the common property of our people, for there it can be seen by more of them and from more parts of the city than any other. […] From the deck of the river steamers its towering form will greet the eye as soon as the bend […] is passed.
>
> Passengers by the [...] railroads could see it from the car windows before reaching the city limits. Standing there alone with no large buildings to detract from its beautiful proportions [...] it will show to better advantage than at any other point in the city."[243]

One can also detect a sense that Cutshaw, and the other advocates of the Libby Hill location intended the monument to act as a viewpoint itself; that the monument was a

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[240] 'St John's Church Historic District', *Discover Our Shared Heritage Travel Itinerary* (National Park Service) http://www.nps.gov/nr/travel/richmond/St.Johns.htm [accessed 17/03/2011]

[241] Another example of the use of classical symbolism in the definition of a Southern identity is dramatically demonstrated by the Nashville Parthenon (constructed 1922-32), an 'authentic' restoration of Athens' most famous structure. Tennesseeans brag that "the Greeks would have to study the correct details in Nashville in order to rebuild the original." Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country,* p. 291

[242] "The Statue of Lee: What is the Best Site in Richmond for it?" *Richmond Dispatch* (28 March, 1886)

[243] Ibid.

celebration of Richmond's landscape setting. The aforementioned newspaper correspondent continues:

> "It is a lovely spot, and from it the view of the river, landscape and city is unsurpassed. A lady once standing there when the evening sky was all aglow and flushing all nature with its radiance remarked to me: 'I have seen most of the celebrated views in this country and in Europe, but not one of them is more beautiful than this.'"[244]

The role of the monument as viewpoint is made explicit by an history of the project, published in 1894, which documents a series of improvements resulting in the creation of the viewing terrace and carriageways that survive today:

> "part of the plan of improvement contemplated is to extend the plateau on which the monument stands outward a distance of sixty or seventy feet, ending in a fall to the terrace below […] and a part of the sidewalk on the resident side of the street will be sacrificed to make a broad driveway around the base of the column, and the monument [and landscape] may thus be viewed by a carriage on every side."[245]

An accompanying illustration depicts the monument, improved viewing terrace and carriageways along with the panoramic view of the James River bend and distant hills beyond (fig. 4.88).[246]

The erection of multiple monuments at this time – among which that on Libby Hill was most prominent – served to beautify the city, scattering it with art objects as if the city itself was a museum of (new) historical artefacts. As a demonstration of this, the *Richmond Dispatch* (1892) uses the Confederate Soldiers and Sailors Monument as an illustration of Richmond as a glorious city of classical monuments; 'Lady Richmond,' dressed in classical drapes, is shown welcoming visitors through the triumphal arch of an imagined city gate (fig. 4.89). Within is a whirlwind of classical objects, from Jefferson's Capitol to St. Johns' Church and the familiar form of the Confederate Soldiers and Sailors monument on Libby Hill.[247] The familiar landscape was thus claimed, in familiar ways, for a newly reinvented idea of tradition.

4.15 Libby Hill and the Origins of the American Parkway

At the same time as the city, its parks and its cemeteries were being embellished with classically inspired monuments, the private landscape gardens of industrial tycoons

[244] "The Statue of Lee: What is the Best Site in Richmond for it?" *Richmond Dispatch* (28 March, 1886)
[245] "How It Was All Done: A History of the Confederate Soldiers and Sailors Monument," *Richmond Times-Dispatch* (30 May, 1894)
[246] Ibid.
[247] "Welcome Friends!: Richmond Throws Open Her Gates to the Exposition Visitors," *The Richmond Dispatch* (6 October, 1892).

around Richmond were also being embellished with ornamental structures. Over a period of thirty years, the Dooley family landscaped much of their Maymont estate, built on a bluff overlooking the James River in 1893, in the manner of an English landscape garden, with rolling lawns, groves and summerhouses positioned to take in sweeping river views. A disused granite quarry was transformed into a rugged wilderness garden complete with waterfall and grotto in the form of a grotesque face, whether coincidentally or not, melding ideas from Pope's grotto at Twickenham with Solomon de Caus's project for a grotesque giant at Richmond Palace. Maymont's entrance sequence, a serpentine drive offering a tour of unfolding picturesque views, was arguably the most important feature of any grand 'gilded age' landscape plan at this time.

The Maymont estate was approached via Brookland Park Boulevard, laid out by landscape architect Frederick Law Olmsted as a broad, tree-lined avenue he dubbed a 'parkway.' As historian Timothy Davis has written "Olmsted's new term ['parkway'] brimmed with novelty and refinement […] the word's pastoral associations accorded with the prevailing ideology that celebrated rural virtues and equated the suburban lifestyle with moral welfare and material progress."[248] In reaction to the rapid urbanisation of American towns, a parkway building boom soon followed, which Davis has seen as "an official landscape produced by institutionally empowered designers intent on imposing order, stability, and traditional notions of social and aesthetic propriety on unruly vernacular environments that struck refined observers as unsightly and undesirable."[249] A parkway designed to hug the James River, connecting Byrd and Gamble Hill Parks with the Hollywood, River View and Mount Calvary Cemeteries was put forward in 1908. Charles Bolling "predicted that the "beautiful scenery and exquisite views" of his ultimately unbuilt route […] would form one of the most attractive parkways in the United States."[250]

These suburban parkways have a direct relationship to the carriageways developed for Rural Cemeteries, which followed the serpentine contours of hills and vales to ease the transport of coffins and funeral parties. The carriageways' sinuous curves and smooth grade rendered them not only a pleasure to drive, but contributed to the aesthetic pleasure of their visual forms. By the 1920s, the carriageway had become a

[248] T. Davis, "A Pleasant Illusion of Unspoiled Countryside: The American Parkway and the Problematics of an Institutionalised Vernacular," in A. K. Hoagland and K. A. Breisch, eds., *Constructing Image, Identity, and Place: Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture IX* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 2003) p.230
[249] Ibid.
[250] Potterfield, *Nonesuch Place,* p. 116



Fig. 4.90 Two 1909 postcard views of the carriageways and Confederate Soldiers and Sailors Monument, Libby Hill Park, Richmond, Virginia. Images courtesy of Virginia Commonwealth University.



Fig. 4.91 Two 1912 postcard views of Libby Hill Park, showing the Confederate Soldiers and Sailors Monument, octagonal viewing pavilion, serpentine carriageways and the view over the James River. Images courtesy of Virginia Commonwealth University.

principal feature of Richmond's public parks. The carriageway at William Byrd Park proved so popular with speed-hungry carriage drivers that a separate speedway facility was opened in the northwest corner of the park (1900) in order to secure the safety of pedestrians.[251]

One could argue that the development of the American parkway both responded to, and encouraged, carriages capable of increasing speeds. The concept of speed began to exert an increasing influence upon all areas of American culture as the railways sped up local and continental connections. In visual culture, the accelerating speed of photographic shutter mechanisms and exposure times enabled the static 'snap-shot' to capture high-velocity movement, most notably in Eadweard Muybridge's studies of animal locomotion (1870s). By splitting movement into a series of successive frames, Muybridge played an important part in the intermediary stage towards cinematic film.[252] In many ways the dynamic visual experience of the parkway could be described as cinematic.

This quality of the parkway, where picturesque scenery could be appreciated from the moving vantage point of the speeding carriage, is demonstrated by Libby Hill Park, where a series of serpentine carriageways were designed to link upper Franklin Street with lower East Main Street (fig. 4.90). The scenic effect of these curving cobbled roads, which complemented the vertical Confederate Soldiers and Sailors Monument and its sweeping background of the James River is illustrated by a proliferation of contemporary postcards. In particular, a pair of views from 1909 and a similar pair of 1912 demonstrate the popularity of the park with carriages and, importantly, early motorcar tourists (fig. 4.91). Many photographic postcards also show how the park was designed to be appreciated from this northern vantage point, further reinforced by the positioning of the octagonal bandstand/viewing pavilion in the foreground to many of the images (fig. 4.92). Plans held by the Library of Virginia show how this pavilion was expanded in 1911 to include a greatly enlarged first floor tearoom from which the picture-postcard view could be admired (fig. 4.93).[253] Just one postcard in the Virginia Commonwealth University collection adopts a drastically different viewpoint, positioned behind the Confederate Soldiers and Sailors Monument with back turned to the view (fig. 4.94). The apparent motive behind this orientation

[251] Ibid., p. 111
[252] Though Muybridge undertook much of his work in America, coincidentally he donated much of his serial photographic work to the museum of his hometown, Kingston-upon-Thames, where the collection remains to this day.
[253] The enlarged pavilion appears in a postcard of 1916.

was to prominently display a new motorcar in the foreground of the view, highlighting the park's popularity with a rising class of wealthy and fashionable motorcar owners, and the possibilities for viewing historic landscapes at a new speed.[254]

4.16 Photography, Outdoor Pursuits and the Perception of National Landscapes

The appearance of carriageways and the motorcar, in postcard views of Richmond's parks demonstrate how designers increasingly considered the 'windshield' view of the city. As Boorstin has noted, the immense physical endurance and "athletic exercise" of travel had evolved into a "spectator sport."[255] The ease of access to nature enabled by the motorcar is reflected by the growth of outdoor recreation movements throughout the early 1900s. In particular, it is reflected by the promotion of naturalistic and ornithological photography by camera manufacturers and magazines, which presented scientific interest as a legitimising excuse for an aesthetic practice.

The pursuits of photography, drawing and painting were also promoted by the leadership of the Anglo-American Scout movement (established in 1907; Boy Scouts of America founded in 1910) which was founded with the goal of cultivating among city-bred boys the qualities of "courage, loyalty, patriotism, brotherliness, self-control, courtesy, kindness to animals, usefulness, cheerfulness, cleanliness, thrift, purity and honour."[256] At the root of the American Boy Scout movement was a deeply pervading sense of patriotic nostalgia for a return to nature and the perceived noble rustic values of the pioneers or founding fathers. As *The Official Handbook for Boys* (1911) stated:

> "the scout should be a lover of his country. He should know his country […] what are its natural resources, scope and boundaries. He ought to know something of its history, its early settlers, and of the great deeds that won his land. How they settled along the banks of the James River. […] He ought to know what is expected of him as a citizen of his state and nation."[257]

The central role that the American landscape, and indeed the Richmond landscape, played in patriotism at this time is nowhere better demonstrated than in Samuel Smith's

[254] Steam powered motorcars like the American Stanley Steamer grew in popularity from the late 1890s. Gasoline motorcars also emerged at this time, the Ford Motor Company being founded in 1903. However, it was the invention of the electric spark which allowed the gasoline engine to finally take over from steam. The Ford Model T (introduced in 1908) subsequently increased the availability and affordability of the motorcar for the middle classes. McLuhan, *Understanding Media,* p. 220
[255] Boorstin, *The Image, or What Happened to the American Dream,* p. 85
[256] *Boy Scouts of America: The Official Handbook for Boys* (New York: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1911) p. vi
[257] Ibid., p. 8

poem *America,* which appears in the Scout handbook's 'Patriotism and Citizenship' chapter. Smith's 1832 poem served as the de facto national anthem of the United States until the adoption of *The Star Spangled Banner*. Smith writes:

> "My native country, thee
> Land of the noble free,
> Thy name I love;
> I love thy rocks and rills,
> Thy woods and templed hills;
> My heart with rapture thrills
> Like that above."[258]

Smith's use of the imagery of "rocks and rills" and, notably, "templed hills" is typical of picturesque literature and could easily be compared to contemporary descriptions of the landscape surrounding Richmond, Virginia. These picturesque landscapes were thus promoted as quintessentially American, and generations of Boy and Girl Scouts were taught to appreciate such landscapes and cultivate patriotic sentiment via the visual arts.

If the scout and other movements encouraged outdoor pursuits, developers promoted spacious suburban developments as ideal sites for indulging in gardening, walking and naturalistic photography. Advertisements in contemporary newspapers encouraged readers to take the street car to view the empty lots for sale in large suburban developments. One such advertisement promised that "You would have ample room for lawns, gardens, fruits and flowers". 'Woodland Heights,' it asserted, "is a restricted, high-class residential park, and by all odds the most beautiful."[259] Another stated that 'Westbrook Lawn' "Offers the opportunity of a lifetime for those who desire to live outside the city limits *with all city conveniences*"[260] while a third used the tag line "Back to Nature and the Farm" to sell lots at "The Village of Bensley: 'The Suburb Beautiful.'"[261] Rural appellations such as 'village' or 'farm' were often joined to names alluding to aristocratic and historical roots such as 'park,' 'lawn,' 'estate' and 'colonial.'[262] Eminent landscape architects were commissioned to provide developments with the coherent pastoral landscaping of municipal parks and cemeteries. Of particular note, Law Olmsted was commissioned to lay out the street car suburb of Sherwood Park (1891) on a curvilinear plan familiar to us from his park landscape designs. The oval

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[258] *Boy Scouts of America: The Official Handbook for Boys* (New York: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1911) p. 357
[259] "Are You Satisfied?" *Richmond Times-Dispatch* (7 August, 1910)
[260] "Westbrook Lawn," *Richmond Times-Dispatch* (18 September, 1910)
[261] "Village of Bensley," *Richmond Times-Dispatch* (18 September, 1910)
[262] "Colonial Place: The Popular Place," *Richmond Times-Dispatch* (26 February, 1911)

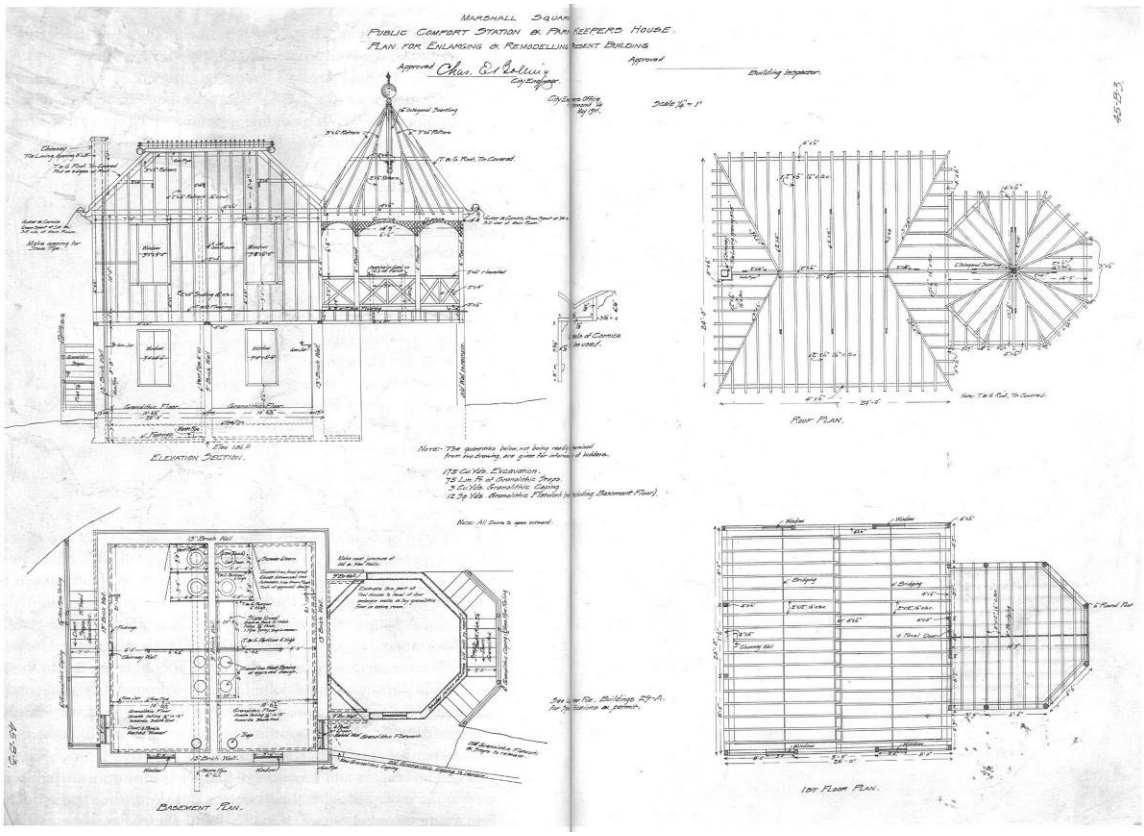


Fig. 4.92 Plans for viewing pavilion, Libby Hill Park (1911). Image courtesy of the State Library of Virginia.

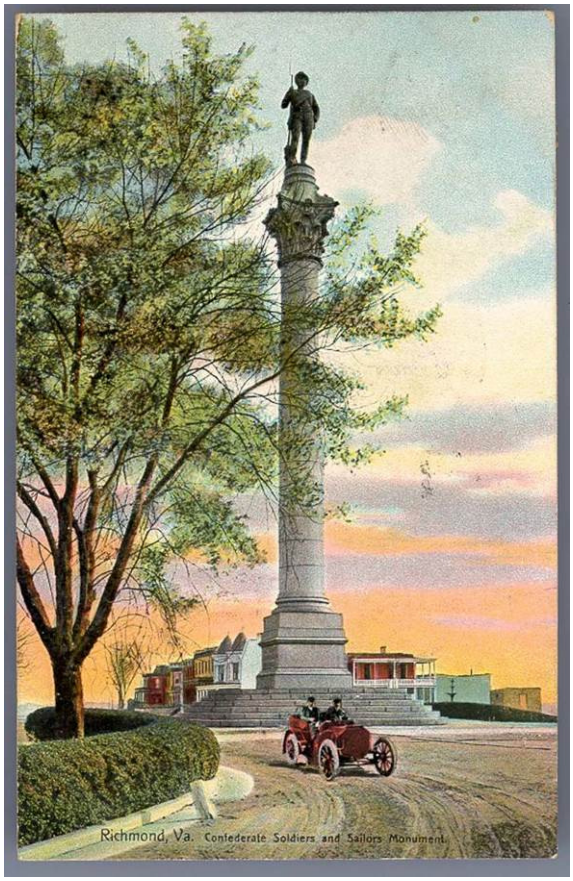


Fig. 4.93 Undated postcard of the Confederate Soldiers and Sailors Monument, Libby Hill Park, Richmond, Virginia. Rather than adopting the usual position, the James River view is behind the observer, apparently in order to prominently display a motorcar in the foreground of the image; the motorist is observing the river view beyond. Image courtesy of Virginia Commonwealth University.

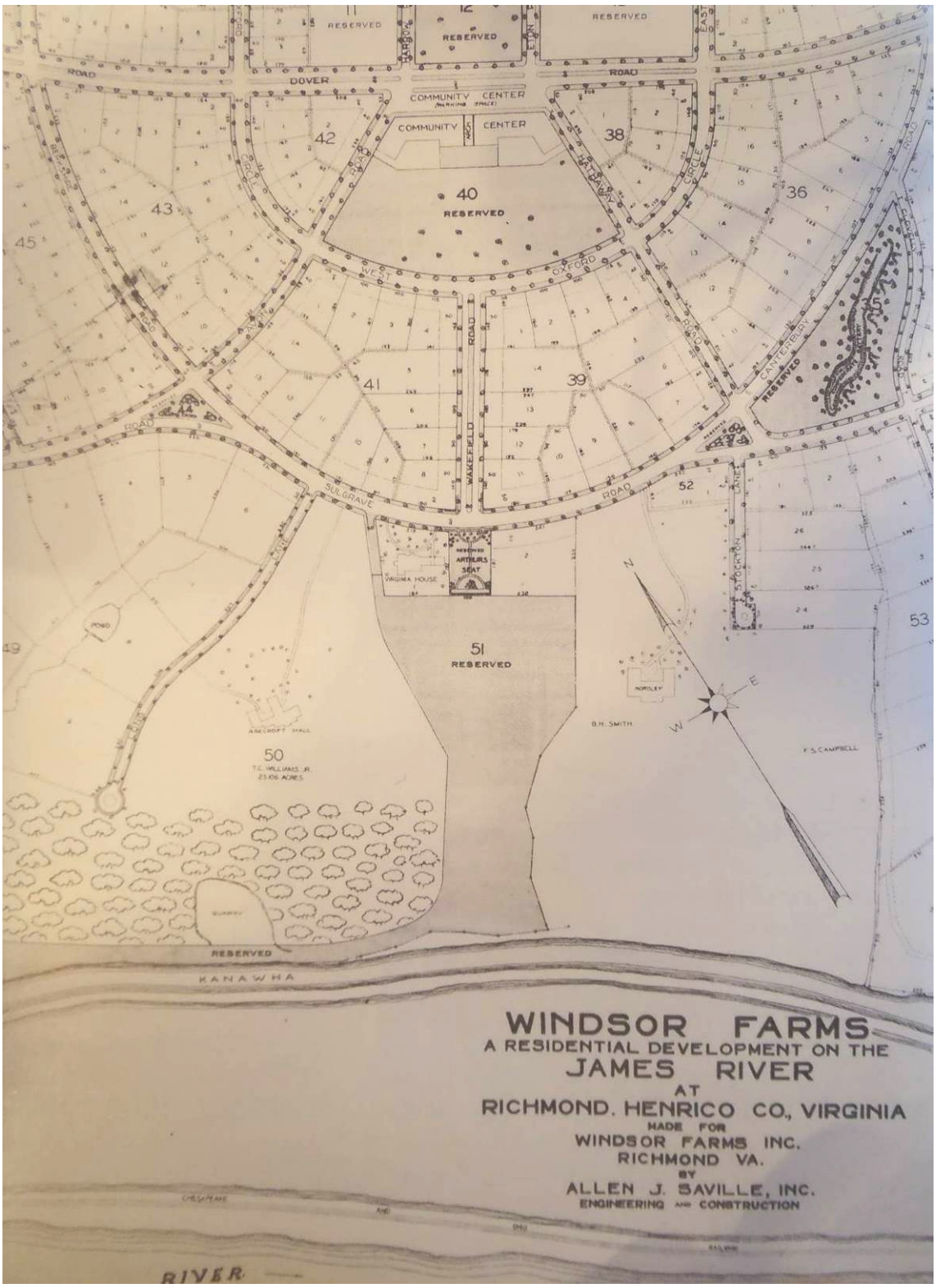


Fig. 4.94 The curving boulevards of the Windsor Farms suburban development, Richmond, Virginia. Three Large estates border the river: Agecroft Hall is to the left, Virginia House is centre, and Nordley is to the right. Image courtesy of Virginia Commonwealth University.

blocks and curved streets proved too adventurous for local developers, however, who had abandoned the plans by 1920.[263]

Elsewhere, Garden clubs were more successful at introducing naturalistic landscaping to suburban developments, working towards civic beautification, following another re-imagination of the picturesque tradition, by actively promoting the idea of historic garden and landscape restorations. The James River Garden Club was founded in 1915, the first in Richmond and one of the founding clubs of the Garden Club of Virginia (1920). A separate organisation, the Virginia Foundation of Garden Clubs was founded in 1933 and, by 1939, there were at least a dozen clubs operating in the Richmond area.[264] The work of Richmond's garden clubs promoting anew the traditions of its picturesque visions, received considerable national recognition after the Garden Club of America conference was held in Richmond in 1924.

4.17 Windsor Farms: Projecting 'Old England' upon Richmond, Virginia[265]

The work of the garden clubs became merged with the 'windshield' view in the ideals of the Garden City Movement, which we encountered exemplified near the Thames in the example of Richard Norman Shaw's Bedford Park, Chiswick. In Richmond, Virginia, the Garden City Movement is best demonstrated by landscape architect John Nolen's design for a suburban estate commissioned by tobacconist T.C. Williams. Given a suitably agrarian name, along with the connotations of an idealised aristocratic 'Old England,' a 1926 plan of Nolen's 'Windsor Farms' survives in the collections of Virginia Commonwealth University (fig. 4.95). The plan demonstrates how, as in British examples such as Parker and Unwin's Hampstead Garden Suburb, streets radiate in a curvilinear pattern about a central square and club house. The combination of naturalistic landscaping and historical architecture lend the suburb the appearance of a number of small "country house" estates with the feel of an "Old English village."[266] Describing the trend for romantic historicism in suburban architecture, Lowenthal has written:

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[263] Potterfield, *Nonesuch Place,* p. 123

[264] J. B. Martin, *Follow the Green Arrow: The History of the Garden Club of Virginia* (Richmond, VA: Dietz Press, 1970) pp. 253-254

[265] The basis of this section formed a research paper presented by the author at 'Material Culture in the Space Between,' an international conference held at Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island, in June 2012.

[266] M. N. Stanard, *Windsor Farms: Hauntingly Reminiscent of Old England* (Richmond, VA: Windsor Farms, 1926)

> "Architects on both sides of the Atlantic made tangible this nostalgic myth by reviving an Old English vernacular. Mock-Tudor became the predominant domestic style of the 1920s and 1930s, "quaint" and "old-fashioned" became terms of praise; "to be up-to-date now meant to look as old as possible."[267]

Remarkably, Windsor Farms' reference to old England was more than simply in the name and its visual cues; two of the constituent country house estates were reconstructed from architectural fragments shipped across the Atlantic.

Before we examine these two reconstructions, something should be said about the context of 1920s American visual culture. The design of the Windsor Farms estate, with its curving roads lined with blossoming apple trees and quaint homes, conforms to a visual recipe popularised by contemporary postcard and photographic views. Of particular influence was the work of Harvard-educated Congregational minister Wallace Nutting, who amassed a fortune from the mass-production of his photographs, photographic calendars and guide books. These typically took the form of rural landscape views, the sinuous curve of a country lane a particular favourite subject of the Nutting oeuvre (fig. 4.96). The colonial homestead, with all its refined elegance amid picturesque naturalistic gardens, was also a popular choice; Nutting's *States Beautiful* guidebook series, including *Virginia Beautiful* (1930) reads as an itinerary of colonial plantation estates intermingled with rural landscapes and picturesque lithographs.

Nutting was not alone in his popularisation of nostalgic and picturesque scenes. In fact, as early as 1922 the Kodak Company had sent a team of marketing representatives "to drive along the country's most travelled roads and scout out particularly scenic areas. Acting on their recommendations, Kodak's advertising department erected 6000 signs to tip off motorists that a scenic view lay ahead. Composed simply of black lettering against a plain white background, the signs read "Picture ahead! *Kodak as you go*."[268] Kodak's pairing of photography with motoring promoted American landscapes as pictures, visual commodities subject to aesthetic and artistic scrutiny, as well as nostalgic mementos of past holidays or events. In this way, Kodak played a direct role in the construction of what Urry calls the 'tourist gaze.'[269] As a 1917 Kodak advert caption stated: "Wherever the purr of your motor lures you, wherever the call of the road leads you, there you will find pictures, untaken pictures that invite your Kodak."[270]

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[267] Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country,* p. 9
[268] West, *Kodak and the Lens of Nostalgia,* p. 65
[269] Urry, *The Tourist Gaze.*
[270] West, *Kodak and the Lens of Nostalgia,* p. 67



Fig. 4.95 Photographer Wallace Nutting's depiction of cattle on the James River, in *Virginia Beautiful* (1930). Image courtesy of the Library of Congress, Washington D.C.



Fig. 4.96 Wallace Nutting's *Trimming the Pie Crust* (1915), taken at one of his New England show homes. Customers could not only buy his pictures, but visit the houses, and order his reproduction furniture, as featured in the photographs. Image courtesy of the Library of Congress, Washington D.C.

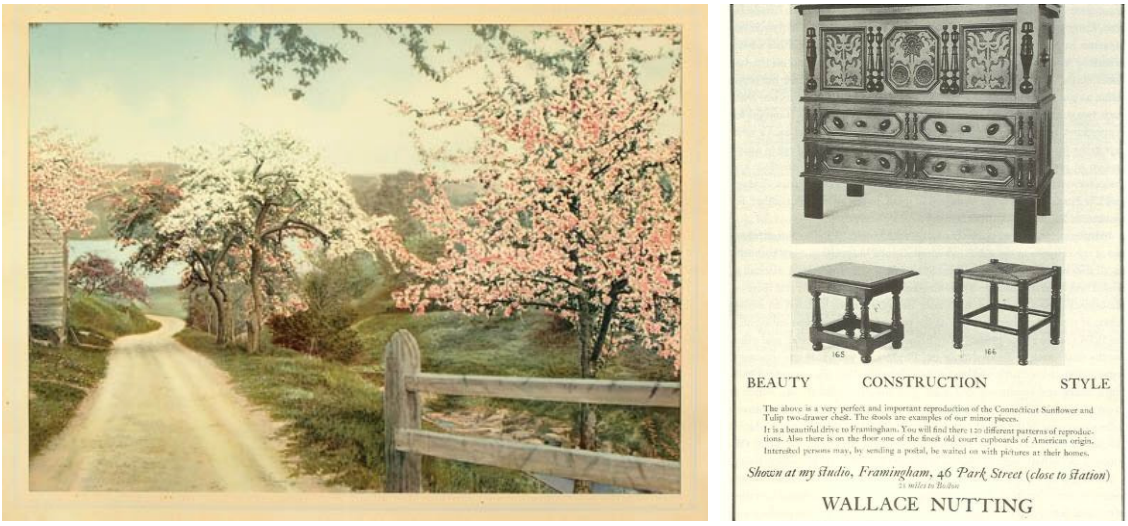


Fig. 4.97 (Left) Coloured photograph from the Wallace Nutting studio, depicting a favourite subject, the anonymous country lane leading to a river through blossoming orchards. (Right) A page from the Wallace Nutting catalogue. Images courtesy of the Library of Congress, Washington D.C.



Fig. 4.98 Aerial photo (1928) of Windsor Farm, Richmond, Virginia, showing Agecroft Hall (left), Virginia House (centre) and Nordley (right). Image courtesy of Virginia Commonwealth University.

Unlike Kodak, Nutting also produced internal views, staged at a series of historic properties in New England and further afield, typically depicting nostalgic reconstructions of bygone daily life, such as Nutting's *Trimming the Pie Crust* (1915) (fig. 4.97). In this view, the historic setting is complemented by reproduction furniture to Nutting's own design, available along with his photos through the company's successful catalogue.[271] Enthusiasts of the Nutting 'look' could even spend the day motoring through the New England countryside to one of his five showroom houses, genuine historic buildings furnished with Nutting products and prints available for purchase (fig. 4.98).[272] The very act of approach, speeding through the picturesque scenery of New England, acted as the prelude to Nutting's consumer experience. The central role of the motorcar is demonstrated in the first introductory paragraph to Nutting's *General Catalog* (1930), which states "There are superb drives in several directions. Our visitors come from everywhere, and our customers from all the states […] The new motor route from Hartford through Stafford Springs is short and all rural."[273] One could argue that contemporary suburban developments, with their serpentine roads lined with blossoming cherry trees, sweeping lawns, and names deliberately rich with historic and aesthetic allusion, were designed to reproduce the visual effects of leisure motoring, as popularised by figures such as Nutting. Indeed, the 'Windsor' appellation to Richmond's Windsor Farms also alludes nostalgically to Windsor-backed furniture, reproductions of which achieved great popularity following Wallace Nutting's guidebook to *Correct American Windsors* (1917)[274] and his own catalogue of reproductions published one year later.[275] As such, Nutting's mix of nostalgia, colonial architecture and naturalistic landscape in *Virginia Beautiful,* his other guides, catalogues and show-homes, could be seen as a pattern book for contemporary suburban developments such as Richmond's Windsor Farms.

Certainly, the aforementioned reconstruction of two historic English buildings on the Windsor Farms estate demonstrates contemporary enthusiasms for the nostalgic,

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[271] T. A. Denenberg, "Consumed by the Past: Wallace Nutting and the Invention of Old America" in R. G. Wilson, S. Eyring, K. Marotta eds., *Re-creating the American Past: Essays on the Colonial Revival* (Charlottesville & London: University of Virginia Press, 2006) p. 37

[272] These were known as "The Wallace Nutting Chain of Colonial Picture Houses" and included the Joseph Webb House, Wethersfield, Conneticut; the Wentworth-Gardner House, Portsmouth, New Hampshire; the Hazen Garrison House, Haverhill, Massachusetts; the Cutler-Bartlet House, Newburyport, Massachusetts and the Ironmaster's House, Saugus, Massachusetts. T. A. Denenberg, "Consumed by the Past: Wallace Nutting and the Invention of Old America" in Wilson, Eyring, Marotta eds., *Re-creating the American Past,* p. 33

[273] W. Nutting, *General Catalog: Supreme Edition* (Framingham, MA, 1930) p. 3

[274] W. Nutting, *Correct American Windsors* (Framingham, Massachusetts, 1917)

[275] T. A. Denenberg, "Consumed by the Past: Wallace Nutting and the Invention of Old America" in Wilson, Eyring, Marotta eds., *Re-creating the American Past,* p. 35

historic and picturesque. The first such structure, Agecroft Hall, a fifteenth-century manor house formerly from Pendlebury near Manchester, was purchased at auction by developer T.C.Williams in 1925 (fig. 4.100). Its demolition and sale sparked protests in Britain and a debate in the House of Commons but nevertheless it was agreed that the Hall's perilous derelict state amidst coal pits, the Manchester to Bolton Canal and a Railway was not to be preferred. The Williams' and their architect Henry G. Morse salvaged only the most picturesque and interesting fragments of the house, re-erecting them to a new plan, designed to suit the twentieth-century requirements of the suburban commuter-belt family. Immediately next door, Alexander Weddell and his wife Virginia were also reconstructing the salvaged architectural fragments of a building they had acquired at auction in 1925; all that remained of Warwick Priory, an Elizabethan mansion incorporating medieval fabric (fig. 4.101).[276]

The relocation of Warwick priory caused much local distress in Warwickshire and British newspapers were soon flooded with letters of protest. A correspondent of the *Spectator* wrote angrily:

> "It is with great concern that I, and no doubt many beside me, read in the daily papers of the sale of Warwick Priory and its removal to America. This is not the first time that wealthy Americans have bought ancient buildings in England and removed them piece by piece to their own country. No doubt if the tower of London were for sale they would buy and remove that. One can understand the Americans' desire and love for these historical relics, but why are they allowed to remove them from their natural setting? These buildings belong to England, […]. Cannot a petition be made to Parliament asking them to prevent by law any further actions of this description?"[277]

Lowenthal has suggested that a motive behind the American importation of historic buildings may be discerned in the "typical moan that what was new was empty; lacking "the associations of tradition which are the soul and interest of scenery," America had "the beauty of a face without an expression.""[278] As has been pointed out by Jacqueline Taylor, an influential factor behind much of the distress caused by such importations, was the widening gulf between an increasingly rich and powerful United States, built on the profits of industry and an air of unshakable optimism, as opposed to the human and financial losses Britain had suffered as a result of the First World War.[279] The very

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[276] Formerly the Priory of the Augustinian Order of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem founded in 1109, and rebuilt by Thomas Hawkins after the dissolution of the monasteries in 1536.
[277] L. H. Crawford in the *Spectator* (17th October, 1925) p.651
[278] W. C. Bryant, "Poetry and Painting: A Love Affair of Long Ago," p. 875 quoted in Lowenthal, *The Past Is A Foreign Country,* p. 115
[279] J. Taylor, "Virginia House: The Reconstruction of Social and Historical Narratives" in Wilson, Eyring, Marotta eds., *Re-creating the American Past,* p. 237

notion that the 'new money' of America might buy up and ship out symbols of Britain's ancient aristocracy and identity quite simply stung the pride of many who petitioned the government to take action.

Despite protests, the Weddells succeeded in purchasing the entire building for a sum of £3,500 before a demolition auction for its constituent elements could be held.[280] The most interesting parts of the historic building were removed and transported, while the rest of the building was simply raised to the ground, with the help of explosives, before reconstruction a few months before the Stock Market Crash of 1929. This was much to the dismay of the editor of the *Warwick and Warwickshire Advertiser* who complained: "The Romance of Warwick Priory is over and its fate is imminent. Like many other art treasures and architectural gems representative of a past age of England, it is to go to America. Stone by stone its demolition will be complete, and all will be packed for transportation. The centuries old home of cloister quiet, the jingle of armour, of valour and the tales of chivalry will soon see Warwick no more."[281] Had the Weddells been intending a faithful reconstruction of the ancient building then, perhaps, protestors might have found small comfort in the retention of some perceived historical integrity. However, the Weddells' intentions were entirely different. In fact, the couple had chanced upon the sale of Warwick Priory during a search for historic glass and panelling to complement a new build Tudor style home they were planning in Richmond. On visiting the building, it occurred to the Weddells that it contained enough weathered stone that it could be used as a quarry, from which they could construct a completely new home on a new plan, but with a suitably time-worn patina.

The Tudor or Elizabethan style at this time was enjoying a fashionable revival for reasons that the magazine *Country Life in America* makes clear: "Not only is it extremely picturesque but it offers a considerable degree of license for variation and unconventionality not found in other styles of architecture. One may set an Elizabethan house down almost anywhere and let it ramble about among natural growing trees in very nearly any unusual shape which best fits the landscape and still preserve consistency in respect to style."[282] The irregular plan of the new building they named Virginia House, reflects the confluence of two separate agendas, a home for the couple

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[280] *National Register of Historic Places*. United States Department of the lnterior National Park Service. 1990-06-13. http://www.dhr.virginia.gov/registers/Cities/Richmond/127-0255_Virginia_House_1990_Final_Nomination.pdf. [Accessed 23 April, 2011]

[281] *Warwick and Warwickshire Advertiser* (26th September, 1925)

[282] These remarks are remarkably consistent with those of picturesque theorists of the early nineteenth century, particularly Humphrey Repton. J. Taylor, "Virginia House: The Reconstruction of Social and Historical Narratives" in Wilson, Eyring, Marotta eds., *Re-creating the American Past,* p. 248



Fig. 4.99 Sixteenth-century Agecroft Hall, as reconstructed at Windsor Farms, Richmond, Virginia. Image courtesy of Library of Congress, Washington D.C.



Fig. 4.100 (Top) Warwick Priory, prior to its demolition and relocation to Richmond, Virginia, in 1925. (Bottom) The Weddells rebuilt portions of Warwick Priory, whilst incorporating a copy of Sulgrave Manor, Northamptonshire, the ancestral home of the Washington family, within another of the building's facades. Images from J. Taylor, "Virginia House: The Reconstruction of Social and Historical Narratives" in R. G. Wilson, S. Eyring, K. Marotta eds., *Re-creating the American Past: Essays on the Colonial Revival* (Charlottesville & London: University of Virginia Press, 2006).



Fig. 4.101 The motorist's view, c. 1920s, of Virginia House, Windsor Farms, Richmond, Virginia, showing reconstructed elements of Warwick Priory. Postcard image courtesy of Virginia Commonwealth University.

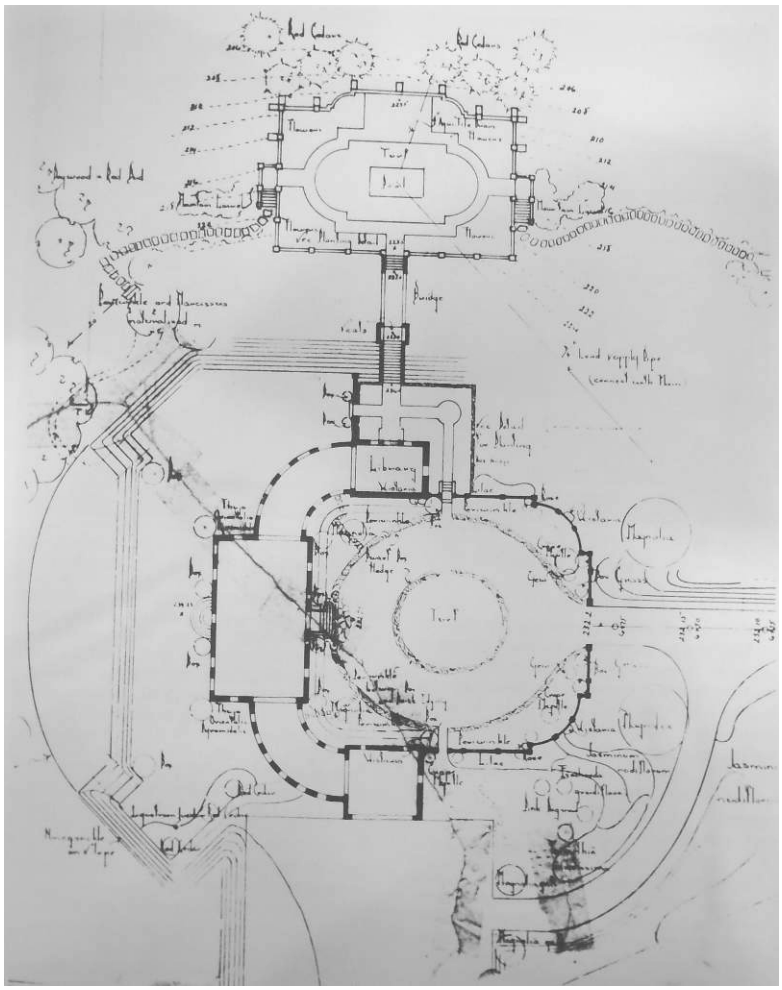


Fig. 4.102 Site plan of William Lawrence Bottomley's 'Nordley', Windsor Farms, Richmond, Virginia. Image from S. H. Frazer, *The Architecture of William Lawrence Bottomley* (Acanthus Press, 2007).

and, in a philanthropic gesture, a new home for the Virginia Historical Society. For the latter, the Weddells proposed a reconstruction of George Washington's English Ancestral Home, Sulgrave Manor, which was incorporated into the Western façade of the new building. This curious reconstruction of a portion of a lesser medieval manor house, merged with the fragments of a major Elizabethan mansion creates a curious tension in scale between the building's two facades. Taylor has suggested this tension reveals the different symbolic functions of each façade: the Sulgrave Manor portion firmly associates Virginia with white, English roots, while Warwick Priory demonstrates Alexander Weddell's aspiration to be associated with aristocratic circles and a constructed ancestry.[283] Both together form a picturesque ensemble to be viewed for its symbolic associations.

In this way, the Weddells created not only a suitably picturesque home to complement the landscape design of the Windsor Farms estate, but symbolically constructed an historical narrative for their home, linking it to Washington, Queen Elizabeth and a generalised and romantic vision of the 'Old World.' Interestingly, Alexander Weddell was a member of the Walpole Society, advocates of the scholarly collection of historical artefacts, well aware of Walpole's 'castle' of Strawberry Hill, Twickenham, and the connections Walpole made between his architecture and a romantic vision of medieval chivalry. Leaving no heirs, the Weddells' home was, from its inception, planned to become the home of the Virginia Historical Society, somehow pre-inscribing an air of historical integrity and legitimacy to the structure. This is heightened by a historical description of the house written by Alexander himself perhaps, as Taylor has suggested, inspired by Walpole's own descriptive account of Strawberry Hill.[284] This description was to act as a guide on public open days at Virginia House, when visitors were admitted to see treasures of the Weddell's private collection and those of the Society. In 1932, the Weddell's held an exhibition of landscape views of Richmond.[285] To accompany the exhibition, Alexander Weddell authored a catalogue entitled *Richmond Virginia in Old Prints* (1932), which gives an insight into the Weddell's visual perception of the city, its history and landscape.

Strikingly, Weddell's catalogue begins with a passage which equates Richmond to the great cities of classical legend. He writes:

> "Ask any man of well-stored mind to name the most memorable description of a great city, and he probably will quote Pericles' eulogy

[283] Taylor, "Virginia House: The Reconstruction of Social and Historical Narratives", p.248
[284] Ibid., p. 251
[285] Weddell, *Richmond Virginia in Old Prints,* p. xi

> of Athens […], the fall of Troy […] [or] the capture of Constantinople."[286]

Weddell's use of analogy to describe Richmond in reference to the 'eulogies' of fallen classical cities presents the city's destruction, at the close of Civil War in 1865, as the inglorious fall of a noble centre of culture and civilisation. This nostalgic romanticism for a former golden age is immediately connected to the picturesque image:

> "It will be noted at first glance that Richmond has been depicted more often and, on the whole, with somewhat more artistic spirit than most American cities […]. Aside from the historical appeal of many events in the annals of the city, the first reason for this would seem to be the setting of the little town […] which […] affords a situation beautiful and picturesque. Hills made for hard climbing but for fine prospects. The crescent bow of the rocky river bed was the despair of navigators but the dream of architects."[287]

This vision contrasts with Weddell's description of the city's destruction, perhaps as a plea to support the preservationist efforts of the Virginia Historical Society and also of the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America. If the Weddells were advocates of historical preservation, their home demonstrates their admiration of Garden City planning and historicist design as links with an authentic past:

> "when the motor car liberated the wealthy Richmonder from his thraldom to distance, he rediscovered the knolls that overlook the James and crowned them with the fine houses that castellated the skyline from Maymont to Westham bridge."[288]

In Weddell's mind, Richmond's new suburban developments had 'rediscovered' picturesque architectural and urban planning. The construction of 'fine houses' such as his own Virginia House might be imagined as restoring the image of the city, repairing the scars left by Civil War and more broadly by an age of industrialisation. A sense of the restorative qualities of the suburban developments is given by his statement that "homes were constructed past which a man could drive a guest without diverting his attention or changing the subject from architecture to Virginia history." [289]

After the death of the Weddells, Virginia House was transformed into a popular tourist attraction, housing a museum and gallery of Virginian landscape paintings as well as the archives and library of the Virginia Historical Society. The number of postcard views produced of the house from the late 1920s onwards is a testament to its popularity as a tourist destination. Most often these depict the house viewed from the

[286] Weddell, *Richmond Virginia in Old Prints,* p. xix
[287] Weddell, *Richmond Virginia in Old Prints*, p. xxviii
[288] Ibid.
[289] Ibid., p. xxxii

curb, across its lawned forecourt (fig. 4.102). The 'windshield' vantage point of the passing motor-tourist, attracted to Windsor Farms by its pleasing blend of historical architecture, picturesque landscape design and speed-friendly sweeping parkways, thus became associated with the imagined reclamation of a particular idea of the past.

4.18 William Lawrence Bottomley and the Re-Imagining of 'Colonial' Richmond

Just as the 'reconstructions' at Windsor Farms claimed an idea of the past, and became assumed into that imagined past, so too were new suburban homes. An aerial photograph of the fledgling estate, dated c. 1928 (fig. 4.99), reveals a third house under construction on a plot neighbouring Virginia House. This house, the work of William Lawrence Bottomley, is one of a number of homes designed by the renowned architect in Richmond. Bottomley designed four houses on the riverside bluffs of Windsor Farms along with an addition to a fifth: a Jacobean style portico for Virginia House, his only venture in that style.[290] Bottomley, born in New York in 1883, had trained at Columbia University before being awarded the McKim Fellowship in Architecture at the American Academy in Rome in 1906. In 1908, he enrolled at the Ecole des Beaux Arts and completed extensive travels throughout the European continent. No doubt it was during this time that Bottomley familiarised himself with the works of European architects, and particularly with the works of English architects of the eighteenth-century. Later he would write that the literary works of Asher Benjamin, Batty Langley, William Kent, Thomas Swan, William Pain and Robert Adam were all extensively referenced in his own design work, stating that "this may be seen by comparing the designs of these books with [that] executed."[291] Though Bottomley produced several designs for high-rise buildings in New York during the 1930s, he is chiefly remembered for his "James River Georgian" villas; works which have played a major part in the construction and imagination of Richmond's architectural and aesthetic identity.

Bottomley's early works in Richmond were mainly clustered along the imposing Monument Avenue, site of the memorial to General Lee described previously, a grand project of civic beautification conceived in the 1890s. Along with the monuments to the great and good of the Confederate South, one could view Bottomley's scattering of neo-Georgian townhouses, four on the south side and five on the north, as a nostalgic

[290] W. B. O'Neal and C. Weeks, *The Work of William Lawrence Bottomley in Richmond* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1985) p. 105
[291] Ibid., p. 11

allusion to a glorious and orderly past. The authors of *The Work of William Lawrence Bottomley in Richmond* (1985), however, suggest that Bottomley's architecture recalls not so much a romantic vision of a prosperous antebellum south, as the more distant 'golden age' of colonial Virginia, stating that his homes are "more English than American Georgian […] [with details] which might have come from a plate in William Salmon or Batty Langley."[292] One could argue that the influence of English precedent evident in Bottomley's work includes his penchant for picturesque effect. The book's authors suggest this, stating that in stockbroker Coleman Wortham's House (2301 Monument Avenue, built 1925) "we see the beginnings of several themes that characterised [Bottomley's] mature work: shaped rooms and a succession of halls that combine to create a series of intense spatial sensations, a definite use of historicism, and the inclusion of certain elements chosen solely for their exotic, picturesque effect."[293] Bottomley himself wrote:

> "the things I particularly think of in making any design are, first, to get an interesting mass to the building […]. I work toward interesting silhouettes to the roof lines, contrasting plain walls with interesting detail at salient points."[294]

Bottomley's principal criteria for 'interest' would appear to be a variety of visual form.

In later years, Bottomley's principal commissions were for increasingly large suburban villas, including Milburne, Windsor Farms and perhaps his best known and most influential house, Nordley, whose roof may just be discerned to the right of the 1928 aerial photo mentioned above (fig. 4.99). Built in 1923, Nordley's owner Mrs. Benjamin Hodges Smith had wanted an Elizabethan house in the manner of neighbouring Virginia House and Agecroft Hall. However, Bottomley soon talked her round, stating that "the revised house would be very picturesque in mass [and] […] it would add to the charm of the place to have a Virginia Palladian house".[295] When it came to Nordley's landscape design too, Bottomley envisaged an informal and picturesque garden in the English manner, suggesting:

> "I would have this garden mysterious, secluded, romantic, in strong contrast to the formal balanced lines of the house. Imagine sitting there in the Spring on a moonlight night, the view veiled by a silvery haze. White statues and vases embowered in foliage glowing faintly against

[292] H. Stafford Bryant Jr., "Two Twentieth Century Domestic Architects in the South: Neel Reid and William L. Bottomley," *Classical America* vol. 1, no. 2 (1972) p. 31
[293] O'Neal, Weeks, *The Work of William Lawrence Bottomley in Richmond,* p. 47
[294] Ibid., p. 12
[295] Ibid., p. 113

> the dark foliage and the James with its great expanse of silver water flowing slowly by".[296]

Bottomley's romantic vision for Nordley (figs. 4.103, 4.104) was not lost on Richmond's 'Southern Renaissance' novelist Ellen Glasgow, who described the house, giving it the pseudonym "Dare's Gift," in a short story published by *Harper's Magazine* in 1925. Glasgow writes:

> "Following the steep road, which ran in curves through a stretch of pines and across an abandoned pasture or two, I came at last to an iron gate and a grassy walk leading […] to the open lawn planted with elms. With that first glimpse the Old World charm of the scene held me captive. From the warm red of its brick walls to the pure Colonial lines of its doorway, and its curving wings mantled in roses and ivy, the house stood there, splendid and solitary […] the heavy cedars crowding thick up the short avenue did not stir as the wind blew from the river; and above […], a lonely bat was wheeling high against the red disk of the sun."[297]

Though the house was just two years old, Glasgow's description presents the scene as replete with "Old World charm," clearly alluding to the fiction of great age. The curving road crossing abandoned pastures which begins the piece is, in the mind's eye of the reader, the serpentine drive of a once great, now crumbling, plantation estate, not the freshly laid suburban streets and vacant lots of newly developed Windsor Farms. Thus, Glasgow's description historicises Nordley and its neighbouring suburban villas through the use of nostalgic and picturesque imagery.

Within a few years, Bottomley's architectural works were deemed so enchanting, so picturesque, that his houses had become decisive to the historicising image Richmond held of itself - as an elegant eighteenth-century villa society - eclipsing the few 'authentic' architectural remnants of that era.[298] O'Neal and Weeks write that Bottomley "helped create some of the best new parts of a proud old city, and his urban/suburban villas have a cumulative effect which set the mark for an entire city."[299] Or, to quote Cobb, Richmond "entered the twentieth-century bedecked in the grandiose architectural splendour meant to invoke the Old South Golden Age."[300] This historicising of Bottomley's work might be viewed as simple misidentification, as his Windsor Farms homes share a region of the city with a pair of 'reconstructed' examples

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[296] O'Neal, Weeks, *The Work of William Lawrence Bottomley in Richmond,* p. 133
[297] E. Glasgow, "Dare's Gift" in R. K. Meeker ed., *Collected Short Stories of Ellen Glasgow* (Louisiana State University Press, 1963) p. 74
[298] See Appendix, "Bottomley Homes Give Character to Richmond," *Richmond Times-Dispatch* (February 27, 2009)
[299] O'Neal, Weeks, *The Work of William Lawrence Bottomley in Richmond,* p. i
[300] Cobb, *Away Down South,* p. 87

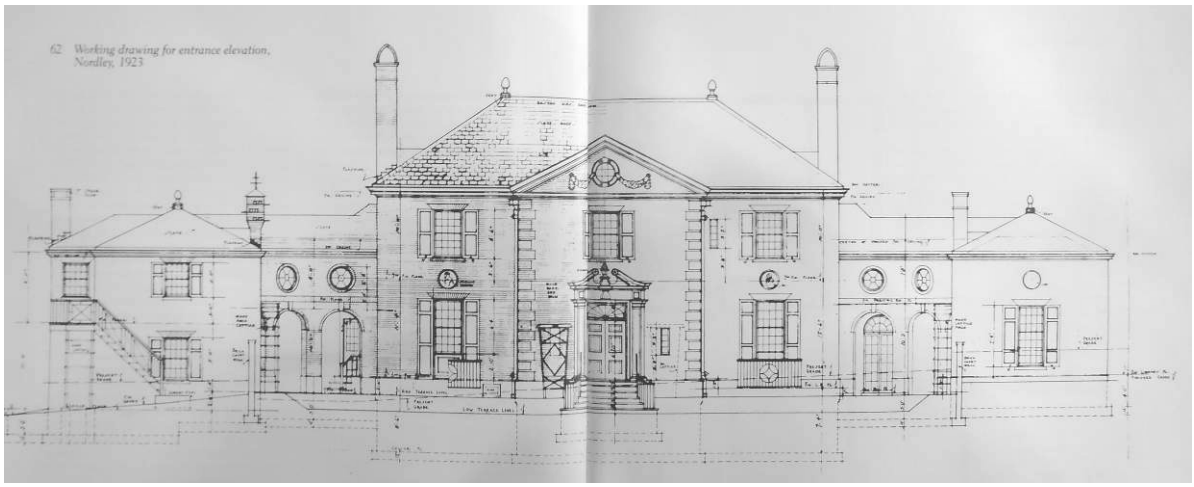


Fig. 4.103 Working Drawing of the entrance front, Nordley, by William Lawrence Bottomley, 1923. Image from S. H. Frazer, *The Architecture of William Lawrence Bottomley* (Acanthus Press, 2007).



Fig. 4.104 'Before and After' photographs of Thomas Tileston Waterman's reconstruction of eighteenth-century Ampthill Plantation. Image from the Historic American Buildings Survey, Library of Congress, Washington D.C.

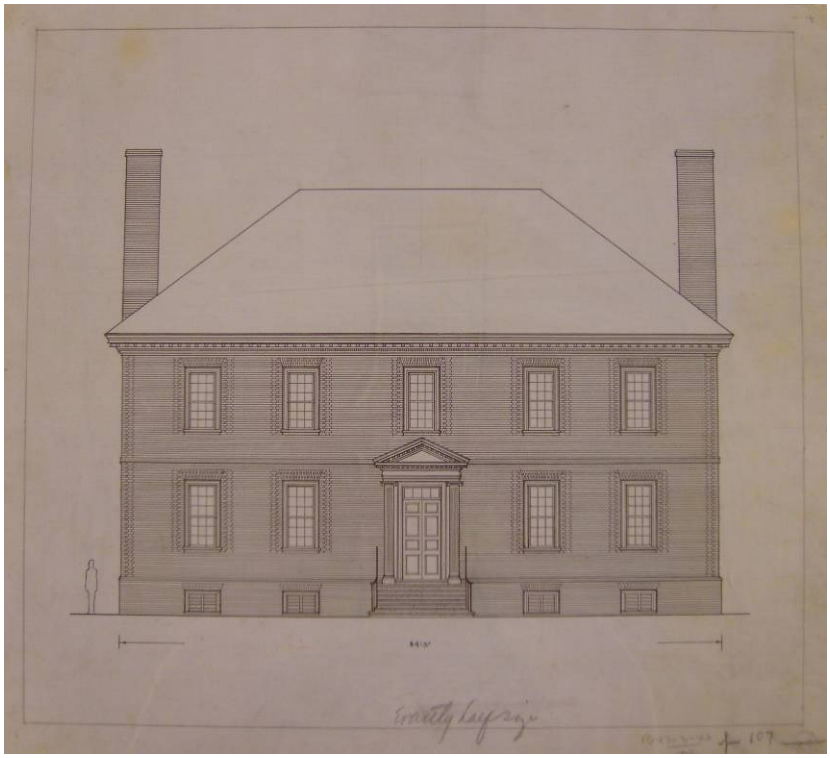


Fig. 4.105 Original drawing, by Thomas Tileston Waterman, for his reconstruction of eighteenth-century Wilton Plantation (built 1753) at Windsor Farms, Richmond, Virginia. Image courtesy of the Prints and Drawings collection, Library of Congress, Washington D.C.

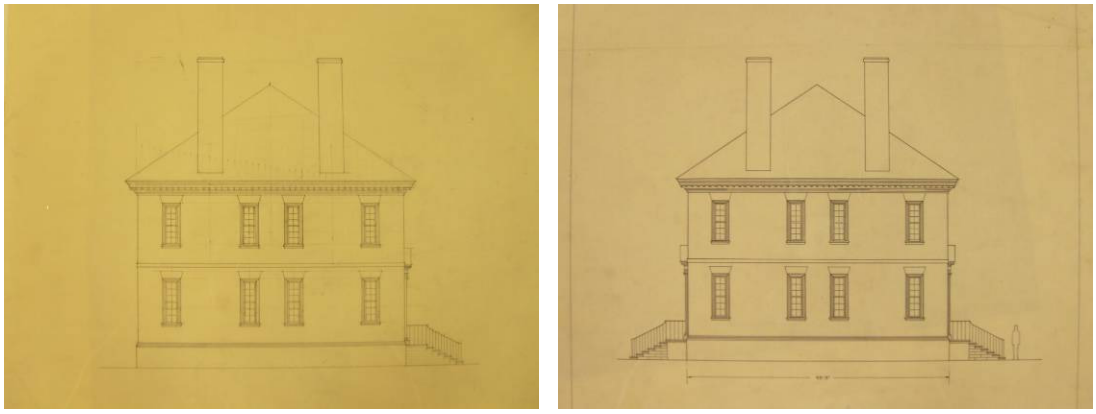


Fig. 4.106 A study of T. T. Waterman's working drawings, held at the Library of Congress, demonstrates how Waterman frequently departed from historical evidence, adding steps and an ornamental doorcase to the rear of Wilton Plantation, between his pencil sketches (left) and his final ink drawings (right). Images courtesy of the Prints and Drawings collection, Library of Congress, Washington D.C.

of colonial domestic architecture: Wilton and Ampthill Plantations. While Virginia House and Agecroft Hall romanticise Virginia's European roots, the Wilton and Ampthill reconstructions declare the importance of Virginia's own, though linked, early history. And yet, set in accordance to a romantic vision of their 'authentic' eighteenth-century appearance, one could argue that they too allude to visions of colonial 'Englishness'.

4.19 Thomas Tileston Waterman: Historicising Suburban Richmond

Ampthill, constructed by Henry Cary sometime before 1732, was formerly located on a riverside plantation some six miles downstream of Richmond (fig. 4.105). In 1928, the property was purchased for the development of the du Pont Rayon Factory and the house was threatened with demolition. Saved by a descendent of the Carys at the eleventh hour, Ampthill was carefully dismantled and reconstructed on a site at Windsor Farms, Richmond, close to the reconstructions of Agecroft Hall and Warwick Priory. Employed to oversee the project was architect Thomas Tileston Waterman, described as possessing "a passion for the preservation of endangered architecture".[301]

Before receiving the Ampthill commission, Waterman had been involved in many projects of Virginia's Williamsburg reconstruction, under architects Perry, Shaw & Hepburn. From 1932 onwards Waterman was heavily involved with the addition of reclaimed architectural fragments to Henry Francis du Pont's own Winterthur House, Delware.[302] It was probably under the guidance of Perry, Shaw & Hepburn that Waterman honed his particular methods of reconstruction. Ampthill shares similarities with Williamsburg projects, where the building was returned to a romantic vision of its 'original' or 'authentic' form. For example, Waterman removed the later porch, adding the more 'fitting' colonial doorcase it was presumed to have once had, yet the flanking wings - which Waterman notes as later additions - were retained for visual effect.[303] As the published 'before and after' photographs illustrate (fig. 4.105), connections were added to these wings, dressed with 'colonial' brickwork, sash windows and cornicing,

[301] C. C. Lavoie, "Architectural Plans and Visions: The Early HABS Program and Its Documentation of Vernacular Architecture", *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture,* vol. 13, no. 2 (Anniversary Issue, 2006/2007) p. 18

[302] Including a cantilevered circular stair, altered to an ellipse by Waterman, from Montmorenci, N.C., the Tidewater Virginia Hall, from Tappahannock, VA, and the Long Island Room, from Oyster Bay among others. F. C. Kaynor, "Thomas Tileston Waterman: Student of American Colonial Architecture," *Winterthur Portfolio,* vol. 20, no. 2/3 (University of Chicago Press, summer/autumn, 1985) p.119

[303] T. T. Waterman, J. A. Barrows, *Domestic Colonial Architecture of Tidewater Virginia* (1932) p.44.

which the same photographs demonstrate could never have existed.[304] F. C. Kaynor suggests that Waterman justified such historical discrepancies by placing "himself mentally in the eighteenth century," which allowed him to address current "architectural problems as he thought they would have been addressed by eighteenth-century people."[305] Waterman's publication of the Ampthill 'restoration' in his *Domestic Colonial Architecture of Tidewater Virginia* (1932), presented rather opportunistically as a work of academic building archaeology, lends a certain legitimacy to the act of romanticising colonial Virginia, whilst also publicising his 'restoration' works to prospective clients.

No doubt the inclusion of neighbouring Wilton plantation, built by William Randolph III in 1753, in Waterman's book did not go unnoticed by the plantation's 1932 purchasers, a local branch of the Colonial Dames of America. Having rescued the house from demolition (apparently, Bottomley had advised a previous owner to tear the house down in order to reuse the brick), the Dames promptly entrusted Waterman with its careful dismantling and reconstruction six miles upstream in Richmond.

The founding of the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America in 1891[306] reflects the contemporary popularity of movements in historic preservation. By 1894, ancestral societies had been established in all of the original thirteen colonies. Terms of membership stipulated that each member prove their descent from an ancestor who served an American Colony prior to 1750.[307] Thus, strikingly, these societies conceived of themselves as historic gene pools, comprised of the descendents of America's most notable colonial families. The NSCDA's motto "Virtutes Majorum Filiae Conservant" (Daughters Conserve the Virtues of Their Elders) eloquently sums up the Society's attitude of familial responsibility for the historical artefacts of a shared ancestry. It had been the NSCDA who had funded the restoration of Washington's Sulgrave Manor, Northamptonshire, in 1923, incidentally the very project which had inspired Weddell's reconstruction of Sulgrave in his own Virginia house.[308]

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[304] Ibid., p.38. That Waterman knew the connections had never existed in the building's original form is demonstrated by his reconstructed front elevation p. 47.
[305] F. C. Kaynor, "Thomas Tileston Waterman: Student of American Colonial Architecture," *Winterthur Portfolio,* vol. 20, no. 2/3 (University of Chicago Press, summer/autumn, 1985) p.143
[306] Along with the Daughters of the American Revolution and the Society of Colonial Daughters.
[307] https://www.nscda.org/site3/index2.php [Accessed 27/04/2011]
[308] The National Society of the Colonial Dames of America raised funds to cover the restoration, maintenance costs and running of Sulgrave Manor whilst its purchase was funded by the donations of philanthropic businessmen from both sides of the Atlantic. The purchase and restoration of Sulgrave Manor was intended to symbolically commemorate a century of Anglo-American peace since the signing of the Treaty of Ghent in 1814.

Studying the original working sketches for Waterman's Wilton 'restoration', housed in the prints and photographs department of the Library of Congress, Washington D.C., demonstrates how Waterman went beyond the simple reinstatement of historical features; at some stage between drawing the elevations in pencil and working them up in ink Waterman added a doorcase and steps to the southern façade, to match those on the north (fig. 4.107). This was despite any evidence for their historic existence, instating them purely for their visual effect.

Wilton opened to the public in 1952 as a living museum complete with costumed actors and furnished with a reproduction antiques. Gardens, little based on real historical evidence but rather on English models, were constructed to surround the house.[309] This provided a suitably picturesque foil to the scene, where the visitor could slip into a rose-tinted vision of Virginia's past; an imagined time when ties with Old England were still strong and Virginia planters lived supposedly comfortable, elegant and prosperous lives. Richard Guy Wilson has interpreted the use of colonial imagery by the NSCDA as "the expression of an Anglo-white-gentrified and elite class who, traumatised by their displacement from power, employed colonial imagery to maintain status and "Americanize" immigrants."[310]

The preservation work of societies such as that of the NSCDA could be viewed as a reaction to the rapid destruction of historic buildings following the Stock Market Crash of 1929, when many owners saw demolition and the sale of contents as an attractive option. Parallels may be drawn between the outpouring of regret following Richmond's destruction at the close of the American Civil War, and the perception of 1930s preservation groups that a new phase of destruction had returned. Significantly, poet Edgar Masters published *Richmond: A Dramatic Poem* (1934), a nostalgic recollection of Civil War destruction, just at this time. Masters writes:

"O, City of great revolt;
O, City of the Seven Hills,
…
O, Capitol designed by Jefferson,
That gazes on river and town,
The flowering square, and many an ancient lawn,
…
But look! Above the tree tops sparks are sailing,

[309] An archaeological excavation of Wilton's gardens was undertaken, demonstrated by a plan surviving in the Thomas Tileston Waterman Archive, Library of Congress, Washington D.C. Aspects of the plan, including the asymmetric placement of various outbuildings were not reinstated, so that the reinstated gardens are a 'tidied up' version of reality, more appropriate to accepted notions of colonial architecture and landscape design.

[310] Wilson, Eyring, Marotta eds., *Re-creating the American Past,* p. 6

> And the flickering and dying down
> Of light, like the burning of a town.
> Looked it not so when Rome was wailing
> …
> When Carthage, cut off by land and sea,
> As Richmond is, where famine preyed,
> And the torch at last destroyed the citadel,
> And laid the walls and temples low
> …
> The beauty of cornice, column and pedestal,
> Of entablatures above the pillared porch?
> O, Richmond, this is you;
> O, Athens of our hearts
> …
> O, once great, wise Republic,
> As you seemed,
> …
> Warred thus! You now are made
> To live, repair, perhaps, but pay the wage."[311]

Using the tools of romantic imagery by now very familiar to us, Masters's poem conjures up an image of a glorious past civilisation; of Richmond as a classical city whose destruction was a deplorable act comparable to the sack of Rome. Popular nostalgic ideas such as these played a critical role in the fledgling preservation projects of local and national heritage bodies in the wake of the 1929 Stock Market Crash.

Meanwhile, recognising rates of high unemployment among architects, draughtsmen and surveyors, the US Government initiated a relief programme under the auspices of the Civil Works Administration.[312] Specifically designed to employ highly skilled and unemployed workers, this programme proposed a national survey of America's built heritage. Coincidentally, the new affordability of the motorcar, along with the dramatic infrastructural improvements which had encouraged motor-tourism in the manner of Wallace Nutting's pictorial and historical guides, and the provision of Kodak signs, now also aided the architectural researcher in reaching remote and ruinous plantations. Recognising the role that the motorcar played in the documentation and dissemination of historic American architecture, historian Fiske Kimball has written:

> "When the river steamboats […] were stilled by the automobile, oblivion seemed closing over these houses and their ruins. But the automobile has made its own amends, bringing roads and a new

[311] E. L. Masters, *Richmond: A Dramatic Poem* (New York & London: Samuel French, 1934)
[312] A. Robbinson, "A "Portrait of a Nation": The Role of the Historic American Buildings Survey in the Colonial Revival" in Wilson, Eyring, Marotta eds., *Re-creating the American Past,* p. 99

> accessibility by land, a new opportunity for patient and prolonged study."[313]

The Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS), founded in 1933, sought to produce, in a comprehensive record of measured drawings, photographs and sketches; a 'portrait' of American architecture. As Annie Robinson has written, "although "portrait of a nation" was first used in reference to the WPA's *American Guide* series, and the writers of the Federal Writers' Project were frequently called "portraitists," the expression describes the work of HABS equally well."[314] That Waterman was similarly concerned with the visual aesthetic of American architecture is supported by Kaynor, who writes:

> "At no point was Waterman as interested in how a historical house had served its inhabitants as he was in how the house's architraves and quoins had served its visual character. Acknowledging his predilection, Waterman eventually – in his unpublished work – renounced responsibility as a historian in order to follow his personal affinity for aethetics."[315]

Many of the drawings Waterman had made for *Domestic Colonial Architecture of Tidewater Virginia* were absorbed by the survey following his appointment as Assistant Director of the HABS program. Thus, Waterman's romanticised aesthetic, its sensibility imbued with the imagined values of historic Richmond, merged with the goals of the HABS program in seeking to survey not only a series of the most vulnerable American buildings, threatened by demolition or neglect, but also conspicuous symbols of American identity and patriotism. Among these was St. John's Church of Church Hill, Richmond, surveyed on 29th March 1934 (fig. 4.108), the location, as we saw previously, of Patrick Henry's revolution-inciting speech. In total, the HABS program documented 67 historic structures in Richmond, more than any other America city (compare with Williamsburg's 24 entries). Many of those surveyed were domestic villas of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, implicitly reinforcing a romantic vision of genteel, colonial Richmond.[316] The early work of the HABS surveyors, published in Waterman's *English Antecedents of Virginia Architecture* (1939), *The Mansions of*

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[313]F. Kimball, Introduction to T. T. Waterman, J. A. Barrows, Domestic Colonial Architecture of Tidewater Virginia (New York: Da Capo Press, 1968) p. xi

[314] A. Robbinson, "A "Portrait of a Nation": The Role of the Historic American Buildings Survey in the Colonial Revival" in Wilson, Eyring, Marotta eds., *Re-creating the American Past,* p. 99

[315] F. C. Kaynor, "Thomas Tileston Waterman: Student of American Colonial Architecture," *Winterthur Portfolio,* vol. 20, no. 2/3 (University of Chicago Press, summer/autumn, 1985) p.142

[316] *Historic American Buildings Survey: Catalog of the Measured Drawings and Photographs of the Survey in the Library of Congress* (National Park Service: Historic American Buildings Survey, 1941)

Virginia (1945) and *Dwellings of Colonial America* (1950),[317] presented an architectural portrait of Virginia as a land of elegant plantation homes set amid picturesque landscapes.

Waterman's books also make much of the links between the 'Old Dominion' of Virginia and the 'mother country' of England, drawing parallels between types of colonial architecture and separate schools of English architecture, roughly grouped under the figureheads of Christopher Wren, James Gibbs and Robert Morris.[318] In Waterman's descriptions of colonial architecture, he seemingly revels in the architectural detective work involved in tracing features to English sources. For example, he notes several features of Byrd's Westover and the Cary's Wilton House, including both doorcases, to be derived from plates in William Salmon's *Palladio Londinensis*.[319] Waterman also notes the apparent similarity of the plans of Virginia plantation homes and those of the contemporary merchant villas lining the banks of the Thames at Kingston and Richmond-upon-Thames.[320] For example he writes:

> "almost any of the masonry buildings shown in this volume could stand as appropriately in Kingston-upon-Thames as in Virginia. The [Governor's] Palace has many English compeers, like Eagle House, Mitcham, Surrey, with which it could be transposed without inappropriateness."[321]

Waterman traces certain features of Virginia buildings directly to Thames-side examples, publishing a photograph of an overmantle at Westover alongside James Gibbs's sectional drawing of The Octagon, Orleans House, Twickenham (fig. 4.109).[322] In doing so, Waterman explicitly constructs an Anglophilic image of colonial Virginia as genteel, learned and aesthetically beautiful - a 'golden age' of riverside villa society mirroring that of eighteenth-century Richmond-upon-Thames. Kimball, in the introduction to Waterman's *Domestic Colonial Architecture of Tidewater Virginia* writes "A whole province of great mansions, most of them never drawn or published before, is re-discovered. The background of a vanished civilisation is exactly set forth."

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[317] T. T. Waterman, *English Antecedents of Virginia Architecture* (American Philosophical Society, 1939), T. T. Waterman, *The Mansions of Virginia 1706-1776* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1945), T. T. Waterman, *Dwellings of Colonial America* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1950)
[318] Waterman, *Dwellings of Colonial America,* p.48
[319] Ibid., p.52
[320] Ibid., p.56
[321] T. T. Waterman, *The Mansions of Virginia 1706-1776* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1945) p.31
[322] Plate LXXI in J. Gibbs, *A Book of Architecture: Containing Designs of Buildings and Ornaments* (New York: Arno Press, 1980)

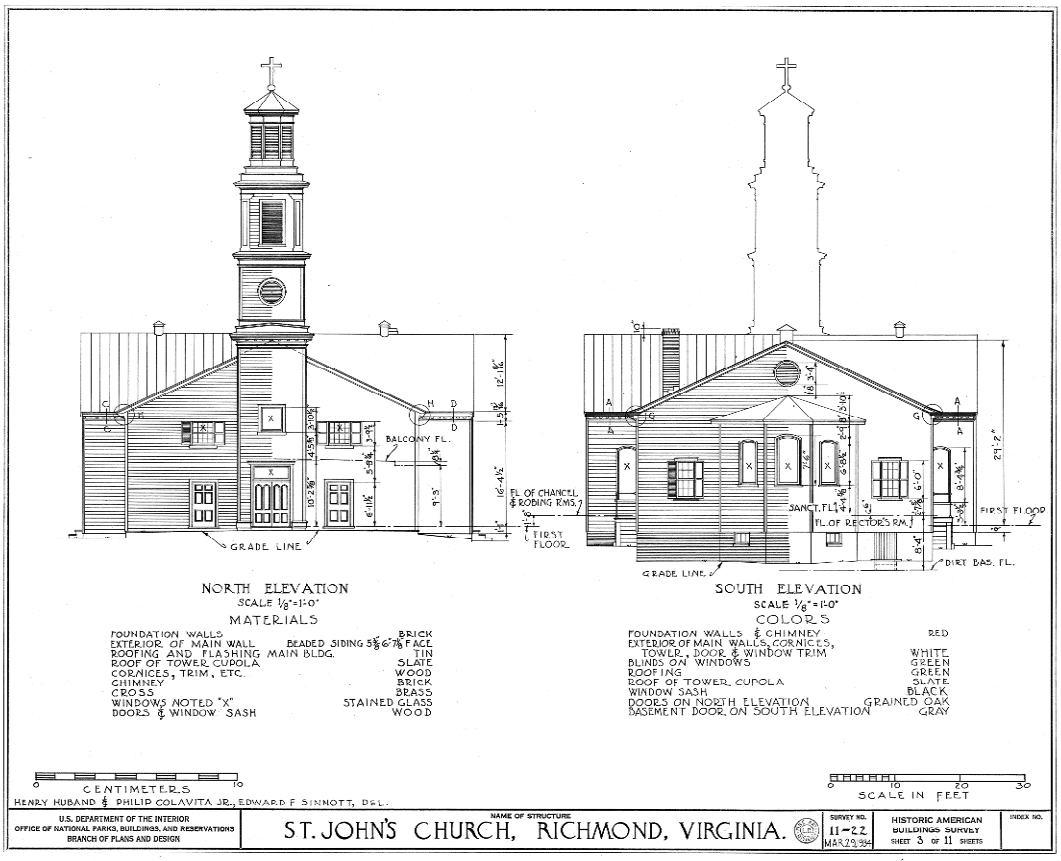


Fig. 4.107 St. John's Church survey drawings by the Historic American Buildings Survey (1934). Image courtesy of the Library of Congress, Washington D.C.

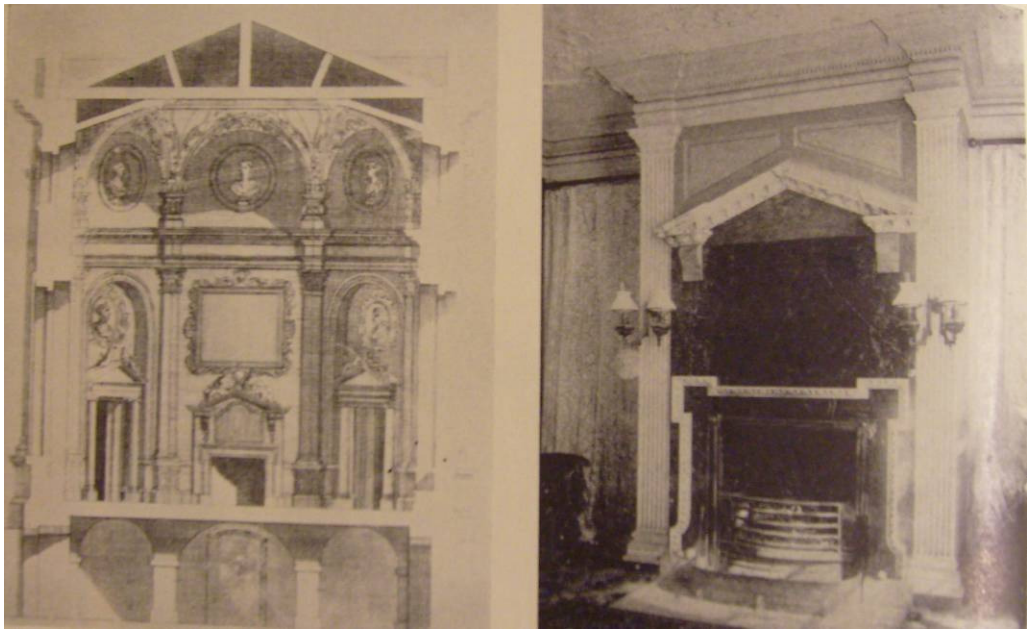


Fig. 4.108 T. T. Waterman makes frequent, direct references between Virginian buildings and those of southern England, and in particular, the Thames Valley Region. In this image in *Dwellings of Colonial America* (1950), Waterman juxtaposes a section of James Gibb's Octagon, Orleans House, Twickenham with the mantelpiece at William Byrd's Westover Hall, Virginia.



Fig. 4.109 William Lawrence Bottomley's 'Nordley', Windsor Farms, Richmond, Virginia. Image c. 1928, from the Carnegie Survey of Architecture of the South, Library of Congress, Washington D.C.



Fig. 4.110 Early photograph (c.1910) of the Hayes McCance House, as illustrated in Mary Wingfield Scott's *Houses of Old Richmond* (1941).

Kimball therefore acknowledges Waterman's work as an investigation of a once glorious past, lending legitimacy to his romantic aesthetic.[323]

A demonstration of the renewed interest in colonial architecture was the 1947 exhibition of Waterman's architectural work, held at Richmond's Virginia Museum of Fine Arts.[324] Around fifty 'before and after' photographs and HABS measured surveys were exhibited, illustrating buildings both historical and new.[325] Waterman was also involved in the purchase of the 'Richmond Room', reconstructed within the American Wing of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Though no record survives of the room's original wallpaper, the museum opted to paper it with a reproduction of the 'Monuments of Paris', a view of Parisian landmarks as if observed from the River Seine. This conspicuous addition adds to the familiar image of a Eurocentric, genteel, colonial Virginia, as if the scene itself represents Richmond, a European city reborn on the banks of the James River.[326]

4.20 The Enduring Re-inscription of Richmond's Romantic Image

Along with HABS, a grant from the Carnegie Foundation in 1933 also established the *Carnegie Survey of the Architecture of the South.*[327] Unlike HABS, the Carnegie Survey was solely a photographic record and only covered the Southern states of Virginia, Maryland, the Carolinas, Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana, and to a lesser extent Florida and Mississippi. The photographer was Frances Benjamin Johnston (1864-1952), one of the first American women to receive significant acclaim for her photographic work. Following the success of the Carnegie Survey, Johnston published two picture books, *The Early Architecture of North Carolina* (1941) and *The Early*

[323] Annie Robinson notes that the owners of historic properties surveyed under HABS, newly informed of their historic value and aware of the government's interest in such properties, naturally resolved to restore such assets. Thus, the survey also fuelled a popular interest in colonial architecture, and acted as an architectural pattern book for new suburban villas. A. Robinson, "A "Portrait of a Nation": The Role of the Historic American Buildings Survey in the Colonial Revival" in Wilson, Eyring, Marotta eds., *Re-creating the American Past,* p. 114

[324] Selections of HABS survey drawings were exhibited at, among other places, the National Museum, Washington in April 1934, the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities's headquarters, Boston in June 1934 and the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York in 1938. A. Robbinson, "A "Portrait of a Nation": The Role of the Historic American Buildings Survey in the Colonial Revival" in Wilson, Eyring, Marotta eds., *Re-creating the American Past,* p. 113

[325] F. C. Kaynor, "Thomas Tileston Waterman: Student of American Colonial Architecture," *Winterthur Portfolio,* vol. 20, no. 2/3 (University of Chicago Press, summer/autumn, 1985) p.141

[326] Ibid., p.118

[327] Collection held at the Library of Congress, Washington D. C.

Architecture of Georgia (1957),[328] the former with an architectural history provided by Waterman. Johnston was subsequently recognized with an honorary membership of the American Institute of Architects in 1945.[329] Interestingly, though the premise of the Carnegie Survey was to document the rapidly disappearing antebellum architecture of the South, Johnston chose to photograph the Williams' Agecroft Hall and William Lawrence Bottomley's Nordley, the former a new build reconstruction of English historical elements, the latter a complete new build, both of which were located in a modern suburban residential development (fig. 4.110). Johnston's inclusion of these buildings in the survey equates contemporary suburban architecture with genuine historic structures; historicising the buildings whilst also adding them to a canon of Southern architecture. Thus Johnston's photographs reinforced the familiar romantic imagery of an imagined South.

Johnston's work demonstrates a growing interest in historic buildings and their preservation at this time, equally reflected by the publishing of Mordecai's *Richmond in By-Gone Days* (1946, first ed. 1860), and Mary Wingfield Scott's *Houses of Old Richmond* (1941) and *Old Richmond Neighborhoods* (1950).[330] Wingfield Scott's books played a significant role in the construction of a generalised and nostalgic image of Richmond, acting as a guide to picturesque and charming villas, many of which had already been destroyed or were threatened with demolition (fig. 4.111). The books' focus on the grander homes of the middle and upper classes, and their total ommission of industrial and commercial buildings paints a picture of a quaint and genteel old society; this despite the fact that the buildings were often the products of industries, of different eras and did not all stand together at any single coherent point in time. A good example of Wingfield Scott's use of picturesque imagery is her description of Richmond's Hayes McCance House (1816), which had already been demolished as early as 1893. Here, Wingfield Scott quotes a suitably picturesque passage from Robert A. Lancaster's account:

> "Across the garden ran a deep ravine with a stream flowing through it. Mr. Green terraced the ravine and by checking the flow of the brook with a stone dam, made a little lake which was spanned by a rustic bridge. Upon the lake a small boat floated, and near the shore stood a tiny chalet-like cottage, covered with bark […] while here and there

[328] See F. B. Johnston, *The Early Architecture of North Carolina: A Pictorial Survey* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1941); F. D. Nichols and F. B. Johnston, *The Early Architecture of Georgia* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1957).
[329] http://www.artstor.org/what-is-artstor/w-html/col-carnegie-loc.shtml [Accessed: 29/06/11]
[330] Mordecai, *Richmond in By-Gone Days*; Wingfield Scott, *Houses of Old Richmond*; Wingfield Scott, *Old Richmond Neighborhoods.*

> among the shrubbery and flowers gleamed pieces of white marble sculpture from Italy."[331]

Wingfield Scott's description of the Greek Revival McCance villa, amidst the setting of its garden, blossoming orchards and classical sculpture, suggests an image of a prosperous and orderly past. She writes:

> "It is hard to know whether the proportions, the beautiful cornice, truly Greek, or the magnificent portico in the rear is more to be admired. Its demolition, in 1893, is a calamity only exceeded by the loss of the Van Lew house. Each was perfect in its way, both had lovely settings, both were essential links in the study of early Richmond's architectural evolution."[332]

With these words, Wingfield Scott, and the directors of the Valentine History Museum who had published her work, appealed for a preservation movement to halt the destruction of Richmond's classical villas, which they saw as the remnants of a proud and glorious past, and the familiar architectural symbols of the city's identity, if not the identity of a more generalised perception of the American South.

As this chapter has shown, a fledgling American preservation movement coincided with developments in infrastructure and the new availability of the motorcar. The ability, and desire, to tour the landscape in search of scenic and historic landmarks was actively promoted by camera and automobile manufacturers, while at a governmental level historical survey was implemented together with road-building projects as a form of work relief programme. Richmond's historic buildings and scenic landscape setting were recognised early in this process, reflecting nostalgic calls that symbols of a former age were threatened by industrialisation.

Concluding Remarks

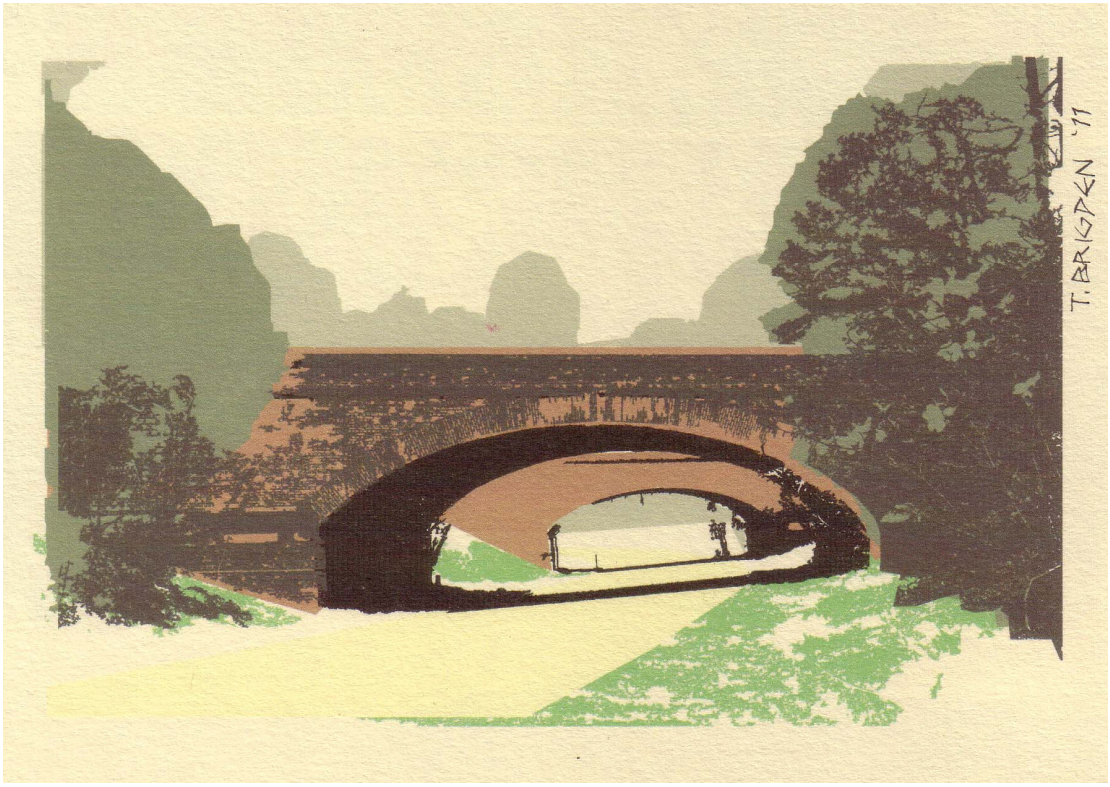
In conclusion, this chapter has traced the appropriation of Richmond's Libby Hill view during the late-nineteenth century as symbolic of an 'Old South' in the build up to, and immediate aftermath of the American Civil War. During this time, "no other society had so rapidly embraced innovation and invention or seen its everyday landscapes so thoroughly altered"[333] as the northern Atlantic States of America. In the

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[331] R. A. Lancaster, *Historic Virginia Homes and Churches* (Philadelphia & London: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1862), cited in Wingfield Scott, *Houses of Old Richmond,* p.139
[332] Wingfield Scott, *Houses of Old Richmond,* p.141
[333] Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country,* p. 97

South, a society historically structured around plantation agriculture, archaic hierarchies and the immoral practice of slavery, was sceptical of Yankee modernism. One could argue that the view of the Confederate Capital from Libby Hill became conflated with the last remaining symbol of that old society, and its monuments mourned their replacement with northern industrial modernity. As Lowenthal has written, "Up to the centennial, most Americans were avowed modernists: they felt fortunate to have left the outmoded past behind. The 1880s and 1890s heard a new note: the past had been *better* than the present."[334] In the following chapter, this renewed nostalgia for the past will be explored, particularly in relation to the American invention of the scenic parkway, which paired modern automotive technology with a nostalgic and picturesque mode of vision. In this way the picturesque vista was reborn as a model with which to shape whole itineraries through the American landscape.

[334] Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country,* p. 122



5.0 CINEMATIC ITINERARIES IN THE NOSTALGIC PICTURESQUE:
Colonial Parkway

5.0 CINEMATIC ITINERARIES IN THE NOSTALGIC PICTURESQUE: Colonial Parkway

5.1 *Development of the Parkways*

As discussed in the previous chapter, following the new accessibility of the motorcar, the 'windshield' view has played a crucial role in the visual perception of Richmond, Virginia, from cemeteries to municipal parks. The design of so-called parkways were intended to provide the visitor with impressive vistas of the city and its river setting. As motor-tourism increased, these ideas fed back into rural areas, particularly at destinations specifically catering to motorists. In the 1920s, the National Park Service, and other bodies, realised the potential of Tidewater Virginia's historic and natural sites as the weekend destinations of Richmonders. As such, no exploration of the impact of the 'windshield' view upon the architectural and urban form of Richmond could be complete without a study of these weekend annexes of the city, where romantic visions of 'colonial' Virginia – and a particular idea of vision – were nurtured and consolidated. This chapter will examine the influence of the kinetic view from the motorcar upon a growing historic preservation industry, and demonstrate that nostalgic picturesque vision was a central theme of modernist projects from parkways to interstate highways.

The aforementioned Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS), overseen by Waterman and Thomas Vint, ultimately realised the proposal for a national survey of built heritage first suggested by landscape architect Charles E. Peterson. Peterson began his career under the direction of Vint as Deputy Chief Architect of the National Park Service in San Francisco. It was probably under Vint that Peterson picked up ideas for the development of National Parks along linear road corridors, a model Vint had used in the landscape design of Yellowstone National Park.[1]

In 1930, Peterson served as Resident Landscape Architect at Yorktown, Virginia, where he was "involved with the establishment of the newly created Colonial National Monument (dedicated Colonial National Historical Park in 1936)."[2] As part of the park's establishment, Peterson proposed that a scenic parkway be developed to link the

[1] E. Carr, *Mission 66: Modernism and the National Park Dilemma* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007) p. 22

[2] C. C. Lavoie, "Architectural Plans and Visions: The Early HABS Program and Its Documentation of Vernacular Architecture", *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture,* vol. 13, no. 2 (Anniversary Issue, 2006/2007) p. 18

two principal sites, Yorktown and Jamestown, with the Colony's former Capital, Williamsburg. The idea of creating Colonial Parkway was no doubt influenced by the construction of Washington's Mount Vernon Memorial Highway (1928, later renamed the George Washington Memorial Parkway). This scenic highway from Great Falls to Washington's estate at Mount Vernon, via his home town of Alexandria and the city named after him, was hailed at the time as the greatest of all memorials erected in Washington's honour.[3]

Landscape historian Paul Kelsch has argued that the success of the George Washington Memorial Parkway was a result of the parkway's combination of "modern highway design […] with historical significance as a pilgrimage route […] within an idealized natural landscape that underscored traditional American national identity."[4] In the course of his research, Kelsch has recovered an impression of the original planting design which, he claimed, created an "unfolding series of distinct scenes, each particular to its site yet linked together into a continuous experience and visual narrative."[5] Landscape architect Wilbur Simonson's planting plans, held by the National Archives, demonstrate the importance of this unfolding sequence of scenes with viewsheds conspicuously marked in plan (fig. 5.1). Using this information, Kelsch has been able to reconstruct the sequence of scenes, many of which have latterly been obstructed by planting, developments and the expansion of Ronald Reagan Airport. In its original 1932 form, the motorist departing Alexandria was confronted by a distant view of the Washington Monument, framed through an avenue of trees, after which the plantings dissipated into clumps designed to complement the ruins of a plantation house and to form pleasing foreground compositions for carefully considered river and city views. Of one such scene, Simonson wrote:

> "The visitor will be agreeably surprised as he beholds the unusual skyline of the city, with the Army War College and the Naval Air Station across the river in the immediate foreground, and back of them the dome of the Capitol, the Library of Congress and the whole panorama of the most beautiful capital in the world spread out before the eye."[6]

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[3] P. Kelsch, *Preserving the Vegetation of the George Washington Memorial Highway* (National Park Service, August 2009) p. 6

[4] Ibid. See also: T. Davis, "Changing Conceptions of an American Commemorative Landscape," *Places of Commemoration: Search for Identity and Landscape Design*, ed. J. Wolschke-Bulmahn (Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 2001) p. 134

[5] P. Kelsch, "Cultivating History, Modernity, and Nature: the Planting Design for the Mount Vernon Memorial Highway" 2011 p. 9

[6] W. Simonson, "The Potomac Preserved for Posterity: The Dream of Presidents Now Taking Form" (unpublished manuscript, Federal Highway Administration Research Library, MacLean, VA.)

Simonson was almost certainly familiar with Henry Hubbard and Theodora Kimball's *An Introduction to the Study of Landscape Design* (1917), a leading treatise of Beaux Arts landscape principles, which in places reads as a description of the George Washington Memorial Parkway.[7] In a piece dedicated to the subject of roadway design, they write:

> "the best design will probably be to seize upon the particular character of each landscape unity through which the road passes, and develop it to its best expression, as far as this is possible […] for itself alone or as a foreground to a more distant view. Thus a sequence of different effects will be presented to anyone passing along the road."[8]

Of critical importance to Simonson's scheme was that nothing should distract from the highway's scenic coherence. To achieve this, the designers employed a pseudo-vernacular style with regards to the timber road signs and barriers (fig. 5.4). The construction of a service station at the Mount Vernon terminus was even entrusted to Edward Donn Jr., architect of the National Park Service's fanciful colonial revival reconstruction of Washington's birthplace at Wakefield, Virginia.[9] While the George Washington Memorial Parkway choreographed views of monuments to assist in the narration of Washington's biography, the aim of Colonial Parkway was to create a seamless experience of 'authentic' Tidewater Virginia. This would be achieved by carefully screening modern development, 'returning' the landscape to a romantic vision of its appearance to Jamestown's early settlers. If the George Washington Memorial Parkway could be described as an exercise in modern motorway design, tempered by a picturesque aesthetic, the intention of Colonial Parkway's designers was to simulate the nation's rapidly disappearing country roads. In their advocacy of the rural lane aesthetic, parkway engineers reinforced an aesthetic popularised by the work of figures such as Wallace Nutting and the Garden City Movement. As Timothy Davis has written, "allusively, at first, but with an increasing literalness that eventually verged on caricature, [parkways] evolved into idealized simulations of classic country roads."[10] The introduction to H. V. Knight and R. R. Sterling's contemporary National Parks guidebook entitled *Scenic and Historic Old Virginia* (1930) (fig. 5.5) demonstrates the

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[7] Kelsch, *Preserving the Vegetation of the George Washington Memorial Highway,* p. 6
[8] H. V. Hubbard, T. Kimball, *An Introduction to the Study of Landscape Design* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1917) p. 223
[9] T. Davis, "A Pleasant Illusion of Unspoiled Countryside: The American Parkway and the Problematics of an Institutionalised Vernacular," in A. K. Hoagland and K. A. Breisch, eds., *Constructing Image, Identity, and Place: Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture IX* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 2003) p. 236
[10] Davis, "A Pleasant Illusion of Unspoiled Countryside", p. 228

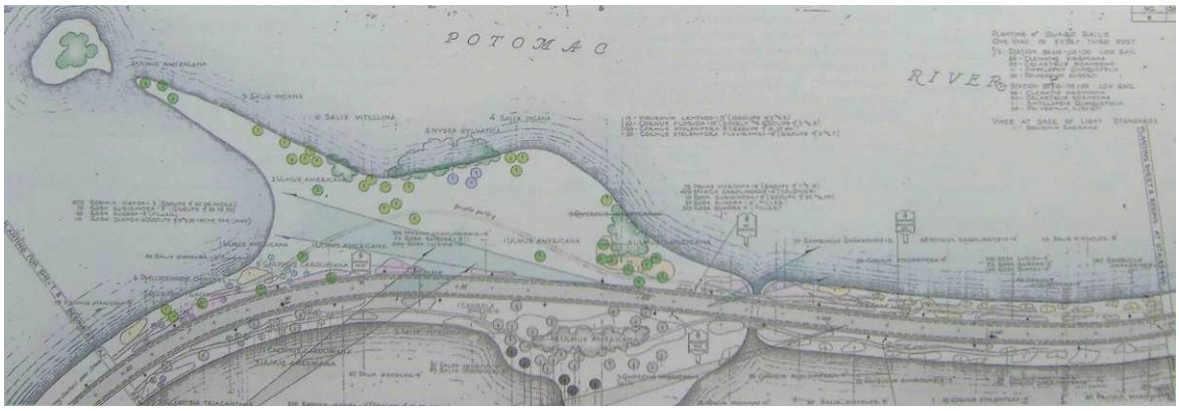


Fig. 5.1 A section of landscape architect Wilbur Simonson's original planting plan for the George Washington Memorial Parkway, Virginia. Highlighted in a pale blue are Simonson's carefully positioned view cones, which indicate a series of unfolding scenes of the city of Washington D.C., to be observed by the motorist. Image from P. Kelsch, "Cultivating History, Modernity, and Nature: the Planting Design for the Mount Vernon Memorial Highway" (Virginia Tech. unpublished, 2011).



Fig. 5.2 Map of Wilbur Simonson's view cones, from the George Washington Memorial Parkway, Virginia, to the monuments of Washington D.C. Paul Kelsch suggests those in yellow could be restored, those in orange have been irreversibly lost. Image from P. Kelsch, "Cultivating History, Modernity, and Nature: the Planting Design for the Mount Vernon Memorial Highway" (Virginia Tech. unpublished, 2011).



Fig. 5.3 Architect Robert Mills's Washington Monument, glimpsed from Wilbur Simonson's George Washington Memorial Parkway, demonstrating unfortunate later planting along the Potomac riverbank. Image from P. Kelsch, "Cultivating History, Modernity, and Nature: the Planting Design for the Mount Vernon Memorial Highway" (Virginia Tech. unpublished, 2011).

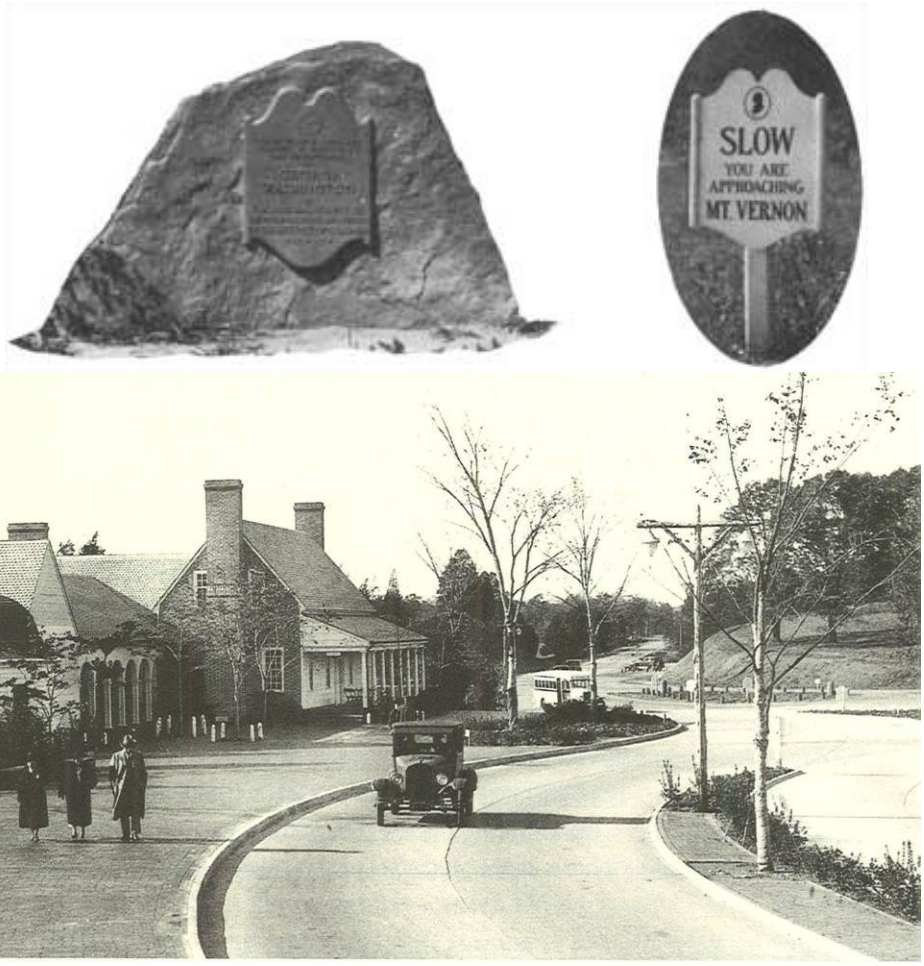


Fig. 5.4 'Colonial' signposts specified for the George Washington Memorial Parkway (above) and architect Edward Donn Jr.'s 'Colonial' service station and concession stand at the Mount Vernon terminus of the George Washington Memorial Parkway (below). Images courtesy of the National Park Service.

peculiar mix of patriotism, history, and picturesque scenery which constituted the accepted image of Virginia in the mind of the American motor-tourist:

> "Virginia! Every true American thrills at the mention of her name, and holds in veneration her sacred ground. The heart of every student of our Nation's history swells with pride as he learns of the valorous achievements of her illustrious sons. The traveller, in search of the beautiful in nature, finds delight supreme upon beholding the beauties of her matchless natural scenery […] while he views the broad panoramas of productive fields, magnificent country estates, and Colonial homes."[11]

5.2 *Colonial Parkway & Williamsburg: The Romantic Image Materialised*

At the heart of the parkway, architects, historians and archaeologists had been working since the 1920s on a reconstruction of Virginia's colonial capital, Williamsburg, fuelled by a veneration of its romantic imagery and an idea of its historical authenticity. At a cost of $79 million, funded by the American philanthropist and oil magnate, John Rockefeller Jr., the 'Colonial Williamsburg' project set a horizon date of the 1790 revolution, demolishing hundreds of historic buildings and reconstructing supposedly more 'authentic' buildings in their place. In one such controversial reconstruction, the Capitol building was 'recreated' in its first iteration, destroyed by fire in 1747, and not its second incarnation in which the declaration of independence was signed. The architects Perry, Shaw & Hepburn, whose office included the young Waterman, chose to reconstruct this earlier building as it is depicted in a greater proportion of historic illustrations, justified as lending greater authenticity to the reconstruction. The illustrations, here, had become more authentic than historical fact and the building was therefore shaped in order that it would live up to the popular image expected of it. Carl Lounsbury has suggested that the architects simply felt that the first structure was "inherently more interesting architecturally".[12] Certainly, there has been much debate over the accuracy of the building: how much is devised from archaeological evidence and how much by the architect's aesthetic taste. One example is the composition of the facade, which archaeological evidence has proven to be centred on the total width of the building, including its apsidal ends. This placed the entrance asymmetrically within the

[11] H. V. Knight, R. R. Sterling, *Scenic and Historic Old Virginia and Eastern National Parks* (Ashville, N.C. and Richmond, VA: Southern Parks and Playgrounds, 1930) p.1
[12] C. Lounsbury, *The Reconstruction of Williamsburg's First Colonial Capitol, 1928-1934: A Critique*, (1989) http://research.history.org/DigitalLibrary/View/index.cfm?doc=ResearchReports%5CRR1137.xml [accessed 15/09/10]

facade. Well aware of this archaeological evidence, the architects simply chose to ignore it, moving the entrance over six feet in order to produce the symmetry they felt its eighteenth century architects must surely have intended (fig. 5.6). In a passionate letter, Harold Shurtleff, Director of Research for the Williamsburg Foundation, found it:

> "inconceivable that any [colonial] architect would have located an entrance […] "off center" […]. This seems to any architecturally trained mind impossible, as architects in 1700 or before were as little likely to do that as architects would be today. Which of course means the [modern] architects […] see no place for the "first period" west entrance except in the middle of the front […]."[13]

The repositioning of the Capitol's door demonstrates the capacity of culturally-engrained imagery to shape our expectations, and ultimately alter our reality, from the urban scale right down to the smallest of details. In many respects, it mirrors traits of romantic 'restoration' exhibited throughout late eighteenth and nineteenth century Britain, which sought to alter the physical remnants of the past, idealising them in accordance with an imagined original intent and to suit an idea of the social aspirations of the present.[14]

The Williamsburg reconstruction had been much influenced by the work of the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities, founded in Richmond in 1889. At their first meeting in 1890, historian Thomas Nelson Page pleaded to the audience:

> "Go to Williamsburg, still redolent of the perfumes wafted from the most romantic society which ever existed in this hemisphere, where the echoes have hardly died away of the daring words which called a nation into being […]. What will you find? Desolation and ruin; cowpastures and sheep walks."[15]

It was this overwhelming sense that a great society had been lost, that the present did not live up to the image of the past, which encouraged the recreation of Williamsburg.

While this project restored, copied, and reconstructed elements of the town, the Colonial Parkway project went a step farther, creating a whole fictional landscape so that the unfolding scenery of colonial Virginia's 'golden age' could be experienced

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[13] Harold Shurtleff to Dr. W. A. R. Goodwin, April 16, 1932, CWFA

[14] In particular, A.W.N. Pugin's *Contrasts*, which compared an imaginary medieval city with its nineteenth century state through powerful juxtapositions of imagery. The beauty and purity of a medieval gothic past was contrasted to the social depravity of the present. Architecture was equated to a social force, the present could benefit from a return to an imagined past.

[15] J. M. Lindgren, "'For the Sake of Our Future': The Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities and the Regeneration of Traditionalism", *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 97(January 1989) p. 47

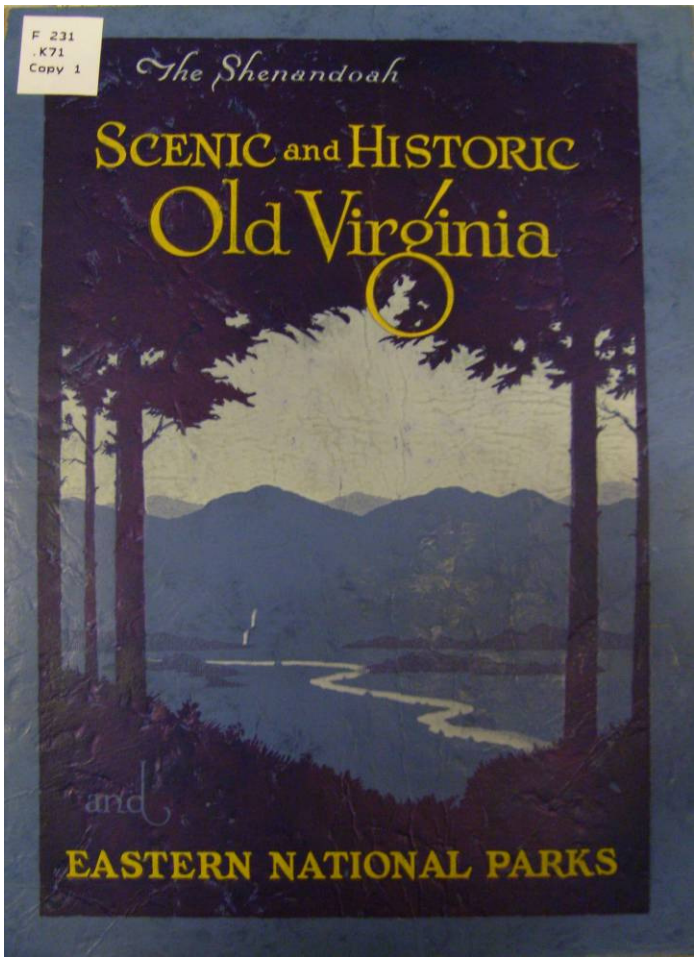


Fig. 5.5 The cover of H. V. Knight and R. R. Sterling's *Scenic and Historic Old Virginia* (1930), a guide book for the motor-tourist. The image depicts a serpentine river from a highpoint framed by trees, which is romanticised as a 'scenic and historic' landscape. As such, it is typical of nostalgic picturesque depictions of 'Old' Virginia.

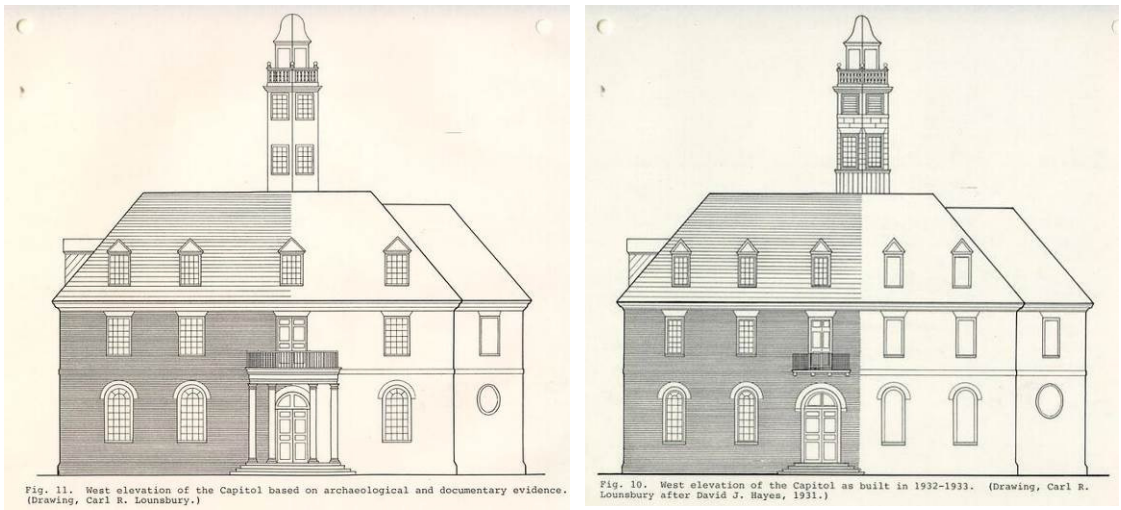


Fig. 5.6 Two elevations of the reconstructed Capitol building at Williamsburg, Virginia: (left) based on archaeological and documentary evidence, and (right) as built in 1932-3 (by architects Perry, Shaw and Hepburn and including T.T. Waterman). The architects freely adapted the building to conform to the heavily romanticised image expected of elegant, eighteenth century Williamsburg. Images from C. Lounsbury, *The Reconstruction of Williamsburg's First Colonial Capitol, 1928-1934: A Critique*, (1989).



Fig. 5.7 Sketch by Elizabeth O'Neill Verner, 1936, of architect T. T. Waterman's Governor's Palace, Williamsburg (completed 1934). Verner was commissioned by the Rockefeller to sketch suitably romantic views of the Williamsburg reconstructions, here complete with imaginary eighteenth-century figures. Image courtesy of the Prints and Drawings collection, Library of Congress, Washington D.C.

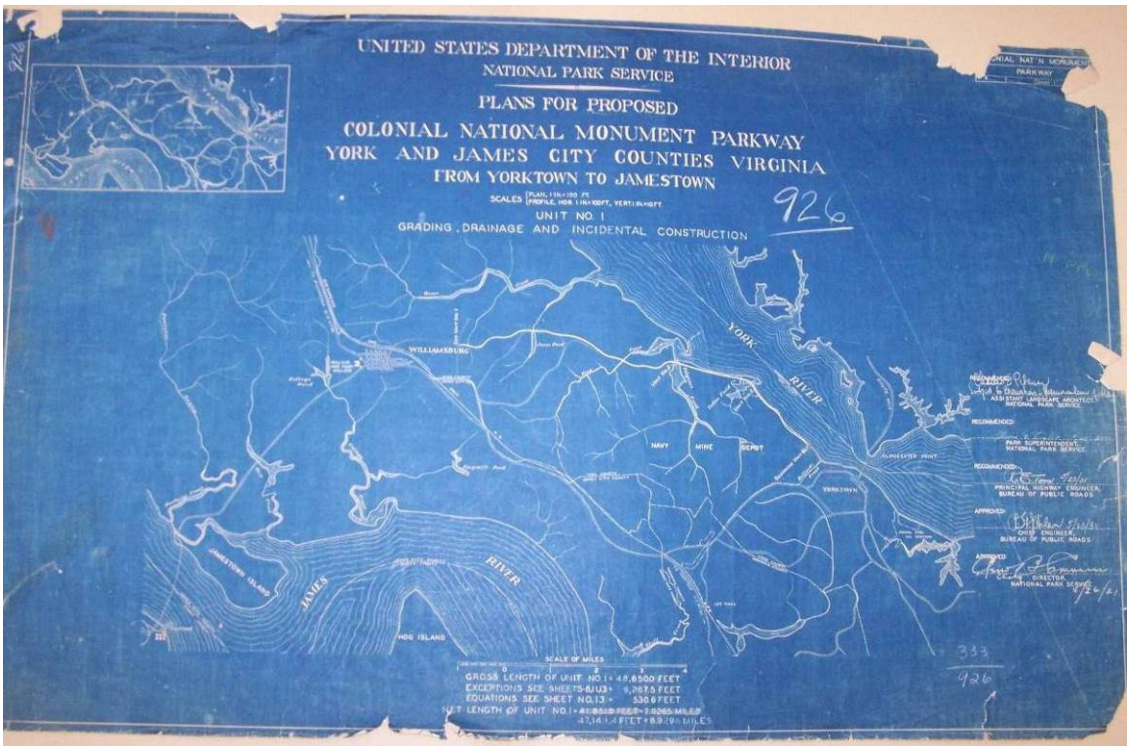


Fig. 5.8 Original blueprint proposal for the route of the Colonial Parkway, from Jamestown (bottom left), via Williamsburg (left of centre), to Yorktown (right). The plan was subsequently altered to a more scenic route, following the banks of the James and York rivers. Image courtesy of the National Park Service Technical Information Centre, Denver.

from the modern vantage point of the motorcar.[16] Established in 1930 and only completed in 1957, Colonial Parkway links three corners of America's 'historic triangle', the site of the first colonial settlement at Jamestown, the colonial capital of Williamsburg, and the site of General Cornwallis' surrender at Yorktown (fig. 5.8). As such, the parkway represents a historical timeline of colonial America - the drive itself a metaphorical journey through time. More practically, the aim of the parkway was to allow the motorist access between the three sites while carefully directing and shielding his or her view, immersing the motorist in a romantic simulation of 'authentic' eighteenth century landscape.[17] This immersive aim of the Colonial Parkway project is highlighted by Louis Cramton's comments that he:

> "would like the visitor to be able to drive on to Williamsburg […] without the impression of the early days being driven from his mind by a succession of hot-dog stands and tire signs, […] [protected by] trees shutting out all conflicting modern development, [and] not to be a glaring modern pavement but […] giving the impression of an old-time road."[18]

This impression was achieved by brushing and acid washing the road surface in order to expose the gravel aggregate. The disguise of modern 'intrusions' extended to the crossings of a highway and railroad, clad in 'English-bond' Virginia bricks and now listed as historic structures in their own right (fig. 5.9). This was despite the fact that the parkway follows no historic route, traversing marshes and creeks for scenic value, problematic areas typically avoided by colonial road-builders. In the course of 'returning' the landscape to its imagined colonial appearance, contemporary rural businesses such as vegetable gardens, working farms and country homes were forced to close, in order "to produce lifeless pastoral illusions composed of placid meadows, winding streams, and artfully located plantings."[19]

If one may interpret American parkways as staged scenic experiences, as a reincarnation of the theatrical dimensions of picturesque architecture in both Richmonds, they were also intended to be educational, perhaps even substituting history books. National Parks Superintendent William Robinson explained:

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[16] The Colonial Parkway project can be seen as an extension of the Williamsburg reconstruction. Architects involved in both projects reputedly socialised together throughout the 1930's sharing thoughts and philosophies.

[17] The parkway's general design owes much to the work of American landscape architects Frederick Law Olmsted and Calvert Vaux. In their design for Central Park, pedestrians are separated from carriageways by unobtrusive underpasses and bridges, which become picturesque landscape features in their own right.

[18] H. Eckenrode, "Origin of the Colonial National Monument", 16 October 1933, file 101 C-2, "History General-1930-November 1952", collection of the Colonial National Historical Park.

[19] Davis, "A Pleasant Illusion of Unspoiled Countryside", p. 235

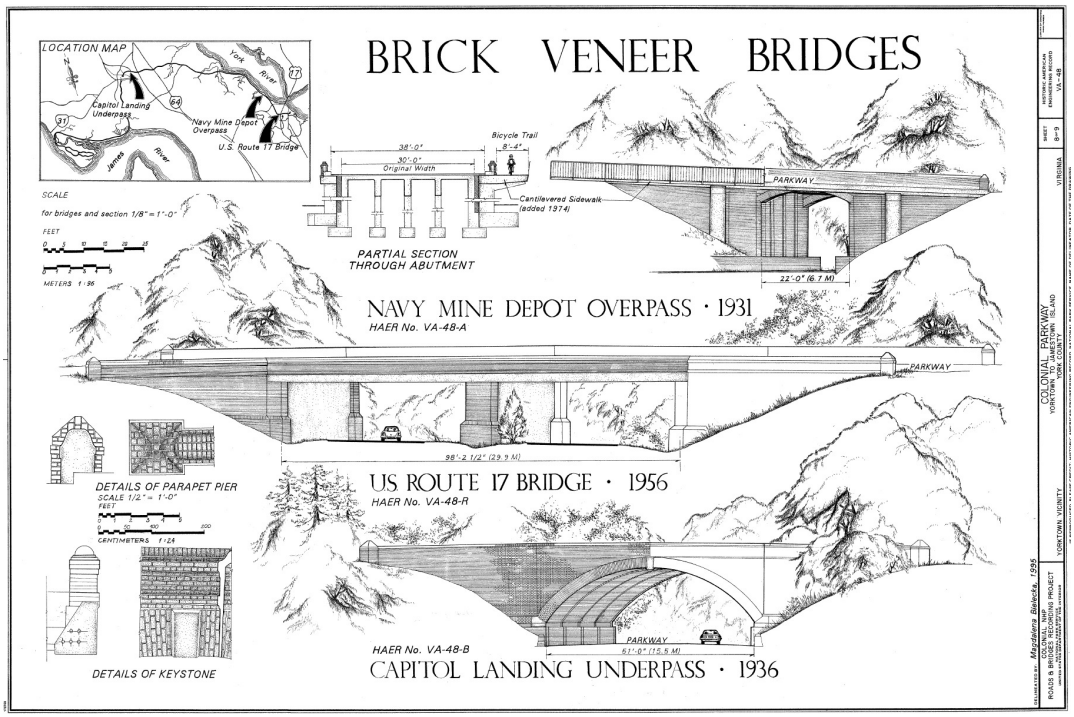


Fig. 5.9 Studies of the Virginia brick-clad bridges of the Colonial Parkway, which shield modern interruptions to the view from the gaze of the passing motorist, by the Historic American Engineering Record. Image courtesy of the Library of Congress.

Fig. 5.10 Analyses of views from the Colonial Parkway, as recorded in the Historic American Engineering Record. Image courtesy of the Library of Congress, Washington D.C.

> "For most people the study of history has meant pouring over dry and, oftentimes, uninteresting books in a crowded and stuffy classroom. When the parkway is completed, the process can be changed to a short drive in an automobile […]."[20]

The idea that scenic parkways could educate the visitor was mirrored by National Park Service rhetoric of the 1950s which in one instance stated:

> "The park visitor is a better man afterward, a more effective and a more productive member of his society."[21]

Taking it as their social responsibility to educate, apparently towards effectiveness and productivity, the parks initially offered interpretive material in the form of explanatory notices and guidebooks but, recognising the increasing influence of popular media, greater importance was placed on the use of visual and pictorial presentation from the 1950s. One park service document claimed that "problems [with interpretation would] multiply when travel included more city-bred people […] accustomed through the press, radio, television and motion pictures to the professional and graphic presentation of knowledge."[22]

5.3 *The Moving Image: Parkways and Cinema*

Roughly contemporary with the construction of the parkways, the emerging film industry soon realised that audiences accustomed to the appreciation of scenic and historic vistas from the comfort of the motorcar could be better reached via drive-in movie theatres. Coincidentally, Richmond figured prominently in American cinematic history. Virginia's mix of historic architecture, civil war battlefields, attractive mountain and seascapes, along with its proximity to Washington, rendered the state a popular film location among early production companies. In the late 1890s, the rivals Edison Company and the American Mutoscope and Biograph Company both shot short films at locations near Richmond.[23] Despite a general migration of film companies either west to Los Angeles or north to New York, a surprising number of early 20th century films were located in Virginia. Some of the more notable 20th century

[20] W. Robinson, 1932
[21] J. Kim, "Mission 66," in B. Colomina, A. Brennan and J. Kim, eds., *Cold War Hothouses: Inventing Postwar Culture, from Cockpit to Playboy* (Princeton Architectural Press, 2004) p. 174
[22] Ibid., p. 175
[23] http://www.vatc.org/film/filmhistory.asp [accessed 01 June, 2011]

productions include D.W. Griffith's *America* (1924), *Brother Rat* (1938) and *Giant* (1956).

Like the parkway projects, where viewers were encouraged to believe in the 'authenticity' of the staged landscape, film producers aimed to transport the viewer to other locales and eras. As Patrick Brogan has written, "In the good old days, people believed things they read […] This sweet faith in the invariable veracity of books and newspapers" has given way to the belief "that the television camera never lies […] You can actually see it, so it must be true."[24] Thus, "Forgetting that camera angles are selected, tapes and films edited and distorted, we attend to them as raw glimpses of what actually happened. The feeling that the past is open to perusal as never before creates an illusion that *we*, at last, can know what it was *really* like."[25] Even director D. W. Griffiths said of his epic *Birth of A Nation* (1914), "You will see what actually has happened […] there will be no opinions expressed, you will merely be present at the making of history […] The film could not be anything but the truth."[26] Griffith's statement demonstrates the visual power film held over early audiences, a force recognised by the leaders of the National Park Service who, concerned with the visual experience of the parks and methods by which historical information could be conveyed, began increasingly to look to Hollywood as a source of inspiration.

One could argue that a number of National Park Service schemes at this time demonstrate a propensity for Hollywood-style theatricality. For example, designers were frequently involved in a process historian Ethan Carr has called "stopping the clock"[27] in which demolition, selective restoration and fanciful reconstruction in the manner of Williamsburg was commonplace. In Philadelphia for example, four million dollars funded the demolition of two hundred years of urban growth surrounding a series of eighteenth century buildings.[28] Peterson considered many of these later structures to be worthy of preservation in their own right, but nevertheless, approved their demolition. In their place, landscape vistas were substituted as a more 'authentic' setting for the restored buildings and their reconstructed interiors.[29]

This methodology was particularly prevalent in the parkway projects, where the 'windshield view' from the motorcar ultimately came to determine the fate of

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[24] P. Brogan, "America's history being rewritten on TV by confusing fact-fiction serials," *The Times* (11th October, 1977)
[25] D. Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge University Press, 1985) p. 368
[26] Sorlin, *Film In History: Restaging the Past* pp. viii-ix
[27] Carr, *Mission 66,* p. 175
[28] This followed the designation of the site as Independence National Historical Park in 1949.
[29] Carr, *Mission 66,* p. 179

landscapes and roadside structures (fig. 5.11). According to one guidebook, Virginia's Blue Ridge Parkway showcased "restored agricultural landscapes and vernacular architecture along a 469 mile route through Virginia and North Carolina."[30] Along Blue Ridge's supposedly 'authentic' rural route, motorists passed attractions from a restored water mill (long abandoned by modern farming communities), costumed 'hillbillies' and mile upon mile of newly laid traditional Virginia 'split rail' fencing. A series of contractual easements even allowed park authorities to control the use of neighbouring fields, forcing farmers to keep specific cattle breeds for aesthetic reasons and/or notions of historical 'authenticity' even where crop-planting proved more economically viable.

Cultural historian Jeannie Kim has pointed out that re-orientation of national recreational spaces in favour of the car "quietly transformed what was described as a democratizing gesture into a form of leisure that was directed toward a specifically white, middle-class nuclear family".[31] Despite visitor records which indicated such segregation, and the occasional cry of dissent, little was done to rectify the situation.[32] The parks' rhetoric, particularly apparent in the publications of historic sites such as Colonial Parkway, only acted to reinforce this form of elitism by presenting visitors with narrow and romantic depictions of white colonial gentry. In parallel to this rhetoric, the oil paintings of Sidney E. King, commissioned by the NPS in 1954 and timed to coincide with the 1957 visit of Queen Elizabeth II, depict highly romanticised Anglophilic scenes of colonial Virginia. At the time, King's paintings were praised for their historical accuracy. Archaeologists, architects and historians collaborated on their details while King himself made study visits to view examples of seventeenth-century architecture in England. However, King's is a sanitised world, free of the real squalor, segregation and slavery which had existed in the early colonies. For example, King's *West End of Yorktown's Main Street* (1958) depicts a tranquil scene lined with picket fences and neat gardens, focused upon the dignified figure of a horseback country squire (fig. 5.14). King's architectural studies too, though thorough in their detailing, project high status architecture onto the humblest of vernacular structures. For example, in his aerial view of *Prosperous Yorktown in the Middle of the Eighteenth-Century*, several buildings are derived from examples of rare and elite American country house architecture, including reproductions of Virginia's Stratford Hall with Gunston Hall opposite. In his depiction of a *Typical Brick Residence, Jamestown*, King utilised as his

[30] Carr, *Mission 66,* p. 177
[31] Kim, "Mission 66," *Cold War Hothouses,* p. 169
[32] Ibid.



Fig. 5.11 Original sketch view of the C&O Railroad bridge, crossing the Colonial Parkway, 1934. The image demonstrates how the railway was to blend into the landscaping of the parkway. Image from the Historic American Engineering Record, Library of Congress, Washington D.C.



Fig. 5.12 Photograph of the C&O Railroad bridge, as recorded by the Historic American Engineering Record c.1968. Image courtesy of the Library of Congress, Washington D.C.











Fig. 5.13 The sequence of unfolding views along the Colonial Parkway, a study using a Holga 120 camera, adapted for 35mm film. Images by author.

model the 1931 'reconstruction' of Washington's birthplace at Wakefield, Virginia, itself almost certainly an over-inflated and grandiose romantic vision (fig. 5.15). Thus, King's paintings reinforced a mythic and romantic view of colonial Virginia, describing it as a picturesque society of wealthy, white and educated elite.

Set up like billboards along the edge of the Jamestown loop of Colonial Parkway, King's paintings could be likened to the carefully composed vistas of the Parkway itself. Both present a romantic vision of colonial Virginia, and both are to be experienced from the moving vantage point of the motor-tourist. As a sequential experience of romantic vistas, Colonial Parkway might therefore be compared to the sequential scenography of the English Picturesque landscape garden. As T. J. Campanella has written:

> "In responding to the automobile, the parkway was a progressive expression of the "spirit of the age." But […] the parks and parkways were transitional creations. Final articulation was reserved for the humanizing idiom of a former age, in this case the gentle, idealised naturalism of the English landscape garden. The parkways were outfitted with a veneer, a stage-set of scenery which disguised their bold invention."[33]

5.4 *Scenic Byways: Projecting the Romantic Vision*

Virginia's parkway projects blend technologically advanced highway engineering with a picturesque aesthetic. Where the budget for infrastructural projects on this scale was not available, state governments simply dedicated existing routes as 'scenic byways.' Such dedications justified a general upgrading of rural roads whilst appealing to a public that had grown weary of manufactured parkway scenery. As Timothy Davis writes:

> "Asserting that parkways were "deadly dull to drive on," a 1950 *Harper's Magazine* column […] urged motorists to escape the homogenized and pasteurised parkway landscape in order to discover the "real America" that lay along the unconstrained byways where vernacular cultures were allowed to flourish."[34]

If parkway landscapes were now being viewed as 'pasteurised', 'homogenised' and perhaps even 'globalised', scenic byways were promoted as 'authentic' American landscape experiences. However, one could argue that the visual criteria for America's

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[33] T. J. Campanella, "MOTOREysium: Gilmore D. Clarke and the Garden for the Machine," *Colloqui: Cornell Journal of Planning and Urban Issues* (Spring, 1991) p. 9

[34] T. Davis, "A Pleasant Illusion of Unspoiled Countryside: The American Parkway and the Problematics of an Institutionalised Vernacular," in A. K. Hoagland and K. A. Breisch, eds., *Constructing Image, Identity, and Place: Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture IX* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 2003)



Fig. 5.14 Sidney E. King's *West End of Yorktown's Main Street* (1958) presents Colonial Virginia as an elegant, peaceful and picturesque place. Image courtesy of the National Park Service.



Fig. 5.15 Sidney E. King's *Typical Brick Residence, Jamestown* (1958), uses architect Edward Donn Jr.'s fanciful 1931 reconstruction of George Washington's birthplace as its model. Most historians now agree that this high status building was anything but typical of the majority of poorly built colonial houses. Image courtesy of the National Park Service.



Fig. 5.16 Map of tidewater Virginia, showing the route of Scenic Byway No.5, connecting Libby Hill Park, Richmond, to the James River plantations, Colonial Parkway and the colonial state capital of Williamsburg. Image by author.

scenic byways – colonial farmsteads, historic battlefields, agricultural fields, orchards and picturesque vistas – demonstrates the byways as equally complicit in a staged representation of supposedly authentic American landscapes; like the parkways, just the latest manifestation of Nutting's photogenic rural lanes.

In Richmond, Virginia, 'Scenic Byway 5' begins at the foot of Libby Hill Park and stretches as far as Williamsburg, hugging the James River and a string of colonial plantations including Shirley, Berkeley and Byrd's Westover (fig. 5.16).[35] If Colonial Parkway is understood as a romantic re-creation of a colonial route, Scenic Byway 5 is popularly recognised as the 'authentic original', despite the fact that much of the route was only laid in the 1920s. In fact, the colonial route from Richmond to Williamsburg took a more direct and straighter route further inland, the many plantation estates linked to it via a network of dirt tracks. The route of the modern byway then, may be viewed as a reflection of early motor tourism, affording the Richmond day-tripper a curated colonial plantation experience and picturesque river vistas en-route to Williamsburg via a leisurely, sinuous road. In a study of its scenic byways, Richmond Regional Planning Authority stated:

> "With Richmond serving as a hub of transportation […] the region can, and should, promote places of historical and cultural significance, and what better way to get there than by a scenic byway?"[36]

As such, the motor-tourist departing Richmond by Scenic Byway 5 immediately entered a romantic vision of eighteenth-century Virginia with the vista of the James River from Libby Hill forming the visual experience's symbolic opening act - an introductory summary of Virginia's historic colonial landscape (fig. 5.17).

Unlike the parkways, the designation of scenic byways did not directly allow for the restoration of buildings or landscaping works. However, the government label 'scenic' has contributed to gentrification. For example, the erection of historical markers and viewpoints along byways drew attention to historic structures, increasing their desirability and encouraging restoration. The *Scenic Roads Study* concluded that:

> "Historic places and rural communities connected by regional scenic roads are great avenues for economic development and promotion of the historic qualities of the region."[37]

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[35] The byway takes on added significance from the fact that two U.S. Presidents, Henry Harrison (signer of the declaration of independence) and John Tyler, both lived at plantations along the route. Berkeley plantation is also credited as the site of the first Thanksgiving, a particularly patriotic association of the route. *Scenic Roads Study* (Richmond Regional Planning District Committee, June 2004) p. 4

[36] Ibid., p. 2

[37] Ibid., p. 3



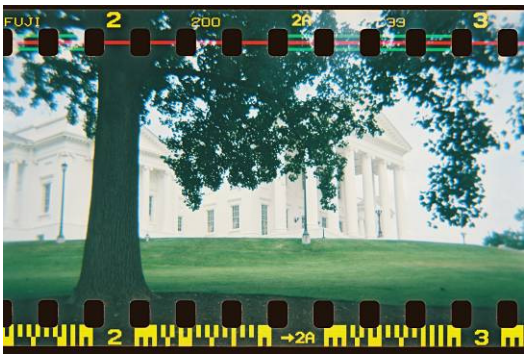








Fig. 5.17 The Libby Hill viewpoint (top) is the opening sequence of Virginia Scenic Byway No. 5 (below), which links Richmond to Colonial Williamsburg via the plantation estates bordering the James River. Though, to the motorist, the route appears to be a surviving historic route, the Byway is no less designed than the Colonial Parkway. Images by author.





Fig. 5.18 Richmond as generalised 'historic' landscape: (left) victorian style signposts with pleasant street names are a sign of the gentrification of Richmond's industrial tobacco warehouses; (right) the Richmond city limit post on Scenic Byway No. 5 demonstrates – in none too subtle fashion - the recurring theme of Richmond as classical city, and the Virginian plantations as Arcadian landscape. Images by author.



Fig. 5.19 Postcard of Richmond Auto Court, c.1960s, showing a typical 'colonial plantation' motel arrangement, with the great house/reception at centre, the dependencies/chalets arranged symmetrically about it, the riverfront substituted for a swimming pool, and the sweeping lawns substituted for a great sweep of tarmac. Image from author's personal collection.

In the case of Scenic Byway 5, a whole district of former industrial warehouses which border the James River below Libby Hill have benefited from the 'scenic' designation, now restored as up-market apartment buildings while similar, yet inconspicuous, warehouses one street away remain in dereliction. If the motorist is tempted to consider Richmond's wealth of nineteenth century industrial heritage at this point, he/she is quickly redirected by the city-limit signpost positioned precisely at this location. In the form of a fluted and loosely Tuscan-order column, surmounted by a small pediment, one could argue that the city-marker directs the minds of visitors – in none too subtle fashion - to the idea of a classical and Arcadian interpretation of the landscape, setting the tone for the unfolding vistas en-route to colonial Williamsburg (fig. 5.18).

Whilst gentrification has, in many cases, been the result of 'scenic' designation, more direct planning controls are also a feature of Virginia's Scenic Byway 5. Listed as the criteria of designation, Richmond Regional Planning Authority states:

> "1. The route provides important scenic values and experiences.
> 2. There is a diversity of experiences, as in transition from one to another.
> […]
> 5. The route allows for additional features that will enhance the motorist's visual experience.
> 6. Local government(s) has/have initiated zoning or other land use controls, so as to reasonably protect the aesthetic and cultural value of the highway."[38]

One could argue that the planning authority's allowance of 'additional features' as long as they uphold the 'aesthetic and cultural value of the highway' acts as a positive endorsement of development in suitably scenic and 'historical' styles.

The operators of motels, restaurants and inns along scenic byways were quick to cash in on the desire to provide for the motor-tourist an immersive visual experience, seizing the opportunity to extend it to their lodgings, mealtimes and rest stops. Thus, the 'colonial' motel was born. In fact, the colonial plantation model was easily adapted to the needs of the modern motel; at the centre, a great house (containing the public facilities), surrounded by outbuildings (tourist chalets), fronted by an expanse of lawn (replaced with tarmac) bordered by the river (substituted for a pool) (fig. 5.19). Boorstin has investigated the rapid spread of the motor court, stating that "In 1935, […], there were about ten thousand motels or tourist courts; after twenty years there were some

[38] *Scenic Roads Study* (Richmond Regional Planning District Committee, June 2004) p. 11

thirty thousand."[39] The popularity of these motels as destinations in their own right is evident from the number of postcard views produced from 1950 through the 70s, many of which illustrate their 'picturesque' nostalgic qualities. For example, a postcard for *Dutch Gap Tourist Court* depicts the type of detached 'colonial' style motel chalets popular at this time; where every family could experience the lifestyle of the colonial squire albeit with the added luxuries of bathrooms, hair dryers and clock radios (fig. 5.20). Further demonstration of the tourist's desire to re-live a romanticised colonial lifestyle is suggested by another postcard view of *Colony Inn*, Richmond, featuring eighteenth century figures in a suitably nostalgic pen and ink sketch.

The implication is that, through the cultivation of idyllic visual experiences, parkways and scenic highways have promoted a nostalgic scenic architecture, from the brick veneer applied to the bridges of Colonial Parkway to the timber signposts of the George Washington Memorial Parkway and the 'colonial' motel. In turn, these simulated landscapes have themselves become legitimised as significant cultural landscapes in their own right. For example, Colonial Parkway's bridges and landscaping are now recognised as statutorily protected historic monuments. As Davis has written, "In classic postmodern fashion, the simulacrum is now celebrated as much as its ostensible antecedent."[40]

It is no coincidence that the sequential visual experience of the parkway coincided with a period of booming cinema audiences. If the parkways can be likened to a cinematic sequence, an analogy could be made between the picturesque revival architecture of their attendant buildings and the theatricality of cinematic film sets. While Nickelodeon theatres had existed in even the smallest of American towns since the late 1890s,[41] between 1930 and the mid-1950s the cinematic experience of the motorcar had become ubiquitous in the American landscape. Of particular relevance to the development of the parkways, this was the period in which the quintessentially American experience of the drive-in cinema developed. From the first, at Camden, New Jersey in 1933, the number of drive-in cinemas grew to around one thousand by 1949,

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[39] D. J. Boorstin, *The Image, or What Happened to the American Dream* (New York: Atheneum, 1962) p. 113

[40] Davis, "A Pleasant Illusion of Unspoiled Countryside", *Constructing Image, Identity, and Place,* p. 242

[41] In 1908 there were approximately eight-thousand nickelodeon theatres operating across the United States. By 1910, that number had grown to over ten-thousand, with seven-thousand of those located outside of the big cities in small, rural American towns. K. H. Fuller, *At the Picture Show: Small Town Audiences and the Creation of Movie Fan Culture* (Washington D. C. & London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1996) p. 48

peaking at over four thousand by the mid-1950s.[42] Richmond was no exception, encircled by no less than four theatres by 1948, not to mention those that lay further beyond in rural Virginia. By far the largest was the Bellwood Drive-In Theatre, designed by celebrated Art-Deco theatre architect Michael DeAngelis, which could accommodate over one thousand cars (fig. 5.21).[43]

While drive-in theatres were more commonly styled in imitation of urban cinemas, their rural locations on the fringes of the city were often marketed as part of their appeal. One could argue it stands to reason that commercial developers, of sites neighbouring suburban drive-ins, might consciously choose to promote 'rural' and/or 'colonial' imagery in an attempt to attract consumers accustomed to this mode of vision. In this way McLuhan has argued that cinema, advertising and consumerism are inextricably linked, writing that: "To a highly literate and mechanized culture the movie appeared as a world of triumphant illusions and dreams that money could buy."[44] Soon, roadside traders were erecting their own stage-set fantasies designed to attract the motorists' gaze, as Robert Venturi has explored in his seminal work *Learning from Las Vegas* (1977).[45] Many examples of this may be found in the developments which sprang up around Richmond's Broadway and Bellwood Drive-In Theatres, including a colonial revival funeral parlor and freight handler's office, both dating from the late 1940s.

5.5 *Interstate Image Corridors: The Persistence of Parkway Vision*

The locations of parkways and byways might lead one to assume that this form of visual manipulation affected rural areas only. However, parkways were conceived and engineered by urban planners whose target audience was the suburban motorist. As such, parkways were urban products whose visual aesthetic imposed an influential force upon the idea of the city as well as the idea of the landscape.

In Richmond, contemporary planning policies ensure visual control is maintained over unfolding vistas of the city, as observed from the Interstate Highways which pass through it (fig. 5.22). Known as 'Interstate Image Corridors,' these policies

[42] S. Bell, "From Ticket Booth to Screen Tower: An Architectural Study of Drive-In Theatres in the Baltimore-Washington-Richmond Corridor," in A. K. Hoagland and K. A. Breisch, eds., *Constructing Image, Identity, and Place: Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture IX* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 2003) p. 216
[43] Ibid., p. 221
[44] M. McLuhan, *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1994) p. 12
[45] R. Venturi, *Learning from Las Vegas: The Forgotten Symbolism of Architectural Form* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1977)



Fig. 5.20 Two postcards, c. 1950s, of a 'colonial' chalet at Dutch Gap Tourist Court, Richmond (left), and the Colony Inn Motel, Richmond, complete with eighteenth-century figures. Images from author's personal collection.

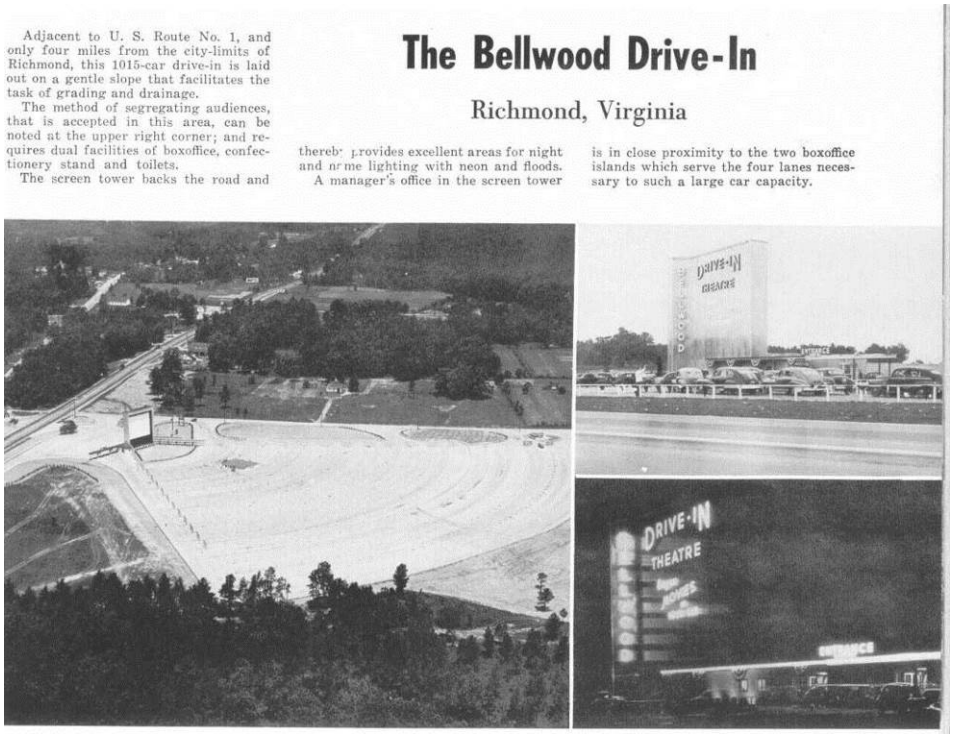


Fig. 5.21 The Bellwood Drive-In theatre, Richmond, Virginia. Image from S. Bell, "From Ticket Booth to Screen Tower: An Architectural Study of Drive-In Theatres in the Baltimore-Washington-Richmond Corridor," in A. K. Hoagland and K. A. Breisch, eds., *Constructing Image, Identity, and Place: Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture IX* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 2003) p. 221

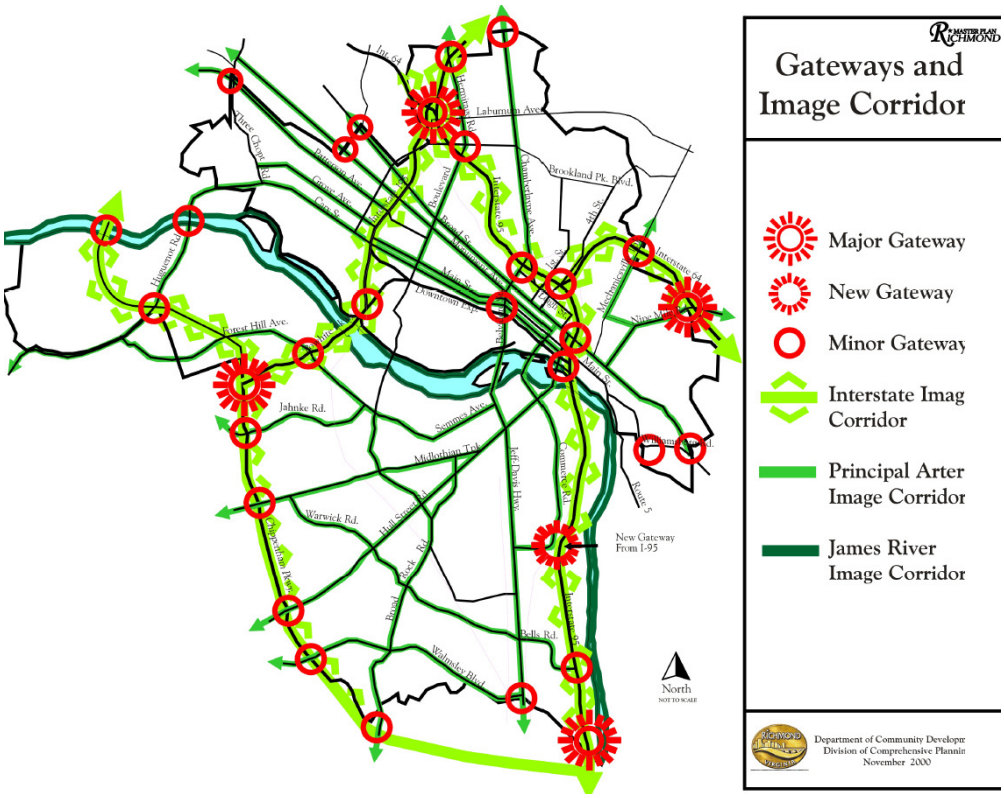


Fig. 5.22 Map of Richmond's 'Interstate Image Corridors' with key 'gateway' viewpoints marked. Image from the Planning and Development Review, *Richmond Master Plan* (City of Richmond, 2010).



Fig. 5.23 View of the stage-set of Emmy-Award winning television series *John Adams* (2008), in Richmond, Virginia, a popular tourist attraction in its own right. Image by author.

could be seen as a reaction to what Boorstin has called the interstates' "thorough dilution of travel experience."[46] Established under the Federal Aid Highway Act of 1944, the Interstate Highway network has been described as a utilitarian exercise in modern highway engineering.[47] As such, Boorstin has argued that the experience of travel was reduced from an ever-changing visual experience to a mere period of time, passing roadsigns the only visual records of landscapes traversed. In response, contemporary city plans designate where views should be enhanced, screened or protected, in order to present to traffic, hurtling past at eighty miles-per-hour, a promotional snapshot of the city as colonial capital and stronghold of a romanticised South.[48] As the City's 2010 Master Plan states:

> "Careful attention to these major entryways into Richmond has broad implications for the City's ability to maintain a high quality visual environment and attract and retain new residents and businesses. Image corridors are key transportation corridors that should display a high-quality appearance to enhance the image of Richmond."[49]

One could argue that the resurrection of visual criteria – as demonstrated by vocabulary such as "visual environment", "image corridors" and "appearance" imposed by contemporary planning policy upon the utilitarian highways of the 1940s - owes a debt to the picturesque visual planning of the early American parkways, reintroduced and popularised by architectural theorists on both sides of the Atlantic from the 1950s.

British architectural criticism in the 1950s was marked by a renewed cynicism towards the urban sprawl of modern cities, led in substantial part by the staff of the *Architectural Review*, including Nikolaus Pevsner, Hubert de Cronin Hastings and Gordon Cullen. Arguably the most influential of the *AR's* features, certainly in terms of its trans-Atlantic influence, was the polemical 1955 *Outrage* edition, in which authors Ian Nairn and Cullen attacked the featureless "low density mess"[50] of suburban sprawl. The edition's cover image, in *AR's* trademark retro-screen print style, depicts a windshield view of exactly the kind of suburban sprawl the pair despised, complete with the clutter of ugly street lights and pylons. Following the success of *Outrage* on both sides of the Atlantic, Nairn and Cullen were approached, by *Fortune* magazine, to tour and comment on the visual planning of selected American cities from Chicago to San

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[46] Boorstin, *The Image, or What Happened to the American Dream,* p. 114
[47] Ibid., p. 112
[48] Planning and Development Review, *Richmond Master Plan* (City of Richmond, 2010) p.29
[49] Ibid.
[50] I. Nairn, cited in G. Darley, "Ian Nairn and Jane Jacobs, the Lessons from Britain and America", *The Journal of Architecture* (Routledge, 2012), 17(5), P. 733-746

Francisco. The projected book for this ambitious project, given the working title *Townscape USA,* though eventually published as *The American Landscape: A Critical View* (1965), would have fitted neatly into a developing American discourse at this time. Other contributions to this discourse, which sought to reinvigorate American architectural criticism with regards to urban form, include Jane Jacobs' *Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1961), Peter Blake's *God's Own Junkyard* (1964) and Lynch, Appleyard and Myers' *The View from the Road* (1964).[51]

Nairn used the project's fee to undertake a monumental road trip from Philadelphia to Los Angeles, an experience which would cement his hatred of urban sprawl. In a similar project undertaken by the *AR* some years earlier in 1939, artist John Piper set out to photograph every visual structure en-route from London to Bath, as part of the journal's grandiose agenda of "visual re-education" to "re-establish the supremacy of the eye".[52] In a parallel of Nairn's commission, a critical component of this project had been to stimulate architectural discourse on the visual state of the nation's great arterial routes. Piper's 'before and after' shots, plus his accompanying dialogue demonstrate how a painterly aesthetic was actively promoted by the *AR* and its editors, an aesthetic interchangeably known as 'Visual Planning', 'Exterior Furnishing' and 'Picturesque Planning', though best remembered as the title to Cullen's influential *Townscape* (1961).[53] It is in these projects and the resulting proliferation of motoring guidebooks[54] that one might trace the influence of the American parkways. Though the British government did not go in for the building of scenic highways as such, architectural critics on both sides of the Atlantic argued for a visual re-evaluation of roadscapes based upon a picturesque aesthetic the *AR* editors themselves traced directly back to the lineage, now familiar here, of Repton, Payne-Knight and Price.[55]

Viewed in this light, Richmond's 'Interstate Image Corridors' might be interpreted as a continuation of townscape principles which sought to create an edited –

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[51] Nairn, "Ian Nairn and Jane Jacobs, the Lessons from Britain and America", *The Journal of Architecture,* pp. 733-746

[52] James Richards, "The Second Half Century," *The Architectural Review* (January, 1947) p. 23. See also, S. Parnell, "AR's and AD's Post-War Editorial Policies: The Making of Modern Architecture in Britain", *The Journal of Architecture* (Routledge, 2012), 17(5), P. 763-775

[53] R. Elwall, "How to Like Everything': Townscape and Photography," *The Journal of Architecture* (Routledge, 2012), 17(5), p. 672

[54] For example, Piper would go on to illustrate the influential *Shell Guide* series (1934-1984) edited by John Betjeman, while many other guidebooks, including *Car and Country,* presented an idyllic rural England to urban dwellers hungry for such imagery.

[55] Peter Rayner Banham, writer for the *Architectural Review,* entitled his history of architectural criticism between 1945–65 'The Revenge of the Picturesque.' J. Macarthur, "The Revenge of the Picturesque, Redux," *The Journal of Architecture* (Routledge, 2012), 17(5), p. 643-653

almost cinematic – visual experience of the city. Coincidentally, the creation of the Virginia Film Office in Richmond in 1980 placed Virginia at the forefront of a relatively new movement in film production, which actively sought to recruit film, video and television industries to the state.[56] The Virginia Film Office played a major part in the marketing of the state as a film location possessed of historic and picturesque scenes, attracting investors to contribute towards the cost of a number of historical productions. Of these, the most notable was the Emmy-Award winning television series *John Adams* (2008), filmed at a specially constructed 'colonial' stage-set, erected in a car park on the outskirts of Richmond and now a popular tourist attraction in its own right (fig. 5.23).

Walking onto the *John Adams* film set, a curious amalgam of mocked-up architectural fragments, a piece of Philadelphia's Independence Hall here, the balcony of Boston's Massachusetts State House there, one is reminded of King's Jamestown paintings which collect together the most notable examples of colonial architecture. One could argue that a similar, edited, cinematic experience can be achieved walking the streets of Richmond's suburban communities. One such example is the aptly named West Broad 'Village' (fig. 5.24), a romantic attempt at the re-production of a whole town, with a main street "not unlike the bustling main streets of colonial America."[57] Though the pretence of West Broad is towards a traditional vision of American towns, the two-dimensionality of this romantic imagery is revealed by its construction; much of Main Street comprises a series of steel and concrete-framed structures dressed with a thin façade of 'historical' townscape motifs. As John Fortier has written:

> "To an American, the landscape […] seems saturated with "creeping heritage" – mansarded and half-timbered shopping plazas, exposed brick and butcher-block décor in historic precincts […]. Once confined to a handful of museums and antique shops, the trappings of history now festoon the whole country. […] Long uprooted and newly unsure of the future, Americans *en masse* find comfort in looking back; historic villages and districts become "surrogate home towns that contain a familiar and reassuring landscape […]."[58]

If West Broad Village could be interpreted as a kind of cinematic set, it is the middle ground between Williamsburg's 'historically accurate' re-construction and the pure fantasy of Disneyland. One could argue that, were West Broad Village to have a cinematic equivalent, it might be found in the double exposure image: fragments of

[56] http://www.vatc.org/film/filmhistory.asp [accessed 01 June, 2011]
[57] http://www.westbroadvillage.com/main-street/index.shtml [accessed 03 September, 2010]
[58] J. Fortier, *Fortress of Louisbourg* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1979) p. 19



Fig. 5.24 New-build ‘colonial’ homes at West Broad Village, Richmond, Virginia. Image from www.westbroadvillage.com [Accessed 22/12/2011].



Fig. 5.25 This double exposure image, an amalgamation of a Williamsburg scene with Scenic Byway No.5, summarises the nostalgic picturesque gaze at work along the Colonial Parkway, and in the contemporary planning policy of Richmond, Virginia. The romantic collective view of Virginia is of an historic, Arcadian landscape of elegant colonial mansions amidst verdant scenery and serpentine country roads. Image by author.



Fig. 5.26 Atmospheric watercolour and ink sketch by Frances Terry, of his father Quinlan Terry's 1984-7 riverside development, Richmond-upon-Thames. Image from *View: An Exhibition about Richmond Hill,* held at Waterstone's, Piccadilly and the Orleans House Galley, Twickenham (2003).

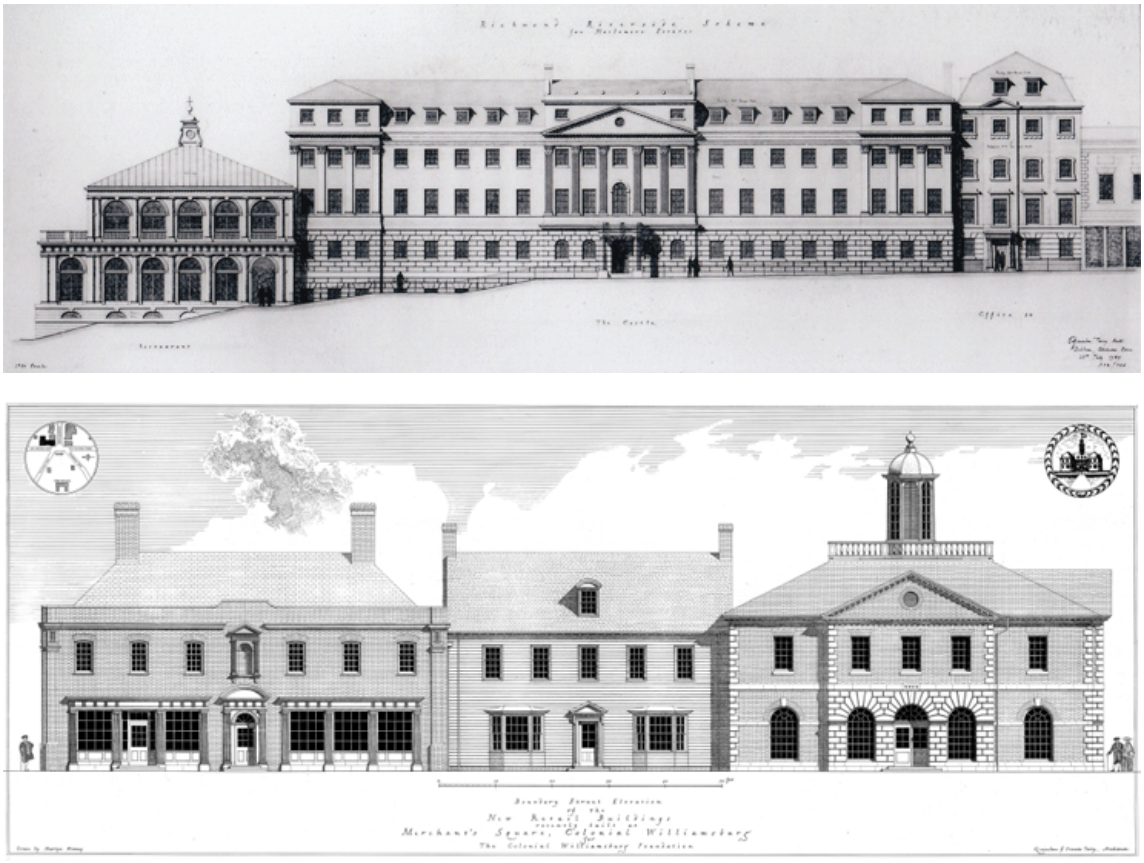


Fig. 5.27 Elevation (above), by Quinlan Terry Architects, for the 1984-7 riverside development, Richmond-upon-Thames. This elevation for an office building was largely an adaptation of William Chamber's unexecuted design for a new palace at Richmond (fig. 4.4.20), now home to internet auction giant *Ebay.* (Below) Quinlan Terry Architects elevation of the retail and catering complex, Colonial Williamsburg, Virginia (2001-3). Images from www.qftarchitects.com [accessed 03/03/2013].

romanticised eighteenth century Williamsburg superimposed upon the sinuous curves and picturesque landscaping of the American parkway (fig. 5.25). As Boym has written, "A cinematic image of nostalgia is a double exposure, or a superimposition of two images – of home and abroad, past and present, dream and everyday life."[59] In the case of West Broad Village, one finds familiar nostalgic imagery thinly applied over the steel and concrete skeletons of its modern buildings.

Contemporary planning policies at work in Virginia demonstrate the continuing power of pictorial vision in shaping our environment. Quinlan Terry Architects' 2001-2003 retail complex for Colonial Williamsburg demonstrates many of the same preoccupations as West Broad Village, dressed as a picturesque eighteenth century streetscape. Similarly, Quinlan Terry's partial restoration and re-creation of a cluster of riverside buildings at Richmond-upon-Thames (1984-7) befits a nostalgic vision of 'the classic village' (fig. 5.26). In a mirroring of its Virginian counterpart,[60] one of these buildings overlays an historic image, projecting Chambers' unexecuted design for a royal palace at Richmond onto the steel skeleton of a modern office building, now the suitably grand home of internet auction giant *Ebay*.

Concluding Remarks

Following an exploration of Richmond Hill's history, Chapter Four traced the transposition of that view onto the American landscape, and followed how this particular vista's meaning has been mediated and translated from one landscape to another. This translation of a common set of values is apparent in landscape and architectural works, in fine art, literature and diverse forms of popular media from the newspaper to the postcard. Continuing from this, Chapter Five has traced the development of the picturesque view from a static to a kinetic mode of vision, via photography, the car and the cinema screen. These new technologies have not so much produced a scientific future as reinvented the past, re-inscribing familiar tropes as well as established conventions for the viewing of landscapes and townscapes. Just as the static idea of the picturesque view has always exerted power – intellectually, culturally and over architectural and landscape forms – this chapter has shown that the moving picturesque viewpoint has exerted similar power, in service of similar values, in ways

[59] S. Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia* (New York: Basic Books, 2001) p. xiv
[60] It could be argued that it is no coincidence Terry's architectural practice was also commissioned by Virginia's Williamsburg Foundation to design its retail, parking and catering facilities, a cluster of colonial revival buildings drawn in suitably nostalgic engraved style (2001-3).

which are both different and strikingly consistent. The visual conventions deployed in the creation of supposedly ‘modern’ landscapes such as the suburb and American highway can, as this section has shown, be linked to the picturesque conventions observed in the Richmond landscape. Thus, the values inherent within London’s first protected vista remain at work within contemporary cityscapes on either side of the Atlantic.



6.0 HOW CONTEMPORARY PROTECTED VIEW POLICIES OPERATE

6.1 The London View Management Framework

The previous chapters of this dissertation have developed an intellectual and cultural history of Britain's first protected vista, the view from Richmond Hill, unpicking the values and narratives associated with it, and how these values have developed and shifted over time in response to geographical, cultural and political influences. This chapter returns to London to examine the city's contemporary policies of view protection. The aim will be to demonstrate that the values of the eighteenth century picturesque, as mediated and transformed via technological advances from the camera to the motorcar and cinema, continue to overlay contemporary policy.

The City of London now recognises 26 protected vistas and 52 designated viewing places of St. Paul's Cathedral, Westminster and the Tower of London, which carve through sites of potential development (fig. 6.31). Viewed at a distance of as much as ten miles, these vistas not only dictate the urban and architectural form of the city, but, by association, the location of high-tech centres of international banking and commerce, whilst simultaneously reinforcing an established canon of recognisable nostalgic imagery. This chapter will describe London's contemporary policies of view protection with reference to the protected vista from King Henry's Mound in Richmond Park. This particular vista is singled out due to the curious nature of its 'loss' and 'rediscovery', as well as the fact that its keyhole view of St. Paul's cathedral ten miles distant illustrates – more than any other of London's vistas – the degree of scientific precision with which these vistas are defined under contemporary planning policy. The coincidence of the two viewpoints, in one direction the vista protected by the *London View Management Framework* and in the other the vista protected by the 1902 Act of Parliament, suggests that the two, apparently opposing, systems of protection share common values.

A 2007 Transport for London Underground poster by artist Paul Catherall (fig. 6.1), sums up cogently the idea of London's protected vistas. The view illustrated is the *London View Management Framework's* protected vista from Primrose Hill, a view towards historic Westminster observed from the leafy vantage point of the suburb, constructing in the mind's eye spatial relationships between city and observer. The skyline is rendered as solid blocks of colour, as if the city form is arranged for painterly composition, a mere disposition of painted surface, the use of solid colours itself a

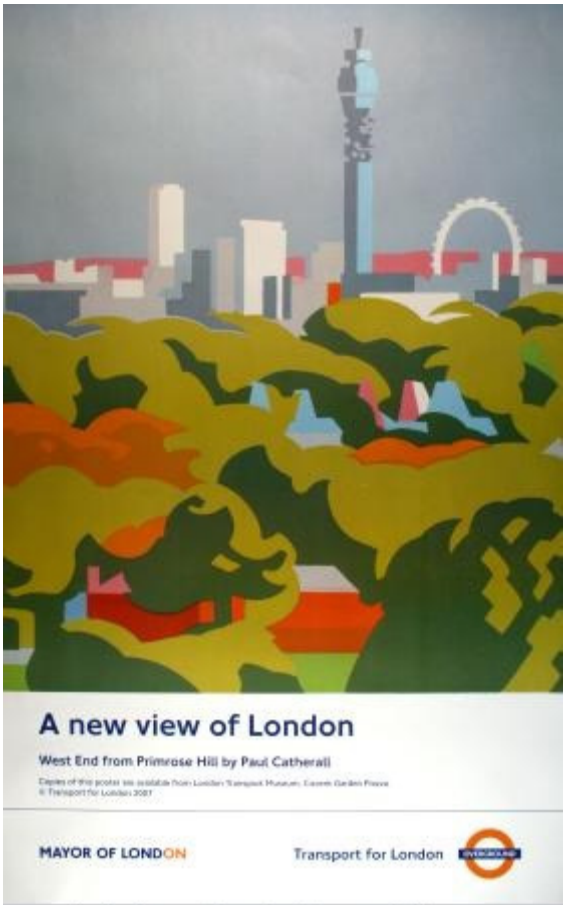


Fig. 6.1 Artist Paul Catherall's linocut print for Transport for London, showing the protected vista of central London from Primrose Hill. Image from the collections of the London Transport Museum.



Fig. 6.2 Though English Heritage's *Seeing the History in the View* was aimed at spreading view protection policies to sites beyond London, nevertheless the document is heavily referential to London-based case studies. Image from English Heritage, *Seeing the History in the View* (2011).

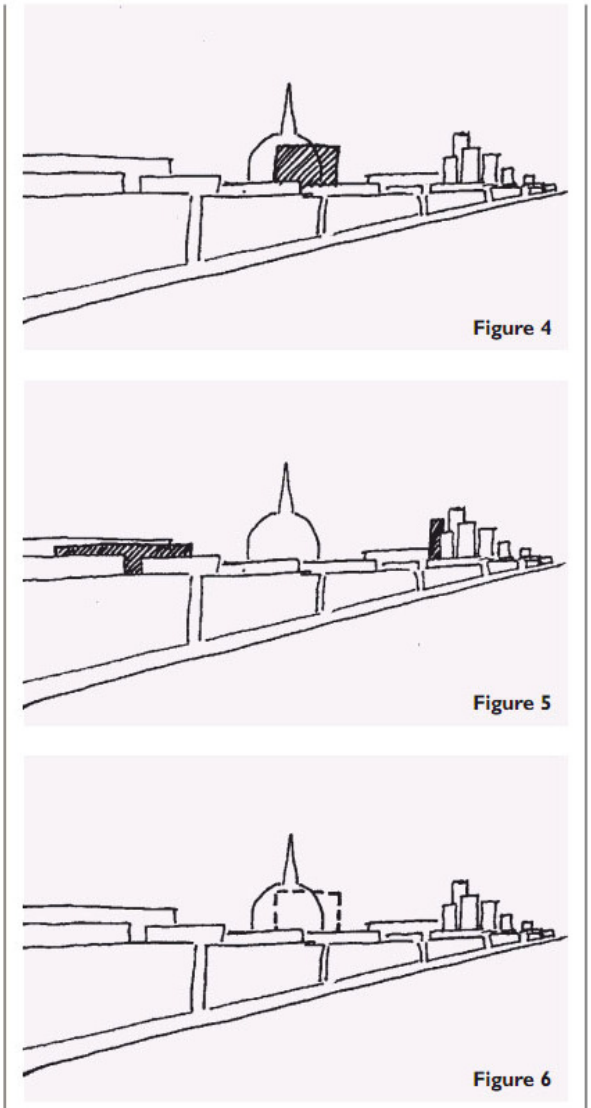


Fig. 6.3 These images from *Seeing the History in the View* demonstrate how: (a) proposed development may "adversely affect"; (b) have a "neutral effect"; or (c) the removal or remodelling of an existing feature may "positively enhance the understanding and appreciation of a heritage asset in the view." Image from English Heritage, *Seeing the History in the View* (2011) p. 23

nostalgic memory of screen printing techniques. Landmark elements are set in from the edges of the frame by a third, a technique of picturesque composition also illustrated by the clear representation of foreground trees, middle-ground buildings and background of pinkish hills. Catherall's vision of London is at once historic and modern, urban and suburban, nostalgic, picturesque, natural and designed. Seemingly effortless and yet meticulously orchestrated, it incorporates all of the contradictions to be expected of the city, preserving the familiar city 'brand' from a perceived threat of homogenising, or 'globalising,' change. In the same way that Catherall's image may be analysed for insights into his way of viewing the city, this chapter will analyse the components of a single protected vista from King Henry's Mound, in an attempt to shed light upon the values inherent within it.

London's system of protected vistas is the most comprehensive and rigid of any world city, and its policies have served as an influential model behind many world examples. As demonstrated by historic auction notices, the right of the individual to access a view has been protected in legal covenants attached to properties since at least the seventeenth century in London.[1] In *The London Town Garden 1700-1840*, author Todd Longstaffe-Gowan traces many examples of such covenants, ranging from stipulations designed to protect the prospect from hilltop homes, to controversy surrounding new construction in city squares overlooked by the townhouses of the gentry.[2] However, as this chapter will reveal, the legal protection of views incorporated into city planning policy is a relatively recent occurrence. This chapter aims to chart the historical development of the *London View Management Framework*, along with parallel guidance documents produced by heritage and conservation bodies. It will also investigate the components of the protected vista and, through an analysis of its adopted language, suggests an origin of contemporary policy in the *Richmond, Petersham and Ham Open Spaces Act* of 1902.

[1] T. Longstaffe-Gowan, *The London Town Garden, 1700-1840* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2001) p.63
[2] Ibid.

6.1.1 *Development of Current Policy*

Current legislative protection is enforced through the *London View Management Framework* (2011), a development of the *Supplementary Planning Guidance for London on the Protection of Strategic Views (RPG3A)* (1991), in which the Secretary of State formally gave protection to ten strategic vistas of the city. Prior to this, views of St. Paul's Cathedral were afforded limited protection by the 'St. Paul's Heights Code.' As former Surveyor to the Fabric of St. Paul's Martin Stancliffe has stated, the introduction of the code was a reaction to the construction of nearby Faraday House in the mid-1930s, an eight storey structure which obscures much of the Cathedral in river views. Galvanised by Godfrey Allen, the then Surveyor to the Fabric of St Paul's, the code was introduced in 1937[3] and continues to be enforced by City authorities to this day.

The St Pauls Heights Code is based on a series of planes, limiting the height of developments so as to safeguard the cathedral's western towers and the main cornice line within river views. According to Stancliffe, these planes were devised using the 'Parallacter' system of working over photographs.[4] Though the code has been largely successful in preserving clear sightlines to the cathedral from the River Thames, Stancliffe, in his *Memoranda to the Select Committee on Transport, Local Government and the Regions* (2002), urged for the introduction of wider and more targeted policy to reflect the development of ever-taller buildings and their influence upon the Cathedral's wider setting.[5]

At the time of Stancliffe's *Memorandum,* more targeted view protection policy was in fact already in the pipeline.[6] Two years prior, in July 2000, the Secretary of State had released new directions which stipulated that development within the ten initial strategic views identified by the 1991 *SPG* no longer remained the sole business of the

[3] M. Stancliffe, "Select Committee on Transport, Local Government and the Regions Memoranda" http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm200102/cmselect/cmtlgr/482/48263.htm (2002) [Accessed 06/06/2012]
[4] A system primarily used in measuring astronomical objects using multiple viewpoints. M. Stancliffe, "Select Committee on Transport, Local Government and the Regions Memoranda" http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm200102/cmselect/cmtlgr/482/48263.htm (2002) [Accessed 06/06/2012]
[5] Ibid.
[6] Of particular note, the Landscape Institute and Institute of Environmental Management and Assessment had already published its *Guidelines for Landscape and Visual Impact Assessment* in 1995, now recognised as the established guidance on good practice of visual assessment. (London: Landscape Institute & Spon Press, 1995)

local planning authorities involved, but should now be referred to the Mayor of London for approval.[7] This was followed, in February 2004, by the publication of the Mayor's *London Plan: Spatial Development Strategy for Greater London* in which a series of principles were laid down including the concept of management plans for the protection and enhancement of city views. In 2005, a round of consultation followed the removal of the 2000 directions and the drafting of a new supplementary guidance document, entitled *The London View Management Framework*, which came into force in 2007. This document laid down new statutory Protected Vista Directions, increased the number of protected vistas to eleven, and introduced the concept of 'qualitative visual assessment'[8] as a means to assess development within views. Following a number of alterations, the City of London's 2011 amendments to the *London View Management Framework* more than doubled the number of strategic views under statutory protection, now recognising 26 protected vistas and 52 designated viewing locations.

6.1.2 *Parallel Documents*

In the meantime, the historical dimension of the protected vista was being explored in documents produced by national conservation bodies. English Heritage's *Seeing the History in the View* was drafted in 2008, though a final copy was not published until May 2011 (fig. 6.2). This document sets out a methodological approach to the identification of historic significance within views, and provides analytical tools by which to judge the impact of proposed development. *Seeing the History in the View* was conceived as an extension to the *London View Management Framework*, broadening view protection from the urban environment to regional and rural landscapes. In his introduction to the document, National Planning Director Chris Smith writes:

> "Views play an important part in shaping our appreciation and understanding of England's historic environment, whether in towns and cities or in the countryside. […] The existence of such views, often

[7] *London Plan Supplementary Planning Guidance: The London View Management Framework 2007* (Greater London Authority, 2007) p. vii
[8] For an explanation of 'qualitative visual assessment,' see Sections 3.3 and 3.4.

> containing well-known landmarks and cherished landscapes, enriches our daily life, attracts visitors and helps our communities prosper."[9]

Smith's comments highlight the implicit links made by *Seeing the History in the View,* namely that the historic content of a view may contribute to the prosperity and well-being of communities, and should therefore be maintained, or the legibility of the historic content enhanced. Despite reviewers' complaints that English Heritage's methodology would, in practice, produce "unwieldy, highly repetitive and very time consuming"[10] documents, the message that view preservation somehow increases the legibility of historic landscapes is a common theme. Reviewer Richard Coleman stated:

> "English Heritage's draft guidance focuses attention on the important aspect of heritage assets, their history, their collective meaning, the way they contribute to the quality of views and the way history can be read within them."[11]

Another common complaint was that English Heritage's publication attempted to distil the experience of historic views into a series of quantifiable characteristics or 'assets,' a planning term which, it could be argued, commodifies historic structures and settings.[12] This commodification of heritage 'assets' is highlighted by the document's suggested assessment process, which aims to sort elements of views into prescriptive matrices. For example, heritage assets are to be graded into categories from high to low 'significance,' an equally difficult and loaded idea,[13] while development should be ranked from 'high beneficial' to 'high adverse' (fig. 6.3). Final assessment of development proposals is to be calculated by tabulating value, or significance, against the potential impact of development.[14] Implicit in this assessment process is the assumption that development, or change in a more general sense, has the potential to adversely affect a vista deemed to be of aesthetic value, or understood as an 'authentic' historic object. The sense that development might affect these more fundamental attributes of the vista, above and beyond the purely visual sense, is supported by Coleman's argument against the weaknesses of the prescribed analytical method:

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[9] English Heritage, *Seeing the History in the View* (English Heritage, 2011) p. 3
[10] R. Coleman in a review of English Heritage's *Seeing the History in the View* (2011) http://www.citydesigner.com/index.php?action=showNewsDetails&newsID=42 [Accessed 13/10/11]
[11] R. Coleman, *Seeing the History in the View*
[12] For a definition of 'assets,' see English Heritage, *PPS 5 Planning for the Historic Environment: Historic Environment Planning Practice Guide* (English Heritage, 2010) pp. 7-9
[13] For a definition of 'significance,' see English Heritage, *PPS 5 Planning for the Historic Environment: Historic Environment Planning Practice Guide* (English Heritage, 2010) pp. 7-9
[14] English Heritage, *Seeing the History in the View,* p. 25

> "Places are experienced in movement and memory at all times of day and night. These are not just visual experiences but affect all five of the acknowledged senses as well as the sense of balance and belonging. It is not possible to tabulate these kinds of phenomena and tick the appropriate boxes."[15]

Despite these complaints, many British towns began to use a systematic approach to analyse historic views at this time; Westminster's *Metropolitan Views* (2007) and Oxford City Council's *View Cones* (2005) are cited as primary references in English Heritage's *Seeing the History in the View*. Further proof of the importance of the historical dimension of London's views is demonstrated by English Heritage's more extensive role in the city than anywhere else in the country, acting as a statutory consultee on all developments affecting strategic views. The organisation has also advised on the heritage significance within views of Liverpool, Newcastle, Durham and Bristol, particularly where historic buildings and their settings are to be affected by proposals for tall buildings.

Tall buildings have generated vociferous debate with regards to sensitive vistas, particularly in settings where they have been perceived as alien to 'authentic' urban and architectural forms, and damaging to the visual identity of cities. This is reflected in English Heritage and CABE's parallel research publication *Guidance on Tall Buildings* (2007), which advises on the impact of tall buildings within historic settings. Of particular note, the guidance suggests that "individually, or in groups, [tall buildings] affect the image and identity of a city as a whole," and that "by virtue of their size and prominence, such buildings can also harm the qualities that people value about a place."[16] The document goes on to clarify that the qualities perceived to be at risk from tall buildings include "landmark buildings […] backdrops, important local views, prospects and panoramas."[17]

What emerges from these documents is a sense that views of historic assets are integral to their historic 'authenticity'; that somehow, a listed building visible within its setting possesses more historical value, or 'significance,' than the same building blocked from view by development. In *Seeing the History in the View* (2011), English

[15] R. Coleman in a review of English Heritage's *Seeing the History in the View* (2011) http://www.citydesigner.com/index.php?action=showNewsDetails&newsID=42 [Accessed 13/10/11]
[16] English Heritage, *Guidance on Tall Buildings* (English Heritage, 2007) p. 2
[17] Ibid., p. 3

Heritage suggests that the distant viewpoint "may be the best (*or only*) place to view the historic significance of the heritage asset."[18] As such, development perceived to be 'insensitive' may be judged to "severely erode the heritage values of the heritage assets in the view";[19] thus, adverse change to views of historical significance is charged with the deletion of history. This notion reflects the statements of UNESCO, particularly its 2005 Vienna Memorandum on *World Heritage and Contemporary Architecture – Managing the Historic Urban Landscape*, which is concerned with the effect of development proposals upon views of World Heritage Sites within urban environments.[20]

A further document, published in June 2011, demonstrates that the value of the view is not solely equated with historic significance, but with a physical and/or scenic experience of landscape. The 2,000 page *UK National Ecosystem Assessment* (2011) places a monetary value on the health benefits of living close to green space at up to £300 per person per year,[21] and states:

> "The natural world is vital to our existence, providing us with […] cultural and health benefits not always fully appreciated because we get them for free."[22]

This perceived "cultural benefit" of landscapes and natural environments, commoditised with a monetary value by the *UK NEA*, seems to share similarities with the historic attributes of the *London View Management Framework*'s protected vistas.

It could be argued that all the aforementioned documents, produced since the early 1990s, are symptomatic of a set of prevailing values which seek to connect significance (historical and/or artistic) with amenity (physical and/or scenic) and value (economic and/or cultural). Published just three years after the introduction of the *Supplementary Planning Guidance for London on the Protection of Strategic Views (RPG3A)* 1991, a further document, the *Thames Landscape Strategy* (1994) would appear to embody these emerging trends most succinctly. This document combines the

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[18] English Heritage, *Seeing the History in the View,* p. 12
[19] Ibid., p. 22
[20] UNESCO, Vienna Memorandum on 'World Heritage and Contemporary Architecture – Managing the Historic Urban Landscape' (Paris: UNESCO, 2005) [http://whc.unesco.org/en/documents/5965]
[21] "Nature 'is Worth Billions' to UK," http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/science-environment-13616543 [Accessed 18/10/2011]
[22] "Nature 'is Worth Billions' to UK," http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/science-environment-13616543 [Accessed 18/10/2011]

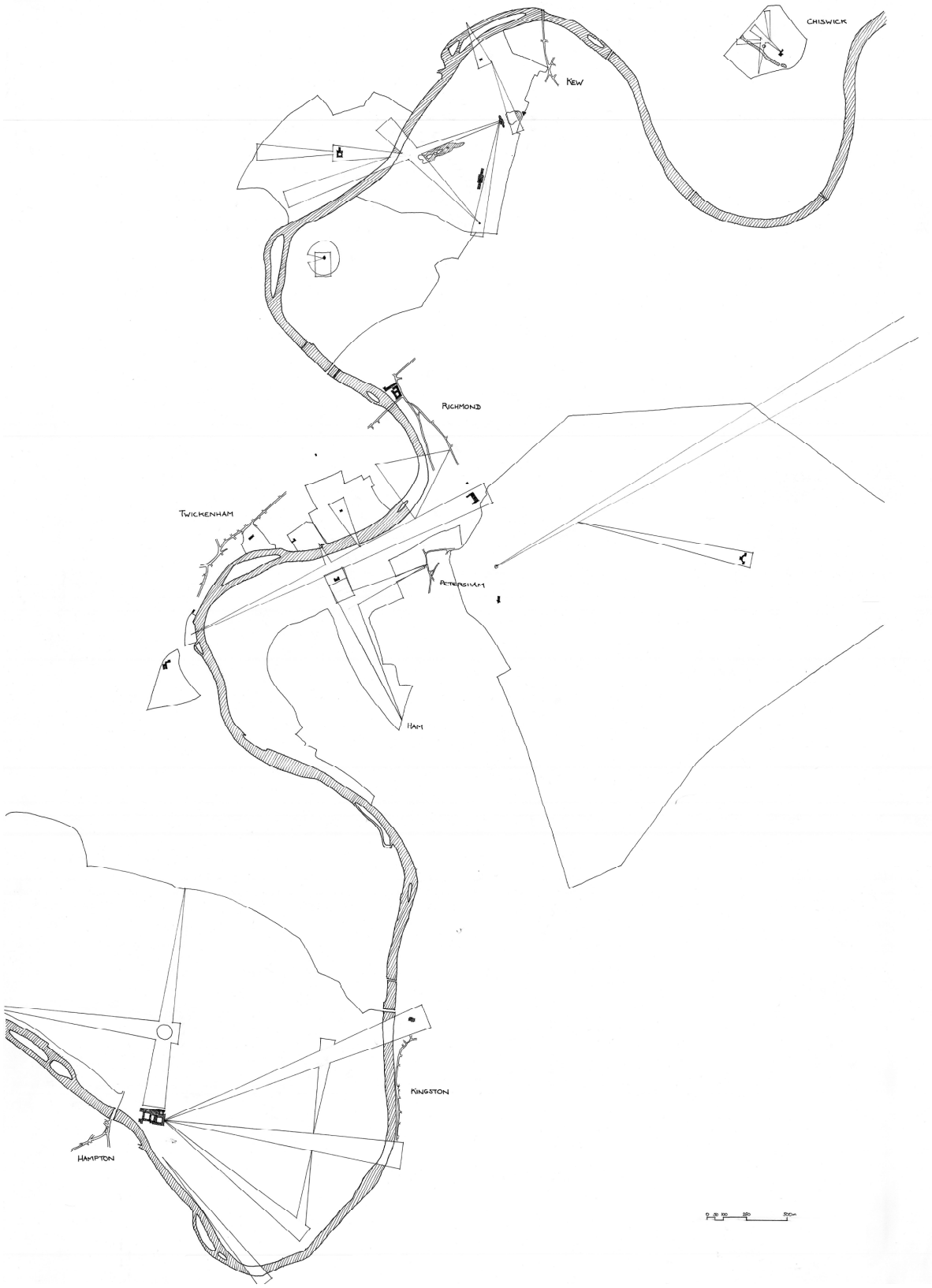


Fig. 6.4 The network of vistas and landscaped parklands and gardens proposed by the *Thames Landscape Strategy* stitches the region between Hampton and Chiswick together into one united landscape composition. Image by author, adapted from K. Wilkie, M. Battaggia, M. Batey, D. Lambert, H. Buttery, J. Pearce, D. Goode and D. Bentley, *Thames Landscape Strategy* (Thames Landscape Steering Group, 1994) p. 10

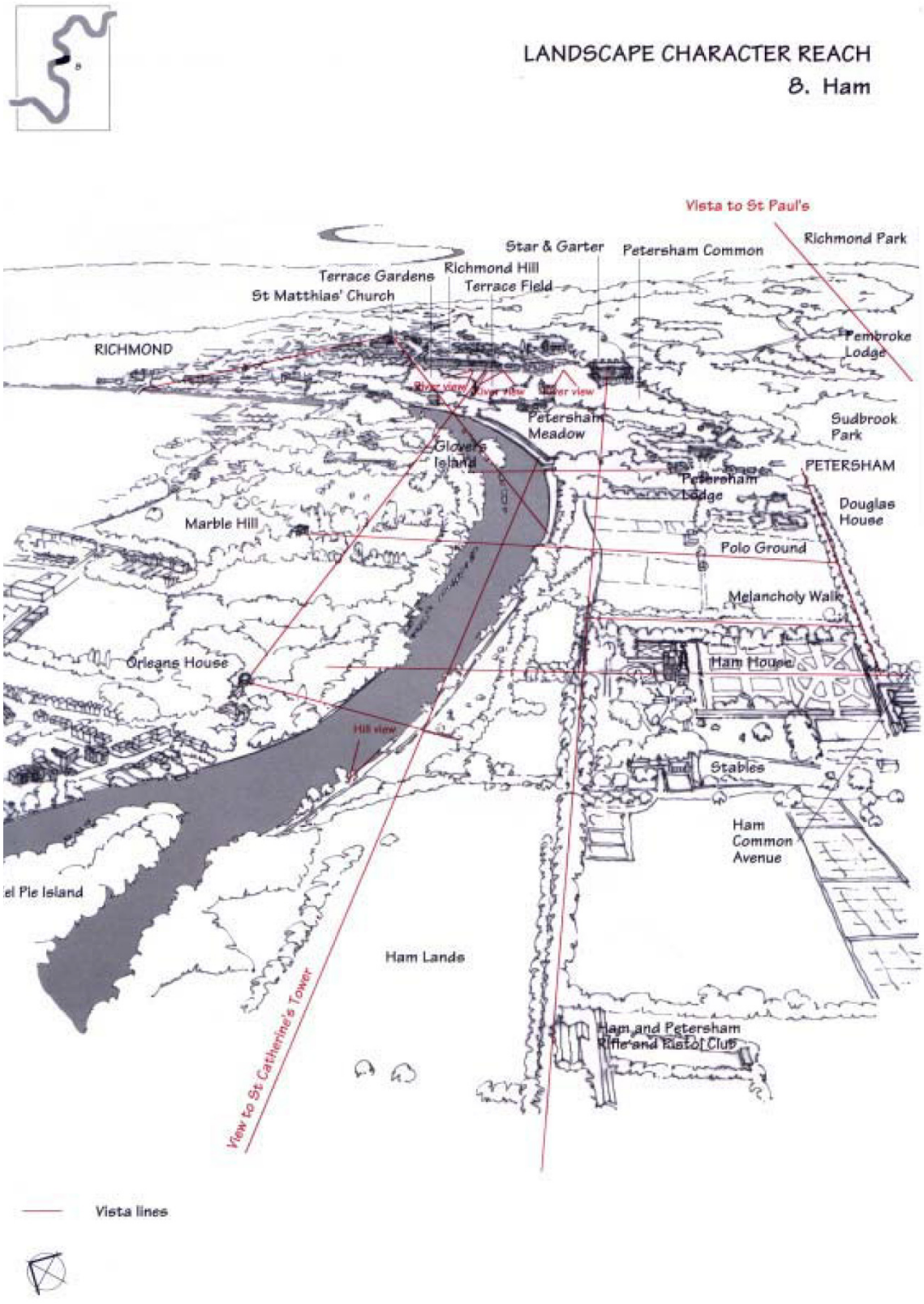


Fig. 6.5 Stitching the landscape together with vistas, some historic, some entirely new; plan for the Richmond & Ham reach. The *London View Management Framework*'s Protected Vista of St. Paul's Cathedral, from King Henry VIII's Mound, Richmond Park, is top right. Image from K. Wilkie, M. Battaggia, M. Batey, D. Lambert, H. Buttery, J. Pearce, D. Goode and D. Bentley, *Thames Landscape Strategy* (Thames Landscape Steering Group, 1994) p. 122

analysis of historic views with an assessment of the natural and cultural landscape of the Thames. A glance at the maps contained within the *Thames Landscape Strategy* reveals an anticipation of many aspects of London's current statutory protection of views, treating the city as a network of historic landscape vistas united in one great landscape composition (figs. 6.4). As if to highlight this treatment of the landscape as a single cultural art object, the document was sponsored by English Heritage, English Nature, The Countryside Commission and, perhaps most significantly, the Royal Fine Art Commission. The *Thames Landscape Strategy* emerged as a development of landscape architect Kim Wilkie's exhibition entitled *Thames Connections*, which coincided with the 1991 publication of the *Supplementary Planning Guidance for London on the Protection of Strategic Views*. Wilkie's clear vision for a Thames landscape united through the consolidation of existing, and the creation of new, vistas appealed to a number of local interest groups which carried the conceptual proposal forward as the foundation of local landscape management policies.[23]

Wilkie's *Thames Landscape Strategy* proposed that the open spaces bordering the Thames from Hampton to Kew be laced with a series of sightlines and composed vistas, uniting spaces designed in isolation during different historical periods into a single aesthetic composition, experienced via a succession of unfolding vistas (fig. 6.5). The use of geometrically defined sightlines to stitch the landscape together into a visually coherent whole is illustrated graphically in the document's accompanying diagrams. This connecting function of the vista might be compared to the *London View Management Framework*, which stitches together city and suburbs via the observer's gaze. London's protected vistas juxtapose the city with the picturesque foreground of its suburban public parks while, simultaneously, they identify 'authentic' historic monuments and landmarks of nostalgic sentiment amongst the contemporary city, preserving an idea of the coherence of its visual identity.

6.1.3 *A Single Vista: King Henry's Mound, Richmond Park*

In the previous section I have charted the development of London's contemporary policies of view protection. In the following sections I will describe the

[23] K. Wilkie, M. Battaggia, M. Batey, D. Lambert, H. Buttery, J. Pearce, D. Goode, D. Bentley, *Thames Landscape Strategy* (London: Thames Landscape Steering Group, 1994) p. 8

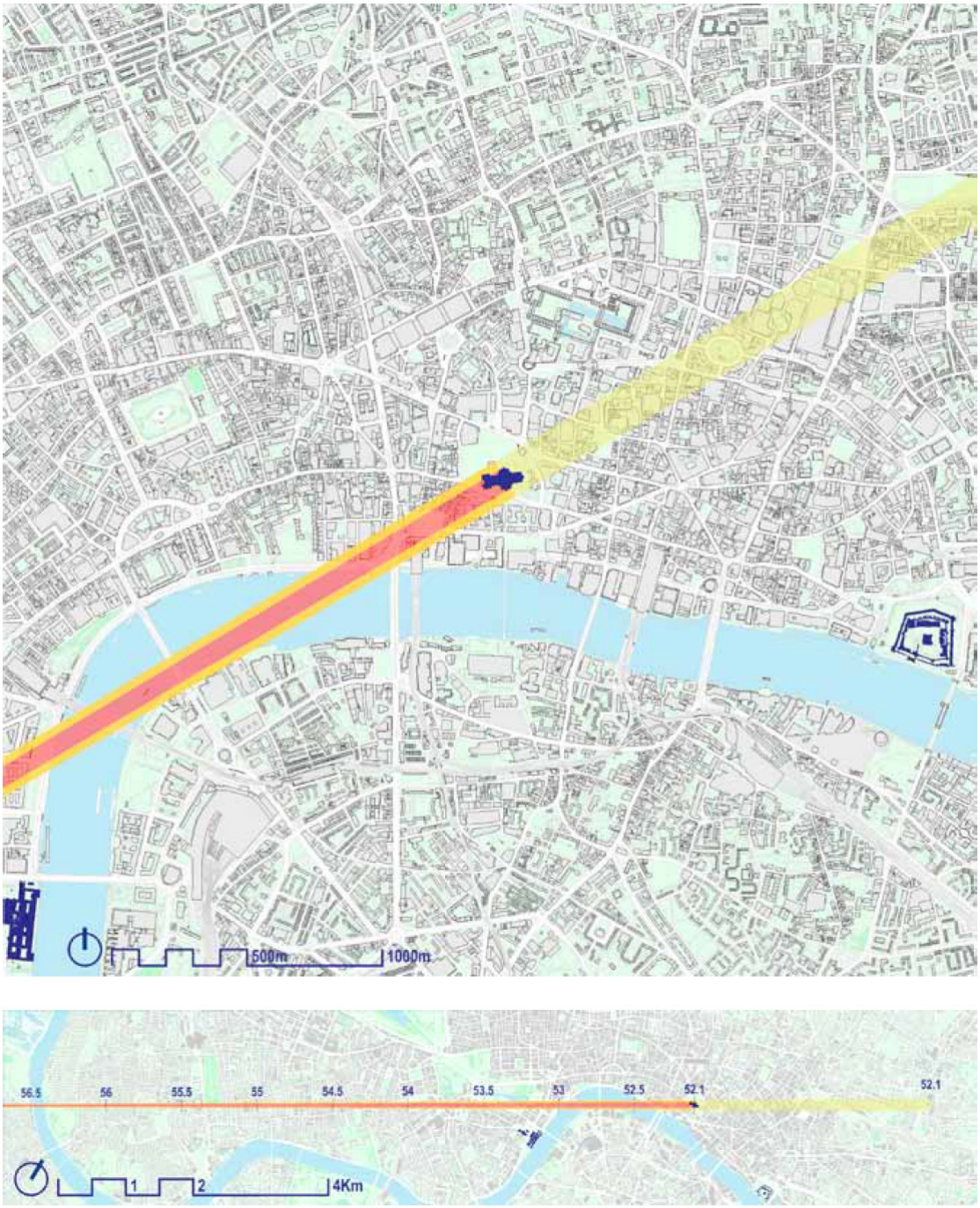


Fig. 6.6 Plan mapping the Protected Vista from King Henry's Mound, Richmond Park. The 'Landmark Viewing Corridor' component is coloured red, the 'Landmark Lateral Assessment Areas' and 'Landmark Background Assessment Area" are marked in yellow. Image from *Revised Supplementary Planning Guidance: The London View Management Framework* (Greater London Authority, July 2010) p. 252



Fig. 6.7 Keyhole view of St. Paul's Cathedral from King Henry's Mound, Richmond Park, taken with a telescopic lens. Image from *Revised Supplementary Planning Guidance: The London View Management Framework* (Greater London Authority, July 2010) p. 84



Fig. 6.8 The 'panorama' from Assessment point 9A, King Henry's Mound, Richmond Park. St. Paul's Cathedral is barely visible with the naked eye from this spot, and photography is hopelessly inadequate at capturing the keyhole experience. Image from *Revised Supplementary Planning Guidance: The London View Management Framework* (Greater London Authority, July 2010) p. 86

content, components and effects of this policy with reference to a single protected vista: the view from King Henry's Mound, Richmond Park. In order to trace the history of this particular viewpoint, its effect upon the city's development, and crucially, the opinions of politicians, planners and local residents alike, I will make use of contemporary newspaper articles as a source of primary evidence.

Each protected vista in the *London View Management Framework* (2011) is composed of a 'Viewing Place' and an associated 'Protected Vista,' a geometrically defined viewing corridor between the Viewing Place and visible Landmark. Within each Viewing Place may be several 'Viewing Locations', and within each location there may be one or more specifically designated 'Assessment Points' from which the impact of proposed development is to be judged. These Assessment Points are precisely located using fourteen digit GPS grid references in order to provide objective certainty during the assessment of development proposals.[24] Similarly, the precise direction of the centre of each Protected Vista is given by a bearing and field of view angle. For example, the Assessment Point atop King Henry's Mound on Richmond Hill is given as grid reference 518605.8 E, 173150.4N, whilst the bearing of its associated Protected Vista is at 59.3° with a centred field of view of 120°.

It could be argued that the degree of precision used in the definition of Protected Vistas has a relationship to the definition of heritage 'assets,' i.e. the commoditisation of historic views requires that the 'significance' of the view is separated out, defined by universal coordinates and geometries. It could also be argued that the degree of precision reveals a fear of damage to vistas deemed to be of historic 'significance' – by precisely mapping or recording the vista it is preserved for posterity.[25]

According to the *London View Management Framework,* the vista from King Henry's Mound (fig. 6.6) has heritage significance due to its framed view of St. Paul's Cathedral, ten miles distant, dating from at least the early eighteenth century (fig. 6.7). The case for an early date is supported by the appearance of the mound, and its

[24] GPS grid referencing is a system of satellite navigation which relies upon unobstructed sightlines to four or more GPS satellites. For more information on the development of GPS see B. Parkinson; J. Spilker, *Global Positioning System: Theory and Applications* (American Institute of Aeronautics and Astronautics, 1996) and R. A. Nelson, "The Global Positioning System: A National Resource," *Via Satellite* (November, 1999)

[25] Indeed, according to Iwan Peverett of Northumbria University, the widespread use of GPS 'Point Cloud' mapping of heritage sites was directly influenced by the Taliban bombing of the rock-carved images of the Buddha, Bamiyan, Afghanistan, in 2001.

attendant avenue of trees, in a drawing of the adjacent New Park's baroque axial gardens (fig. 6.9). Oral tradition records that the view may even pre-date its incorporation in the New Park gardens, constructed as a viewpoint from which Henry VIII could observe a signal from the Tower of London, signifying the execution of Anne Boleyn. This oral tradition accounts for the mound's name, though it is interchangeably known as King Henry's, King Henry VII's and King Henry VIII's Mound.

Whatever truth there is in these romantic stories about King Henry's Mound, the view of St. Paul's was not considered to be of sufficient historical significance to warrant statutory protection until 1992, when an Inspector turned down British Rail's application for a high rise development at Liverpool Street Station.[26] In fact, the view was reputedly 'lost' during the Second World War, when it was abandoned to undergrowth, only to be restored in 1976 by local resident James Batten.[27] As recently as 2004, the view's very existence was disputed by Mayor of London Ken Livingstone, following its conspicuous omission from the draft 2004 *London View Management Framework,* much to the distress of local campaigners.[28] Succumbing to mounting pressure, the view from King Henry's Mound, along with its 149 metre wide viewing corridor, were eventually incorporated into the final draft of the *London View Management Framework* (2004) (fig. 6.10).[29] Controversially, Livingstone overturned these policies in 2007,[30] narrowing the vista from 149 metres to 70, which in turn, was reversed by Mayor Boris Johnson in 2009.[31]

The apparent tension between the pressures of economic development and historic and scenic conservation demonstrated by Mayors Livingstone and Johnson's many policy alterations is also evident in the former's introduction to the *London View Management Framework* (2007):

> "For London to remain a competitive world city, it must respond to the drivers of growth and continue to develop in a dynamic, organic

[26] "Our View is Under Threat," *Richmond and Twickenham Times* (12 July, 2002)
[27] "View of St Paul's Should be Protected," *Richmond and Twickenham Times* (01 August, 2003)
[28] "Our View is Under Threat," *Richmond and Twickenham Times* (12 July, 2002)
[29] "Saved for the Nation," *Evening Standard* (23 February, 2004)
[30] "London's Historic Views 'Under Threat,'" http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/england/london/6712137.stm (4 June, 2007) [Accessed 18/10/2011]; "New Laws Threaten View of St Paul's," *Richmond and Twickenham Times* (07 September, 2007)
[31] K. Barney, "Finest Views in London Saved for Future Eyes," *London Evening Standard* (5 June, 2009)

> manner without inappropriate restraints. At the same time, London is valued because of its first class heritage and historic landmarks that are cherished by Londoners and visitors to this great city."[32]

Despite Livingstone's comments, the *London View Management Framework* imposes a large number of strict restraints upon the city's economic development as outlined in the following sections, demonstrating the primacy of historic and/or scenic views over development.

6.1.4 *Components of a Vista: King Henry's Mound, Richmond Park*

As we have seen, the statutory protection of vistas is a relatively recent occurrence. While legal covenants have protected local views since at least the seventeenth-century, the longer scenic vistas deemed important in London did not achieve legal protection until the 1990s. In the meantime, vistas have been celebrated, lost and 're-discovered' in conjunction with historical circumstances and discourses. Since the establishment of statutory protection, it has been necessary to define the vista's components with increasing precision. It is these components of the protected vista which will be explored in this section.

To illustrate with one example, the King Henry's Mound vista consists of a 'Landmark Viewing Corridor' and 'Consultation Area.' The former is defined as the triangle formed between two divergent sight-lines, projected from an Assessment Point to the visible extent of a landmark (fig. 6.11). The latter is comprised of the 'Landmark Background Assessment Area,' an extension of the viewing corridor extrapolated behind the landmark, and 'Landmark Lateral Assessment Areas' which provide transitional buffer zones between the viewing corridor and its immediate surroundings.[33] These areas are designed to protect the context of the landmark, so that it may be easily recognised from distant vantage points. In the case of Richmond Hill's Protected Vista, the background of St. Paul's Cathedral is to be kept clear of high rise development, maintaining the silhouette of the Cathedral's upper dome against a backdrop of blue sky. The 149 metre wide viewing corridor was determined by the

[32] K. Livingstone, *London View Management Framework* (2007)
[33] *Revised Supplementary Planning Guidance: London View Management Framework* (Greater London Authority, July 2010) p.3

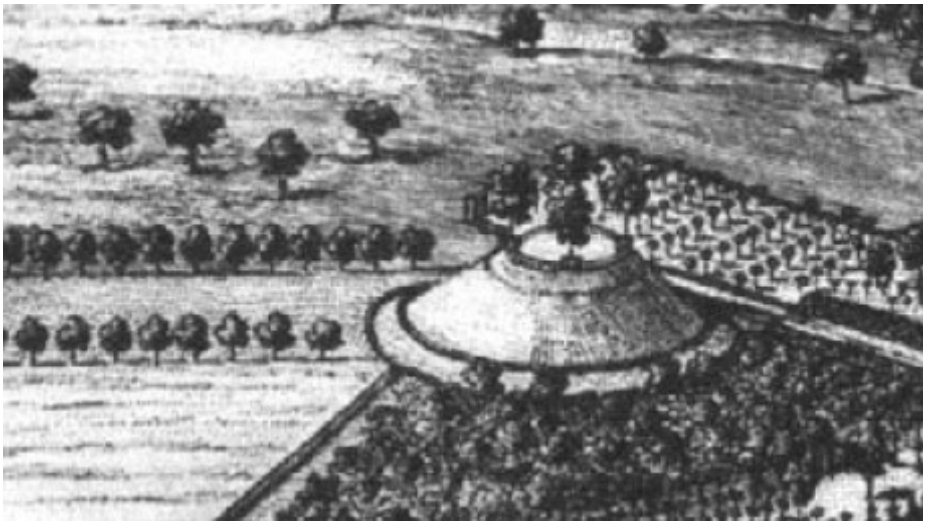


Fig. 6.9 King Henry's Mound and the avenue of trees framing St. Paul's Cathedral c.1720, as depicted in an oblique view of the Earl of Harrington's gardens, New Park, Petersham. Engraving by Johannes Kip after Leonard Knyff. Image from *Britannia Illustrata, or Views of Several of the Royal Palaces as also of the Principal Seats of the Nobility and Gentry of Great Britain* (London: Paradigm Press, 1984).



23rd Early edition

18 Monday, February 2004 Evening Standard

Saved for the nation

Historic view of St Paul's from park is preserved

By Mira Bar-Hillel
Planning Correspondent

VISITORS have enjoyed the spectacular views across London from Richmond Park for more than three centuries.

Now the sight of St Paul's Cathedral — as seen from King Henry VIII's mound — will be protected for future generations.

Developers will not be allowed to put up tall buildings around Liverpool Street Station for fear of spoiling the "unique and outstanding" view.

The ruling comes in the new London Plan, a document that will govern development in the capital for the next 15 to 20 years, and follows a campaign to persuade Mayor Ken Livingstone that the view was worth protecting.

When the plan was being drawn up, the vista from Richmond to St Paul's was excluded from the list of protected London views.

Mayor Livingstone said it didn't exist — arguing that tall trees were already blocking the view. But last March the Standard demonstrated the quality of the view by publishing a picture showing that St Paul's can be seen from King Henry's Mound.

The inspectors who were examining the Mayor's plan went to King Henry's Mound to see for themselves and found the view "unique and outstanding".

And now the London Plan has designated the view as part of the London View Protection Framework.

Fig. 6.10 After being abandoned to undergrowth during the Second World War, and a long period of obscurity, the view from King Henry VIII's Mound was incorporated into the *London View Management Framework* in 2004 following a high publicity campaign. Image from the *Evening Standard* (23 February, 2004).

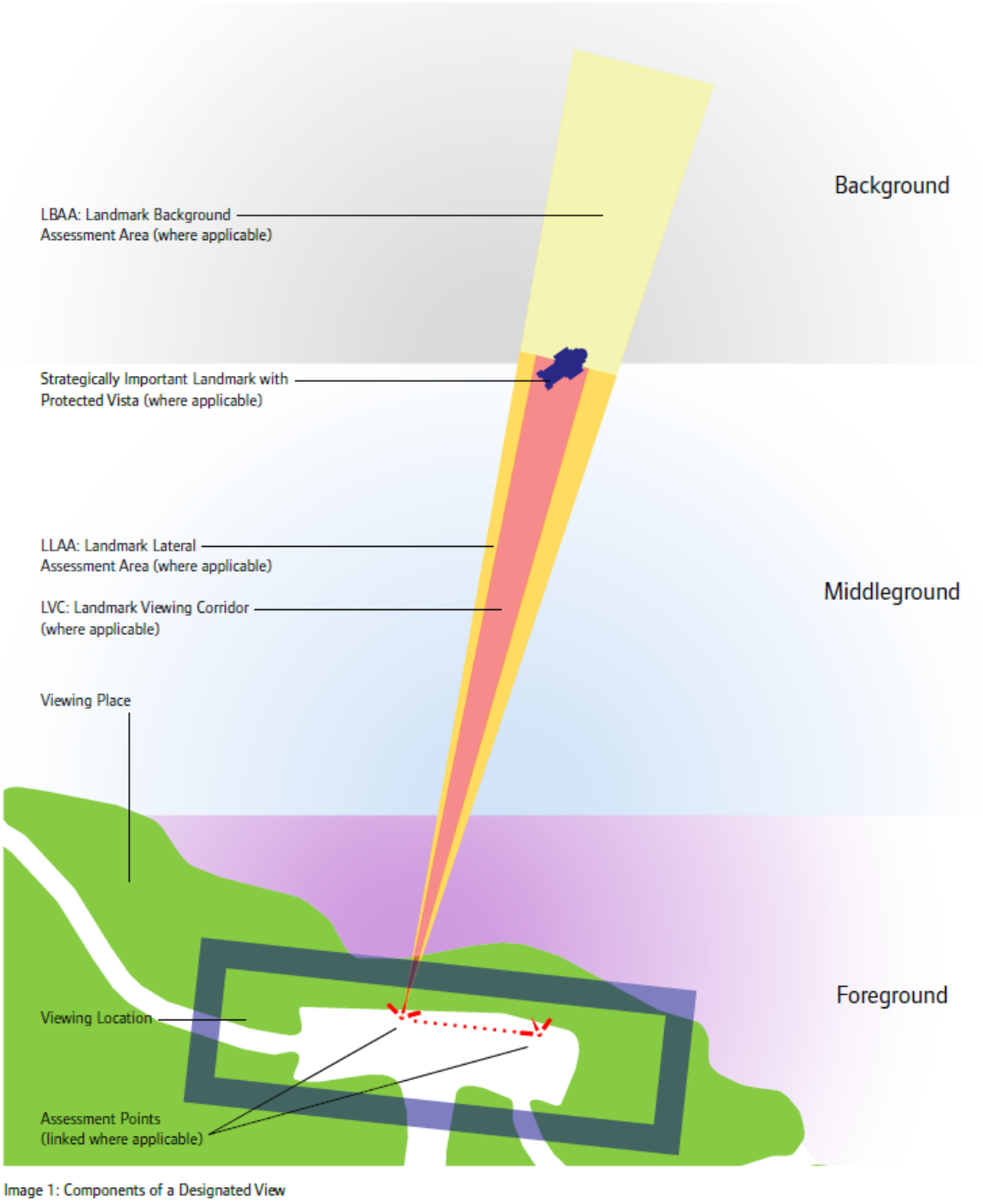


Fig. 6.11 Diagram to define the components of a Protected Vista. Image from *Revised Supplementary Planning Guidance: The London View Management Framework* (Greater London Authority, July 2010) p. 19

position of the avenue of trees in Richmond Park, as viewed from the mound, so that the crisp silhouette of the cathedral's dome would appear neatly within the keyhole view. Thus, the siting and design of developments across a vast swathe of central London is determined by the position of trees in Richmond Park ten miles distant. The preservation of the Cathedral's background assists in its identification, as Kevin Lynch has written in *Image of the City,* "landmarks become more easily identifiable, more likely to be chosen as significant, if they have a clear form…Figure-background contrast seems to be the principal factor."[34] Lynch's comment illustrates the function of London's protected vistas in the promotion of its 'imageability' – the clarity with which the viewer may visualise the city's structure and character.

Permitted building heights within the Protected Vista zone are regulated by the height of the 'Threshold Plane', which is taken as the level of a sight line projected, from eye level at the assessment point, to the lower limit of the observable landmark. For example, the Threshold Plane in the previous example is taken as the line from eye level (1.6m) above the Assessment Point (59.09m above datum), on Henry's Mound in Richmond Park, to the central axis of the Cathedral's drum base (Grid Reference: 532054.4 E, 181142.2 N). Therefore, over a distance of 15644m this Threshold Plane falls towards the city at a gradient of 0.25m per kilometre. These statistics demonstrate the almost absurd precision with which these vistas are defined; in total, a single protected vista is defined by nine 14 digit grid references and nine datum heights which delineate key points on the Threshold Plane (figs. 6.12, 6.13). The full extent of this scientific precision is further highlighted by a series of calculations included in the appendices of the *London View Management Framework*. In particular Appendix E, which calculates the minute correction of building heights necessitated as a result of the effects of the Earth's curvature and the refraction of light.[35]

[34] Lynch, *Image of the City,* p.78
[35] *Revised Supplementary Planning Guidance: London View Management Framework* (Greater London Authority, July 2010) Appendix E

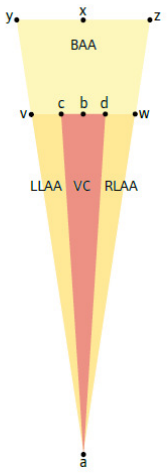
6.1.5 *The Effect of London's Protected Vistas on Development*

The minutely detailed specificities of the *London View Management Framework* are designed to set accurate and irrefutable limits to development within protected vistas in order to "prevent undue damage to the view." In the opinion of the *London View Management Framework*, this damage is the result of "unacceptably imposing […] or creating an intrusive element in the foreground or middle-ground."[36] The enormous impact that the *London View Management Framework* has had upon development proposals within the city is demonstrated by a number of projects in the immediate wake of Boris Johnson's aforementioned restoration of the wider viewing corridors in 2009. For example, the SE1 Community Website reported, in October 2009, that developments around Elephant & Castle which had already been granted planning consent under Ken Livingstone, would now fall foul of Johnson's widened corridors.[37]

In 2007, perceived damage to historic views caused by a series of development projects, including Renzo Piano's 'Shard' at London Bridge, very nearly placed the Tower of London on UNESCO's list of World Heritage in Danger (fig. 6.14);[38] an illustration of how economic development may be directly shaped by view protection. Following UNESCO's repeated warnings, Mayor Boris Johnson has sought to create 'transparent' supplementary planning guidance concerning the 'settings' of London's World Heritage Sites. The 2011 *Draft Supplementary Planning Guidance: London World Heritage Sites – Guidance on Settings* aims to establish clear assessment criteria by which to judge changes to the visual settings of historic sites.[39] Whilst projects such as the 'Shard' have proved controversial because of their conspicuous nature, others have slipped through planning almost unnoticed, despite the sensitivity of their settings. This demonstrates the priority given to the visual sense, and in particular the distant vista or skyline view, in the appraisal methodologies developed by the *London View Management Framework* and 2011 *Draft SPG* document.

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[36] Ibid., p.14
[37] "Boris's Hyde Park Policy Change Could Scupper SE1 Skyscraper Plans," http://www.london-se1.co.uk/news/view/4142 [Accessed 18/10/2011]
[38] R. Lydall, "It's Not Quite What Wren had in Mind: Shard Towers Over St. Paul's," *Evening Standard* (12 January, 2011); S. Carrell, "UN Threatens to Act Against Britain for Failure to Protect Heritage Sites," *The Guardian* (08 September, 2008); "UNESCO Warning on Tower of London," *BBC News* (21 October, 2006).
[39] *Draft Supplementary Planning Guidance: London World Heritage Sites – Guidance on Settings* (Greater London Authority, October 2011)



	Viewing Corridor (VC)		
a	518,605.8E	173,150.3N	59.1mAOD
c	532,034.0E	181,176.6N	52.1mAOD
d	532,074.8E	181,107.8N	52.1mAOD
	Length (ab)		15,644.0m
	Width at monument (cd)		80.0m
	Defining point at St Paul's Cathedral		
b	532,054.4E	181,142.2N	52.1mAOD
	Left Lateral Assessment Area (LLAA)		
a	518,605.8E	173,150.3N	59.1mAOD
v	532,016.1E	181,206.7N	52.1mAOD
c	532,034.0E	181,176.6N	52.1mAOD
	Width at monument (cv)		35.0m
	Right Lateral Assessment Area (RLAA)		
a	518,605.8E	173,150.3N	59.1mAOD
d	532,074.8E	181,107.8N	52.1mAOD
w	532,092.7E	181,077.7N	52.1mAOD
	Width at monument (dw)		35.0m
	Background Assessment Area (BAA)		
v	532,016.1E	181,206.7N	52.1mAOD
y	535,016.3E	183,009.1N	52.1mAOD
z	535,110.1E	182,851.3N	52.1mAOD
w	532,092.7E	181,077.7N	52.1mAOD
	Length (bx)		3,500.0m

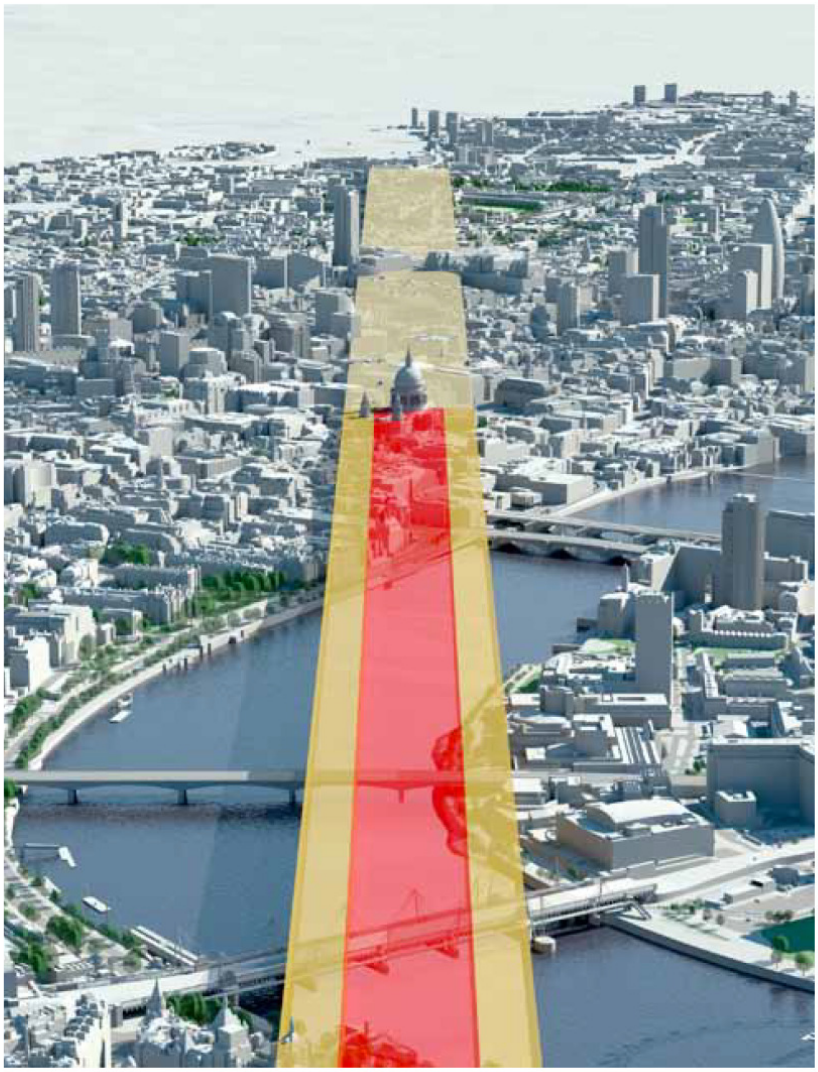


Fig. 6.12 'Key Points' and grid references of the Protected Vista from Henry VIII's Mound, Richmond Park. The Protected Vista is depicted as a physical object, soaring over London, casting a shadow upon the city below. Image from *Revised Supplementary Planning Guidance: The London View Management Framework* (Greater London Authority, July 2010) p. 253



Fig. 6.13 Camera positioned at Assessment Point 9A: 518605.8E, 173150.4N. Height: 59.09m AOD. Aim: Central axis of the dome, at base of the drum. Bearing: 59.3°. Field of view: 120°. Distance: 15.6km.





Fig. 6.14 The 'Shard' towers over St. Paul's in this view from Parliament Hill. Image by author.

Fig. 6.15 The form of 'Broadgate Tower' in the City of London is determined by two Protected Vistas which overlay the site; the first from Westminster Pier and the second from King Henry VIII's Mound in Richmond Park, over ten miles away. Image from R. Moore, "A Towering Compromise," *Architects' Journal* (19 March, 2009) p. 29

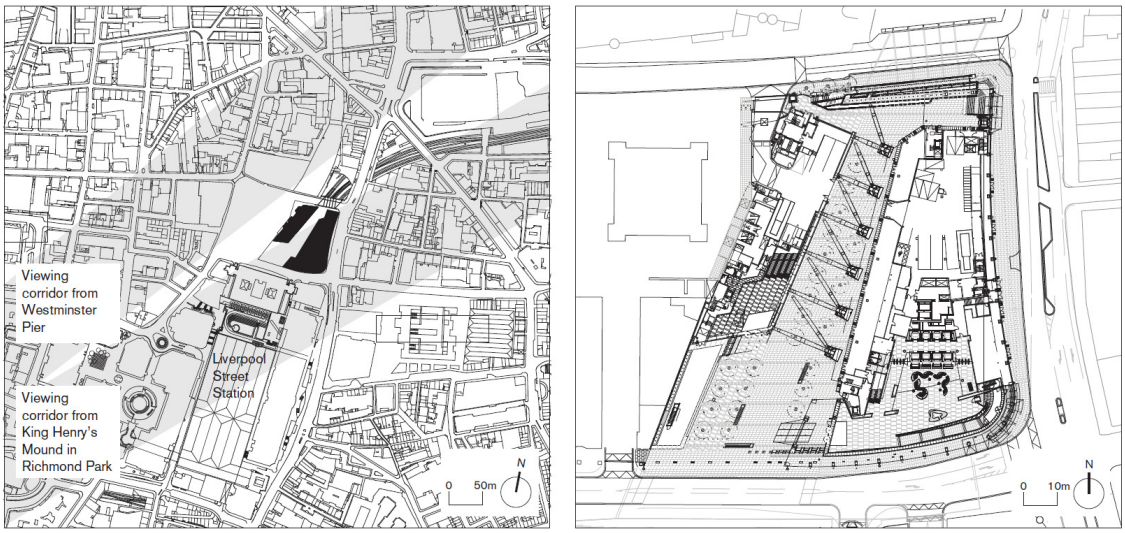


Fig. 6.16 Plans showing how the tall block of the 'Broadgate Tower' development is shoehorned between the two Protected Vistas, while the rest of the site is developed with a low rise building below the Threshold Plane. Images from R. Moore, "A Towering Compromise," *Architects' Journal* (19 March, 2009) p. 31

The priority given to the visual sense in the assessment of development proposals is highlighted by the Secretary of State's responses to planning applications.[40] For example, in the decision notice regarding a proposed mixed-use tower at Vauxhall Bridge (2005), the top three 'Main Issues' of concern raised were with regards to views. Decision Officer Anna MacIntyre wrote of the proposals:

> "The Secetary of State agrees […] that the main issues are:
>
> a) The effect of the proposal on the skyline of London and whether having regard to relevant policy there would be a benefit in provision of a landmark building […]
> b) The effect of the proposal on views from sensitive locations including conservation areas, the River Thames and its bridges, and from the Palace of Westminster and Westminster Abbey World Heritage Site.
> c) The impact of the proposal on its immediate setting […]"[41]

It could be argued that concerns for the adequate provision of affordable housing, community facilities, parking, and other matters were evidently considered of lesser importance by the order of their ranking below these stated visual concerns. The priority given to the visual sense is further highlighted by the number of consultants involved in the visual assessment of the proposal. For example, in the aforementioned Vauxhall Bridge project, the decision letter indicates the involvement of English Heritage, the design council CABE, the planning authority, the Secretary of State, an independent inspector,[42] and references Professor Robert Tavernor's tall buildings design advice, delivered to the House of Common's Select Committee on Transport, Local Government and the Regions. The reference to Tavernor is illuminating, as much of his approach to urban and architectural form equally places emphasis upon the visual characteristics of scale and proportion.[43]

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[40] For further examples of the priority given to visual considerations, see A. Gerry, Decision Letter to Berwin Leighton Paisner re: London Bridge Tower (Office of the Deputy Prime Minister, 18th November, 2003) [Planning Permission Granted]; Decision Letter to Mr Greg Cooper, Metropolis Planning and Design LLP re: Elizabeth House (Office of the Deputy Prime Minister, 8th October, 2009) [Planning Permission Refused].

[41] A. MacIntyre, Decision Letter to Bevan Ashford Solicitors re: St George's Wharf, Vauxhall (Office of the Deputy Prime Minister, 31st March, 2005)

[42] N. A. C. Holt

[43] See R. Tavernor, *Smoot's Ear: The Measure of Humanity* (Yale University Press, 2007); G. Dodds, R. Tavernor, eds., *Body and Building: Essays on the Changing Relation of Body and Architecture* (MIT Press, 2005)

The power of the protected vista to shape the visual form of the city is physically manifest in many of London's development projects. For example, architect SOM's Broadgate Tower (fig. 6.15) avoided controversy by adhering to the strict stipulations of the *London View Management Framework*.[44] A diagrammatic site plan by SOM demonstrates how the tower's angled façade was carefully shoehorned between two protected vistas which cut across the site – the vista from Westminster Pier and that from King Henry's Mound, Richmond Park (fig. 6.16). While the *London View Management Framework* acts to regulate these vistas "it is not expected that [it] should be used to manage development falling outside this field of view"[45] as defined from a specifically designated spot. This has led to the curious reality whereby the sequential visual experience of the *moving* spectator, as observed from Westminster Pier is protected only from a single static position. Thus, the very policy imposed in order to manage views of the city is powerless to regulate its dynamic visual experiences.[46] In his article on SOM's Broadgate Tower, Rowan Moore notes this shortcoming of the *London View Management Framework*, stating:

> "In fact, Broadgate Tower impinges rather more obviously on [unprotected] views of the cathedral's dome from the south end of Waterloo Bridge, but the guardians of London's vistas don't seem to have picked this up."[47]

Where Broadgate Tower is simply squeezed between vistas, Jean Nouvel's 'One New Change' shopping centre (fig. 6.17), completed adjacent to St. Paul's Cathedral in 2010, sits stealthily under the radar of view protection policies. The power of the vista to shape architectural form is evident in the building's faceted form and low profile, while the plan is punctuated by a deep chasm which opens up new views to the cathedral, accentuated by the addition of a public rooftop viewing terrace (fig. 6.18). As a diagram from the office of Jean Nouvel shows, sightlines extrapolated from the dome of the cathedral slice across the building's plan, as well as its elevations, like a shadow-cast, determining its multi-faceted form. Thus, one could argue that policies of view

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[44] R. Moore, "A Towering Compromise," *Architects' Journal* (19 March, 2009) p. 28; R. Moore, "Broadgate Tower: The One That Got Away," *Evening Standard* (18 November, 2010)
[45] *Revised Supplementary Planning Guidance: London View Management Framework* (Greater London Authority, July 2010) p.7
[46] The LVMF does provide for the mobile visual experience in its Townscape and River views where developers must consider not only two assessment points, but at least one extra point on a route between the two. However, this approach does not appear to be utilised in the city's Protected Vistas.
[47] R. Moore, "A Towering Compromise," *Architects' Journal* (19 March, 2009) p. 28



Fig. 6.17 Jean Nouvel's 'One New Change' is a low rise development lying beneath the Threshold Plane of the area's many Protected Vistas. A deep chasm through the plan of the building opens up new vistas of St. Paul's, as does a public roof terrace. Image from R. Olcayto, "French Etiquette," *Architects' Journal* (11 November, 2010) p. 22

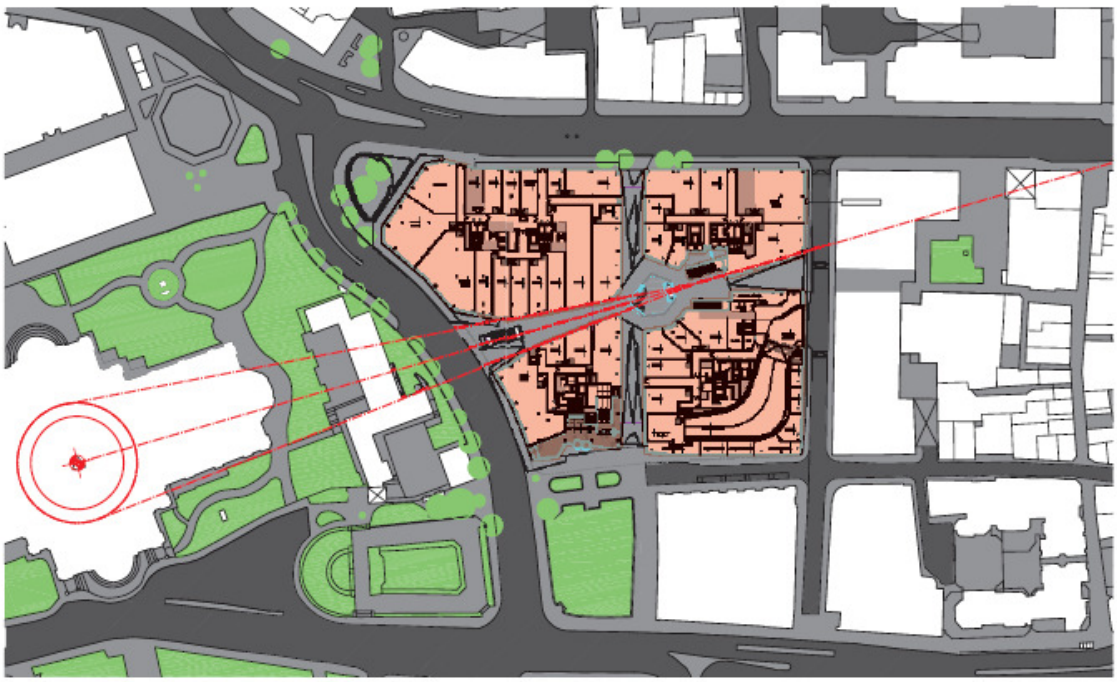


Fig. 6.18 Diagram showing the creation of a new vista via the projection of the dome of St. Paul's Cathedral across the development site of 'One New Change.' Image from R. Olcayto, "French Etiquette," *Architects' Journal* (11 November, 2010) p. 24

protection affect all aspects of development proposals, from the macro scale of urban design to the microscopic specificities of materiality and detailing.

6.1.6 *The London Vista as Picturesque Landscape*

If the vista has the power to shape the architectural and urban form of the city, one might question what are the visual criteria behind such a determining force? Interestingly, several of London's protected vistas, including those emanating from the suburban fringes of Kenwood, Greenwich and Richmond among others, form elements of historic garden and parkland landscapes. Not only do many of these landscapes share histories in the picturesque movement, for example Humphrey Repton's work at Hampstead and Richmond Parks, but those landscapes actually form the foreground settings to the *London View Management Framework's* protected vistas. The picturesque also permeates the imagery of those suburbs, its early history rooted in the Thames-side villas of Alexander Pope, Lord Burlington and Queen Caroline near Richmond and its later developments influencing Kenwood's neighbouring Hampstead Garden Suburb or Twickenham's 'mock-Tudor' streetscapes.

The aforementioned example of the vista from King Henry's Mound, Richmond Park to St. Paul's Cathedral is itself a remnant of an historic garden of which it once formed a part.[48] From this hillock, the viewer peers through a specially made opening in a hedge, along an avenue of trees to the hazy image of St. Pauls ten miles distant (fig. 6.7). This axis, which takes physical form only in the avenue of trees, is invisible on the ground; it is an axis in the airspace of the city. The precise delineation of the view in London's legislation lends a new physicality and objectivity to the axis, recalling Wren's un-built axial plans for post-fire London. One could argue that the method by which each view is precisely pinned down or mapped flattens the spatiality of the vista to a single picturesque composition, located at a specific viewing point. Thus, the desired pictorial composition of this image may be projected back onto the city via the *London View Management Framework's* processes of Geometric Definition and Qualitative Visual Assessment, where as we have seen, the former assesses the visibility

[48] A 1708 engraving by I. Kip of New Park, Petersham, clearly shows Henry VIII's mound and its avenue towards St Pauls incorporated into a grand axial garden scheme, of which no trace survives.

of landmarks and the latter the qualitative character of the view,[49] building on inherited conventions of pictorial composition.

That the *London View Management Framework* is permeated with such pictorial convention is demonstrated by its adopted language. As we have seen, development proposals are to be assessed "based on an understanding of [the view's] foreground, middle ground and background, landmark elements and the relative importance of each to the view in its entirety."[50] This concern with the construction of the view *as a whole* integrates the analysis of foreground, middle ground and focal landmark into a single assessment based on qualitative visual perception. In this way, London's view protection policy promotes the city as a picturesque landscape composition or as a scenic urban ensemble in the manner of Gordon Cullen's *Townscape*. This interpretation is supported by the *London View Management Framework's* statement that "Views focus on architecturally and/or culturally significant set pieces. They are views of an architectural or landscape composition of historical significance"[51] and that "Development should also conform with or enhance the composition of the *townscape* ensemble."[52]

Many city governments worldwide now support aspects of view protection policy. A considerable impetus for this has been the advocation of view protection by global bodies such as the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO). Indeed UNESCO's World Heritage Centre promotes visual analysis at all of its listed World Heritage Sites. For example, University College Dublin's 2010 conference entitled *Portrait of the City*, held in the context of Dublin's tentative inclusion on the World Heritage List, demonstrates the pertinence of the vista to UNESCO listing.[53] As part of the bid, Dublin City Council is currently involved in the identification of strategic vistas and in drafting a framework for their protection. To

[49] The LVMF uses the word 'appreciation' which it defines as "a qualitative measure that concerns the way a landmark is perceived" *Revised Supplementary Planning Guidance: London View Management Framework* (Greater London Authority, July 2010) p.26
[50] Ibid., p.14
[51] *Revised Supplementary Planning Guidance: London View Management Framework* (Greater London Authority, July 2010) p.29
[52] Ibid.
[53] Perhaps coincidentally, growing interest in the visual planning of the 1950s 'Townscape' movement at this time is highlighted by University College London's "first retrospective Symposium" on the topic, held a year later in July 2011, and published in a special edition of *The Journal of Architecture* (Routledge, 2012), 17(5)

aid in this, the city has many models worldwide to draw upon, from Kyoto to San Francisco, Seattle and Edinburgh. The aim and method of each strategy vary, reflecting different visual goals and different fears. For example, UNESCO suggests St. Petersburg's controversial Gazprom Tower might interrupt the singular character of the horizontal cityscape, while proposed Kyoto towers might reduce the visibility of historic and/or cultural landmarks. It could be argued that the former concern is with a loss of qualitative character, a disruption of the city's admired and recognisable aesthetic, while the latter concern is with the loss of quantitative elements, the visual masking of admired and recognisable landmarks. These two poles could be likened to the aesthetic perception of cities advocated by Gordon Cullen in *Townscape* (1961) and the cartographic 'imageability' of urban structures as observed in Kevin Lynch's *Image of the City* (1960). Indeed, Dr. Jukka Jokilehto, co-author with Sir Bernard Fielden of the *World Heritage Site Management Guidelines* and special advisor to UNESCO, has indicated the origins of UNESCO policy in these two works.[54]

View protection policies now play an increasingly important role in managing the development of world cities. In the Canadian city of Vancouver, visual elements of landscape constitute defining images of place, or a city 'brand.' The protected vista might also act as an important visual reference, helping to construct the city spatially within the mind's eye of the observer; to quote Kevin Lynch's *Image of the City,* it fulfils our "need for identity and structure in our perceptual world."[55] Thus, it is claimed that the city's 'imageability' may play a critical role in its perception and, through its visual appeal to residents, visitors and investors alike, may reinforce the very basis of a city's economic sustenance. The perils associated with the alteration of such imagery is demonstrated by the deletion of Dresden, Germany, from UNESCO's list of World Heritage Sites in 2009; the result of perceived damage to an historic aesthetic ensemble of city and, crucially, its landscape setting.

[54] J. Jokilehto, 'The Significance of Cities: Current Developments and Concepts', a paper presented at University College Dublin's *Portrait of the City Conference*, 9-11 December, 2010
[55] K. Lynch, *The Image of the City* (MIT Press, 1960) p.10

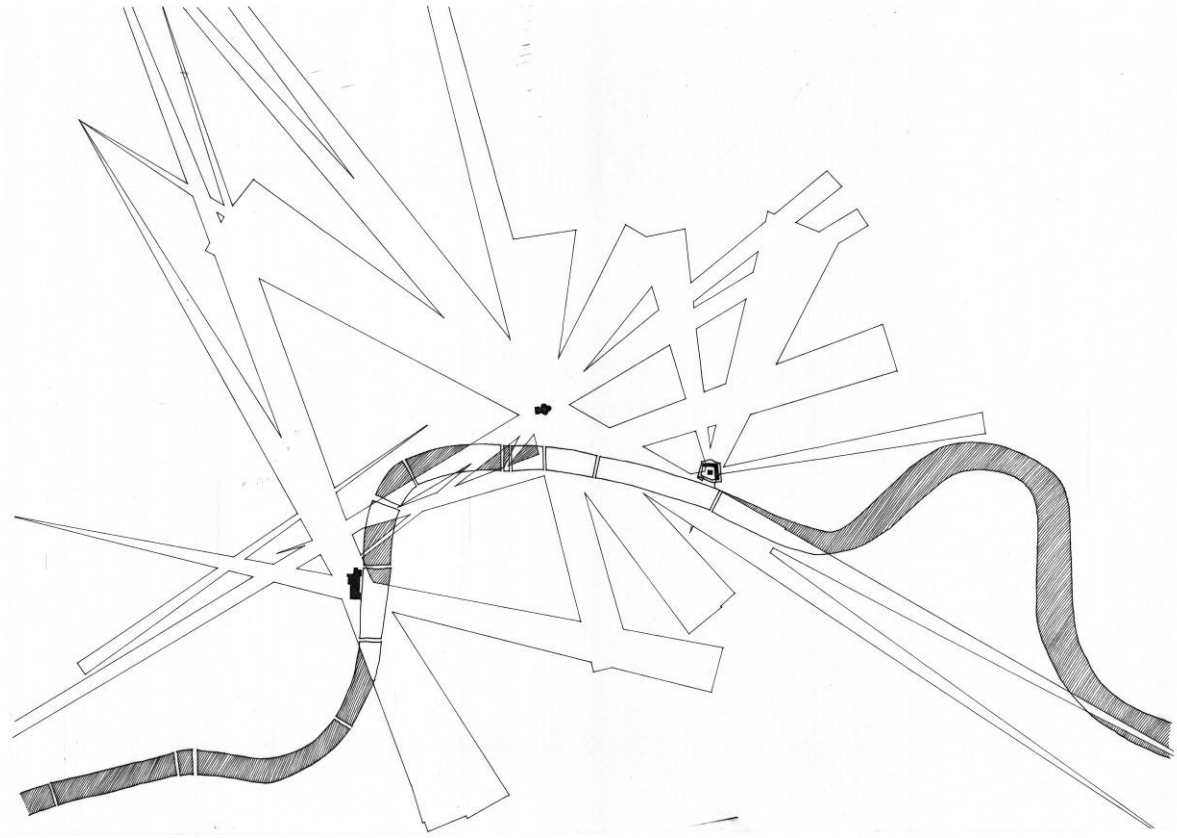


Fig. 6.19 London's network of statutorily protected vistas has acted as a model for policies worldwide. Each vista carves through sites of potential development, shaping the contemporary city in relation to the values perceived within each view. Image by author.

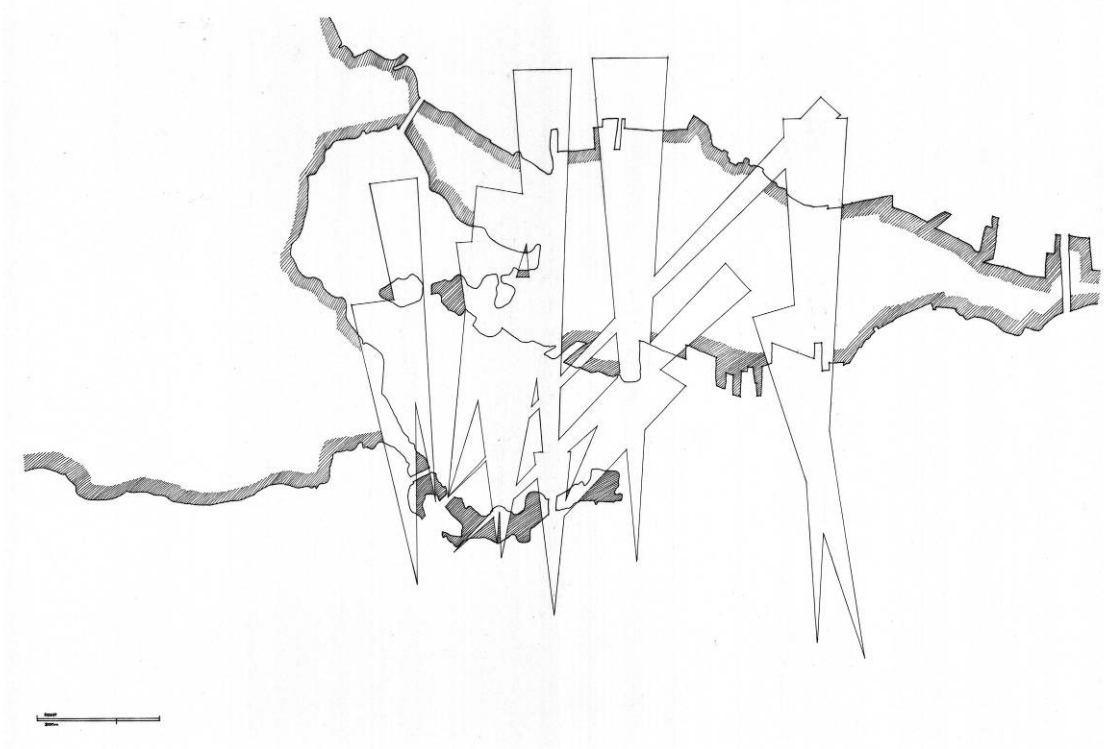


Fig. 6.20 The protected 'View Cones' of Vancouver, British Columbia, emanate from the suburban sister city of Richmond. Views of downtown Vancouver are juxtaposed with mountain views to the North. Image by author.

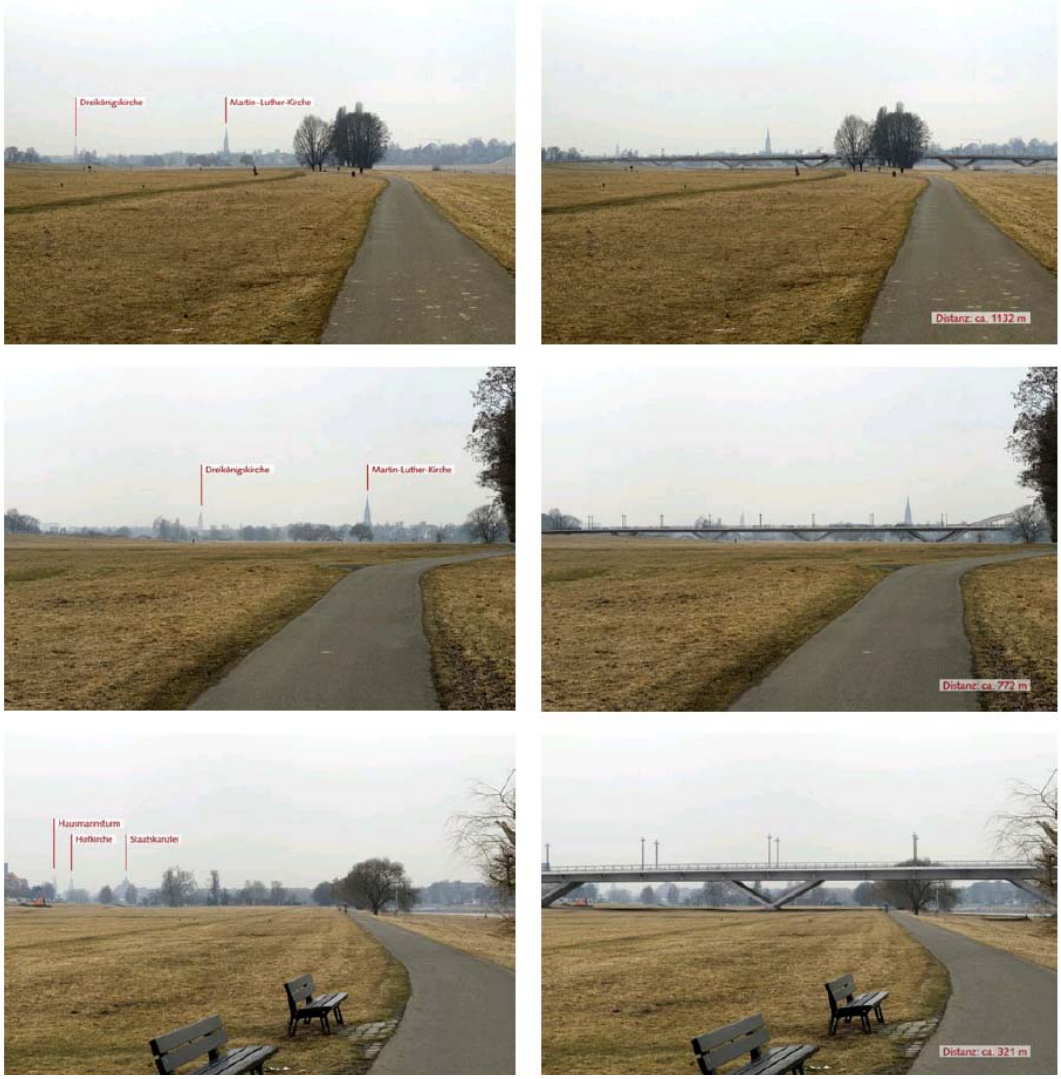


Fig. 6.21 Visual Impact Assessment deemed the bridge to be damaging to historic landscape views, and the visual experience of walking in the Elbe meadows. Images from the *Visual Impact Study of the 'Verkehrszug Waldschlosschenbrucke' on the UNESCO World Heritage Site 'Dresden Elbe Valley'* (Institute of Urban Design, RWTH Aachen University) pp. 104



Fig. 6.22 A banner proclaims "Preserve World Cultural Heritage!" on the site of the proposed bridge at Waldschlosschen (now under construction). Image from *Life Magazine*.

6.1.7 *Concluding Observations*

In this chapter, we have seen how the statutory protection and commoditisation of vistas has necessitated their precise delineation as objects, defined by complex geometry and coordinates inscribed onto the city's plan. In contrast, the adopted language of the *London View Management Framework* and parallel documents suggests that protected vistas should be managed according to a particular nostalgic and picturesque visual sensibility. This tension between the scientific definition of vistas and their aesthetic form and content is perhaps nowhere better demonstrated than in the vista from King Henry's Mound: in one direction, a geometrically defined vista of St. Paul's is statutorily protected under the *London View Management Framework,* while the opposing prospect of the Thames, Britain's first protected view, also played a key role in the origins of the picturesque movement in art, architecture and landscape.

In his thoughts for future research towards the end of *Image of the City* Kevin Lynch posed the questions "How does an image adjust to change? […] When is reality ignored or distorted to preserve the map?"[56] I would argue that this dissertation goes some way to address these questions. View preservation policies such as London's seek to create quantifiable rules with which to approve or reject change to the city's image. They attempt to preserve or cultivate a series of strategic images of cities, whether of aesthetic and/or orientational function, embedded within the evolving cityscape. Where the protected vista reinforces a 'brand' image it could be argued the city is represented as a series of images to be consumed by the tourist and resident alike. Indeed, changes to such images have been interpreted as potentially detrimental to a city's attractiveness, economic vibrancy and the life of its communities. It follows that protected vistas are used as a means of ensuring a sense of continuity and stability with regards to the city's image. In promoting this sense of historical authenticity and continuity, often through the protection of views of admired historic and cultural landmarks, one could argue that the vista appeals to nostalgic sentiment, and to notions of cultural identity legible to societies acculturated in the reading of images. The extent to which images of the city have become important is demonstrated by planning policies which uphold view preservation over the economic forces of the city, and the recognition of the financial value of viewing corridors cut through some of the world's most expensive real estate.

[56] Lynch, *Image of the City*, p.158

The ability of the vista to distort architectural and urban form in opposition to these competing economic factors demonstrates the superior power of the observer's gaze in the shaping of cities.



Chapter 7.0

Conclusion

7.0 Conclusion

As I set out at the beginning of this dissertation, the two intersecting aims of this research were to investigate the intellectual and cultural histories of the idea of the 'protected vista' in architecture, landscape architecture and urbanism and to examine the values inherent within London's original protected vista. I argue that these values have subsequently come to inform, and are reinforced by, contemporary policies of view protection. The intellectual histories of each Richmond given here have been necessarily detailed, as it is only through tracing the recurring details of imagery and language that the recycling, absorption and development of a set of values may be highlighted. This historical contextualisation, and explication, of the values inherent within an increasingly common contemporary planning movement, represents the principal original contribution of my research.

Beginning with an intellectual and cultural history of Britain's first protected vista, the view from Richmond Hill, this dissertation has demonstrated that the values at work in the idea of the view, and the idea of view protection, derive in no small part from a highly particular physical and intellectual landscape; not just Western, not just British, but from a few miles of the Thames' river banks to the West of London, and the values associated with it. While these values may originate from a particular place, they are not of a particular time. They have been subtly re-formulated with multiple re-inscriptions over time, shifting with each iteration yet remaining remarkably consistent.

Both Richmonds presented here are at once exceptional and typical: unusual examples which indicate explicitly the integration of English landscape values, and yet also representative of the protected vista's absorption of picturesque values more generally. My research has shown that, in both Richmonds, the idea of the picturesque vista seems to contain within itself a sense of its own authenticity, attributing authority to the gaze and its subject, rendering the object a sense of completeness and finitude. Yet the picturesque view to be protected – as demonstrated powerfully by the examples of both Richmonds – is not a view from a particular period in time but an idealised, supposedly timeless, view comprised of those elements of its imagined history which have been deemed most desirable. Its supposed authenticity, regularly reinvented anew, produces – and is produced by – claims to individual, cultural, regional and/ or national

identities. In this way, the idea of the picturesque view has always demanded its own reproduction – in painting, literature, photography, postcards, film, in the view from the windscreen, in architecture, in landscape and in the continual remaking of itself. The authentic view is so recognisable, so familiar, that it also reproduces itself away from itself; seen, read, posted and played in representations but also, most powerfully, reproducing itself in physical form in export and in translation to radically different contexts, exerting power to make the new context conform with the values of the old. It is so pervasive that it demands its own conservation. So effective have been these processes of reproduction and conservation that they now go largely unnoticed. Yet the very idea of the view – legislated for in protected view policy – has served to universalise the picturesque landscape seen from Richmond Hill in law, so that all protected views have become, to some extent, the view from Richmond Hill.

This dissertation has identified five broad themes underlying the values of the protected view: an understanding of the *gaze* – the vista as manifestation of surveillance and panoptic power; the aesthetic convention of the *picturesque*; a sense of *nostalgia* for a perceived 'golden age', whether melancholic mourning for a lost past or as aspiration for an imagined present or future; the question of *authenticity* in relation to romanticism; and the vista or image as expressive of *identity*, whether personal, regional, national or cultural. These five themes, which should by no means be thought of as exhaustive or exclusive, have been shown to converge in a single vista whose extensive reproduction has made it almost universal; the view from Richmond Hill and its reflected 'mirror image' in Virginia.

I have shown that, intriguingly, the river view preserved by the 1902 *Richmond, Petersham and Ham Open Spaces Act* forms one half of the panoramic view observed from 'King Henry's Mound' in Richmond Park, while, turning through one-hundred and eighty degrees, the observer sees a vista protected by the contemporary *London View Management Framework*. The apparent opposition of these views, one rural, one urban; one expansive, one narrow; one defined by the protection of lands, one by a series of view-shed lines, is undermined by the coincidence of their values, their viewing positions and common conservation goals. In fact, this coincidence of position, geographical and ideological, offers a tantalising link between the two, apparently opposing, systems of protection. This dissertation has demonstrated that the contemporary *London View Management Framework* owes a great deal to the Act

which saved the view from Richmond Hill, and all that the view stands for. Thus, an understanding of the arguments behind the 'Indignation' campaign, which brought about the 1902 Act, underpins an understanding of the values and narratives attached to London's contemporary protected vistas.

A Sense of *Nostalgia*

My research into the history of the Richmond Hill vista suggests that a pervasive sense of nostalgia has permeated the view for centuries, from its symbolic reference to Henry VII's favourite earldom of Richmond, North Yorkshire, and its mysterious French predecessor, to the 'Indignation' campaigns of the twentieth century. Campaigners have attached value to the landscape not only for its visual and natural beauty, or its witness to historical events, but for its familiar and repeated representation in the works of famous national and international artists, poets and authors. They have argued that it was on this spot that artists sketched Henry VII's fantastical chivalric palace of Richmond, and painted the genteel riverside estates of eighteenth-century nobility.

Already well-known by the early eighteenth-century, my research has demonstrated how the hill was embellished with grand townhouses, the 'Terrace Walk', medicinal mineral springs, pleasure garden and theatre. The latter 'Indignation' campaigns focused on this evidence to claim that the Richmond landscape enjoyed a refined and elegant 'golden age' in the past, and that subsequent developments have somehow cheapened and vandalised a pastoral landscape whose authority derived from classical models. However, my research has also demonstrated that a plethora of drinking establishments, and the somewhat infamous reputation of the Richmond Hill pleasure gardens, catered to every type of social behaviour. A contrary picture thus develops of the hill as a raucous leisure resort within easy reach of the city. As such, the view of the Thames from Richmond Hill was not only geographically opposed to the vista of the city, but was set up symbolically in opposition to it; here was a romanticised and nostalgic vision of the 'country', albeit an urbanised landscape, where leisure time and playing at 'country' pursuits was encouraged and celebrated. This is not to say that Richmond in the eighteenth century was a rural or agricultural community, tied to the land and little affected by the city. On the contrary, Richmond's symbolic opposition to the city highlights their fundamental reliance upon one another. This was where George, Prince of Wales, retreated away from the politics of the city to try his hand at

experimental ‘farming’, though this was more accurately an exercise in landscape gardening than agricultural production, his gardens the venue of ‘rustic’ *fetes galantes* where the city’s aristocracy played at being rustic peasants. Likewise, the poets and painters that flocked to the Richmond and Twickenham resorts throughout the eighteenth century did so to infiltrate the city’s fashionable set, and to sell their pastoral works among the city merchants. As such, though it might be said the works of eighteenth century artists, architects, landscape architects and writers have done much to sustain the two conceptual poles of Williams’s *Country and the City,* my research has revealed a much more complex relationship emerging from the proto-suburban communities encircling eighteenth-century London, and even from the colonies, which to a significant degree were also thought of as satellites of the city.

No doubt the Richmond Hill prospect, admired by the many visitors to Richmond’s leisure district, and by the poets and painters flitting around the local estates of the gentry, had much to do with the increasing popularity of the resort. The pastoral view was seen as a living image of an historical painting, drawing up nostalgic associations from popular classical literature; the gentleman that ‘retired’ to country estates here compared to the classical retirement of Cicero or Horace to villa estates such as Pliny’s famed ‘Tusculum’. Classical retirement was seen as a return to an ‘authentic’, noble and rustic simplicity, where one could reconnect with nature through experimental husbandry, and spend one’s time expanding the mind through scholarly pursuits. It could even be argued that the natural view of the river, frequently compared to the paintings of Claude Lorrain, Nicholas Poussin and Gaspar Dughet, acted as inspiration to local retirees Alexander Pope and Lord Burlington’s pioneering forays in naturalistic landscape architecture.

The Richmond Hill view’s eighteenth-century transposition onto the landscapes of colonies all over the world, with all its connotations of classical authority, pastoral innocence and picturesque beauty is another consequence of pervasive nostalgia, in its original sense as a physiological yearning for the colonist’s distant homeland. In the example of Virginia, the overlaying of the Richmond Hill view both represented and helped to produce the values of that youthful colony: a mirror of the apparently already past ‘golden age’ of genteel, civilised, learned, Richmond-upon-Thames. Later, in the build up to Revolution, this sense of nostalgia would shift poles from the ‘golden age’ of England to classical Rome, reflecting a wave of optimism in America’s future that

swept through the youthful Republic at this time. But, as this dissertation demonstrates, the values attached to the vista have been in constant flux, always shifting but also largely consistent. Another kind of nostalgia arose once more during the escalation of the American Civil War. At this time, familiar narratives of the 'authentic' rural farmer came to symbolise the struggle of a romanticised age-old southern plantation economy against the dark forces of an industrial north. This nostalgic sensibility would continue to be felt in the aftermath of the Civil War, as the defeated Confederacy was presented as a fallen civilisation, on a par with the fall of Rome or of Carthage, and commemorated through the erection of classical monuments to the south's Lost Cause.

The Aesthetic Convention of the *Picturesque*

One cannot discuss the view from Richmond Hill, the progenitor of all protected views, without coming back repeatedly to the Picturesque Movement in art, architecture, landscape architecture and literature. As this dissertation has argued, it was in the Richmond landscape that the influential pioneers of the Picturesque Movement, including Pope, Burlington, Henrietta Howard and Queen Caroline first set themselves up in opposition to the 'outmoded' formal styles of landscapes such as those at Hampton Court, Ham House and Petersham's New Park. It was in this landscape too that the picturesque received, arguably, its first physical manifestation in the gardens of Pope, as well as its first manifestation in literature, in the words and poetry of Pope, James Thompson, Jonathan Swift and John Gay among others. Finally, it was in this landscape that the picturesque movement reached its climax, in the landscape work of Humphrey Repton and 'Capability' Brown; in the fanciful architecture of Horace Walpole at Strawberry Hill and William Chambers at Kew Gardens; and in the pattern books of Twickenham's Batty Langley and others. In art too, the view from Richmond Hill was captured on canvas by numerous canonical figures from the Royal Academy of Art's first president Sir Joshua Reynolds, Jasper Francis Cropsey, key figure of the American 'Hudson River School', to Joseph Mallord William Turner. The romance of Turner's views, replete with a sense of nostalgia for the Augustan past, is echoed in the poetry of William Wordsworth and the romantic novels of Sir Walter Scott, both of whom set elements of their literary works in the familiar Richmond landscape.

Having identified Richmond as decisive to the birth of the Picturesque Movement, this dissertation has demonstrated that the legacies of that movement survived in the 'Indignation' campaigns of the early twentieth-century, transposed

through a series of technological innovations; from the mass-production of inexpensive prints to the transport, advertising and photographic revolutions. Picturesque modes of vision may be detected in the railway engineering and advertising of the nineteenth century and, as London continued to spread outwards into green field sites, in the formation of the Garden City Movement and the professionalization of Town Planning. Early suburban planning and design was expressed through a picturesque mode of vision - even modernists cultivated a curiously pictorial design convention in the 'Townscape' movement of the 1950s; a language instantly legible to a society with generations of training in the viewing of mass-produced picturesque images.

Regional, Cultural or National *Identity*

As this dissertation has shown, encoded within the Richmond Hill vista lies a complex narrative of 'Englishness', associated with the idea of an 'English Landscape Movement' and the nationalist undertones of works by Turner, Wordsworth, Walter Scott and others. The Richmond landscape has been held up as a symbol of a romanticised vision of England, just as Cropsey's American works were championed as symbolic of 'American-ness'. Indeed, one might trace this narrative back through George III and George IV's remodelling of Windsor Castle (which, prior to the construction of Heathrow Airport, formed a backdrop to the Richmond Hill view), in which the glorious 'restoration' of the ancient fortress represented growing introverted, nationalist feeling during the Napoleonic Wars with France. It is interesting also to speculate on the motives behind George III's establishment of an observatory and Meridian at Richmond, according to which the Royal Time was attuned; thus placing George, and his picturesque landscape gardens at Richmond, at the epicentre of the British Empire, or even the known world; a notion highlighted by Queen Caroline's eclectic garden *fabriques* which notably included a Chinese pagoda, Moorish alhambra, and mosque in colonial picturesque form.

Though it seems likely that Richmond, Virginia's founder, William Byrd I, named the city after its English counterpart, my research has found that there is in fact no definitive first-hand evidence. Perhaps what is more interesting is that the *assumption* subsequently led many an architect, artist and writer to view the Virginian landscape through the lens of Richmond-upon-Thames's already pervasive picturesque reproductions. This was despite the site's own fascinating indigenous history, as the site of Emperor Powhatan's encampment and the birthplace of his infamous daughter

Pocahontas. Thus, the James River landscape, its pre-colonial history and its indigenous identity were soon overlaid with the imagery and borrowed sense of fictive classical history according to which depictions of Richmond-upon-Thames were reproduced. In this way, whole landscapes, histories and cultures, alien to waves of incoming settlers, were erased by the imposition of the British colonial scopic regime. For example, in Richmond, Virginia, William Byrd's explicit nostalgic connection to the Richmond Hill view simultaneously dissociated a millennia of indigenous history, paralleled by Princess Pocahontas's absorption into the English aristocracy (and her symbolic re-naming as Rebecca Rolfe). The wealthy plantation-owners of Tidewater Virginia, William Byrd I included, soon began to build ambitious mansions on the banks of the James River, in a self-conscious echo of the villa landscape of the Thames Valley at Richmond, visually appropriating the American continent for the British Empire.

In the years immediately preceding the American Revolution, the Richmond landscape, once inseparably associated with the old colonial motherland, was the backdrop to the revolution-inciting Virginia Conventions. At this time, Richmond, Virginia's ties to Richmond-upon-Thames were either forgotten or, more likely, suppressed. Rather, America's picturesque landscapes were championed as at least equal to, if not surpassing, those of her colonial master. Thus it could be argued that the landscape construction of American identity was itself held up as justification for her independence from Britain, although always constructed in relation to its vistas. Towards the end of the eighteenth century, optimism over the future of a young, independent America was high. Amateur architects such as Thomas Jefferson, English-educated architect Benjamin Henry Latrobe and America's 'first architect' Robert Mills, identified America with the youthful Roman Republic and soon began to embellish the Virginian landscape with classical villas, understood once more through reproductions of contemporary English picturesque landscape gardens made famous in Richmond-upon-Thames. Far from a nostalgic reference to England however, at this time the picturesque was promoted as a symbol of a refined, modern America, every bit the equal of the former colonial power. In capturing and re-capturing these landscape views, Richmond's public buildings, villas, gardens, parks and cemeteries have consistently reinforced a particular set of visual and compositional forms. The strength of Richmond's visual identity contributed to the city's praise throughout the nineteenth-century as one of America's most beautiful cities. This dissertation goes further, to

suggest that Richmond's strong visual identity played a certain role in the cultivation of a Southern cultural identity during its time as Capital of the Confederacy. Either way, the destruction of Richmond's picturesque cityscape at the close of the American Civil War served as a bitter reminder to the Southern plantation gentry, and a symbol to the Unionist North, of the abolition of an archaic hierarchical society built on the immoral foundations of slavery.

Post-Civil War Richmond reminisced with rose-tinted nostalgia for its once infamous, if not glorious, past. Monuments were erected all over the city but the most interesting, for the purposes of this dissertation, are those that were deliberately juxtaposed with landscape views. On Libby Hill, the Confederate Soldiers and Sailors Monument drew from classical models to inscribe a romantic historical narrative into the city's landscape setting; thus, Richmond's views were historicised, and in doing so, converted into monuments in their own right. In each of the examples outlined above it is clear that specific readings of landscape vistas have been promoted as symbolic of shared cultural and national identities. In many ways, the preservation of these vistas can be viewed as just the latest contribution to these shifting narratives of identity. Thus, this dissertation suggests that the protected vista may also act to re-inscribe such conceptions of identity in contemporary planning policy, and in the aesthetic perception of natural and urban landscapes.

The Power of *The Gaze*

Inseparably linked to the notion of an English picturesque mode of vision is an underlying conception of the power of the gaze: of the image and of surveillance. For example, in the aforementioned example of George III's gardens at Richmond the king's observatory was positioned symbolically at the centre of the Monarchy, the centre of the Empire, the exotic lands beyond, the observable universe, even at the epicentre of time itself. Even then, Richmond was imagined as universal, long before its view became a near universal template for the very idea of the view, and protected view. The visual sense is critical to this understanding. George's conceptual Meridien is conspicuously marked by a series of garden obelisks, surrounded by fanciful *fabriques* representing every exotic corner of the earth, and the state-of-the-art optical instruments of his observatory sit at the heart of it all, surveying the whole landscape, as well as the distant reaches of the universe, from its hilltop position.

Equally, many of Richmond, Virginia's earliest public buildings, from Jefferson's Capitol to Latrobe's Penitentiary - both symbols of civic power - were themselves also viewing machines, carefully positioned and configured to enhance surveillance, whether of the landscape, city, or of individuals themselves. To echo Michel Foucault's description of Jeremy Bentham's Panopticon, it might be argued that from the seventeenth century, discourses of power in society shifted towards surveillance. This shift may be demonstrated in contemporary movements in landscape architecture, a growing interest in scientific and astronomical observation and the overwhelming importance placed on the visual sense at a time of rapidly increasing mass-production of images. This preoccupation with the visual sense was heightened by the proliferation of new visual experiences, from the high-velocity panorama of the railway carriage window, to the invention of the photographic camera, and the global reach of the photographic postcard. If Richmond's eighteenth-century buildings had acted as huge, static viewing machines, the camera, film camera and the automobile now rendered visual experiences of urban and natural landscapes mobile and convenient.

The Question of *Authenticity*

One might have expected the picturesque, and its nostalgic connotations, to disappear from Richmond, Virginia after the Civil War, but in fact their resurgence became a counterpart to the rapid modernisation of American cities in the early twentieth-century. As Richmond's centre of trade moved away from the river towards improved road and rail links, and the city began to develop as a densely packed cluster of ever-taller and more massive buildings, the river landscape became a valued visual amenity and retreat for city businessmen.

The picturesque re-emerges with a series of suburban developments, in particular Windsor Farms, where a number of homes were imported as fragments from England, relocated from Virginian plantation estates, or constructed anew to colonial revival or English designs. Notable architects involved in the development of Windsor Farms included Thomas Tileston Waterman and William Lawrence Bottomley, both of whom had involvement in the early stages of the Historic American Buildings Survey. The survey, along with the formation of a series of advocacy groups such as the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America at this time, demonstrated the growing contemporary interest in the nation's historical roots. It is easy to interpret the

Windsor Farms structures as a reconnection to an imagined aristocratic ancestry, but in fact it seems more likely to be linked to ideas of an 'authentic' way of life. Picturesque modes of vision are thus linked to nostalgic and romantic ideas of the self-made and modest man; an echo of Thomas Jefferson's model of the educated, independent yeoman farmer, or the Prince of Wales's experiments in agriculture at Richmond Lodge.

Windsor Farms' houses also demonstrate the leap that the picturesque mode of vision took, most strikingly in Virginia's Richmond, from river and rail to road. The increasing speed of travel, coupled with the increasing speed of camera mechanisms and exposure times, led to an appreciation of the moving image of cities and landscapes. Taking physical form in the curious American invention of the Scenic Parkway, an initial appreciation of scenic landscapes quickly turned to the protection, and then the staging, of views. The National Park Service's Colonial Parkway, Virginia, took an untouched natural site of inaccessible marshland and drove a road through it, enabling the motorist to drive through twenty-three miles of 'authentic' eighteenth-century landscapes. Modern intrusions were cleared away or disguised, an approach also utilised in Rockefeller's reconstruction of Colonial Williamsburg. The idea of the view's authenticity itself became paramount, as interpreted through historical imagination, in preference to the often less perfected, more complex and suspect awkwardness of historical veracity.

The increased staging of the view, demonstrated by the Colonial Parkway project, is evident in the unsightly stretches of Richmond's highways, now designated as 'Interstate Image Corridors', where projects intended to enhance the motorist's image and perception of the city are actively pursued. Rather than imposing a strictly 'classical' or 'colonial' narrative upon the viewer, views are cultivated which exude a tourist-friendly general sense of Richmond as an 'authentic' 'historical' city; the city is composed as a series of 'historic' 'snap-shots' laced with a generalised nostalgia.

The set of values inherent in the Richmond vista – the gaze, the picturesque, nostalgia, authenticity and identity – as traced in this dissertation, are presented here as decisive to the idea of the protected vista. The theoretical understanding of the view, its application in landscape art, architecture and the linked discourses of aesthetics, political and cultural identity, all formulated between the eighteenth and nineteenth-centuries, just so happened to coincide with, arguably, the apogee of Britain's imperial power and influence. As a result, one could argue that the values promoted by a vision

of ‘English landscape’ were left indelibly upon the reading of landscapes in many parts of the world. To return to the case studies of Vancouver, Kyoto and Dresden, one may now recognise elements of these familiar themes at work in diverse policies of view protection worldwide. For example, the importance placed upon the sea, city and skyline elements in Vancouver’s vistas shares an understanding of nostalgia and identity also demonstrated by Kyoto’s preservation of historic and cultural vistas. Similarly, the theatrical conventions of the picturesque and the concept of an authentic landscape reflected in Dresden’s eighteenth century pastoralism may also be observed, though in a subtle and different manner, in the spectacle of Kyoto’s bonfire festival which appeals to the tourist gaze and the camera lens. Modelled upon London’s contemporary policies, each diverse policy of view protection therefore has a relationship to the seemingly universal values inherent within London’s original protected vista: the view from Richmond Hill.

‘The Great Indignation’

This dissertation has argued that the values inherent within the vista from Richmond Hill inevitably demanded its protection. In Richmond, Virginia too, the continued re-inscription of the same set of values have led to a contemporary conservation movement calling for the protection of this view, this time bringing together the two Richmonds in the most explicit of ways yet. This may be viewed as another kind of fictive history – the imagination of a definitive link between the two Richmonds which has always been much less explicit in the past. This fictive history may be interpreted as both produced by, and producing, the idea of the protected vista.

In contemporary Richmond, Virginia the ongoing campaign for the protection of the Libby Hill vista, dubbed ‘The Great Indignation’, is a direct, and self-conscious, reference to the 1902 ‘Indignation’ campaign that saved the view from London’s Richmond Hill. The protection of the James River view can thus be located in a nostalgic desire for rural imagery and a deep sense of heritage stretching back to eighteenth century Richmond-upon-Thames, imagined as an authentic, authoritative past which seems all the more vivid when juxtaposed against the perceived failings of industrial modernity. These historical associations were legitimised and reinforced by the transatlantic twinning of the two Richmonds in May 1981 “in order to afford official recognition to their resemblance to one another, sharing of name, and to promoting and

continuing the spirit of goodwill and cooperation existing between [them].”[1] One Richmond newspaper has stated that:

> “As the global community continues to grow closer together, these ties will have more and more influence on all our lives. The view from Libby Hill is a living tribute to the commonwealth’s direct tie to the United Kingdom - past, present, and future - to be shared by all Virginians.”[2]

In the spirit of these ties, in 2002, director of the Great Indignation campaign Rick Tatnall was among the Virginian representatives invited to Richmond-upon-Thames in celebration of the hundredth anniversary of the 1902 *Richmond, Petersham and Ham Open Spaces Act*. The visit coincided with controversy in Virginia, as land fronting the James River was re-zoned to allow for taller buildings. Residents feared that “The council [was] literally authorizing a concrete canyon that would prevent the public from enjoying the river,” suggesting instead that it should be left “in a natural state.”[3] The controversy spurred one of the first cooperative projects to be undertaken by the two Richmonds: the erection of a memorial sign-board on Libby Hill to commemorate Byrd’s supposed naming of Richmond after its Thames-side counterpart, dedicated by Mayor L. Douglas Wilder of Richmond, VA and Councillor Robin Jowit of Richmond-upon-Thames, in 2006 (fig. 7.1).[4] This single act renders the oral tradition as historical ‘fact’, ensuring that no visitor can be in doubt as to the city’s provenance, despite the lack of records that Byrd did indeed compare the two views.

This ‘fact’ definitively entered the history books for the first time in 2007, when the General Assembly of Virginia approved a resolution celebrating the panoramic view and its role in the naming of Richmond,[5] a copy of which was presented to Queen Elizabeth II during her visit for the 400th anniversary of the settlement of Jamestown.[6] The Assembly’s resolution thus promoted Richmond’s links with England just at the

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[1] R. Tatnall, Campaign Manifesto for “The Great Indignation 2009,” *Restoring Our Heritage and Preserving the View that Named Us Richmond*, 30 June 2009
[2] R. Tatnall, “Development with a View: Visions of Richmond’s Future: Vista Here is as Vital as Across Pond,” *Richmond Times-Dispatch* (18 February 2007)
[3] J. Redmon, “The Debate is Building: Riverfront Zoning Pits Nature,” *Richmond Times-Dispatch* (24 April, 2002)
[4] T. Rice, “Libby Hill Park – The View That Named Richmond, Virginia,” *Richmond Examiner* (8 November, 2010)
[5] Tatnall, “Development with a View”, *Richmond Times-Dispatch*
[6] J. Walker, “Resolution hails James view: Lawyer fears proposal takes aim at project near Libby Hill Park,” *Richmond Times-Dispatch* (6 February 2007)



Fig. 7.1 The commemorative board, erected on Libby Hill in 2006, by representatives of the city councils of Richmond, Virginia, and Richmond-upon-Thames. The board directly compares the view with a photograph of the view from Richmond Hill, rendering the story of the city's naming as definitively factual for the first time. Image by author.

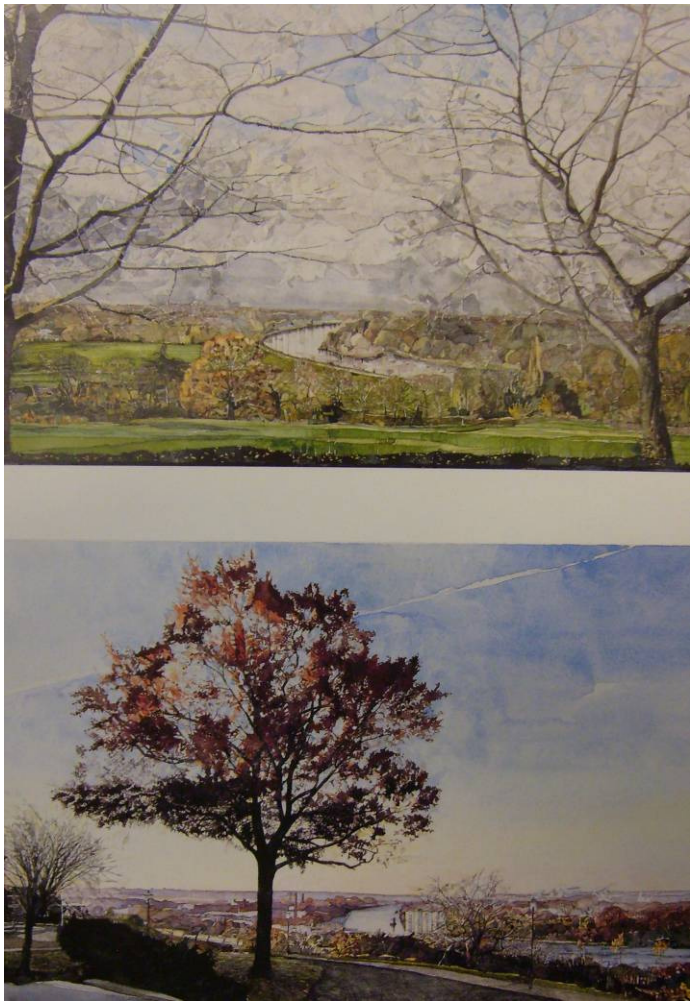


Fig. 7.2 Artist Camden Whitehead directly compares the two Richmond views (Richmond-upon-Thames above, Richmond, VA below) in these paintings, produced for *View: An Exhibition about Richmond Hill,* held at Waterstone's, Piccadilly and the Orleans House Galley, Twickenham (2003).



Fig. 7.3 Four paintings, from top left to bottom right: E. Hatch, *View from Richmond* (2011); L. Johnson, *View of James from the Hill* (2011); S. Masters, *The View – Evening* (2011); J. Burrough, *Richmond from Libby Hill* (2011). Images from the catalogue to 'Celebrating the View: The River View Event' silent art auction, Richmond, Virginia, 2011.

time of the Jamestown anniversary; an act designed to capitalise on increased historical tourism and investment in the region. These events have served to further historicise the view, fuelling the Great Indignation campaign's aim to preserve and, indeed, 'improve' the view, in order that it lives up to the expectation of its projected image; as Tatnall has stated in his campaign manifesto, "The greatest opportunity for the future of the Richmond Region is to harness the power of our past to positively shape our future."[7]

Though the appropriation of the two Richmond views by differing movements has shifted with time, at their heart lie a series of near-constant narratives: a yearning for a romanticised and orderly past tied to a fear of, or overwhelming dissatisfaction with, the disorder of the present. This attachment of nostalgic sentiment to the two Richmond views is accompanied by the visual construction of the picturesque in their many reproductions. The Virginian Indignation campaign has made extensive use of picturesque representations as a means of communicating its principal message – that the Libby Hill view is of cultural, historical and artistic significance. This utilisation of picturesque representation for political means is perhaps best demonstrated by the exhibition *View: An Exhibition on Richmond Hill,* held at Waterstone's, Piccadilly, Orleans House, Twickenham and a number of Virginian venues in 2003. A key component of this touring exhibition was a series of contemporary landscape paintings (figs. 7.2-7.3), depicting both Richmond Hills through the eyes of local artists, thus strengthening historical and artistic links between the two vistas.

To quote Lowenthal, the protected vista could be described as providing a sense of "familiarity and recognition; reaffirmation and validation; individual and group identity; guidance; enrichment and escape."[8] In the case of Libby Hill, the vista provides familiarity and recognition via culturally-engrained images of 'authentic' pastoral life, learned via mass-produced prints and literature. The view reaffirms and validates the present through a sense of the preserved past, while the historical narratives of the view proclaim the validity of individual and group identities: middle-class, white, southern, American. As Lowenthal clarifies, "remembering the past is crucial for our sense of identity: […] to know what we were confirms that we are."[9] It is fitting that Lowenthal leaves escape to the last, singling it out as a fundamental facet of

[7] Tatnall, Campaign Manifesto, *Restoring Our Heritage and Preserving the View that Named Us Richmond*
[8] D. Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge University Press, 1985) p. 38
[9] Ibid., p. 197

heritage. The preserved view of an 'authentic' landscape acts as a visual escape from the dense crowding and apparent chaos of modern urbanity. Stephen Spender notes the American longing for the past as an escape from the present "as though [history] were geography," treating themselves "as though they could step out of the present into the past of their choice."[10] One might view the desire to preserve the view from Libby Hill then as a nostalgic escape from the here and now which serves to bolster the values of the present, building upon an established narrative of such romantic vision ultimately stretching back to the imagined 'golden ages' of Pope, Thompson, Burlington, Kent and many others. It is the idea of the protected view itself which has brought about the explicit connection between the two Richmond vistas for the first time, reinforcing, and even producing the fictive history in which the two Richmonds seem always to have been inevitably interconnected through the promotion of a shared set of values. Thus, it is the idea of the protected view itself which has created the latest iteration of the Richmond Hill story.

Concluding Observations

Returning to Richmond-upon-Thames and Richmond Hill's intriguing King Henry's Mound, it is now possible to close the apparent gap between the preservation of the 1902 Act's naturalistic river view and the *London View Management Framework's* city vista. The physical coincidence of these two viewpoints, I would argue, tells us something of the common origins of each policy. The viewer, subconsciously trained in an appreciation of picturesque landscapes through the observation of thousands upon thousands of images, casts his or her gaze back upon the city. In this specific vista, the observer views St. Paul's Cathedral framed to dramatic effect by the avenue of trees in Richmond Park. The avenue intensifies the observer's gaze, creating a sense of power over the built form of the city. The foreground setting is, however, a naturalistic park of Repton's design. The city is entirely absent apart from the dome of St. Paul's; this is an idealised view of a pastoral London, a London 'tidied-up' as in Rocque's famous plans of the city. The avenue and cathedral recall elements of Wren's un-built vision of the city, an English Baroque re-interpretation of classical Rome, bringing to mind the imagery of a romanticised former 'golden age'. At the same time, the silhouette of the dome could be said to represent a cultivated 'brand image' or identity of the city,

[10] S. Spender, *Love-Hate Relations: A Study of Anglo-American Sensibilities,* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1974) p. 121

familiar to the observer via countless images from Canaletto's paintings to Herbert Mason's iconic photographs of the blitz. These cues convey to the observer that the city and its society is constant, unchanging, an 'authentic' and timeless art object to be gazed upon as in a gallery or museum. As such, the vistas of the *London View Management Framework,* just as that from Richmond Hill, could be said to be of more value than simple visual amenities, rather they convey multiple and diverse narratives through their identification of landmarks worthy of contemplation. Via our previous exposure to hundreds of thousands of images, vistas have become symbols of themselves, texts that invite us to 'read', and to translate them from one landscape to another.

Thus, I argue that established notions of the *gaze*, the *picturesque*, *nostalgia*, *authenticity* and *identity* are inevitably, and unwittingly, absorbed into London's contemporary policy, as views of our cities have become integral to notions of historical and cultural identity and important factors in the touristic potential of cities. As Boym has written, "In the nineteenth century the nostalgic was an urban dweller who dreamed of escape from the city into the unspoiled landscape. At the end of the twentieth-century the urban dweller feels that the city itself is an endangered landscape."[11] It is no wonder then that we seek to engineer historic views of our cities, designating landmarks, settings and vistas as historical monuments to be protected from change.

At the same time, technical and scientific advancements from travel to photography, industrial processes of mass production, the moving image and the internet have contributed to the continued acceleration and proliferation of images. Online software such as Google Street View, Google Earth and Bing Maps allow users to travel through famed landscapes and vistas at the touch of a button. As part of this dissertation research, I have created my own online three-dimensional photographic model of the Richmond Hill vista using Photosynth software.[12] This program analyses hundreds of photographs of the view, overlaying images where coincidental viewpoints are detected. Via this process, the software may calculate the approximate viewing position and angle of images, enabling a three-dimensional spatial model to be constructed and mapped over aerial photographs (figs. 7.4-7.7). The viewer is thus able to 'travel' through the landscape vista on-screen, and to search a freely accessible online

[11] S. Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia* (New York: Basic Books, 2001) p. 80
[12] Model Freely available to view at the following address:
http://photosynth.net/userprofilepage.aspx?user=tbrig&content=Synths



Fig. 7.4 The view from Richmond Hill, an interactive three-dimensional photographic model, produced by the author using Photosynth software. The software recognises coincidental areas of hundreds of photographs, allowing the viewer to 'travel' through the landscape at the click of the mouse. Model Freely available to view at the following address: http://photosynth.net/userprofilepage.aspx?user=tbrig&content=Synths

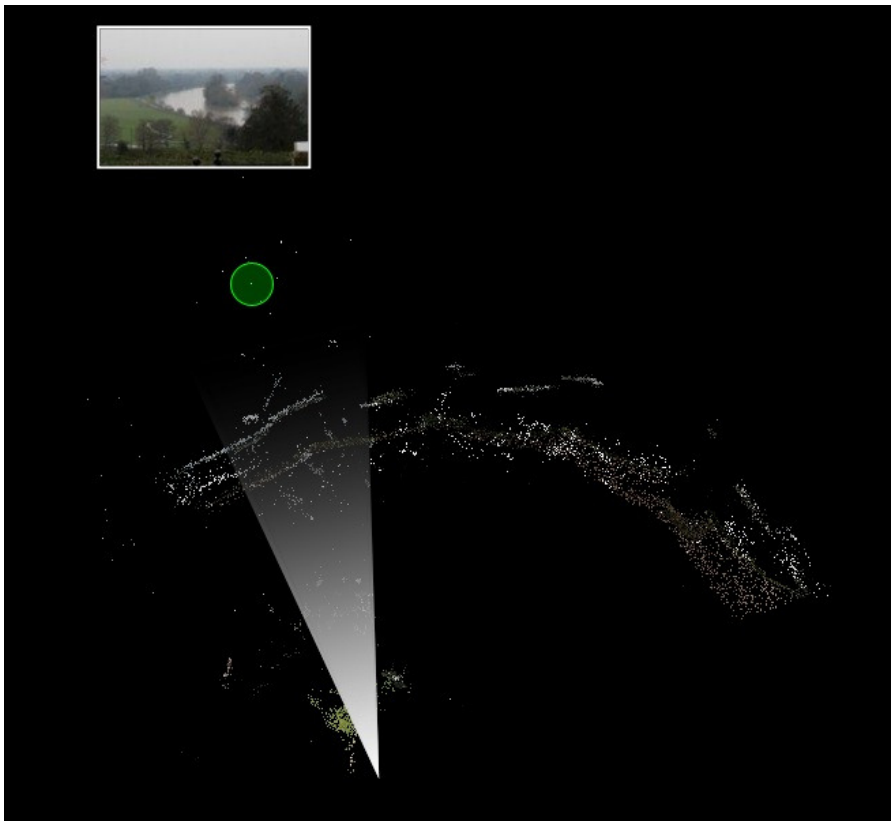


Fig. 7.5 The author's Photosynth three-dimensional model of the View from Richmond Hill. Each coloured pixel represents an individual photograph. The software calculates the viewing position and angle by analysing hundreds of overlapping images.

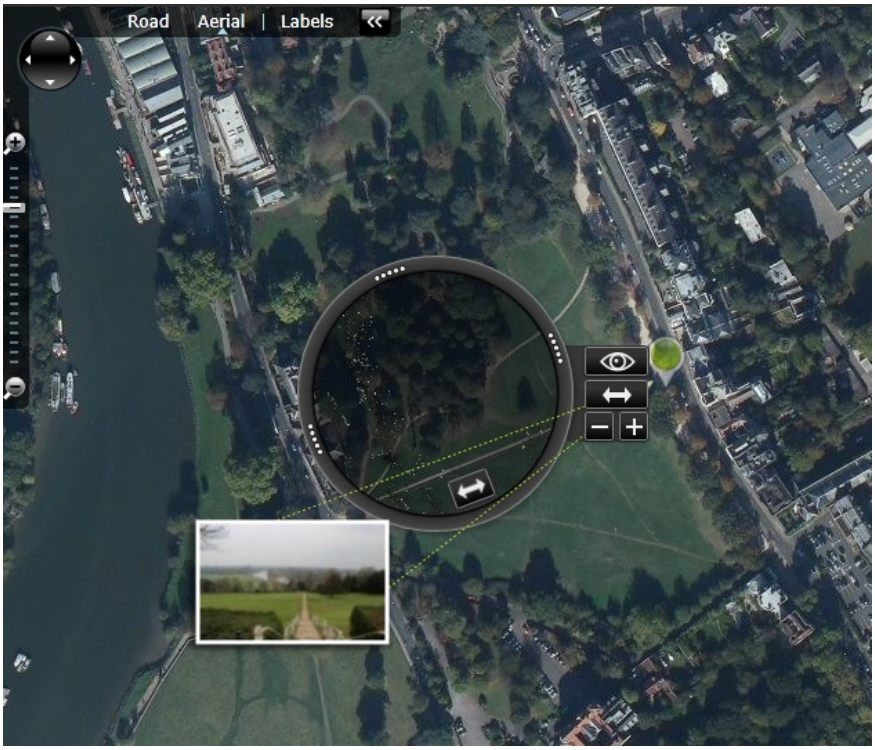


Fig. 7.6 The author's Photosynth three-dimensional model of the View from Richmond Hill. The software calculates the viewing position and angle of each photograph by analysing hundreds of overlapping images which are then mapped onto a geographical location.

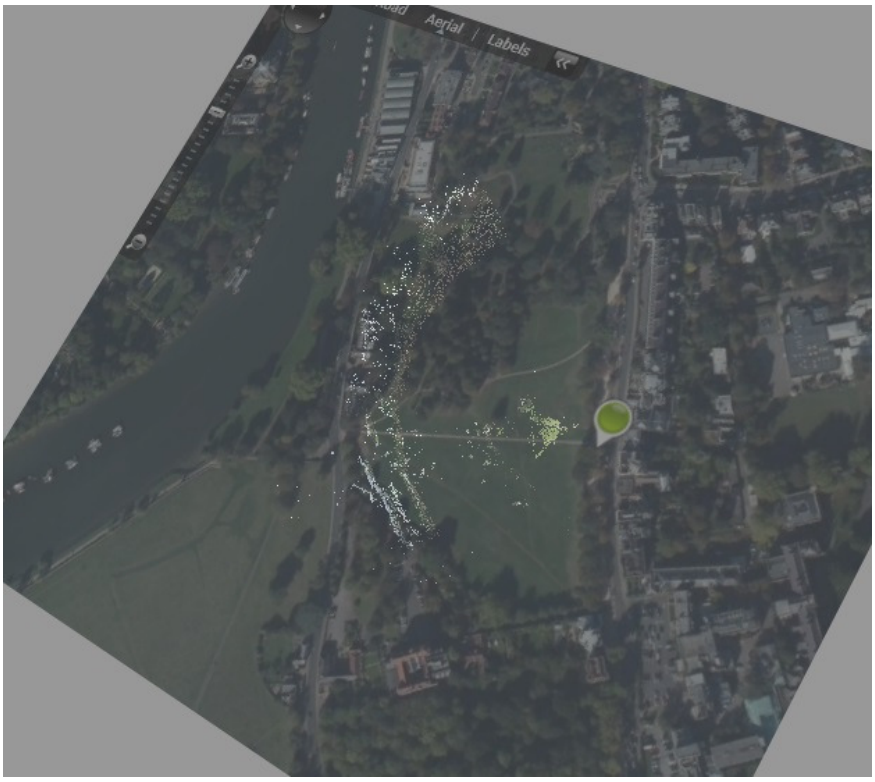


Fig. 7.7 The author's Photosynth three-dimensional model of the View from Richmond Hill. The software calculates the viewing position and angle of each photograph by analysing hundreds of overlapping images which are then mapped onto a geographical location.

database of vistas 'constructed' by other users worldwide. One might speculate on the consequences of an ever-increasing 'simulation' of the vista, perhaps removing the necessity and desire for seeking out 'real' visual experiences. These technical advances in the modelling, mapping and simulation of vistas may be reflected by the increasing technical precision with which vistas are now defined. Today, planning policies seek to protect vistas with series of lines, angles and GPS coordinates inscribed onto the city plan and modelled using complex computer simulation, as in the *London View Management Framework*. While these policies are largely successful in securing designated vistas, I would argue that the technical precision advocated by contemporary view protection policy misses – or at least underestimates – the importance of the *values* promoted by such vistas.

Commonly perceived as quaint, naïve and innocuous, this dissertation has argued that values of the picturesque, nostalgia and authenticity continue to play powerful roles in the protection of urban and natural landscapes. Intensified by the collective gaze of millions of citizens, tourists, their cameras and the images they make, economic development pressures take a back-seat to the overwhelming power and ubiquity of this nostalgic picturesque gaze. Possessing the knowledge that these values remain at work in our visual environments, we may begin to read their traces etched into the skylines of our cityscapes, cutting through sites of potential development and determining their urban and architectural form. Ultimately, this dissertation has shown that the meanings associated with the view from Richmond Hill have shifted over the centuries with each subjective reading of the vista, as demonstrated by the view's various narratives - from English society as a new classical Arcadia to the American south as backwards and corrupt. Therefore, while policies of view protection adopt a scientific approach to preserving vistas through the geometrical designation of sites with coordinates, lines and planes, these policies are unable to influence the shifting meanings attributed to the vista by the subject. I posit that such a renewed understanding has important implications for contemporary architectural and urban design practice. Politicians, developers, architects and urban planners may be better equipped to discuss *what values* are associated with particular vistas, *by whom*, and *how* they are observed and interpreted, and how these values *shift or evolve* with time. This culturally and historically conscious interpretation of visual environments, a sensibility which seems to have been commonplace at periods in the past, could encourage greater

creativity and flexibility, and a move away from the rigid technical specificities of existing policy.

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Appendices

World Richmonds[1]

UNITED KINGDOM:
North Yorkshire
The first Richmond. The market town of Richmond - from the Norman French 'riche-monte' meaning 'strong hill' - grew up around the Norman Castle (1071). A beautiful town, steeped in history, which has inspired poets and painters, past and present.

Surrey
The second Richmond - Henry VII named Richmond after his favourite Earldom, Richmond in Yorkshire.

UNITED STATES:
Arizona – Cochise County (ghost town)
Richmond was a 'suburb' of Tombstone, itself now a ghost town, and is located about 1 mile south of the Tombstone courthouse. Only some foundations and adobe wall remnants remain.

California - Contra Costa County
The first Europeans to visit the city's future site were the Spanish explorers Pedro Fages and Reverend Juan Crespi who passed through the East Bay in 1772. After Mexico won independence from Spain in 1821, large tracts of land in California were granted to military heroes and loyalists. In 1823, Don Francisco Castro was given 17,000 acres of land in Contra Costa which became known as Rancho San Pablo. The city of Richmond was established on a portion of Castro's land grant about seventy years after his death.

Illinois - McHenry County
Richmond, IL was founded in 1844 and received it's name from Isaac Reed, who named the village after his childhood home, Richmond, Vermont. The old mill stood on a hill, which might have shared a similarity with the original Richmond in that the mill stood on the 'strong hill'. Population is about 1,016. There are still quite a number of old Queen Ann mansions and some have been converted into Bed and Breakfasts. Richmond lies almost at the Wisconsin border and is near Antioch Illinois.

Indiana - Wayne County
Founded in 1806 by North Carolina Quakers, who settled along the Whitewater River, Richmond is in eastern Indiana near the Ohio border. The first settlers were John Smith and Jeremiah Cox. Smith named his settlement Smithville and Cox followed suit by calling his Jericho. However the other settlers did not take to either name and agreed on Richmond, proposed by settler David Hoover, as an alternative. The town was incorporated in 1818 and became the county seat of Wayne County in 1873.

Iowa - Maddison County (ghost town)
The town was laid out in 1849 in the southern part of the Scott Township. Its only building was a post office named Amazon (1850-1851).

Iowa - Washington County
Kansas - Franklin County (ghost town)

Kansas - Nemaha County (ghost town)

[1] http://www.richmond.org/features/ratw/richmondlist.html [accessed 10/11/2010]

Once a way-station about three miles north of Seneca on the Oregon Trail, along the South Fork of the Nemaha River. It was an important stopping point along the road, but died when traffic later rerouted through Seneca.

Kentucky - Madison County
Founded in 1798 by Colonel John Miller, a Revolutionary War soldier. The Madison County seat was moved to the town in March 1978 (to bitter opposition) and it was named Richmond on July 4 in honour of Miller's birthplace of Richmond, Virginia. The city is on the southern boundary of the Commonwealth's Bluegrass region and has a population of around 30,000. It contains more than 100 National Register Historic Places and three Historic Districts.

Maine - Sagadahoc County
The area that later became Richmond (and nearby town Gardiner) was bought from the Indians in 1649 by Christopher Lawson and was one of the earliest settlements in Maine. Fort Richmond provided protection for the town from 1719 until 1755, when the forts Shirley, Western and Halifax were built further along the river. Indians attacked it twice, in 1722 and 1750.
What is now Richmond was part of Bowdoinham when it was incorporated in 1762. Richmond was incorporated in its own right on Feb 10 1823. Today it has a population of around 3,000.

Massachusetts - Berkshire County
Richmond was incoporated in 1765 and named after Charles Lennox, Duke of Richmond. It is primarily an agricultural community and residential town, with many of the occupants commuting to nearby Pittsfield or having second homes in the area.

Michigan - Macomb County
The area was settled in 1835 by Erastus Beebe, with his two brothers and several men from Richmond, Ontario County, New York and originally named Beebe's Corners. In five years the town was established and on 1 December 1859 the Grand Trunk Railway arrived. The town continued to flourish, ultimately joining forces with neighbouring towns Ridgeway and Cooper Town in 1878. The surrounding township had already been named Richmond in 1838 by settler Philip Cudworth, after the town the men had come from, and the combined town was incorporated as Richmond the following year. The city is mostly in Macomb County with a small part in St Clair and has a population of around 5,000.

Minnesota - Stearns County
The 'Gateway to the Horseshoe Chain of Lakes' was founded in 1856 and settled mostly by German immigrants. It was named after Cynthia Richmond, the wife of early settler and surveyor Reuben Richardson.
The community is based around agriculture and the recreational opportunities provided by the lakes (more than 40 within 10 miles) and has around 1000 residents.

Missouri - Howard County (ghost town)
The first settlers came from Virginia and named the town after the capital. It was already extinct many years before 1928.
Missouri - Ray County
Richmond is located in Western MO. just 7 Miles North of the Missouri River and 45 miles east of Kansas City MO.

New Hampshire - Cheshire County

The town's first charter dates to 1735 when Colonial Governor Jonathan Belcher granted it to soldiers returning from the war in Canada and it was named Sylvester-Canada. It was originally part of Massachusetts. New Hampshire ultimately became a separate province and the town was renamed Richmond and incoporated in 1752 by Governor Benning Wentworth. He named it after Charles Lennox, Duke of Richmond, a good friend of his.

New York - Staten Island
Staten Island originally became the County of Richmond (along with Shooter's Island, and the islands of meadow on the west side of Staten Island) when it became part of the colony of New York on November 1, 1683. Richmond Town's central location linked the wide-spread farms of the Island and in the 1700s it became the government centre of the county. The town prospered in the early 1800s, but by the end of the century growth had slowed. In 1898 Staten Island became a borough of New York City and the government moved elsewhere.
Richmond Town then became the focus of historical preservation. The Staten Island Historical Society set out to preserve the declining town as a museum village. 'Historic Richmond Town' is now a museum and living history complex.

New York - Ontario County
The area was first settled around 1790 by Captain Pitts and James Codding. The town was established in 1796 as Pittstown, but was renamed Honeoye in 1808. In 1815, the name was changed to Richmond.
Richmond is one of the foremost farming towns in the county and encompasses a number of small villages, of which Honeoye is the largest. Others include Richmond Center, Allen's Hill, Richmond Mills, and Dennisons' Corners.

Ohio - Jefferson County
Richmond is a small village in Jefferson County. The land was bought by Joseph and Mary Talbott in 1808 and they arranged for it to be surveyed. By 1815 Main Street and four cross streets named Green, High, Walnut & Sugar had been laid out and the plots were then sold off.
The reason for the name Richmond is uncertain. Most likely it was named after Richmond, Virginia, but it may also have been after the Presbyterian Society Richmond Church which stood outside the town, or for a Richard Richmond who once worked for Mr Talbott. Descendants of the Talbott family still live in the village.
Ohio also has towns named New Richmond (Clermont County) and Richmond Heights (Cuyahoga County).

Oregon - Wheeler County (ghost town)
Richmond was formed in 1890 by a group of ranchers and farmers as a way to reduce the distance they had to travel to get supplies. It was named after the capital of the Confederacy. However, after around 30 years the availability of automobiles rendered its existence unnecessary as people could travel easily to larger towns nearby. Today Richmond is a ghost town.
Pennsylvania - Philadelphia County

Rhode Island - Washington County
The area began existence as Narragansett County or Little Narragansett, after the indigenous people who lived there. Difficulty arose in the 1660s when it was claimed by Connecticut, Rhode Island (under two different charters) and a colony from Massachusetts. The King settled this in 1665 by dissolving all previous charters and making the area King's County – now Washington County. The town became called

Westerly. Charlestown split off as a separate town in 1738 and Richmond divided from Charlestown in 1747.
Richmond has always been rural and agricultural in nature, although since Interstate 95 was built many of the residents now work outside the town.

Texas - Fort Bend County
Although the first settlers came in 1822, the town was established by Robert Eden Handy and William Lusk in 1837 and named after Richmond, North Yorkshire. It was the first city incorporated by the Republic of Texas, briefly a country in its own right. In December that year it became the seat of government for Fort Bend County.
The population remained fairly static during most of its existence until commuters to Houston moved in after the 1950s. Richmond is considered the twin city of Rosenburg, as the cities' boundaries coincide.

Utah - Cache County
The original settlers in Richmond arrived in 1859, the first being Agrippa Cooper and his family. The actual townsite was laid out in 1861 and it was incorporated as a city in 1868.
It is not known why the town was called Richmond. It may have been named after Richmond, Virginia, or the LDS Church apostle Charles C Rich or the deep rich mound of soil formed by the Cherry and City Creeks.

Vermont - Chittenden County
Richmond is located in the western foothills of the Green Mountains on the eastern edge of the Lake Champlain valley. The Winooski River bisects the town of 4,090 residents from east to west, as does Interstate 89, the New England Central Railway and U.S. Route 2. The Town was organized in 1795 and is recognized for being home to the National Historic Landmark Old Round Church, a 16-sided church built in 1813, considered to be among one of the first community churches in the country.

Virginia
The Third Richmond - Captain Christopher Newport first led English explorers in 1607 to the site they later named Richmond after a suburb of London, England. Until that time, Indian tribes of the Powhatan Confederacy had inhabited the area.
After two unsuccessful attempts to settle this naturally advantaged location for transportation and trade, settlers enjoyed a change of luck. By 1644, the construction of Fort Charles began attracting many new settlers. Soon, the community grew into a popular trading post for furs, hides and tobacco.

Wisconsin - Shawano County
The town was created on 25 Jan 1856 and has a population of around 2,000

CANADA:
British Columbia
Richmond was incorporated as a municipality November 10, 1879. Richmond was designated as a City on December 3, 1990. Richmond is a suburb of Vancouver. With a population of over 181,942 people, Richmond is a growing dynamic urban centre with a unique mix of residential, and commercial property, agricultural lands, industrial parks, waterways and natural areas. It lies where the River meets the ocean. The shores surrounding Richmond create an estuary border that provides habitat for fish and for migrating birds on the Pacific Flyway between the Arctic and South America.

Ontario

Richmond is a small village in southeastern Ontario.
Richmond was selected by the British Army in 1818 as the site for the area's first military settlement. Named after the Duke of Richmond, who was the newly appointed Governor General of Upper Canada, the village of Richmond was laid out in a grid on the north bank of the Jock River (which for a while was renamed the Goodwood after the Duke's English estate). Richmond was the centre for the administration of lands in the area. Military supervisor, Major Burke, placed mainly Irish soldiers of his 99th Regiment in Goulbourn. Scottish settlers from Perthshire were placed in the adjoining area of northeast Beckwith, while Irish civilians were settled in southeast Beckwith, Goulbourn, and parts of neighbouring townships.

Quebec
Named after the 4th Duke of Richmond, who died in Richmond, Quebec and was buried there in 1819.

Prince Edward Island
Richmond is a small village in the west part of Prince Edward Island. It was incorporated in 1979 and has a population of a few hundred people. It is famed for the Richmond Dairy Bar.

AUSTRALIA:
New South Wales
Richmond was given its name by Governor Phillip in 1789, in honour of the Duke of Richmond. It is one of the five original Macquarie towns in the Hawkesbury Valley and is situated on a ridge above the Hawkesbury river to avoid the regular flooding. Richmond's main businesses are agriculture and aviation. It is located on the outskirts of the Sydney area.

Queensland
Situated in north west Queensland on the bank of the Flinders River, the longest river in Queensland.

Tasmania - Hobart
Historic Richmond, a unique Georgian Village which boasts the oldest Roman Catholic Church and the oldest Bridge in Australia.

Victoria - Melbourne
One of Melbourne's first settlements, now 'based around food and fashion'. It is one of the northern suburbs and has attracted many immigrants throughout its history.

NEW ZEALAND:
Nelson Province- South Island
The first settlers were surveyors T.J.Thompson and J.W.Barnicoat in June 1842. It was named Richmond in 1846, on the suggestion of George Snow - one of the early residents who came from Richmond Upon Thames, Surrey.

Newspaper Articles: Richmond-Upon-Thames

Daily Chronicle, (09 November 1901)

9/11/1

THE SPOILING OF RICHMOND.

The following appeared under the above heading in the "Saturday Review" last week:—

"The Letter from 'Michael Field,' published in last week's 'Saturday Review,' reminded our readers that the beauty of the river from Richmond to Twickenham is by no means saved, and that one part, the nearest to Richmond Bridge, is threatened with immediate ruin. Marble Hill, the most important block in the middle distance of the view, as seen from Richmond Hill, is probably safe now. . . . Twickenham gets off very easily at the figure of £3,000. It shows the temper of local Councils and how hopeless it is to expect from them foresight and a large view in such matters that when the report came up for discussion the proposal to present Twickenham with a magnificent park for the trifle of £3,000 was received by several members with grumbling and voted against by three. There was still hankering after 'ornamental villas' on part of the estate; but happily the County Council has been firm on that point. The remnants of beauty in the neighbourhood of London are not safe in the hands of local bodies, too often identified with the building interest; and it is a miserable and scandalous thing that no foresight is shown by the Central Government in scheduling the properties that should at all hazards be saved from the builder. The result is that when they are saved in the nick of time it is at a ruinous cost. Marble Hill has to be bought at double what it cost the speculator. Nor is this the only instance of local apathy and muddle. It will be remembered that a second estate, that of Lebanon House, was made over to the builders last summer at the same time as Marble Hill. The house, from its central position and accommodation, would have made an admirable public library, and was offered to the Council, with the park of the grounds facing the river, for an inconsiderable sum. The Council refused to entertain the proposal, and has recently voted nearly the same amount for a house on the outskirts of Twickenham with a small waterlogged piece of ground attached to it—a transaction not very explicable on the surface. On the Lebanon House property building is being pushed forward. But it is not only the Middlesex side of the river that requires watching. On the other side the Dysart property (extending from Ham House towards Kingston) is said to be 'ripening for development,' and a bargain is proposed by which certain common rights over parts of the property should be extinguished in consideration of a strip of a hundred feet reserved to the public along the bank. We hope any Bill introduced into the House with this aim will be carefully scrutinized.

"Such is the situation on the two sides of this famous reach of the river. Turn now to the part immediately above Richmond Bridge on the Middlesex side. This is Cambridge House and its grounds, a fragment of the Cambridge Park where Francis Bacon once lived and gardened. A builder has covered this with small villas down to the back of the house, but there remains enough to preserve the lovely composition of meadow and tree on which the charm of the view from Richmond Bridge depends. The remainder of this is now being cut into for further building. From what was said at the Twickenham Council meeting it would seem that the meadow in front of Cambridge House was originally 'Lammas land,' that its enclosure is comparatively recent, and the sanction of building upon it merely one instance more of the local apathy that has lost other parts of the river front at Twickenham to public use. The price of redemption will no doubt now be high. The Joint Committee concerned in the purchase of Marble Hill refused, it is understood, to undertake the preservation of the whole river front from Richmond to Twickenham. Failing the committee, the only hope is that private individuals should step in and save this very important corner. Now that Marble Hill is secured by wider action, it is for public-spirited people in the neighbourhood, like Mr. Max Waechter and Sir J. Whittaker Ellis, to take the lead in an effort to save another link in the precious threatened chain. Otherwise, as our correspondent urges, the value of what has been saved will be very seriously diminished, and the splendid opening of the scene from Richmond Bridge degraded beyond recovery.

Daily Chronicle, (06 February, 1902)

ENCLOSING LAMMAS LANDS.—Writing to the "Daily Chronicle," "One who loves the Thames" says:—"I see Earl Dysart intends to bring a Private Bill before Parliament to enable him to gain possession of Ham Fields, consisting of some 400 or 500 acres. About eighteen months or so ago he brought a Bill before the House of Lords for the same purpose, but failed, for they threw it out. All the lands in question belong to the public, they are Lammas lands, and have *never been enclosed*, and no one dare put a fence of any description on them. As breathing ground is nearly all gone it is highly important that these 400 acres of open ground that already belong to the public should not be given away, particularly as it will not cost anything to preserve them, simply to throw out this iniquitous Bill. I see it is proposed (as a sort of sop) that the public shall be allowed to retain a small portion of their land, if they will allow Earl Dysart to enclose and, of course, appropriate the remaining 300 or 400 acres of public lands, which belong to the public already."

HAM LAMMAS LANDS.

The Proposals of the Dysart Trustees.

Daily Chronicle 6/2/02

SHALL THE THAMES BE SPOILT?

There is now before Parliament a Bill which ought to receive the attention of every lover of the River Thames. It has a very specious title. It is called the Richmond Hill (Preservation of View) Bill, and its object is stated to be "to provide for vesting common and other land in local authorities as public open spaces, in order to preserve the view from Richmond Hill, and for other purposes." In this case, the "other purposes" are by far the most important, for, as a matter of fact, the proposals of the Bill will not affect the view from Richmond Hill one iota. What it actually does is to enable the Dysart Trustees to obtain undisputed possession of a strip of land lying by the side of the Thames from Eel Pie Island to Half-mile Corner. In return for this, the trustees offer certain things to the surrounding local authorities, but there never was a case in which suspicion of the *dona ferentes* was more justified. Before it is too late, we desire to call the attention of the local authorities and of the people of London generally to this Bill.

What the Bill will Do.

The Dysart Trustees are the owners and Lords of the Manor of nearly all the land lying between Richmond Great Park and the Thames, including the villages of Petersham and Ham. For years past, disputes between the trustees and the inhabitants of these two villages have been going on, and now an attempt is being made to enclose the land known as Ham Fields, lying between Petersham and Ham and the river. At present this land is let by the trustees as market gardens. It cannot be built over, because the commoners of Petersham and Ham have certain Lammas rights over it. These Lammas rights are relics of the old days when all the land in the country was cultivated under the open-field system of husbandry, and when the commoners had rights of pasture over all cultivated land from Lammas-tide, when the harvest was cleared, to the next seed-time. What the Richmond Hill (Preservation of View) Bill really does is to abolish these rights, and make the Dysart Trustees the absolute owners of 400 acres of land to do as they like with. There is not much doubt as to the reason why the trustees desire this. The land is to be built over, and those who know the neighbourhood say that the land, which is now worth £100 an acre or so, will become worth over £1,000 an acre. In other words, something approaching half-a-million of money will be put into the pockets of the Dysarts.

How the Public will Suffer.

This is a good deal more than a matter for the commoners of Ham and Petersham to consider. As we have said before, the proposal has nothing to do with the preservation of the view from Richmond Hill, because a person standing on the Terrace at Richmond Hill could not see the land in question. But anyone sailing from Kingston to Richmond would find that one of the finest views in Europe—the view across Ham to Pembroke Lodge in Richmond Park and to Richmond Hill—would be blotted out by rows of glaring red-brick villas. The River Thames is one of the best-known and most highly-esteemed playgrounds of London, and the question of keeping its beauties unspoilt is one that affects every Londoner, and, for that matter, every inhabitant of the British Islands. There is the more reason, therefore, why Parliament should scrutinise very closely this proposal of the Dysart Trustees, especially as their enthusiasm for the preservation of the view from Richmond Hill is of very recent growth. For some time past proposals have been made, which are now on the eve of completion, for the saving of the Marble Hill Estate from the hands of the builder. Yet the Dysart Trustees have not contributed a farthing towards the purchase of Marble Hill, although this does really affect the view.

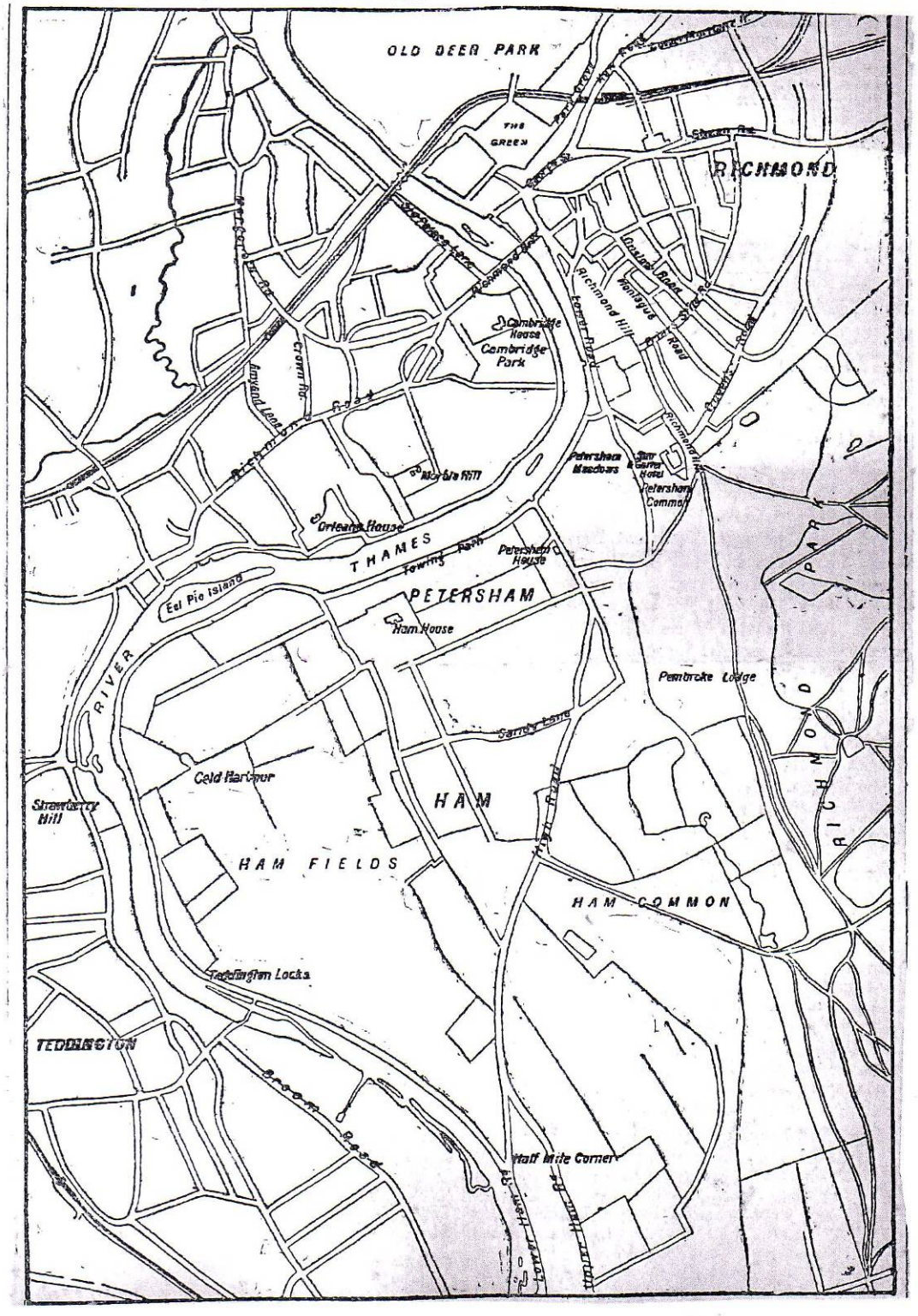
What the Trustees Offer.

But now let us consider what the trustees offer in return for permission to "uglify" the Thames. They propose to hand over Petersham Meadows, Petersham Common, and Ham Common to the public. The first is a small piece of land between Petersham-road and the Thames. Lying below the level of the river, it could never be built on, did the law allow it. At present it is leased by the Richmond Corporation at a rental of £130 a year, and the lease has some twenty years to run. But there are those who say that the corporation have no need to pay this rent. As for Petersham and Ham Commons, they are secure as open spaces for ever, under Orders from the Board of Agriculture, dated 1900 and 1901 respectively. Then the trustees generously offer to give a strip of land along the Thames, which is already secured to the public by an agreement with the Thames Conservators dated 1897; and there are those, again, who know the neighbourhood, who say that the trustees have no rights to give here, or, at any rate, that they have no rights as against the public right of user and access. And finally, the trustees offer the Kingston Cricket Field to the Kingston Corporation. This really does seem to be a bona fide gift of something which the trustees do really possess. The object of making such a gift is not very far to seek. Kingston Corporation has not, in the past, been so ready as that of Richmond to acquiesce in the doings of the Dysarts.

But these gifts of what does not belong to them are coupled with some conditions on the part of the trustees, which are worthy of attention. Clause 10 of the Bill reserves to them "all such rights and easements in, over, or upon Petersham Common, Ham Common,

Daily Chronicle, (06 February, 1902)

Petersham Meadows, and the Richmond and Ham Riverside Lands, as they are now entitled to, including the right to make and open roadways across any strip of common land which may intervene between" land forming part of the Dysart Estates and any public road. In other words, these beautiful riverside commons may be cut up in all directions as public highways, and their whole charm of quietness and sylvan scenery spoilt. As for the owners of the Lammas rights, they are to get nothing beyond what an arbitrator may decide to be their value in excess of the value of the concessions which the trustees have made to the local authorities. And finally comes what is probably the coolest proposal of all. The expenses of obtaining an Act, which virtually gives the Dysart Trustees about 400 acres of valuable building land, are to be borne by the London County Council, the Richmond Corporation, the Kingston Corporation, the Ham District Council, and the trustees, "in such shares as they may agree."



Daily Chronicle, (13 February, 1902)

149. 7/6/1902

RICHMOND HILL VIEW, ETC.

MARBLE HILL ESTATE.

Since the Council's resolution of 12th November last, with respect to a contribution of £10,000 towards the purchase of Marble Hill Estate, the Committee have received further communications from the London County Council.

The Committee have forwarded to the Finance Committee an expression of their views with regard to the proposals of the London County Council, which will be found to be dealt with in the Report of the Finance Committee (p. 243).

EARL DYSART'S BILL.

With regard to the Earl Dysart's proposals referred to in the Committee's last Report, more particularly to Paragraph 4 of Appendix VII., appearing on pages 804 and 805 of the November Reports, the Committee now recommend :—

2. That the Council do by Resolution express their willingness to take over the charge of an open space of about 100 feet in width above high water mark along the River Thames, from Twickenham Ferry to the Half Mile Tree, wherever His Lordship's land abuts upon the river, provided that a clause enabling the County Council to undertake the charge of and maintain such lands be inserted in the Bill, as well as a clause dealing with the proposed widening of the main road in the Parishes of Ham and Kingston, and also that the Council do authorise the entering into and the sealing of an agreement with regard thereto.

The Parliamentary Committee have been asked to take the necessary steps with regard to the insertion of such clauses, as well as any others which may be found necessary, in the event of the County Council agreeing to the above recommendation.

HAM LAMMAS LANDS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE DAILY CHRONICLE.

SIR,—Unless one happen to know, it is ill to prophesy; yet I venture to predict that in the matter of the threatened Lammas Lands, your appeal to the Supreme Court of public opinion will prove successful. True, for the moment, all the powers that be seem arrayed against the protesting commoners, to whose continued struggle is due the very existence of these open fields. Indeed, it is marvellous that the "simple" villagers of Ham have kept so much of the common land free from the encroachments of successive lords of the manor, and their over-zealous agents.

But while wishing to do the most ample justice to local patriotism, the wider consideration of the public interest must remain of the first importance. And one cannot help feeling that Lord Dysart is well advised by his professional and amateur advocates to narrow the issue down to the question, what proportion of the proje compensation the parish of Ham is entitled to ceive. For no possible concession that he make to the residents of Ham could compens Londoners for the loss they most certainly sustain if Lord Dysart's proposals are allowed pass into law. Since every Englishman is cerned in preserving the beauties of the river is so proud of showing to his friends from abro how much more nearly concerned are those live in the immediate neighbourhood? Yet one of the local councils seems able to see an farther than what it imagines to be its own ticular interest. No individual could be so sighted. But then the individual possesses soul which is said to be lacking to the corpo existence; and perhaps a sense of the beauti must always be of too spiritual a quality find embodiment in any board.

You have shown already that the view Richmond Park from the river will be destro if the Ham fields are built over; and it is obvi that should this happen the whole character the lower Thames must suffer. So much so, deed, that, in all probability, pleasure traffic finally desert it for the upper reaches. Nev theless, it almost looks as if Richmond Twickenham were quite undismayed by this pr pect; although they have spent over sixty th sand pounds in order to allow of boating at states of the tide.

Mr. Alderman Burt, in spite of his forty ye of parochial service, fails to see why Richm should stand shoulder to shoulder with Ham opposing the Bill promoted by the Dysart tr tees. Surely he knows that union is streng and that because the ratepayers of Ham wo contribute less to the cost of a contest than th of wealthier Richmond is not a valid reason leaving them to fight alone. One thing is c certain, that to accept whatsoever conces under the private agreement clauses of this ill fully drawn "skeleton" must savour of betra Does the Richmond Town Council covet Pe sham Meadows so greatly that it is willing hear them spoken of as "The Potter's Field"

All men and all bodies of men in this distr should, with one accord, combine to oppose Bill; and none know this better than the advis of Lord Dysart. To prevent this natural coali it would appear from the very able letter of Birkett that they first secured the benevol neutrality of the "Commons Preservation" the other "open spaces" societies. They m entered into diplomatic relations with the corpo tions of Kingston and Richmond, and, as will seen from Mr. Harland's letter of the 11th inst they are willing, if pressed, to make even furth concessions to these locally influential bod Ham they have always regarded as the heredit foe, and with its district council they no lon hold conversations. But are they wise regarding the enemy as a quantité négligeab Do they think that they have finished with th village stalwarts when they reproach them w the "immoral" bargain of '96? An unholy agre ment be it understood, still is it wonderful th the commoners were then ready to barter th birthright for "that same red pottage"?

Fortunately, the case is now before their pee the Commoners of England! Only let voters all shades of political opinion, from the nor east, south, and west, bring it to the attenti of their respective representatives in Parliame and the Bill will meet with plenty of opposit the absence of which on its second reading m well be ascribed to the specious nature of its ti With respect to the view from Richmond Hi there is one aspect that has hitherto pass unnoticed. For though it is perfectly true th

Daily Chronicle, (13 February, 1902), *continued:*

part of the Lammas Lands can be seen from terrace, one cannot go far into the park to-rds Kingston before a very considerable por-n of these fields comes within sight. Follow-g the footpath, immediately the grounds of mbroke Lodge have been passed, the Lammas lds are visible, in the sense that any large ject placed upon them would be a blot upon e landscape. But, say that one continues past c Ham crossroads, and turns to the left, on the gh ridge which leads to Thatched House Lodge. rom any point thereabout the eye may range eely over the Lammas fields to the river which ey border. Now, this and the neighbouring ooded undulations are favourite resting places the thousands who delight in the great park, near to the great city. Here, on a summer ening the benches and grassy slopes are crowded ith the tired men and women workers of the wn. And here they may watch the burnished isc of the sun sink into the red mist that rises om the river. The poorest of them will pity he lord of that fair manor, which stretches away eneath them, if he be in want of money. For hat is a want all can understand; but no man ill ever understand a want of courage to protect he beauty of such a scene.—I have the honour o be, Sir, your obedient servant.

GERALD MAXWELL

Richmond, Surrey, Feb. 13.

Ham Lammas Lands.

E EDITOR OF THE DAILY CHRONICLE.

t seems to me an extraordinary coinci- at at the very moment when the London Council are endeavouring to rescue the ill estate, on the northern bank of the m the speculative builder, Parliament is facilitate the introduction of the specu- ilder on the southern bank, both banks equal importance to the preservation of mond view.

year 1894 or 1895 a similar Bill to the as submitted to Parliament, and thrown large majority. Curiously enough, the Bill passed the second reading almost un- I am inclined to think that honourable were misled by the deceptive title of the ow appeal to all Members of Parliament, t the Bill comes before them, to disregard tive title, and to judge it on its real ll, after doing so, they should still be to pass the Bill, I hope they will at least on the insertion into the Bill of ample to the Richmond Corporation or other odies to purchase at a reasonable price, on the present value of the land, certain he estate which are essential for the pre- of the view. The moment the Bill is e value of the land will be enormously in- nd it may then be too late or the price too arry through the necessary purchases, and mond view would be lost for ever.—I am, s faithfully,

MAX WAECHTER.

rrace House, Richmond, Surrey, Feb. 14.

150

Richmond View.

Sir,—A Bill has lately been introduced into Parliament to which I wish to call public attention. The title of the Bill "Richmond Hill (Preservation of View) Bill" is entirely misleading, and it would have been more appropriate to call it the "Destruction of View Bill." The main object, indeed, the only real object of this Bill, is to free the Dysart estate from Lammas rights, and to make it available for building sites. At the same time it distributes sops to the different local bodies in order to buy off their opposition.

The Dysart Estate is a very important one. It lies along the southern bank of the Thames and stretches for about two miles between Richmond and Kingston. It is evident that the introduction of the speculative builder on this estate cannot possibly preserve the view from Richmond; on the contrary it is bound to spoil, if not to completely wreck it. Many of the fine trees would be cut down, and the green meadows would be replaced by roofs and chimneys and the only safeguards provided in the Bill for the protection of the View—viz., the retention as open spaces of Petersham Meadow and the strip of an average (not minimum) width of 150 feet from the water's edge are utterly inadequate.

It seems to me an extraordinary coincidence that at the very moment when the London County Council are endeavouring to rescue the Marble Hill Estate, on the northern bank of the river, from the speculative builder, Parliament is asked to facilitate the introduction of the speculative builder on the southern bank, both banks being of equal importance to the preservation of the Richmond View.

In the year 1894-95 a similar Bill was submitted to Parliament and thrown out by a large majority. Curiously enough the present Bill passed the second reading almost unobserved. I am inclined to think that honourable members were misled by the deceptive title of the Bill. I now appeal to all members of Parliament, when next the Bill comes before them, to disregard its deceptive title and to judge it on its real merits. If, after doing so, they should still be disposed to pass the Bill, I hope they will at least insist upon the insertion into the Bill of ample powers to the Richmond Corporation or other public bodies, to purchase at a reasonable price, based upon the present value of land, certain parts of the estate which are essential for the preservation of the View. The moment the Bill is passed, the value of the land will be enormously increased, and it may then be too late, or the price too high, to carry through the necessary purchases, and the Richmond View would be lost for ever.—I am, Sir, yours faithfully,

MAX WAECHTER.

The Terrace House, Richmond, Surrey, February 14, 1902.

Daily Mail, (22 September 1898)

GLOVER'S ISLAND UNSOLD.

AN UNSUCCESSFUL AUCTION AT TOKENHOUSE YARD.

("Daily Mail" Special.)

Glover's Island is the centre-piece of one of the prettiest views in England, and its market value, as appraised by Tokenhouse Yard, is precisely £200.

This was the highest bid at yesterday's attempt to sell it, and Mr. Glover promptly withdrew his island.

So many people went to Tokenhouse Yard that the room designed for the sale of this Treasure Island was too small to accommodate them, and they had to remove to larger premises. Mr. Chancellor commenced his oration. As mayor, he remarked that he had done his best to preserve the beautiful spot for Richmond, but his effort was misunderstood. As auctioneer, he mentioned that seven years ago the owner refused an offer of £2,000.

"As a matter of fact," said Mr. Chancellor, "Mr. Glover was most anxious that the corporation should buy the island." (Cries of "Oh, oh.") "It is true that he only gave

A SMALL SUM FOR IT,

but he is entitled to all he can get now." (Laughter, and cries of "He does try.") Mr. Chancellor commenced a history of the island, but his hearers were not interested, and clamoured for business. "Very well, then," said the auctioneer. "What will you bid?"

There was a pause, and then a humorist observed that he would give a "tanner." "A what?" asked the mystified auctioneer.—"Sixpence," said the gentleman, and there was a laugh. Another said he would give £70, "the same as Glover gave for it." On the auctioneer appealing for a sensible offer, £100 was bid, and after this £200, by a gentleman who said he would present the island to the town.

The auctioneer coaxed, the people chaffed, and the desirable nature of Treasure Island as a residential property was explained, but it was all to no avail; there were no further offers; and the final joke was the auctioneer's remark that he would withdraw the island at the reserve price of £4,000.

Treasure Island, therefore, became Glover's Island once more. Richmond can console itself that it is not Cocoa Isle, and hope that before long it will return to its original serenity as Petersham Eyot.

Daily Mail, (07 June 1901)

Daily Mail 7/6/1

RICHMOND'S PERIL.

WORLD-FAMED VIEW THREATENED BY BUILDERS.

The world-renowned view of the wooded banks of the River Thames to be procured from Richmond Hill must be preserved.

Richmond has heard the expressions of delight from the lips of Britishers and foreigners alike as they have gazed at the silver bow of a river winding placidly between banks of green—from the light shades of the chestnuts, willows, and ash trees to the cool deep greens of hawthorns, limes, and aspens, with here and there a magnificent elm standing head and shoulders above his neighbours of the woodland.

Richmond knows the world's regard for the view from Richmond Hill, and now that its very existence is threatened Richmond turns to all England for help in preserving what all England has so thoroughly enjoyed.

For the news has gone forth that trees are to be felled and houses erected on the long reach of Twickenham shore from Twickenham Eyot to Richmond Bridge. Property has been bought for such purposes, and to-morrow may see the initial steps taken towards the demolition of the woods that make the view.

Alderman C. W. Heasler, of Richmond, said to a "Daily Mail" representative yesterday, "The view from Richmond Hill is the world's view, not Richmond's only. Let the work of preservation be started by the City of London or the country at large, and Richmond will do her share; but it is too great a job for Richmond alone. We have bought all the land in the vicinity of Richmond Hill, but we cannot afford to do more. That is the way Richmond feels about it.

"Let the Government step in and preserve the view," said Sir John Whittaker Ellis, in an interview. "Some of the 150 acres necessary could be bought reasonably, and in other instances the right to plant and maintain trees without obtaining actual possession might be purchased. As to Richmond, she has done her share. All Richmond Hill belongs to her.

"It is not a question which consideration alone will help. Something must be done. Absolutely the most notable and far-famed piece of scenery in Great Britain will be destroyed or preserved, and we will know which before a great length of time has passed. Which will it be? It is for England to answer."

5

THE VIEW FROM RICHMOND-HILL.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES.

Sir,—I was much interested in reading in your issue of the 7th inst. the communication from Sir J. Whittaker Ellis, and I fully agree with him as to the desirability of preserving unimpaired the famous view from Richmond-hill, which on more than one occasion has been safeguarded by the efforts of open space societies and others, but which again appears to be endangered by the advance of the builder.

Apparently the particular areas, about 150 acres in extent, which Sir Whittaker considers should now be rescued from the builder's hands lie wholly on the north bank of the river, in the county of Middlesex, and I would suggest that, if he has not already secured an offer of the property at a fair price, negotiations should be entered into with the owners, and that, if reasonable terms can be arranged, the Middlesex County Council should be approached and asked to take up the scheme.

Two years ago the secretary to the Metropolitan Public Gardens Association, noticing a Bill in Parliament dealing with commons, proposed a clause for insertion therein to confer upon all county councils the extensive open space powers until then possessed only by one county council—viz., London—and Lord Teynham and myself were able to get it accepted and passed.

Hence Middlesex is the council that can and should take the lead in this matter. It has, I am glad to say, already shown itself fully alive to the importance of its open space opportunities, notably in connexion with the acquisition of the Alexandra Park and Palace in the north, towards which it was the largest contributor; so it probably would not be unwilling to assist in providing a riverside space in the south-west of the county. If needful, it could ask for the help of the local district councils affected, and if more assistance was requisite it could apply to the County Councils of London and Surrey. I should say that by the powers to which I have alluded county councils are not confined to acquiring spaces within their own areas, but may go outside. Both these councils are interested nearly as much as Middlesex, as Londoners, especially the thousands who frequent the river, would largely use the space adjoining the river bank, whilst the County Council of Surrey cannot but feel desirous of helping forward any scheme for preserving the view for which its county is justly renowned.

I trust that such a combination of authorities as that which I suggest would suffice to provide the requisite funds for carrying out Sir Whittaker's proposal.

It has to be borne in mind that not only the Richmond-hill view, but the amenities of the river, would be seriously affected if these riverside properties were allowed to fall into the builder's hands.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

MEATH, Chairman.

Metropolitan Public Gardens Association, 83, Lancaster-gate, W., June 14.

Daily Mail, (13 July 1901)

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES.

Sir,—Referring to Mr. Henry Clarke's interesting letter in your issue of yesterday, may I be allowed to point out a slight error which that gentleman has fallen into in speaking of Richmond Park? He speaks of Charles I. extending Richmond Park, "a portion of which now forms part of Kew Gardens," to the magnificent dimensions of 2,000 acres. The park which Charles I. enclosed and which the Corporation of London preserved until the Restoration was, however, not that park which is now divided into the Old Deer Park and Kew Gardens, but the park on the top of Richmond-hill which used formerly to be called the New-park. In my book on Richmond I was enabled, through the courtesy of the Office of Works, to reproduce a plan showing the enlargement in 1637 of this park. I am, Sir, yours faithfully,

July 3. E. BERESFORD CHANCELLOR.

13/7/1

The following letter has been addressed by the Secretary of the Commons and Footpaths Preservation Society, to the authorities mentioned therein:—"I am directed by my committee to inform you that it has been strongly suggested to them that the Commons Preservation Society, as the parent open space organisation, should endeavour to organise a conference of the local authorities and open space societies interested to consider whether anything can be done to preserve from threatened disfigurement the view from Richmond Hill. It is suggested that the following authorities each nominate, say, four representatives to attend a conference to be held in July, to consider the matter: The County Councils of Middlesex, Surrey and London, Richmond Corporation, Twickenham Urban District Council, the Commons Preservation Society, the Kyrle Society, the Metropolitan Public Gardens Association, and the National Trust for Places of Historical Interest or Natural Beauty."

THE RICHMOND HILL VIEW. 13/7/1

Alderman Burt moved, in accordance with notice, "That the General Purposes Committee be authorised to negociate on behalf of the Council for the purchase of the Petersham meadows, or in some other way to secure their not being built upon in the future, and to report to the Council thereon, and on any other steps which they think should be taken by the Council for the preservation of the view from Richmond Hill." He said it was supposed that they had control over the whole of the Petersham Meadows, but such was not the case.—The motion was carried.—In accordance with a request by the Twickenham District Council, a sub-committee was appointed to confer with a similar body elected by the Twickenham authority to deal with the question of preserving the view from Richmond Hill.

13/7/1

The "Globe" says:—

"In the opinion of many who have studied the question on the spot the action of Sir Whittaker in writing to the Press and making a public stir has done far more harm than good; for the inevitable result of all this advertisement is that the owner of the property has put up his price; whereas, had Sir Whittaker Ellis kept quiet and confined his actions to private consultations with philanthropists the bargain would probably have been, long ere now, satisfactorily settled. It is now announced that the London County Council are prepared to acquire the property, but they must have time, according to their regulations, for a strict investigation, and it is just time which cannot be granted."

The "Daily News" says:—

"Although," wrote Sir Whittaker Ellis, "the terms proposed by the owner have not been formally accepted, I cannot suppose he would depart from them, looking at the grave public interests that are involved." Well, those terms are departed from. The offer is closed. It means, in all probability, that a better price has been tendered or is in view. The facts bring us face to face with one of the hardest inequalities of the present system. Hundreds and thousands of people have acquired by long lapse of time a vested interest in the natural beauty of a certain spot. They have gazed on it often and often, it has put thoughts in their minds that chased out the little grimy pre-occupations of a mean existence, as mountain water would cleanse a vessel. Their parents may have taken them to see it; they may show it to their children, who may have little enough of nature or of beauty in their small brick-bound experience. Then, suddenly, the hand of a man unknown to them is lifted, and the trees fall, the turf withers, the eye of the green earth is shut. The estate is developed for building purposes; a man can do as he likes with his own. But what man owns the glory that Turner painted? And who has a right to be cruel?

"An Essex Squire" writing to the "Daily Chronicle" says:—

"Why should not the Queen Victoria Memorial Fund, or a part of it, be applied to preserve the lovely view of Richmond Hill for the public? I can imagine no pleasanter way of perpetuating Her late Majesty's name, than saving that lovely scenery, for ever, from the hands of the jerry builder.

I feel sure most Londoners would then give heir mite as well as your obedient servant."

23rd early edition

Saved for the nation

Historic view of St Paul's from park is preserved

By Mira Bar-Hillel
Planning Correspondent

VISITORS have enjoyed the spectacular views across London from Richmond Park for more than three centuries.

Now the sight of St Paul's Cathedral — as seen from King Henry VIII's mound — will be protected for future generations.

Developers will not be allowed to put up tall buildings around Liverpool Street Station for fear of spoiling the "unique and outstanding" view.

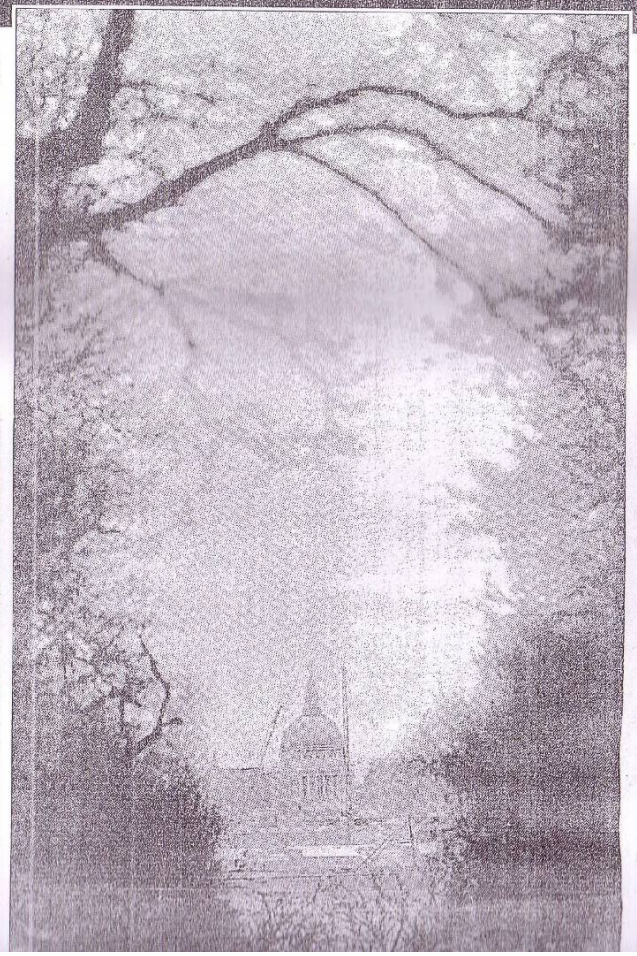
The ruling comes in the new London Plan, a document that will govern development in the capital for the next 15 to 20 years, and follows a campaign to persuade Mayor Ken Livingstone that the view was worth protecting.

When the plan was being drawn up, the vista from Richmond to St Paul's was excluded from the list of protected London views.

Mayor Livingstone said it didn't exist — arguing that tall trees were already blocking the view. But last March the Standard demonstrated the quality of the view by publishing a picture showing that St Paul's can be seen from King Henry's Mound.

The inspectors who were examining the Mayor's plan went to King Henry's Mound to see for themselves and found the view "unique and outstanding".

And now the London Plan has designated the view as part of the London View Protection Framework.



London Evening Standard, (23 February 2004)

London Evening Standard, (12 January, 2011)

News

Ross Lydall
12 Jan 2011

Recommend 56 0

When plans for the Shard of Glass were first considered a decade ago, conservationists described it as a "spike through the heart" of heritage London.

Critics today claimed the warning has come true.

A photograph taken from Parliament Hill — one of six protected panoramas — shows how Europe's tallest building dramatically compromises views of London's greatest landmark, St Paul's Cathedral.



Over the top: the 310m Shard of Glass dominates the view of St Paul's from Parliament Hill





An English Heritage spokeswoman said: "We must ask if the colossal impact of this building will be celebrated in 300 years' time, as Wren's masterpiece continues to be today.

"We maintain that location is all. Southwark deserves investment but it should not come at the expense of one of London's most precious, and finite, assets — its heritage."

The £400 million Shard is almost double the height of Sir Christopher Wren's masterpiece even before its completion in the summer of next year.

Its "topping out" ceremony last month was celebrated as the central core of the giant glass pyramid reached 72 storeys. It will stand 1,016 feet (310 metres) when completed.

The tower will have 44 lifts and be topped by a four-floor viewing gallery which will be open to the public. A new concourse and a piazza will be complete by 2013 and will link it to London Bridge station.

Devised by property magnate Irvine Sellar and designed by Italian architect Renzo Piano, it was enthusiastically supported by Ken Livingstone as Mayor. He even ordered Transport for London to take a reported £13.5 million a year lease on office space to help its funding. The Shard was eventually approved by John Prescott after a public inquiry.

But it was opposed by English Heritage, which complained to the public inquiry about an "unequivocal, major and detrimental impact" on protected views of the cathedral from Parliament Hill and Kenwood and a "negative intrusion" on two world heritage sites, the Tower of London and Palace of Westminster.

Rules overseen by the Mayor protect six views of central London — from Alexandra Palace, Parliament Hill, Kenwood, Primrose Hill, Greenwich Park and Blackheath Point. According to the London View Management Framework, developments "should provide an appropriate setting for strategically important landmarks by not crowding in too close to them and by not contributing to a canyon effect either side of the protected vista".

Martin Standiffe, Surveyor to the Fabric of St Paul's Cathedral, said: "We raised our concerns about the effect of the scale of the Shard on St Paul's in this iconic view at the public inquiry but our objection was over-ruled. This photograph demonstrates that our concerns were well-founded."

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Punch Magazine, (09 October, 1886)

RESCUED!

A ROMAUNT OF RICHMOND HILL.



It was the Jerry-Builder Dragon,
And he up and says, says he,
"A finer spot for a Building Lot,
Mine eyes did never see."

And it was the Lass of Richmond Hill,
Who raised a doleful cry:
"O Gentles, your duty is rescuing Beauty,
Then save me ere I die!"

And oh, it was stout Sir FREDERICK LEIGHTON,
And valiant VICAT COLE,
Who, couching brush, came forth with a rush,
To save that Lass from dole.

And Major BULL, and Mr. HILDITCH,
To help did with success try;
It pleasant to tell is of WHITTAKER ELLIS,
And eke of the Richmond Vestry.

Likewise the Local Government Board,
At need were loyal found,
To do the thing handsome, by means of a
Of fifteen thousand pound. [ransom,

But then came forth the Good Knight *Punch*,
And brought his broadsword down,
In aid most hearty of the Rescue Party,
Of famous Richmond Town.

Richmond and Twickenham Times, (01 October 1898)

1898.



Photo by Byrne and Co., Richmond.

MR. J. GLOVER,

OWNER OF GLOVER'S ISLAND.

Joe Glover, sir? Yes, that's my name.
Why thank'ee. Fill it not quite full.
Lor' bless you, sir, I rubs along.
I'm feelin' pretty passable.

Well, since you ask, there is a point
I'd like to say a word about:
Why is it people always stare
Whenever I goes walkin' out?

And, yes—there's just one other thing:
I'd take it kind if you could tell
Why islands and the like o' that
Is so confounded hard to sell?

Richmond and Twickenham Times, (14 September 1898)

-WEDNESDAY EVENING, SEPTEMBER 14, 1898.

GLOVER'S ISLAND.

THE TOWN COUNCIL REFUSE TO PURCHASE IT.

THE MAYOR'S STATEMENT.

MORE CORRESPONDENCE.

At the monthly meeting of the Richmond Town Council held last night the Amenities Committee presented the following report:—

A circular letter, dated the 24th August, has been issued by His Worship the Mayor, referring to the proposed sale by auction of Petersham Ait or Glover's Island by his firm, on the 21st September, and stating that in the interest of the Corporation and the public generally, he had secured from the owner in writing the option of purchase by the Corporation prior to the day of sale at £4,000.

The circular points out that unless acquired by or for the Corporation, the island might be converted into a manufactory or a gigantic advertising medium, or some other purpose ruinous to the view from Richmond Hill, and invites contributions towards the purchase. Up to this date the amount offered is £50.

The rateable valuation of the island is £18 a year.

The advertisement of the auction describes the property as freehold, "with large boathouse, workshops, dressing rooms, dry dock, and garden, the whole comprising an area of about half-an-acre," and as affording "a splendid site for the erection of a first-class club or hotel, or for an electric storage station, launch works, or as an advertising medium." The auctioneers are Messrs. Chancellor and Sons, and the solicitors named in the advertisement are Messrs. Senior and Furbank.

The committee would remind the Council that in their report to the Council meeting of 9th April, 1895, a correspondence between Mr. Glover's then solicitors and Sir J. Whittaker Ellis is set forth, in which the island was offered to Sir Whittaker for £5,000, and that this offer was handed over to the Corporation, and that the Council unanimously adopted the following resolution of this committee, namely:—

"That whilst the committee think it desirable that the island should be acquired for the Corporation if it could be obtained at a reasonable price, they are of opinion that in view of the sum now named it would be useless to enter into any negotiation for its purhase."

The committee are informed that Mr. Glover purchased the island in 1872 for £70. He has erected the present boat shed and other wooden buildings now existing thereon.

The committee consider that the place is quite unsuitable for most of the purposes mentioned in the advertisement, and that it is extremely unlikely to be bought for those purposes; they are still of opinion that the Island should be acquired for the Corporation if it can be obtained on reasonable terms, but they think that £4,000 is not a reasonable price, and that such a sum can only be demanded on the assumption that the people of Richmond would pay a heavy blackmail to avoid a nuisance or disfigurement to the landscape.

The committee feel convinced that neither the Council nor the ratepayers, if they were consulted, would consent to this, and that public opinion would condemn in the strongest manner any proposal or threat to injure the world-renowned view of which this little island forms a part, with the object of compelling the Corporation to pay an outrageously excessive price for it, and they believe that means would be found to make any attempt unsuccessful.

The committee recommend the Council not to accept the option of purchasing the island for £4,000.

—Alderman Burt moved that the report should be received and the minutes not read.—This was agreed to.—Councillor Garratt said he thought it would be as well that the Mayor and Town Clerk should retire while this matter was being discussed, as they were mixed up in it. He should therefore propose that the ex-Mayor should take the chair.—The Mayor said that he should not object to anything that Councillor Garratt had to say, or any other member.—Councillor Cockram said he should support Councillor Garratt's proposition. It would give the Council greater liberty of speech.—Councillor Ward said he should speak just as candidly if the Mayor were there as if he were away, but he was bound to say that public opinion outside was in favour of the course proposed.—Alderman Burt thought that what was proposed was hardly necessary. He should speak much more freely in their presence than in their absence. He hoped that the motion would not be pressed.—Councillor Garratt said he did not mean to insinuate that anyone would not speak as freely in the Mayor's presence as in his absence. But he thought it would be better that someone else should be in the chair. —Alderman Thompson said he did not know that anyone wished the Mayor and Town Clerk to leave the room, but he thought it would be sailing very close to the wind if they took part in the proceedings. It would put the Mayor in a much more pleasant position if someone else were in the chair. —Alderman Robinson said observations might be made which the Mayor might be able to correct.—Alderman Roberts said he did not think the Town Clerk had any right to vacate his chair on that occasion.—Alderman Sir James Sziumper said the Mayor had usually fulfilled the mechanical duties of chairman; he trusted he would do the same on this occasion and take no part in the discussion.—Alderman Thompson urged that the Mayor, as having a pecuniary or at least professional interest in the question, did come within the scope of the Act.—Councillor Garratt said that on a previous occasion an alderman had retired from his official position. —The Mayor said he was quite willing to remain in the chair as the Mayor and chairman, and to hear what they had to say, but he should not vote, however close the discussion might go. —Some discussion followed as to whether Councillor Garratt's motion was withdrawn, but as he hesitated on the point, the Mayor asked him to send it up.—Alderman Burt read the clause of the Act, which he held applied without doubt to the present case, to prevent the Mayor from taking part in the discussion.—Councillor Humphreys took the same view.—Alderman Thompson pointed out that the effect of this was that the Mayer could not speak at all.—Councillor Garratt then formally moved—

That the Mayor and Town Clerk leave the chair and take no part in the discussion on the report of the Amenities Committee relating to the purchase of Glover's Island.

—This was put and lost, receiving eight votes to eleven.—Alderman Burt moved the adoption of the report, which stated the circumstances under which the committee met, and what had happened on a former occasion. He had no doubt the recommendation would be carried unanimously (hear, hear), and he did not think he need say much. But the circumstances under which this came before them were very peculiar, and he did not think he should be doing right in passing them by without saying something about them. The first that he knew of it himself was the letter from the Mayor saying that the property was for sale, that it had been placed in his hands for sale, and that he had obtained an option for the town for its purchase for £4,000. If that had been done by the Council nothing could have been better, but taking that course without instructions from a committee or from the Council was putting the matter upon a wrong basis. The option of £4,000 with the Mayor's name attached would lead the outside public to understand that the Council considered it a reasonable price. He did not think there was a single man in Richmond who considered the place worth anything like £4,000 (hear, bear). A great number would say that it was not worth one-third of that. But by issuing this circular and stating this option and asking

Richmond and Twickenham Times, (14 September 1898) *continued:*

for subscriptions it would appear as though the Council were acting through the Mayor in the matter, though the Council had not been consulted, nor, he thought, any member. It was, he thought, a mistake to issue a letter and to take the option at that figure, and this appeared to be confirmed by the fact that although the appeal had been published so widely in the papers the magnificent sum of £50 had been offered. The ground, apparently, upon which the price of £4,000 was suggested was not that the place was worth that, but that it might be used in future in a manner very objectionable to Richmond and to those who visited Richmond. If there was anything in the world that an Englishman hated it was to be blackmailed (hear, hear). He would himself rather submit to anything than be threatened and bullied. Threats were held out that unless they paid £4,000 they would be compelled to submit to an abominable nuisance by the disfigurement of the island. The advertisement and circular spoke very largely of the advantages of the island as an advertising medium, but he was glad to say that in the detailed particulars upon which the place was to be sold, there was no mention of the advertising medium. He thought that was very important, as it showed that the gentlemen who dealt with the matter had come to the conclusion that the island was not adapted for advertising purposes. He thought if an advertising station were erected there it would not be very difficult to answer it. There were two islands there once, and now there was only one. A flood might come and wash the whole thing away. If an advertising station were put up, there would be a very handsome gallows erected in Petersham Meadows, with the figure of the owner of the advertising station pendant from it, to be seen by everyone who went up and down the river, and the young people of Richmond would remember him every Fifth of November (laughter). He would rather not be the owner of that advertising station. He believed that if an advertising station were put up there, everybody in Richmond would taboo everything that was advertised on the station. He would do without a great many liver pills and other things that he might use himself. He was certain that if anything were done in this way the man who did it would be hounded out of Richmond, and declared by everyone in London as unfit to be associated with. He suggested that it was because those facts had passed through the minds of the people who prepared the details of sale that nothing was said in them about the advertising stations. Something was said about building a hotel, but there was the Star and Garter and Messum's nice little place close by, and the White Cross and others. Then there was a suggestion about a boating club. But the members of boating clubs were gentlemen, and they would know that Richmond had spent £45,000 that they might have a river at Richmond which they might row upon, and it was not likely that any good club would take part in the establishment of a building that would be an eyesore. The second point he wanted to come to was that the committee were quite willing to buy the island at its fair value. They were willing to do so in 1885, and they were willing now. They were not dogs in the manger, preventing a man from using his property for reasonable purposes. He was sorry he was not able to go into the question of what was a proper sum to pay, because £1,000 having been mentioned, it was impossible for him to do so. He had received one letter from a gentleman in Richmond who was in favour of buying the island. He did not say that he was in favour of paying £4,000, but merely said that he was in favour of buying it, and so were they all. There was one matter he must speak upon. If they were to yield to this pressure and purchase the island at the fabulous price that was asked, it would do more harm than good to the Thames. It would be a precedent for putting every island in the river up to a fabulous price, and levying blackmail on those who lived in the neighbourhood by making it a nuisance to them He did not say what the Committee would do after this ; their attitude must be that of waiting for developments. He thought in their future action they should take a liberal view rather than a hard one.—Councillor Wren seconded.—Councillor Cockram : I have an amendment to propose.—Councillor Humphreys said that after the advertisement Alderman Burt had given to Glover's Island he thought that ordinary speculators would be somewhat afraid, and that the £4,000 would not be obtained. He had noticed in the Press that some people thought Mr. Glover should not have asked £4,000 for what he gave £70 for years ago. He did not agree with that. They had rich peop'e on the Hill, and he wondered that some of them had not come forward and said that they would not have the island turned into a trade or advertising station. He was glad that this would not be done, because then they would have such speculation in regard to every pretty plot of land in Richmond. But he did not see how they could condemn those who asked £4,000, or even £10,000 if they liked, for this island. It was the public who would be foolish to give any such a price. He did not know that he would join in the censure passed on the Mayor. It was in the holiday season ; and with that anxiety to protect the interest of the town which he had exhibited in other matters, the Mayor tried to avoid allowing the opportunity to go by for the town to buy at a price.—Councillor Cockram begged to move as an amendment that no offer be made for Glover's Island. He objected to the island being obtained on behalf of the Corporation. There were circumstances in connection with Glover's Island that were objectionable.—The Mayor asked Councillor Cockram to send his amendment up in writing.—Councillor Cockram said he would do that, and quite anticipated that the Mayor would rule him out of order(laughter). —The Mayor said that showed what a very bad opinion he must have of himself.—Alderman Burt urged that that the amendment did not conflict with the report, and should therefore not be taken as an amendment, but subsequently.—The Mayor concurred, and went on to say that he should like to know, before putting the motion, if the Council would give him leave to make a few observations. — Alderman Thompson respectfully submitted that it would be quite wrong for the Mayor to take part in the discussion. If he had not been in the chair, he could have done so.—The Mayor : No. —Alderman Szlumper supported the report. At the north end of the borough they were also anxious for the amenities of Richmond, but some of his friends and neighbours were very anxious with regard to the proposal to buy Glover's Island. He had been glad to be able to relieve their feelings that morning by telling them what the Amenities Committee had done. He did not agree with Councillor Humphreys ; were he the owner of Glover's Island he should not think of asking such a sum. He was quite sure that the part the Mayor was taking in this matter had not been dictated by any desire to injure the borough. He only regretted that he had not taken the course of calling a meeting of chairmen of committees to lay the thing before them. He did not think they should say a word derogatory of what the Mayor

Richmond and Twickenham Times, (17 September 1898)

GLOVER'S ISLAND.

The Richmond Town Council has formally declared, by the unanimous vote of its members, that it will not pay £4,000 for Petersham Ait, or Glover's Island, as it has of late years become known. It has, moreover, been made abundantly clear by the discussion which took place on the subject on Tuesday night that the Council is not to be persuaded or frightened into paying anything like that sum. Is anyone surprised? We venture to think that no one is in the least bit astonished—not even the Mayor, or Mr. Glover himself. It is beyond belief that either of them expected the Richmond Town Council, which is as enlightened and level-headed a public body as can be found anywhere, to pay £4,000 for the island. We know that the Mayor did not, because he made strenuous, though ineffectual, efforts to obtain private subscriptions, in order to bring the amount down to something which he thought the Corporation probably would pay. Mr. Glover may have hoped that the members of the Town Council, with their nerves shaken by dreadful apparitions of big chimneys, unsightly sheds, ugly hoardings, or fearsome sky signs, visions of which have been conjured up with cheerful ingenuity, would be prepared to pay anything to prevent their waking hours being made wretched by the materialisation of this phantasmagoria. He may have hoped for this; but he can scarcely, knowing something of the men of which the Town Council is composed, have expected to realise his wild desires. He may have expected that the Council would make him an offer, and of course that was a possibility; but they have not even done that, and small blame to them. With regard to the part played in this business by the Mayor (Councillor Chancellor), there can be no doubt that he would have served his interests as a public man better by declining to have anything to do with the sale of the island professionally. There is, however, nothing to be gained by discussing that question now. As we have said before, he believed he was acting in the interests of the town, and he has done his best, openly and fearlessly, to carry out the plan that, to him, seemed expedient. He has not succeeded, but it is right to point out that he has shown throughout the proceedings in connection with this question, not the slightest pique or ill-feeling, or anything but anxiety to see the important question of the future of the island settled satisfactorily, and the non-success of his plan for removing any risk of evil consequences attending the sale of the island has been regarded by him, with regret, no doubt, but, with perfect good-humour. We, therefore, venture to express the hope that, in fairness to the Mayor, none of the spiteful, or at least unkind, suggestions, that have been made as to his motives, or responsibility for bringing the matter forward, will be listened to by the burgesses, over whom he has so ably and so hospitably presided during the past year. Unfortunately, in Richmond, as in most other places, every action of a public man is mercilessly criticised, and, by a section of the community, the worst possible construction is put on everything he does. It requires imperturbability of no ordinary kind, and an insensibility which few men possess, to be able to ignore altogether the slings and arrows of adverse criticism, even though it be entirely undeserved. The long professional training and experience of the Mayor has doubtless imparted to his mind a philosopic turn, which in a case of this sort will serve him admirably. One cannot always succeed even when right; and one cannot always be right. Mr. Chancellor's successes in the past should easily console him for the failure to accomplish what he set out to do in regard to Glover's Island. The matter is not ended yet, and we know not what a few days may bring forth. We shall probably best consult the interests of the town by not speculating on what may happen, or enquiring too closely as to the intentions of anyone in regard to the matter. So far as we know the island will be offered for sale on Wednesday next, and it will presumably be knocked down to the highest bidder. It would be idle to pretend that Richmond does not care what happens to the ait; we feel sure that much interest in its fate will be manifested by all the inhabitants of the borough, and there can be no doubt that universal regret would be aroused by the application of this patch of shrub and verdure to a use which would impair the beauty of the landscape amidst which it has been set by Nature.

Richmond and Twickenham Times, (17 September 1898)

Prof. Democritus Dart,

AT HOME,

LOCAL CHIT-CHAT *Every Saturday*

The bubble is pricked. The whole tone of the debate concerning Glover's Island, at Tuesday's meeting of the Richmond Town Council, demonstrated that the entire weight of public opinion in the borough is dead against being forced to pay through the nose every time the cry of "Richmond Hill in Danger" is heard. Wisely did the Council decide to wait until Alderman Burt returned. In a vigorous, plainly-worded speech, he gave the other side what for. "If there was anything in the world that an Englishman hated, it was to be blackmailed." The Alderman might have gone further, and said that there was nothing upon which the English laws look with a more ominous frown than the blackmailer.

* * *

One statement made by the Mayor at the end of the Council meeting is, I venture to submit, worthy of more notice than it appears to have received. He said:—"The Amenities Committee call attention in their report to the fact that in 1872 (twenty-six years ago) the owner bought the island for £70, but they do not mention that the island was at that period an ozier bed, and in a ruinous state, partially washed away by the tide, and since then the island has by great labour, and a large expenditure by Mr. Glover, been reclaimed, campshedded, enlarged, and converted into its present condition."

* * *

One cannot help the question passing through one's mind, "By what right did Mr. Glover ENLARGE his island?" There is only one way in which he could have done this—by encroaching on the river. In which case, who gave him permission to do this? There is a very nice point raised here. If I put my hand into another man's pocket and abstract the contents, I am a thief. There is no mistake about that. I may only have taken a shilling, or I may have filched a bundle of five pound notes. But in either case I have committed a felony, and am very properly given into custody. Now, I am not aware as to the extent by which the Eyot has been increased under the present ownership. Possibly, seeing that the Mayor thought the enlargement worth mentioning when speaking of the enhanced value of the property, it may be something rather considerable. But suppose it be only by a few square yards. Can this be done legally?

* * *

By way of argument, let us consider Eel Pie Island higher up the river. That is a very much more valuable property, and if it were enlarged, would probably be worth even more than it is at present. Now, by judicious pile-driving, aided by the mud deposits at the upper end of the island, it seems to me that the proprietors could, at a not very great outlay, add a considerable area to their land, thereby greatly increasing its value. Would they be allowed to do this? Who could give them permission? And what would be the result if they started to do it without? Mr. Glover may only have scooped in inches where the owners of Eel Pie Island would take yards, just the same as I only abstracted a shilling out of that other man's pocket when I might have had pounds. But the principle is the same, I think.

whole matter reckoned up and settled once and for all while we are at it. A man buys a piece of land in the middle of the Thames. He encroaches on the river (which is public property) for the purposes of increasing the area of the said land. Having done which, this is used as an argument in favour of the public buying it at nearly sixty times the price originally given for it. So that the public are being asked to buy at least a portion of what really belongs to them. This may seem a very extraordinary statement. But, having in mind the statement of the Mayor on Tuesday, my simple logic irresistibly forces me to the foregoing conclusion.

* * *

Councillor Cockram, in his contribution to the debate, on Tuesday, was as usual hopelessly out of it. He opposed the purchase of the island by the Council, not on account of the excessive price, nor the covert threats held out concerning it, but because "there were circumstances in connection with Glover's Island that were objectionable." Just as if that would not be the very reason why the Council should acquire it, so as to do away with the said circumstances. Oh! Mr. Cockram! Mr. Cockram! the seaside place whereat you have been enjoying yourself seems to have worked its name into your head. Soft deal, quotha!

* * *

One other statement made at the meeting must be noticed—that of Councillor Garratt, who said "Mr. Glover was not particularly anxious to sell the island." What did he mean by that? For a man "not particularly anxious to sell," Mr. G. has been behaving somewhat queerly of late. But perhaps Councillor Garratt is in possession of some exclusive information on the subject. Anyhow, SOMEBODY is anxious to get £4,000 for that island. And if it is not the owner, who is it? These speculations worry me, a lot.

* * *

OUR SLIPSHOD ENGLISH PRONUNCIATION

A LITTLE MISUNDERSTANDING.

1ST MAN (to friend in the publishing line, who has just come to live in Richmond): Well, what do you think of Glover's Island?

2ND MAN: Never heard of it.

1ST MAN (incredulously): Never heard of it? Why, it's been boomed in nearly every paper in England.

2ND MAN: Good business! That ought to mean a big sale.

1ST MAN: Think so? It won't be four thousand, I'll bet.

2ND MAN: Nonsense; more like a hundred thousand after all those notices.

1ST MAN (aghast): What? A hundred thousand—for Glover's? It's easy to see you don't know what it is.

2ND MAN: Perhaps I don't. What IS "Glover's Ireland"? Guide book? popular history? or what? (Left explaining.)

* * *

A correspondent suggests that as the "advertising" scare seems to be a pleasant little fiction, why not call the half-acre All-my-Eye-land?

* * *

A DISMAL WAIL.

SUNG ON THE RIVER BANK JUST BY WATER LANE, RICHMOND.

(N.B.—Mr. Glover has not been seen about much lately.)

Oh! where, and oh! where is my Island laddie gone?
Oh! where, and oh! where is my Island laddie gone?
I've tried to raise the wind, but there's nobody at home;
And it's oh! in my heart I wish I'd left the blessed thing alone.

Richmond and Twickenham Times, (20 July 1898)

MORE CORRESPONDENCE ABOUT GLOVER'S ISLAND.

"Petersham Ait" writes :—

Now that I am being so much talked about, I must beg of you to use your great influence in preventing me from being called by a name that is not mine.

It is true that some years ago Mr. Glover became my owner, and disfigured me, but he did not marry me, and therefore I never took his name. For centuries I have been called "Petersham Ait," and as such I prefer to continue to be known, although folks are at liberty to spell the second word "Ayte" or "Eyot" if they prefer it. Please save me from being called "Glover's Island," for I hope soon to be "Richmond's Island." And although I shall still be in Twickenham, I prefer to be called "Petersham Ait."

"Surveyor" sends the following letter, which he has headed, "How to Checkmate Mr. Glover" :— .

I am informed that a meeting was recently held by the Corporation of Richmond to decide as to whether the town should accept this benevolent gentleman's generous offer to sell this island at the sum of £4,000, and it was very sensibly decided not to do so. I understand that the island has been rated for some years at the very absurd value of £18 per annum. This, according to Mr Glover's own showing, is ridiculous. Therefore, I suggest that at the next re-assessment of the value of property in Richmond he should be rated by his own showing on a capital of £4,000, which, put on the six per cent. table, would make a rental value of £240 per annum. As the rates in Richmond average 6s. in the £, Mr. Glover would have to pay about £70 a year in rates and taxes. This, I think, would bring him to his senses. I presume there are dressing rooms for his customers on the island; if so, I would suggest that the town should serve a sanitary notice to compel him to drain into the main sewer. This he would also find rather an expensive matter, and I think it would end in being a case of "diamond cut diamond."

[Glover's Island is in Twickenham, not Richmond, but we daresay the Twickenham ratepayers would not mind relief to the extent suggested.—Ed., "R. & T. T."]

Councillor Cockram writes :—

The discussion in the Town Council last Tuesday night raises the very important question as to whether or not the Town Clerk, who is a solicitor, should take private practice, seeing that the interests of his clients and the Council must occasionally clash. In some cases where the Councils are unable to pay a reasonable sum to their clerks it might be tolerated, but in Richmond, where the Town Clerk gets a good salary, this dual position should not be. Ever since I have been on the Council I have tried to bring this separation about—and very recently on the appointment of his son at £200 a year—but failed. I have said "good" salary, in proof of which I refer to the lists of cheques sanctioned last Tuesday. The first two items on the list are :—

Senior, Fredk. B., town clerk, one month's salary.....	£50	0	0
Senior, Fredk. B., clerk to justices, one quarter's salary	£85	0	0

In addition he holds the Vestry clerkship, at £50 a year, making a total of £990 a year, out of which he has to pay his assistant clerk at the Bench about £120 a year; but deducting £150 it leaves a clear income of £840. I think the ratepayers, through the Council, are very liberal masters, and I—had I been in his place—should have hesitated before I had allowed the Mayor in his circular to say "he (the Town Clerk) advises me that they (the Corporation) can legally do so." Legally do what? Why make up the difference between the subscriptions and £4,000, the option fixed by the Mayor for half an acre of land, this difference being, up to last Tuesday night, £3,835 17s. 0d.

The "Sun," on Wednesday, had the following :—"That the Richmond Town Council are justified in refusing to give a fancy price for Glover's Island is quite evident. In fact, there are people ready to condemn the Mayor for rushing in with a proposal for public subscriptions. But there is all the difference in the world between refusal to buy and intimidation of competitors. Alderman Burt is reported to have said that—

If the island were used as an advertisement station a big gallows would rise on Petersham Meadows opposite, with an effigy of the owner suspended, and the children of Richmond would remember him every Fifth of November. Anyone who attempted to use the island for a disfiguring purpose would be hounded out of Richmond.

"If I were Mr. Glover I should test that statement in every possible way. If the offer of the advertising agents was genuine. I apprehend that the island can be sold to them and used as an advertising station without let or hindrance. Threats of effigies and hounding-down are perfectly futile. If the Richmond Corporation had been really alive to the danger of spoiling this stretch of the Thames they could have bought the island quietly a few years back for a couple of hundreds of pounds."

The writer is evidently ignorant that the price asked for the island "a few years ago" was not "a couple of hundred pounds," but £5,000. As to the "futility" of the warnings to possible disfigurers of the view—well, we shall see.—[Ed. R. and T.T.]

Richmond Town Council was in a highly martial mood last night, when its members assembled in full force to discuss the proposed purchase of "Glover's Island." Seldom has that body held a more animated debate, and the word "blackmail" was not only whispered, but flung boldly and broadcast. The owner of the islet wishes £4,000 for the property, which, in 1872, was purchased for £70 and is now rated at £18 a year, and the Mayor of Richmond, in whose hands the sale was placed, secured the option of buying it at the large sum mentioned for the ratepayers. But the people would have nothing of it, and a subscription set afoot with the view of raising the money was an ignominious failure. An attempt was made at last night's meeting to prevent the Mayor and the Town Clerk from taking part in the proceedings on the ground that they were interested in the sale of the island, but it was not successful, and these two gentlemen remained to hear a good deal of strong criticism of their action. The Amenities Committee reported that the corporation ought to have the place, but that £4,000 was a preposterous price, which no one in his senses would think of offering. They regarded such a sum as "outrageously excessive," and believed adequate means could be found to prevent any attempt to destroy the beautiful scene from Richmond Hill. Much plain speaking was used, with the full approval of most of the members. Ultimately the committee's report disapproving of the purchase at the sum mentioned was carried unanimously, but a further proposal binding the Council not to make any offer whatever for the property was rejected, because it might unnecessarily tie the hands of the Council in the future. Glover's Island is thus left to its fate.

Richmond and Twickenham Times, (24 August 1898)

The Thames Valley Times,
THE MID-WEEKLY ISSUE OF THE
Richmond and Twickenham Times.
WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 24, 1898.

Across the Walnuts and the Wine.

In after-dinner talk,
Across the Walnuts and the Wine.

Tennyson's *Miller's Daughter.*

Glover's Island, about which there has been many a scare, is now announced to be sold by auction by Messrs. Chancellor and Sons, on Wednesday, September 1st. The island lies right in the foreground of the famous view from Richmond Hill, and for that reason it has caused something like a spasm of alarm when the owner has threatened—as he has done more than once—to sell it as a site for advertising hoardings, for the erection of a factory, or for something else equally disagreeable. Now that, apparently, a serious attempt is to be made to dispose of the property, we trust it will fall into good hands. It would be very disagreeable to the Mayor if, in the course of his professional duties, it fell to him to sell the island for a purpose that would be disadvantageous to his borough. In their advertisement the auctioneers say that "the island has for many years past been utilised for boatbuilding and storage purposes, for which it is well adapted, and it affords a splendid site for the erection of a first-class club or hotel." Seeing that the area is only about half-an-acre, there is not much room for a "first-class club or hotel," which, in this situation, would require a good garden space. There are only two or three hotels on the river that have been erected on islands accessible only by boats, and these have not been so brilliantly successful as to attract much speculation in this direction. It would be a good thing if some public benefactor would purchase the island and deal with it as Mr. Tatham dealt with that bearing his name near Kingston. This is simply reserved as a place where people may land from their boats and take their tea pic-nic fashion.

TO THE EDITOR.

Sir,—One thing I trust and believe to be certain, and that is that this island will not pass into the hands of the builder, or worse still of the advertising fiend. Past experience has shown that our public spirited Corporation will devise some means to prevent such a dismal catastrophe, but all Richmond must back up its efforts and give its support to whatever scheme may be propounded. And others who enjoy our lovely view and river should come forward to help the good work.—Yours obediently,

G. C. COLMAN.

2, The Green, Richmond, Surrey, 26th Aug., 1898.

RICHMOND.

THE VIEW FROM RICHMOND HILL.

GLOVER'S ISLAND IN DANGER.

The Mayor of Richmond has sent us copies of circular letters which he has issued with reference to Glover's Island and the view from Richmond Hill:

Sir,—May I ask your favourable consideration and valued support in aid of the subject mentioned in the enclosed letter.

I feel it is fortunate that the opportunity has presented itself to me, during my Mayoralty, of at least making an effort to still further save the beauty of this far-famed landscape from inconceivable damage, if not utter ruin.

The Corporation have secured much of the Richmond portion of the view from Richmond Hill, by taking over from the Dysart Trustees, Petersham Meadow, immediately beneath the Star and Garter hotel; the Terrace Walk, and Richmond Hill.

The misuse of this Island, in the very centre of the landscape, would undoubtedly have a fatal effect on all that has been done to preserve it.—I am, sir, yours obediently,

ALBERT CHANCELLOR, Mayor.

Town Hall, Richmond, Surrey, 25th Aug., 1898.

[Enclosure.]

Town Hall, Richmond, Surrey,
24th August, 1898.

The owner of the island opposite Petersham Meadows, known as "Glover's Island," has instructed my firm to offer this freehold property for sale by auction on the 21st September next, and the same is so being advertised.

It has, however, occurred to me, having regard to the amenities of Richmond Hill, that the property is one that should be secured by, or for, the Corporation of Richmond, especially considering that no limitation exists, or is intended to be placed by the vendor, as regards the purposes to which the property may be applied, and hence it is obvious that if so sold at the auction, the island may be converted into a manufactory or a gigantic advertising medium, or some other purpose ruinous to the far-famed view from Richmond Hill. I understand that already an offer has been made to the vendor, by a large advertising firm, for the property, but as Mayor of the Borough and in the interest of the Corporation and indeed of the public generally, I have secured from the owner, in writing, the option of purchase by the Corporation prior to the day of sale at £4,000.

I have conferred with the Town Clerk as to the right of the Corporation to acquire the property, and he advises me that they can legally do so.

There is, however, but little doubt that the Corporation would not feel justified in expending so large a sum out of the Corporation Funds, upon what must be, more or less, considered as a somewhat unproductive purchase, nevertheless, bearing in mind the importance of the property, not only as it affects the natural beauty and consequent attractions of the town, but also the surrounding properties, it is obvious that if a substantial contribution could be obtained towards the purchase money, the Corporation would feel justified in acquiring the island, and thus preserve it as an additional beauty of the landscape.

Having now laid these facts before you I shall be pleased to know if you are disposed to make a contribution towards the purchase, and if so to what extent, so as to enable me to bring the subject before the Town Council without delay.

I need hardly urge the absolute necessity for at once taking active steps towards the end I have here indicated, and I would therefore ask if you would kindly give the matter your serious consideration and support, and favour me with an early reply.—I am, dear sir, yours faithfully,

ALBERT CHANCELLOR, Mayor.

Richmond and Twickenham Times (21 September 1898)

GLOVER'S ISLAND SALE.

TO-DAY AT THE MART.

21/9/98

Glover's Island was offered for sale by auction at the Mart, Tokenhouse-yard, this afternoon, the auctioneer being Mr. Albert Chancellor (Mayor of Richmond), of the firm of Messrs. Chancellor and Sons.

The highest bid was £200, and at this sum the island was withdrawn from sale.

Mr. Chancellor stated that a resident had offered £1,000 for the island for the purpose of presenting it to Richmond, but the offer had been refused by Mr. Glover.

TO MR. GLOVER.

O noble philanthropic citizen
Art not "particularly anxious"? Well,
Methinks we've often heard the like from men
With wares to sell.

Far be from us, incredulous, to stem
The generous tide that surges at our feet;
But dreams of "Rem, quocumque modo rem"
Are rather sweet.

Nay, Glover, Richmond's not Utopia yet:
Your diffidence (excuse us if we smile)
Deceives us less than tears upon the fret-
Ful Crocodile.

Then cease this public benefactor farce!
In point of fact (to use a Yankee phrase)
You wish to "strike on ile" and then to pass
In peace your days.

So after countless centuries have flown
Legends may tell of how you "made your pile,"
And that four thousand pounds may still be known
As Glover's ile.

C. E. F.

Richmond and Twickenham Times, (16 April 1901)

THE VIEW FROM RICHMOND HILL.

MR. MAX WAECHTER'S GIFT.

The Donor Entertained.

Brilliant Gathering.

A large company of ladies and gentlemen assembled at the Star and Garter Hotel on Tuesday last, under the presidency of the Mayor of Richmond (Sir James W. Szlumper), in order to do honour to Mr. Max. Leonard Waechter in recognition of his generous gift of Petersham Ait to the Corporation of Richmond. On the right and left of his Worship were the guests of the evening, Mr. and Mrs. Waechter, and there were also present the Lord Mayor of London and the Lady Mayoress. Lady Szlumper was unfortunately prevented from attending by indisposition, as was Mr. A. M. Torrance, chairman of the London County Council. Those present included: Viscount Midleton (Lord-Lieutenant of Surrey), the Hon. Mrs. Lyttleton-Gell, Sir Edward Poynter (President of the Royal Academy), Lady Poynter, Sir F. Dixon-Hartland, Bart., M.P., (Chairman of the Thames Conservancy), Lady Dixon-Hartland, Alderman and Sheriff Vaughan Morgan, Mr. E. J. Halsey, J.P. (Chairman of Surrey County Council), Mr. George Cave, D.L., J.P. (Chairman of Surrey Quarter Sessions), Mrs. George Cave, Mr. T. Skewes-Cox, M.P., and Mrs. Skewes-Cox, Sir Frederic Wigan, Bart., General Sir H. Prendergast, V.C., K.C.B., Rev. Max. Binney (Vicar of Richmond), Miss Norah Green, Councillor Duncan, J.P., Mr. A. Chancellor, J.P., Mr. G. Q. M. Herron, Mrs. Heron, Dr. Wadd, Mrs. Wadd, Councillor McDougall, J.P., Mrs. Birch, Mr. C. E. Birch, Dr. Taylor, Mr. G. R. Miles, Mr. J. Chappell, J.P., Mrs. Chappell, Dr. Shuttleworth, Mrs. Shuttleworth, Mr. Owen Edgar, Mrs. Edgar, Rev. C. L. Rudd, Mr. B. C. Foster, Mrs. Foster, Mr. J. Boyce, Mrs. Boyce, Mr. R. Kempthorne, Mrs. Kempthorne, Mr. W. G. Peirce, Colonel Newitt, Mr. T. W. Aldwinckle, Mrs. C. Bishop, Mr. J. A. Halford, Miss Gardner, Mr. E. F. Szlumper, Mr. John Francis, D.L., J.P., Mr. S. F. Higgins, Mrs. Higgins, Alderman Roberts, J.P., Councillor Hilditch, J.P., Mrs. Hilditch, Miss Milledge, Mr. A. J. Furbank, Mrs. Furbank, Mrs. W. W. Szlumper, Mr. W. W. Szlumper, Mrs. J. G. Bishop, Mrs. Aldwinckle, Councillor Humphreys, J.P., Mrs. Humphreys, Mrs. Francis, Councillor Mason, Mrs. Mason, Mr. H. D. Williams, Councillor Morgan, Mr. K. Henton, Mr. A. Faulkner, Mr. Harold Merry, Alderman Burt, J.P., Alderman Robinson, J.P., Mrs. Robinson, Mr. E. O. Sachs, Mrs. Sachs, Mr. Edward Terry, Mrs. Terry Colls, Mr. Thomas Cave, Mrs. T. Cave, Mr. C. E. Rube, Mrs. Rube, Mr. Clifford Edgar, Mrs. Edgar, Mr. F. B. Senior, Mr. H. Waechter, Mr. H. Little (Chairman of Twickenham District Council), Mrs. Little, Colonel Powell, Mrs. Powell, Mrs. Stephens, Councillor Stephens, Mr. H. G. Sawyer, Mrs. Senior, Mr. W. H. Hope, Mr. J. Edgell, Councillor Brooking, Mr. H. W. Ellis, Mr. F. H. McKee, Mr. W. Fairley, Mr. W. G. Hatton, Alderman Keay, J.P., Alderman Blasby, J.P., Mr. T. Covell, Councillor Metzner, Mrs. Metzner, Councillor Bensted, Mr. C. A. A. Ewin, Alderman Ratcliff, Mr. G. H. Breadmore, Councillor Billett, Mrs. Benham, Councillor Heasler, Dr. Bateman, Alderman Marsh Ray, Mr. T. Terry, Mr. J. Ivimey, Mrs. Ivimey, Mr. G. H. Tod-Heatly, Mrs. Alabaster, Councillor Alabaster, Mrs. Morris, Rev. John Morris, Mr. A. C. Holzapfel, Mr. J. Cartledge, Mr. W. Cartledge, Miss Brink, Mr. H. Richards, Mr. S. F. Keene, J.P., Major E. F. Coates (Vice-Chairman of Surrey County Council), Colonel Sparks, J.P., Mr. J. Archer, Mrs. Archer, Mr. Victor Dickens, Mrs. Dickens, Mr. Chichester Bell, Mrs. Bell, Mr. P. Steinmann, Mr. C. W. Moore, Mr. A. J. Brink, &c.

The dinner was of the choicest description, and was admirably served under the personal supervision of the manager, Mr. Charles James. Appended is the menu:—

Soup, Clear Turtle.
Cream, Alexandra.
Salmon, Sauce Cardinal.
Cucumber Salad.
Sweetbread à la Favorite.
Chicken in Terrine à la Diane.
Saddle of Mutton.
Potatoes Château. Brussels Sprouts.
Maraschino Punch.
Quails, Salad.
Victoria Pudding.
Muscovite Jelly. Méringues.
Ice, Bombe Sirdar.
French Pastry.
Stanley Straws.
Dessert.
Coffee.

WINES.

Sherry, Pale Dry; Hock, Erbach; Champagnes, Duminy, 1893, G. H. Mumm, 1893; Bordeaux, Châteax Larose, 1888; Fine Old Port; Liqueurs; Mineral Waters.

During the repast some excellent music was provided by the Grosvenor Trio, assisted by Miss F. Moss and Miss L. Mukle, under the direction of Mrs. Florence Russell.

The first toast was that of "The King," which was submitted by the Mayor in felicitous terms. It was the first occasion, he mentioned, on which he had had the honour of proposing that toast.

The toast having been loyally drunk, the National Anthem was sung, led by Miss Ethel Pender-Cudlip.

The Mayor then proposed "Queen Alexandra, the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York, and the other Members of the Royal Family."

Mr. E. J. Halsey (chairman of the Surrey County Council) proposed "The Houses of Parliament." He said he had been considering whether Surrey might regard itself as sufficiently represented in the Houses of Parliament. They had something like thirty-eight Peers more or less interested in the County of Surrey, and on whom pressure could be more or less brought when anything arose of interest to the county. First, we had the Duke of Cambridge, who was claimed as a Richmond man, but he said he was a Surrey man, the Duke of Connaught, the Duke of Fife, the Earl of Roseberry, the Earl of Onslow, a name well known in Richmond, the Earl of Leven and Melville, a near neighbour of Richmond's, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of Rochester and Winchester, Lord Ashcombe, Lord Knutsford, and the last name which he should mention was that of the noble lord who was to respond to the toast. One had only to know the Lord-Lieutenant of the County, Lord Midleton, to value him, and to know what a charming personage the county had in him.

Richmond and Twickenham Times, (16 April 1901) *continued:*

The people of Surrey had been gratified to see the successful career which his eldest son, Mr. St. John Brodrick, was making for himself. (Applause.) As War Minister he was making a reputation of which his father might be very proud. In the House of Commons they had that genial and humorous, jovial and jolly man, the Member for the Kingston Division—(applause)—who always did what was right and said what was wise. (Applause.)

Viscount Midleton, in replying, spoke of the feelings of gratitude he always had towards his old constituents in Richmond. He said there was a subject which had been brought to his notice by different individuals during the past eighteen months, and that was the desirability of reviving the old Surrey Yeomanry, and that Surrey, instead of having its Yeomen distributed over Surrey, Berkshire, and Middlesex, should possess once again, as it did fifty years ago, its own county corps. (Applause.) The representations which he had had the honour of making to the War Office had been replied to by an intimation that should His Majesty be pleased to approve of the suggestions which have been laid before the King, Surrey would be entitled to raise within the limits of the county, including, of course, Richmond and the county boroughs, a body to be called the Surrey Regiment of Imperial Yeomanry, officered by Surrey men and composed of Surrey Yeomen, ready to serve the country as Surrey Volunteers had proved themselves prepared to do in any quarter of the globe if their services should be required. (Applause.) In a few weeks the matter would be settled, and he hoped that they would not only have a ready response from the county as a whole but that some young officers from the Richmond district might come forward prepared to take aleading part in the movement. He hoped before another month had passed the scheme would have assumed form and shape, and that any appeal made to the County of Surrey would be as loyally responded to as in the past. (Applause.)

Mr. T. Skewes-Cox, M.P., said he was proud to respond to the toast of the House of Commons that night. The country would not expect from the House of Commons much domestic legislation this session, as other matters were occupying the attention of Parliament. There would be a heavy bill to pay in connection with the war in South Africa, nearly a hundred millions would have to be provided. He was not going to tell them what the Chancellor of the Exchequer was going to do—(laughter)—though he had no doubt they were very anxious to pay any increased taxation that was levied. Though the bill was large, the expenditure was justified, and he hoped we were now seeing the closing acts of the war. (Hear, hear.) He would conclude by asking them a question in a form that was popular nowadays: Why does Richmond drink? Because Petersham Ait. (Laughter.)

The Mayor next proposed "The Guest of the Evening, Mr. Max. L. Waechter, D.L., J.P." Mr. Waechter, he said, had lived in Richmond for many years, and had won the esteem, respect, and confidence of all who had come in contact with him. Every time he had met Mr. Waechter he had admired him more, and that was the case with everyone. The good he did was unbounded, and he had rendered great services, not only to Richmond, but the County of Surrey. What had he done on this occasion? In Richmond they prized very much indeed the noble view and the landscape—he was going to say before them, but what would be before them if it were daytime. There was an island forming part of that picture which had been threatened in all sorts of ways. It was to be a generating station for electric launches with a tall chimney and every other imaginable thing. The sum of money asked for the island by the owner had for years past been such as prevented the Corporation acquiring it, but Mr. Waechter had very generously purchased it and presented it to the town. (Applause.) Having possession of the island that Mr. Waechter's generosity had given them did not end the tale. Something further must be done to prevent builders doing anything that would destroy the magnificent view from Richmond Hill. He hoped others would follow Mr. Waechter's good example. There were other wealthy men, but it was not always that wealthy men put their hands in their pockets to such an extent for the benefit of their fellows. They owed a deep debt of gratitude to Mr. Waechter, and to express the feeling of the public the Corporation of Richmond had passed a vote of thanks which had been reduced to writing in a form in which he was enabled to present it to Mr. Waechter.

The Mayor then handed to Mr. Waechter a handsomely-framed illuminated address, the wording of which was as follows:

That M. L. Waechter, Esq., D.L., J.P., having offered to present Petersham Ait, or Glover's Island, this Council do gratefully accept his munificent gift, and desire to place on record their high appreciation of so generous an act whereby the far-famed view from Richmond Hill will for ever be preserved. They would further add their conviction that with this preservation of Richmond's famous landscape Mr. Max Waechter's name will for all time be associated.

On the initiative of Mr. Alderman Burt, some of Mr. and Mrs. Waechter's friends and neighbours had got together a subscription with which they had purchased an antique vase of the early part of the reign of George III. and two smaller ones, which they saw before him. He had pleasure, on behalf of the subscribers, in presenting that plate to Mr. and Mrs. Waechter as a memento of the occasion. The plate contained the following inscription:—

Presented to

MAX LEONARD WAECHTER, ESQ., J.P., D.L.,

By friends and neighbours in recognition of his gift of Petersham Ait to the Borough of Richmond.

November, 1900.

Long might Mr. and Mrs. Waechter live to enjoy the esteem and respect of their neighbours. (Loud applause.)

The toast having been enthusiastically honoured,

Richmond and Twickenham Times, (16 April 1901) *continued:*



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Mr. Max L. Waechter, D.L., J.P., said:

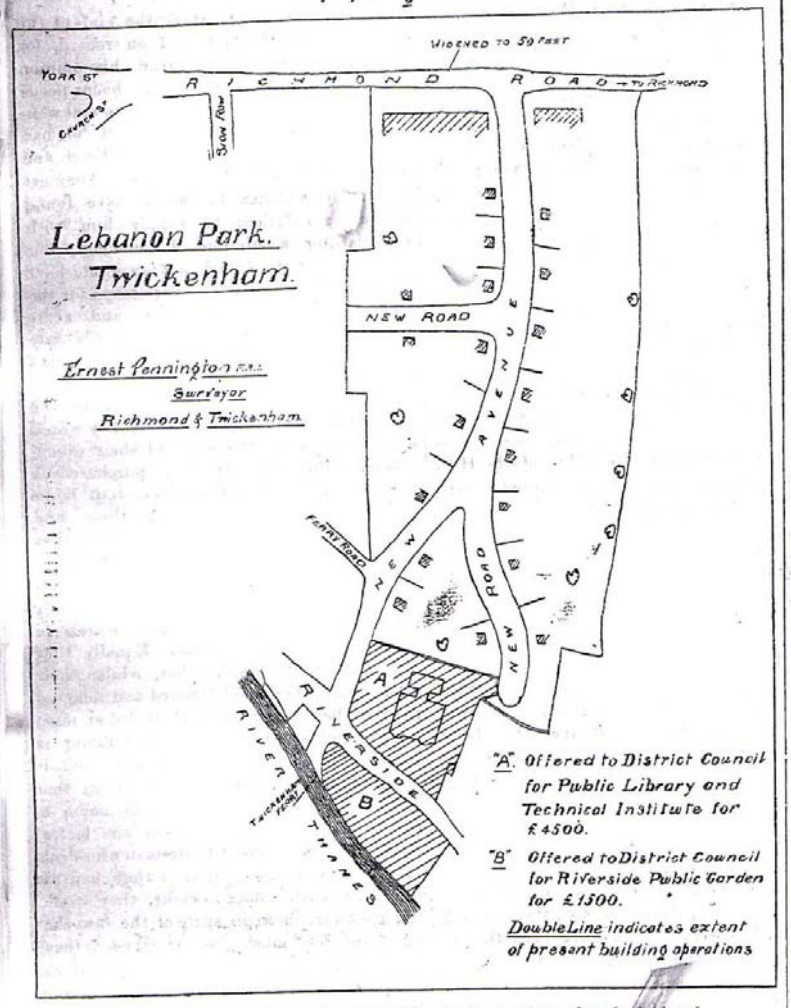
When I offered Glover's Island to Richmond I was quite astonished with what an amount of enthusiasm the offer was received, and I then realized that for once in my life I had done the right thing. At the same time I cannot suppress my conviction that there has been much more honour conferred upon me than the circumstances warrant. Not only do I see my fellow-townsmen, with their ladies, here to-night, but also a number of distinguished visitors who have joined us, that they, too, might testify their interest in the beauties of Richmond, and express their sympathy with our aspirations. I hardly know how to find adequate words to thank the Richmond Council for the great honour they do me in presenting me with this beautiful illuminated address, and how to thank you, Sir James, for so kindly expressing their sentiments on this occasion. It is always a source of great satisfaction to know that one's acts are approved by one's fellow-citizens; and the satisfaction is, of course, considerably enhanced when such approval is conveyed in so charming and artistic a form as in this address. I shall never forget to-day, and I shall be proud of this address as long as I live, and after that it will be handed down as a sort of heirloom to future generations. I know, Sir James, that you always insist upon short speeches, and I dare say you wish me to sit down now, but I must crave your indulgence for a few remarks about yourself and the Richmond Council. I dare not say much about the Mayor. It is unnecessary for me to sing his praises; he is too well known, and he would not have been elected for a second time to his high and honourable office if he had not shown eminent qualifications for this position, and were not a general favourite. The Richmond Town Council is still in its youth. I might even say in its early youth, but there are in it men of large and long experience. This combination, the buoyancy of youth, tempered by the wisdom of experience, has worked remarkably well. All the ordinary duties that are expected from Town Councils have been fulfilled to everybody's satisfaction, and, I believe, without a single murmur of dissent or disapproval. I suppose, my Lord Mayor, that this is the highest praise which any Municipality may expect. But there are other duties beyond the ordinary duties, duties which cannot be defined by law, and everything depends upon the point of view from which these duties are regarded. The man who said, "Why should I do anything for posterity, posterity has done nothing for me," would not do for our Council. We all know that the Richmond Council takes a higher view of these duties, a broader and a wiser view. They realize that they hold one of the fairest spots on this earth, and that they hold it, not only for Richmond, but as trustees (as it were) for the nation, and especially for London, and I know that it is their greatest ambition to preserve the beauties of Richmond, and to hand them down to posterity, undiminished and without blemish. This is by no means an easy task. There are many dangers threatening. Already we find the speculative builder, the forerunner of evil, in our midst. But the greatest danger of all is our proximity to London, a city which is constantly growing at an enormous rate, and is stretching its arms in all directions, but principally towards the west. Twenty years ago the population of London was four millions; to-day their number exceeds six millions. If this growth continue in the same ratio (and there is no sign of abatement), it is difficult to forecast what will be the state of affairs in another generation, but the very possibilities are sufficiently appalling. In another generation, say in 1930, we might have a city containing from ten to twelve million

Richmond and Twickenham Times, (06 July 1901)

6.9.

RICHMOND AND TWICKENHAM TIMES

6/4/01



The above is a sketch showing how this estate is proposed to be laid out.

FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY, RICHMOND SURREY.

RICHMOND HILL.

PROPOSED ACTION BY RICHMOND

STRONG PROTESTS IN THE LONDON PRESS.

Alderman Burt has given notice to move at the meeting of the Richmond Town Council next Tuesday—

That the General Purposes Committee be authorised to negociate on behalf of the Council for the purchase of the Petersham Meadows, or some other way to secure their not being built upon in the future, and to report to the Council thereon, and on any other steps which they think should be taken by the Council for the preservation of the view from Richmond Hill.

A very powerful and clever article appeared in the "Pall Mall Gazette" on June 29th, under the initials "A. M.," which veiled the name of Mrs. Alice Meynell, a sister of Lady Butler. It is too long for full quotation, but in the course of it the writer says:—

The park of Marble Hill is a cape between two reaches of the Thames; therefore, not only are the waterside trees engaged in the view, but the whole thickness of the cape—the beauty of foliage backed by foliage—bears its peculiar part. We shall have but a veneered river landscape, something gilded instead of golden, precisely where the eye sounds it, when Marble Hill is looked upon. For even if the river-bank trees be spared (for the time), and even, moreover, if the villa roofs to be presently intruded be so masked as to escape the eye of the gazer from the Hill, yet the thickness of the view, its depth, its softness, its affluence, would be gone in the leafy months. In the leafless it would be hardly possible for a veil of trees to cover the houses, and for the first time the fatal modern buildings would be in the view. For, until now, that view is full of peculiar good luck. There are nearly no houses in it. In the country has really as many as it can contain without unmasking. Streets and suburbs are there. The wide and yet close country, so well set and well nourished, full of the shadowy avenues, stands hiding inferior things. Wings and side-scenes intercept in the shape of mid-distant trees. Away to the right is a town, you know. But the elms deny the streets and villas. They have conspired; they seclude and sequester. Like the hooped court ladies in Hans Andersen's story who puffed out their skirts and turned their backs so that the beggar-man might kiss the princess within the ring. The Thames woodlands have so pretty a secret to hide, but they hide it well. Is it now to be all confessed? There is no harm but is the worse for houses built at any time since the middle of the eighteenth century. . . . The grounds of Marble Hill are the key to the mystery. It is on the assurance of this view of pure and authentic woodland that you take your rest. Suburbs are stiff behind the budding trees elsewhere, but you need not know it while between the nearer and the further silver of the Thames the Marble Hill ground will let an avenue through from side to side of its rich and varied concourse of old trees. If the great view were to believe in several places it makes believers. But tamper with Marble Hill, and all is betrayed. At present you have but to ignore a little row of villas in the nearer foreground, and a single factory chimney almost lost in the light of the distance. Never was a landscape more easy to spoil than this of ours under Richmond, and unspoilt to-day by such hazardous escapes. There as it has so long delighted English and alien

Richmond and Twickenham Times, (06 July 1901) *continued:*

The traveller, if he goes no farther into the English summer country, sees it from this sudden hill as it looked in Thomson's eyes, the landscape of citizens. With the road and the villas will come other kinds of havoc. The land is low, and against the possible overflowing of the Thames will doubtless be built an embankment. In a word, this heart of the view from Richmond Hill cannot be so wounded but the view must be destroyed. There is nothing more sensitive, nothing sweeter, far and near, than this ancient land curved suddenly, with the river walking to right and left, land that carries the solemn property of Lady Suffolk—house, fields, forgotten rhododendrons, forest trees. If the house had been set about with the shrubberies and the conifers of a later taste, the felling and demolition would seem a less cruel menace; but these are English and deciduous trees, full of visible life of all these springs; and they are of Pope's planting. Marble Hill is a little thing, but there is no beautiful place in this changing world better worth saving.

The "Review of the Week," under the title of "The Patch and the Mash," publishes a useful article, in the course of which the writer says:—

It has been represented to one who directed inquiries to be made, with a view to ascertaining how much land must be acquired in order to preserve the view from Richmond Hill, that the operations at Marble Hill and Lebanon House, though regrettable, will not materially damage the famous vista. Now for five months of our year the trees are leafless. A mass of interlacing boughs, tree behind tree, is almost as effectual a screen as foliage itself; but a thin partition of leafless trees will afford little protection from the obtrusive new streets, the plans for which are all in readiness. Anyone who climbs the hill to the Terrace may test this for himself at the present moment. Pausing at the iron railing of the Terrace gardens for the first glimpse of "the view," right in the centre of the picture there are now four or five small villas, standing with arms akimbo, grinning and jeering at the spectator. This with the raiment of "leafy June." When the leaves are gone those villas, though on the opposite bank of the river, will positively leap into the foreground of the view from that particular spot.

We have been accustomed to a landscape wherein, like the patches on the face of a beautiful woman, the occasional roofs rivetted the eye on some exceptionally beautiful feature. We are to make ourselves accustomed—as cheerfully as we can, I suppose—to a landscape wherein, like the mask on the face of a beautiful woman, the continuous roofs conceal effectually every beautiful feature. But the mask can be lifted from the face of the beautiful woman. From the face of the beautiful landscape, once it is adjusted to the shrinking features, who shall lift the mask!

The "Daily Chronicle" published a long and informing article on Saturday, with a map of the region affected, which should have helped very much to make the situation clear to those outside. Other useful articles and references to the subject have appeared in "The King," the "Estates Gazette," and other papers.

The plan that appears herewith will help to illustrate the situation with special reference to the Lebanon House Estate.

ACTION OF THE TWICKENHAM COMMITTEE.

As we announced on Wednesday, a sub-committee was appointed by the Twickenham District Council to deal with the question of preserving the view from Richmond Hill. This was composed of Dr. Martindale C. Ward and Messrs. G. H. Judd, J.P., J. C. Hurst, H. Little, W. Hosking, J. Owen, E. Wilkes-Smith, W. Beard, and S. Lawton. This sub-committee, with Mr. H. J. Saunders (clerk) and Mr. F. W. Pearce (surveyor), met at the Richmond Park gates on Thursday afternoon at 2 o'clock, and for 3½ hours were engaged in looking at the view from different points, and then going over the ground right the way to Orleans House. The operations at Marble Hill were explained by Mr. Little. The sub-committee meet at the Town Hall on Monday evening next at 8 o'clock for the purpose of preparing a report to be presented to the general commiteee.

Mr. Thomas Hardy, the famous novelist, writes:—

Dear Mr. Chapman,—I have always been in love with Richmond Hill, including the Lass. The news that the famous view is threatened by the builders is most disturbing, but I cannot believe that any such foolish local policy will be persisted in.—Yours very truly,

THOMAS HARDY.

The present occasion may be a fitting one to recall the well-known lines in which the poet Thomson describes the view:—

Say, shall we wind
Along the streams? or walk the smiling mead?
Or court the forest-glades? or wander wild
Among the waving harvests? or ascend,
While radiant Summer opens all its pride,
Thy hill, delightful Shene? Here let us sweep
The boundless landscape; now the raptur'd eye,
Exulting, swift to huge Augusta send,
Now to the Sister-Hills that skirt her plain,
To lofty Harrow now, and now to where
Majestic Windsor lifts his princely brow.
In lovely contrast to this glorious view,
Calmly magnificent, then will we turn
To where the silver Thames first rural grows.
There let the feasted eye unwearied stray:
Luxurious, there, rove through the pendant woods
That nodding hang o'er Harrington's retreat;
And, stooping thence to Ham's embowering walks,
Beneath whose shades, in spotless peace retir'd,
With Her, the pleasing partner of his heart,
The worthy Queensb'ry yet laments his Gay;
And polished Cornbury wooes the willing Muse.
Slow let us trace the matchless Vale of Thames;
Fair-winding up to where the Muses haunt
In Twit'nam's bowers, and for their Pope implore
The healing God; to royal Hampton's pile,
To Clermont's terrass'd height, and Esher's groves,
Where, in the sweetest solitude, embrac'd
By the soft windings of the silent Mole,
From courts and senates Pelham finds repose.
Enchanting vale! beyond whate'er the Muse
Has of Achaia or Hesperia sung!
O vale of bliss! O softly-swelling hills!
On which the Power of Cultivation lies,
And joys to see the wonders of his toil.
Heavens! what a goodly prospect spreads around
Of hills, and dales, and woods, and lawns, and spires,
And glittering towns, and gilded streams, till all
The stretching landscape into smoke decays!
Happy Britannia! where the Queen of Arts,
Inspiring vigour, Liberty abroad
Walks, unconfin'd, even to thy farthest cots,
And scatters plenty with unspairing hand.

Richmond and Twickenham Times, (13 July 1901)

In *The Star* of Wednesday evening, under the heading "Two views from Richmond Hill," appeared a remarkable communication signed, "A Twickenham tradesman and Councillor." I am not particularly concerned as to the identity of the writer of the letter, but having regard to the fact that he is a tradesman and a member of the District Council, and bearing in mind what took place at the last meeting of the Council, I feel pretty confident that I know who is the author of this epistle. What I am principally concerned with is the writer's statement that "this scare about losing the view from Richmond Hill is to a great extent a speculator's dodge to make money out of the public." This assertion, I venture to say, has no foundation in fact. It implies among other things that there is no danger to the view from the Hill, which is absurd. Possibly the owners of the riverside lands are anxious to make a good bargain, but surely this Twickenham tradesman will not impute this to them as a crime of the deepest dye. I rather fancy that if he were negotiating for the sale of some property of his to a public body or a rich tramway company philanthropic considerations would be allowed to have no share in the transaction.

• • • 13/7/1

Again, if this sapient Councillor is to be believed, all that is required to save the riverside lands is for the District Council to enforce the Lammas rights. But are there Lammas rights, and, if so, what is their nature and extent? It seems incredible that if things are as represented by "A Twickenham Tradesman," the Council of which he is a member should allow these Lammas lands to be built over. There may have been well-defined Lammas rights in the days of the Isleworth Survey, wherein the Thames at Twickenham is described as "continually bordered with delightful meadows, runneth with still currents into the sea, so that tho' not for quantitie, yet for qualitie, may be compared with the best rivers in the worlde, and justly deserveth all such equal prayses as may be sayde of a sweet, clear and pleasant river." But what of the Lammas rights to-day? This is the question, and so far as I can learn, the answer is that it is now impossible to establish Lammas rights over these lands.

• • •

On Thursday evening the Sub-Committee appointed to make inquiries into the question of the preservation of the view from Richmond Hill, presented a report, but as the proceedings were private I am precluded from divulging the nature of the communication. However, I think I may, without incurring the displeasure of the sub-committee who have this matter in hand, give publicity to the fact that they are of opinion that so far as the view from the Hill is concerned its preservation does not demand the acquisition of the whole of the area lying between the Richmond road and the river. This may be the case, but personally I agree with Sir John Whittaker Ellis in his view that the whole of the riverside lands should be acquired. I am not a rateable value fanatic; and I derive absolutely no satisfaction from the knowledge that the rateable value of Twickenham would be considerably increased if these riverside lands were covered with "desirable villa residences." Millions will benefit if these lands are kept as an open space for the enjoyment of the public, but no one will derive any advantage from their being covered with bricks and mertar. I notice that the contractor and his merry men are busy on the Marble Hill estate road-making, but I hope that it is not too late to do something practical. The danger lies in the slowness with which public bodies must necessarily act in important matters of this kind.

HERE, THERE, AND EVERYWHERE.

The Hudson Palisades.—A Contrast with Richmond Hill.

Richmond Hill and the beauties of the Thames are to London what the Hudson Palisades are to New York—picturesque river scenery, the beauties of which should be preserved from defacement by the builders. A correspondent writes:

The people of New York have been more successful than Londoners, as the rugged cliffs and tree-covered ridges of the Hudson have been preserved as a public possession for all time. They were rapidly falling into the possession of the builders and the quarriers, when the force of public opinion induced the States of New Jersey and New York to appoint Commissioners to draw up a scheme for their preservation. The Commissioners have accomplished their work, and though up to now the money has not been voted, except for the expenses of conducting investigations, the magnificent scenery on the Hudson has been saved. While the Commissioners were at work a quarry company became very energetic in defacing one of the most beautiful parts of the scenery, and as the Commissioners had no money to buy out, the owner, Mr. Pierpont Morgan, quietly secured possession of the property and presented it to the State. The property owners of the Palisades were not, apparently, like those who own Richmond Hill, as they were very ready to hand over to the public, without compensation, such land as they owned on the face of the cliffs, on the condition that they should be paid at the small rate of £100 per acre for the land at the base of the Palisades, and a uniform price of £2 per linear foot for riparian rights consisting of adjacent land under water.

This arrangement has been accepted by nearly the whole of the owners, and the way is now clear for converting the banks of the Hudson into a great national park.

Richmond and Twickenham Times, (26 October 1901)

RICHMOND AND TWICKENHAM TIMES—SATURDAY, OCTOBER 26, 1901.

THE RICHMOND HILL VIEW.

PURCHASE OF MARBLE HILL.

ALLOCATION OF THE COST.

At the meeting of the Twickenham District Council on Thursday evening the Riverside Lands Sub-Committee reported the receipt of the following letter from the Clerk to the London County Council:—

County Hall, Spring Gardens, S.W.,
22nd October, 1901.

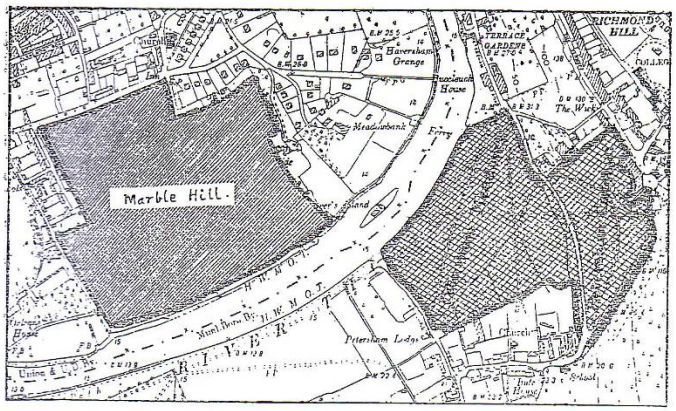
Sir,—At a meeting held here, yesterday, by the committee appointed to prepare a scheme and report upon the question of the preservation of the view from Richmond Hill, the following resolution was arrived at:—

"That a letter be addressed to the Middlesex and the Surrey County Councils, the Corporation of the City of London, the Richmond Corporation the Twickenham Urban District Council, the Metropolitan Borough of Hammersmith, and the London County Council, asking those several bodies if they will contribute the following respective amounts to the purchase of the Marble Hill Estate, on the understanding that the London County Council promotes a Bill to provide for the acquisition of the estate, with the necessary enabling powers, and undertakes the custody and maintenance of the property as a public open space for ever." Middlesex County Council, £12,000; Surrey County Council, £10,000; City Corporation, £5,000; Richmond Corporation, £5,000; Twickenham Council, £3,000; Hammersmith Council, £1,000; London County Council, £36,000. The amount of £72,000, being £70,000 for the purchase money and £2,000 for interest and expenses, was assumed for the purpose of arriving at the proportional contributions of the several public bodies immediately interested in the preservation of the view, such contributions to be not less than the amounts set out above. I enclose a map showing the Marble Hill Estate, and also indicating some lands on the Surrey side of the river, with the owner of which the committee hoped to be able to make such arrangements as will secure them for the use of the public in perpetuity free of all rights and restrictions. In view of the approach of the Parliamentary Session, I have to ask that you will lay this communication before the Council at the earliest convenient time and acquaint me with its decision thereupon.—I am, sir, your obedient servant,

G. L. GOMME.

The Clerk to Twickenham Urban District Council.

The Committee recommended unanimously:—"That this Council agree to the proposals of the Executive Committee." — Dr. Ward said it might be agreeable that he should give some explanation. The sub-committee of the Council appointed to deal with the question had met from time to time, and at last they had arrived at this agreement. At much opposed to this agreement. It seemed to him it was wrong to take this sixty-six acres out of Twickenham for the benefit of the great mass of humanity in London. Twickenham had already the pleasure of the river, and there was hardly a place better provided with pleasure grounds. They had the benefit of Kew Gardens, Richmond Park, and the Eighty-seven Acres. The London County Council proposed to keep it open for the public, but they would have the iron hand. Did they propose to provide for cricket and football? It was not hinted that Twickenham would have a single voice in the management of the land. He thought that in proposing to buy land on the other part of the river, Twickenham had done all that could be expected from it. Twickenham had now the benefit of Richmond Terrace and Terrace Fields. They had all they wanted in the way of open space. This might become a place for beanfeast parties, and Twickenham would have no control. He should vote against it, because he thought it ought to be built upon.—Mr. Judd expressed his great surprise that Mr. Slark should have opposed this. Would he grumble, if anyone presented the Council with a large drinking fountain, because they offered to keep it in repair.—Mr. Rose pointed out that the Middlesex County Council and the Twickenham Council were taxed to the extent of £15,000, whilst Surrey had only to pay a like amount.—Mr. Batten said some



gentlemen seemed to be so prejudiced against Richmond having a look over into Twickenham, but did not some of them go to Richmond and there look with pleasure into Twickenham? As a working man he was thoroughly in favour of the payment of the £3,000, provided they kept in touch with the matter.—Mr. Wilkes Smith said that if the men of the south supported those in the east ward in this matter, the east end residents should support those of the south in another matter. Twickenham had the advantage of all Richmond's pleasure grounds, and he thought the £3,000 very reasonable.—Mr. Beard said those people who had objected never thought Twickenham would get off so lightly. The "lung" would be wanted in the future, and in fact everything was in favour of the scheme. It was one of the most favourable offers made to that Council since he had been on it.—Mr. Messom asked if the London County Council would relieve Twickenham of the cost of the upkeeping of the present footpath.—Dr. Ward said doubtless they would.—Mr. Messom said that relief would fully make up for the repayment of this loan.—Mr. Bates thought Mr. Slark would withdraw a part of his remarks, which had been the opinion of several before they knew that the London County Council would pay the cost of upkeeping Surrey side of the river. Unless this is done I venture to think the whole matter might as well be left alone.

On more than one occasion I have drawn the attention of the London County Council to the fact that the owner of the Cambridge House Estate, adjoining Richmond Bridge, was commencing to develop his land, and this has now apparently been done in right earnest, for, whilst no buildings have as yet appeared, roads are being laid out, and we all know full well what that means, on a building estate so advantageously situated as this property for the erection of a colony of small villas.

I understand the plans of the roads have been passed by the Twickenham District Council, and that in fact so long as the same comply with the bye-laws this could not be avoided; but if the committee of the London County Council, who have the matter in hand to report upon, are not more alive and on the alert, they will, I think, find all their energies have been wasted. The subject is one that requires immediate attention if anything is to be done, and unless it receives prompt action on the part of those who have taken the matter in hand their good efforts to help forward so national a scheme may be frustrated. I trust, therefore, this word of warning may arrive in time to stay a fiasco and prevent so memorable a landmark as the view from Richmond Hill being effaced for ever.

Mr. Geo. A. Bickerton writes from Arundel House, Petersham-road, as follows:—

For some time past I have been intending to write you with regard to the river view, but did not like to take up your valuable space about what I feared was a forlorn hope. A perusal of Miss Foster Newton's letter induces me to send you a few lines, in the hope that some wealthy and influential residents may be induced to combine and come to the rescue before it is too late. My house is immediately opposite the fine old mansion Cambridge House, with its beautiful meadows reaching to the promenade on the Middlesex side of the river. The greensward and the lovely old trees possess an irresistible charm to all lovers of nature; and who is there that does not take delight in this beautiful bit of English landscape?

I was horrified recently to see the deposit of drain pipes, hills of sand and ballast being excavated, and then pegs, as if for building plots, being driven. I am told that the owner asks a price out of all proportion to the value of the land, reminding one forcibly of the "Glover's Island" fiasco. He either does not know, or chooses not to appreciate the fact, that the portion of the estate between the raised lawn bounded by the Ha Ha is not fit for building, and, I understand, can never be made so. I have frequently seen the meadow flooded over to a considerable depth, and I pity the man, if one can be found, who may be induced to embark in building operations upon the meadow in question. The towing path on the Surrey side is very frequently under water, and unwary pedestrians have occasionally to stand upon the seat near the steamboat pier and "wait for the turn of the tide," for the water not only covers the towing path, but finds its way some distance into the gardens adjoining. I do not know the acreage of the narrow strip to which I refer, but do not think it can be very great. If that could by any possibility be secured, and the building operations be restricted to that portion lying beyond the belt of trees, a lasting benefit would be conferred upon the neighbourhood. The land not being in Richmond, I fear the authorities would be powerless, and the only hope would be a combination of private gentlemen such as I have ventured to suggest.

Mr. E. E. Cooper wrote to the "Times" this week as follows:—

It is essential that those interested in the preservation of the riverside scenery at Richmond should know that the work of devastation on the Lebanon House Estate is proceeding daily, more and more of the fine cedars are being felled, and that the portion of the Cambridge House Estate still for sale, on which the beauty of the view from the old bridge depends, is already being cut up for drains, roadmaking, &c. Men are actually at work on the meadow in front of the lovely old elms. You have, sir, given such ample space to those who would save entire the noble view at Richmond, that I rely on you to make known to a public vaguely believing that through the action already taken by the London County Council the view is saved, this statement of the stage at which the general process of destruction has now arrived.

Richmond and Twickenham Times, (23 November 1901)

The
Richmond & Twickenham Times
THE SATURDAY ISSUE OF
The Thames Valley Times.
SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 23, 1901.

THE DYSART BILL.

Under the title of the "Richmond Hill "(Preservation of View)" Bill, public notice has been given of an intention to bring into Parliament a measure which will require—and we hope will receive—exceedingly careful attention from the public and from the various bodies, elective or otherwise, that represent its interests. To most of our readers, it is probable, the title of the Bill will suggest the purchase of the Marble Hill Estate, which has been taken up in so public-spirited a manner by the London County Council, with the financial assistance of various neighbouring authorities. But this, the most important factor in the preservation of the view from the Hill, finds no mention in the Bill we refer to, and will indeed be dealt with in quite another way. This measure relates wholly to lands upon the Surrey side of the Thames, and that fact should be carefully borne in mind when considering it.

At the very beginning of the notice issued one observes the curious circumstance that notwithstanding the high-sounding title with which it is capped, no intimation appears as to what person or body of persons it may be that is taking the initiative in this endeavour to preserve the View. All we are told is that "application is intended to be "made." But on looking a little further, that which is already known to those familiar with the history of the matter will become apparent to everyone, namely, that this is a new Dysart Estates Bill, not dissimilar in its main object and principle, though presenting certain important differences of detail, to the one which was thrown out by the House of Commons by a more than two to one majority in 1896. The previous Bill was supported by the Richmond Town Council, as it appears likely that the latter will be; and the circumstances of its rejection form not one of the pleasantest of the royal borough's records. But if one assumes that rejection to have been either desirable or inevitable in 1896, it does not of necessity follow that the same thing applies to the measure of 1902. Each of them must of course be taken on its own merits. Only—it is impossible to avoid these recollections in connection with the new and ambitious title.

Richmond and Twickenham Times, (30 November 1901)

Twickenham and land coterminous with the boundary of the London County Council. Mr. Littler is an able man, and knows quite well enough that there is absolutely no chance of the London County Council ever securing the incorporation of the Marble Hill Estate within their territory, assuming that they were desirous of taking it over, but the manœuvre doubtless served the purpose of diverting the attention of the members from the main issue.

* * *

As matters now stand, the whole question has been referred to a special committee of four members, who are to confer with the other authorities to consider "any satisfactory scheme for securing the view from the Hill in perpetuity for the public." Could the Council have come to a more childish decision or given a more striking example of the Parish Pump way of doing business? The option to purchase expires at the end of the year, and here is the Middlesex County Council appointing a committee of four gentlemen to do what has already been done, and done in a manner that cannot be improved upon. It may be true, as Mr. Littler said, that a renewal of the option can be obtained, but its renewal will cost money, and nothing is to be gained by delay, while much may be lost. The Middlesex County Council have long been in possession of all the facts of the case, and I can only hope, now that the Chairman has unburdened his soul on the subject, that the committee of four will be able to come to an arrangement with the London County Council in time for the calling of a special meeting to settle the matter one way or the other before the year expires. If the promoters of the scheme cannot get that support which they have a right to expect from the Middlesex County Council they must do without it.

* * *

THE VIEW.

30/11/1

THE BILL TO SAVE AND THE BILL TO BUILD.

THE LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL DECLINES TO CONFUSE THE TWO.

THE MIDDLESEX COUNTY COUNCIL REFUSE THE SCHEME.

The London County Council have resolved that they must decline to accept either the condition of contribution to the Marble Hill purchase made by the Surrey County Council and the Richmond Town Council—that the Dysart Estates Bill be passed also—or the condition made by the Middlesex County Council, that that Council shall share the future control and management of the Marble Hill pleasure ground. They consider that the contributions of £10 000, £5 000, and £12,000 allocated to those bodies should be made by them without being hampered by such restrictions.

AT MIDDLESEX COUNTY COUNCIL.

At the Middlesex County Council on Thursday, the General Purposes Committee reported at length what had been done in this matter, quoting the circular letter of the Central Committee, but describing it as coming from the London County Council, and continued:—

Your committee have given the matter their very careful consideration, and, whilst they fully recognise the desirability of the view from Richmond Hill being preserved, they do not approve of the principle of a large open space, situate wholly in the County of Middlesex, being vested in, and maintained by, the Council of another county. In the opinion of your committee the Marble Hill Estate and its management, if purchased, should be vested in trustees appointed by the contributing county authorities in the same manner as in the case of the Alexandra Palace, and your committee accordingly recommend:—

"That, provided the Marble Hill Estate and its management be vested, as a public open space for ever, in trustees appointed by the contributing county authorities, the County Council of Middlesex do, subject to the necessary powers being obtained, contribute £12,000 towards the purchase, and, yearly, a proportionate sum for up-keep of the estate by the trustees."

—Mr. Wright said he did not know if the Council would desire to discuss this matter.—The Chairman expressed a very strong opinion that there was no necessity for the Council to go so far in this matter. He referred in terms of reprobation to the proposals now being made by the London County Council to secure the inclusion of Finsbury Park and Golder's Hill Recreation Ground within the County of London. Twickenham did not need this large area as a park; it was not well situated in regard to a large part of the district, and this would take a large amount of rateable value off the county. The objection of the London County Council to Middlesex's joint control would involve the taxation of the county without representation.—Mr. Wright asked, should they discuss the question until they had had an answer from the London County Council to their letter. —The Chairman said that he thought the proposals before the meeting went already a great deal too far. He then referred to the proposal of the London County Council to compel the inclusion of Finsbury Park—which is now in Middlesex county, but not rateable—in the area of the London County Council. The motion adopted at the London County Council was the first intimation of the matter that the Middlesex Council had received; they had not been consulted in any way whatever. A previous similar proposal had been objected to by the Middlesex County Council and by Hornsey, and was withdrawn. The land proposed to be abstracted at Marble Hill would be a very serious loss to the rateable value of the county. They all heartily desired to promote the preservation of the view from Richmond Hill, which was from Surrey into Middlesex, and not from Middlesex into Surrey; but it was not necessary on account of that neighbourly feeling to convert the whole of the estate into a public park. The letter from Mr. Halsey, published in the "Times" on Wednesday, showed that Surrey

Richmond and Twickenham Times, (30 November 1901) *continued:*

would not contribute except upon very stringent conditions, and it was plain that he did not think those conditions would be complied with. He would ask the Council seriously to pause before they accepted even the modified recommendation of the General Purposes Committee, and he would ask the chairman of that committee if they would reconsider it. He did not think they need be at all alarmed as to any danger of not getting an extension of the option of Marble Hill, in view of the enhanced price to be given. He thought that the previous cutting down of the trees on the estate had been a piece of bluff, for the purpose of pressing on the bargain. The view from Richmond Hill, so far as Middlesex was concerned, was not worth twopence to them.—Mr. Cory Wright called attention to the fact that Mr. Beachcroft had written to the "Times" that day, saying that no new open spaces were wanted by London.—The Chairman said if a small committee were appointed to confer with the London County Council and the other bodies affected, they might dispose of the matter at the December meeting of the Council, or he would call a special meeting of the Council. But he did not think that the Council should be rushed in this way upon such an important matter of principle.—Mr. Neild wanted to know who communicated the decision of their General Purposes Committee, held on the 12th, to Mr. Gomme, the clerk to the London County Council, so that it was mentioned in the circular letter which Mr. Gomme issued on the 14th.—The Chairman said that Mr. Gomme had told him he could not communicate the name of his informant.—Mr. Wright said that no member of the committee had authority to do so.—Mr. Little denied that the cutting down of the trees on the estate was, as stated by the chairman, a piece of bluff.—Mr. De Salis thought it was a question for the Council whether they should go into this matter at all. As the Chairman had said, it was a mere matter of sentiment. A public park or open space was not in the least wanted there. Was this going to do any good to the people of Middlesex? It was said that it would do good to the people of London. If so, let the people of London, and the people of Richmond, and of Surrey, if they would, pay for it. He took the view, he feared the unpopular one, that Middlesex had nothing to gain from this.—Mr. Regester declared, amid some cries of protest, that Middlesex would be very largely benefited by the preservation of the view. But he thought it was very desirable that the matter should be further considered. Mr. Holmes had told him that the respective contributions were allocated by rule of thumb at the meeting of the Central Committee. He did not think that was the right way in which the matter should be done; it required thinking about very much more carefully. But it would be a disgrace to all England to sacrifice the view.—Mr. Neild said that in that case it was a national matter, and should be paid for out of the national exchequer. The London County Council contemplated giving Middlesex 40,000 of their most undesirable inhabitants, but they were only proposing to give a one-acre space here and there to those forty thousand, who wanted not only fresh air, but pure water. He should prefer that the Council should say at once that they would not make this grant.—Mr. Wright proposed "That the proposal of the London County Council is unacceptable, and that the Council appoint a small committee with the other constituent authorities, and see whether some more acceptable arrangement could not be come to." He submitted this in place of the recommendation of the committee, which he withdrew.—Mr. Davenport seconded this, saying that Twickenham did not want a park.—Mr. Beesley moved that the Council proceed to the next business, but this was lost by twenty votes to twenty-seven.—Mr. Burt said he opposed the resolution, because Mr. Beachcroft had written to the "Times" that it was not proposed necessarily to treat the estates as an open space. It seemed quite on the cards that if this proposal were accepted, the estate would not be kept as an open space, but dealt with in some other way. He also thought that £12,000 was too much to contribute towards the saving of the view. This would commit them to the principle of contribution. Richmond was a rich Corporation, and could afford to contribute a great deal more to protect the view.—Mr. Regester did not think that the Council should be committed to anything at that time. But within walking distance of Richmond Hill there were one hundred thousand residents of Middlesex, and he did not think that the ratepayers of the northern districts of Middlesex should oppose the securing of the view, when those in the west were paying so largely to maintain the amenities of the northern part in respect to Alexandra Park and elsewhere.—Mr. Holmes pointed out that the recommendation of the General Purposes Committee was wrongly worded, as the proposal did not come to them as from the London County Council, but from the Central Committee for the Preservation of the View, and that it was signed by Mr. Gomme in his capacity as clerk to that committee, and not as clerk to the London County Council.—The Chairman put the motion of Mr. Wright, with a verbal emendation directing them to consider any fresh scheme which had the object of securing the view from the Hill and to report to the Council. This was carried, and a small committee was appointed accordingly.

AT TWICKENHAM DISTRICT COUNCIL

on Thursday evening, Mr. Little and Dr. Ward reported upon the Middlesex County Council's action. The latter said the question was not taken upon its merits; it was a matter of animus against the London County Council, and a committee was appointed that would consider it more in accordance with the ideas of the northern representatives of the County Council. No member from that district had any chance of getting upon the committee of four appointed.—Mr. Messom: The park at the east seems now to be as much in danger as that at the west end. I hope we shall get both (hear, hear).—The Clerk read a letter from the clerk to the View Executive Committee asking the Council to withdraw the conditions which they had attached to the resolution to contribute their £3,000. He pointed out that the conditions referred to were as to the widening of the Richmond-road.—Mr. Wilkes-Smith moved, and Mr. Owen seconded, that the conditions be withdrawn.—Mr. Slark thought six months' notice should be given to rescind. There was also the agreement with the tramways company. — The Clerk said it could be done as a matter of urgency.—The

Richmond and Twickenham Times, (04 December 1901)

The View.

LETTER FROM MR. LITTLER.

HIS JEALOUSY OF THE LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL.

The following letter from Mr. R. M. Littler, C.B., chairman of the Middlesex County Council, appeared in yesterday's "Times":—

Referring to the letters on this subject from Mr. Halsey and Mr. Beachcroft, I should be glad of space to summarise the position of this county.

The whole Council is in sympathy with the preservation of the view, though some think that, with heavy burdens of road widening and maintenance, rebuilding of Kew Bridge, and increases in School Board and other charges very largely due to the proximity of London, the county should not be called on for any contribution. All feel that as the view is from another county over Middlesex, and the other county will reap all the advantages in increase of their rateable value, while this county will be deprived of a large and increasing rateable value, as the land, if turned into an open space, will not be rateable, the position of this county is one which ought to receive the greatest consideration from the other contributory authorities.

Personally, I am strongly of opinion that it is absolutely unnecessary and wasteful to deal with this land as an open space.

No open space is needed at all for this part of Twickenham, and a recreation ground, if needed, could be secured in a much more modest manner.

As an "open space" in the ordinary sense, the project will not only deprive both the county and Twickenham directly of a large rateable value, but indirectly will probably, under the circumstances, depreciate, rather than add to, the rateable value of the surrounding neighbourhood.

The price is an exceedingly high one, and far in excess of what might have sufficed not long ago.

The maintenance of the land as an open space has been variously estimated at from £300 to £400 to as many thousands per annum, and this is absolutely so much money wasted.

If the land be purchased and the existing house and land were let on lease, with restrictions as to site and size and elevation of houses to be built so as not to injure the view, and with any other suitable provisions for preserving the amenities, not only would the maintenance cost be saved, but probably in such a situation and under such conditions, with the absolute certainty of no interference from vandals, the leaseholds would be absolutely more valuable than the freehold.

This being done, negotiations might be entered upon with the other owners whose land is desirable, if not necessary, for the view for the purchase either outright or for such rights as may be necessary. These landowners have already shown a willingness to make arrangements.

This would not only preserve the view for all time, but in a far less wasteful manner.

The vesting of property in one county which is in the midst of another is most objectionable for far other than sentimental grounds, and this Council will never assent to such a proposal.

On the very day this matter was discussed in the Council we received notice from London (without a word of previous negotiation) that they are applying to the Local Government Board to annex Finsbury Park and Golder's Hill (to which latter we subscribed a small sum) to the county of London, solely on the ground that the parks are vested in them.

Save Rutland, this is the smallest county in England, and we cannot afford to be carved.

All difficulties would be obviated if my suggestion were adopted and the land vested in trustees, appointed one by each contributing authority, simply to see to the carrying out of such restrictive provisions, and, subject thereto, to receive the proceeds and divide them pro rata amongst their constituents.

It is not quite fair for the London County Council to hustle us into unconditional surrender, especially as in the case of the Alexandra Palace, provided as much for London as for Middlesex, they imposed such an impossible condition on their proposed contribution of a fifteenth part that we did without them.

Twickenham Notes.

(BY "UBIQUE.")

The letter which Mr. Littler, the Chairman of the Middlesex County Council, has seen fit to write to the London "Times" on the question of the preservation of the view from Richmond Hill is, to a large extent, a repetition of his speech at the meeting of the Middlesex County Council with which I dealt in my notes last week. Mr. Littler, in his communication to "The Times," repeats the statement which he made last week that "no open space is needed at all for this part of Twickenham." I should very much like to know what is Mr. Littler's authority for this assertion. Can he have been in consultation with some of the extreme supporters of the purchase of the Radnor House estate? This may be Mr. Littler's own view, but it certainly is not that of the majority of the ratepayers We certainly do not want any open space the up-keep of which is going to cost us a large sum of money, but we should be fools indeed if we did not accept the gift of the Marble Hill estate upon the terms which have been offered us.

* * *

Mr. Littler evidently thinks that all the advantage of the proposed purchase is on the side of Surrey, and he makes a great deal of fuss about the loss of rateable value which Middlesex will suffer if the proposal goes through and the estate is kept as a public open space for all time. His statement that Middlesex will be deprived of a large and increasing rateable value will hardly bear examination, and even if it would I have yet to learn that rateable value is the touchstone to which a question of this character must of necessity be brought. There is another statement by Mr. Littler upon which I should like him to throw some light. He says that if the estate is made an "open space" in the ordinary sense, "the project will not only deprive both the county and Twickenham directly of a large rateable value, but indirectly will, probably, under the circumstances, depreciate rather than add to, the rateable value of the surrounding neighbourhood." I have pondered this sentence some time but without being able to see how the maintenance of the estate as a public park is going to depreciate property in the neighbourhood either directly or indirectly. Perhaps some preternaturally acute reader can enlighten me.

* * *

Richmond and Twickenham Times, (02 August 1958)

OST MONSTROUS APPLICATION, QC TELLS TRIBUNAL

Five councils and residents oppose plan for Haversham Grange Garages

'OUR DUTY TO PRESERVE HILL VIEW'

"USING THE LANGUAGE OF UNDERSTATEMENT, THIS IS THE MOST MONSTROUS APPLICATION THAT HAS EVER COME BEFORE THIS TRIBUNAL."

That was how Mr. G. H. Newsom, Q.C., opposing on behalf of Richmond Council and Surrey County Council, described an application to the Lands Tribunal by St. Albans Investments, Ltd., for the modification of restrictive covenants, to permit them to build 27 garages on land at Haversham Grange, Cambridge-park, East Twickenham.

Making his closing speech at the second, and final, day of the hearing in London on Thursday, Mr. Newsom added that the Tribunal was being asked to expropriate the covenants for the benefit of a private speculator. Modification of these covenants must necessarily injure Richmond.

The opening day of the hearing is reported on page five of this issue.

Resuming evidence on behalf of the applicants on Thursday, Mr. P. G. E. Haddock, a chartered surveyor, said that garage development seemed a reasonable use of the land, and he thought the garage site had become a piece of waste land on which children would play

GOOD SCREEN

The two largest trees, each about 100 feet high, were not among those it was proposed to remove, and the trees which would remain would give a good screen along the towpath frontage.

The removal of eight or nine trees would not affect the view from Richmond Hill, because they were shorter than the bulk of the trees, and neither would the monetary value of Richmond Hill be affected.

He did not think the garages would affect the monetary or amenity value of the towpath, and he considered that the provision of one garage per maisonette was reasonable for that type of development.

Mr. Haddock, cross-examined by Mr. Newsom, said that the view from Richmond Hill in the direction of Haversham Grange had been damaged already, but he agreed that it had not been destroyed.

Mr. Newsom: I am suggesting to you this is a speculator's application based wholly on profit?

Mr Haddock: I say unless we had speculators we should not have dwellings.

SAFE OFFER

At the conclusion of his case, Mr. Goff said he had been instructed that if the applicants were allowed to build their garages they would offer to sell the rest of the affected land to any

They showed a consistent policy of protecting the view from both sides of the river.

Asked how the 1930 covenant had come into being, Alderman Calvert Smith said that the council learned that there was a possibility of the land at Haversham Grange being used as a gravel pit with a landing stage for barging the gravel away.

The then Mayor (Alderman Howitt) took the risk of paying a deposit on the purchase of Haversham Grange, and the council began negotiations with Twickenham Borough Council and London, Surrey and Middlesex county councils.

TWICE AS MUCH

They agreed with Alderman Howitt, who sold the land with the covenants imposed on it to pay between them the consequent loss as a result of buying and reselling.

He thought Alderman Howitt had paid £8,000 for the land, and had resold it for £4,500.

Richmond had paid £1,838 for the loss of money, and the other four authorities had provided the remainder.

"I think we paid twice as much as anyone else," added Alderman Calvert Smith.

"We wanted to preserve the view and we paid for it.

"We consider it our superlative duty in Richmond to do anything that is necessary to preserve the view from Richmond Hill, and we look on ourselves as trustees of the view which I think it is fair to say is unique in its proximity to a big town like London."

Mr. Goff: I am suggesting that as far as actual injury is concerned by what we are doing, there is no fear at all.

Alderman Calvert Smith: I think there are grounds for fear, and we in Richmond are not prepared to run the risk of losing the view.

CONFIRMED

Alderman T. R. Starr also gave evidence for Richmond council, and confirmed Alderman Calvert Smith's recollection of the council's actions in protecting the view.

Mr. A. E. Jackson of Middlesex County Council's valuation department said in evidence that as Middlesex County Council was a beneficiary and had paid public money for the imposition of the 1930 covenant, they felt there should be no relaxation of it in any way.

None of the private objectors gave evidence and the tribunal heard closing speeches from all parties.

Mr. Hurst Marnham, for the L.C.C. and Twickenham Council, said that apart from injury there was the question of serious encroachment on land which it had been the policy of London County Council and Twickenham Borough Council to protect over a considerable number of years.

Twickenham was seriously concerned with the preservation of the Richmond Hill view, and also with that from the river itself, and across the river from the towpath and gardens on the Surrey bank.

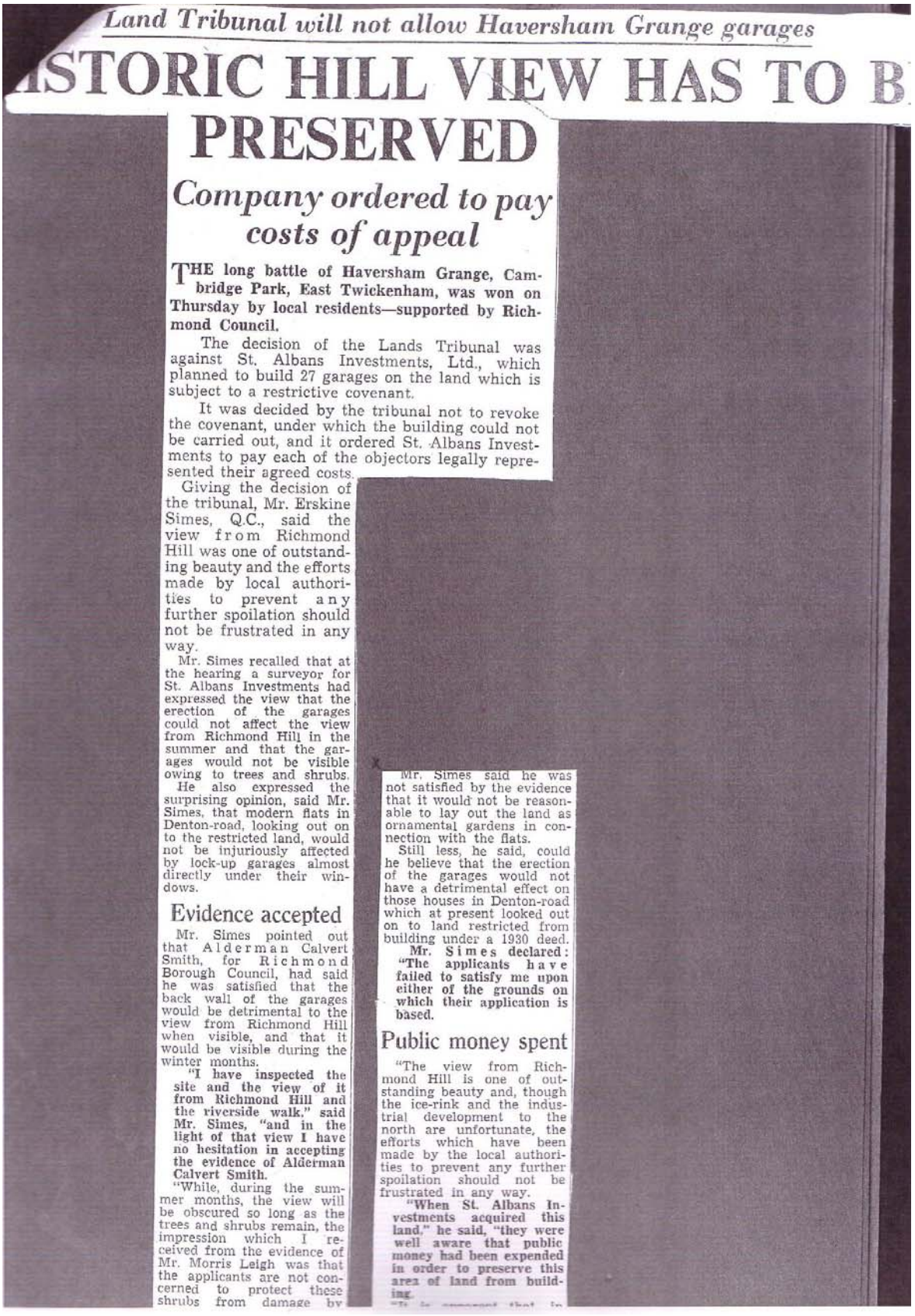
STEADY INCREASE

Mr. G. T. Thomas, for

Mr. R. W. Goff submitted on behalf of the applicants that modifications of the covenants allowing development "on this small strip" next to a site which could be and was being developed could not possibly injure amenities.

The applicants were not seeking a complete discharge of the covenants, he said. All they sought was modification for changing the demarcation line

Richmond and Twickenham Times, (23 August 1958)



Land Tribunal will not allow Haversham Grange garages

ISTORIC HILL VIEW HAS TO B PRESERVED

Company ordered to pay costs of appeal

THE long battle of Haversham Grange, Cambridge Park, East Twickenham, was won on Thursday by local residents—supported by Richmond Council.

The decision of the Lands Tribunal was against St. Albans Investments, Ltd., which planned to build 27 garages on the land which is subject to a restrictive covenant.

It was decided by the tribunal not to revoke the covenant, under which the building could not be carried out, and it ordered St. Albans Investments to pay each of the objectors legally represented their agreed costs.

Giving the decision of the tribunal, Mr. Erskine Simes, Q.C., said the view from Richmond Hill was one of outstanding beauty and the efforts made by local authorities to prevent any further spoilation should not be frustrated in any way.

Mr. Simes recalled that at the hearing a surveyor for St. Albans Investments had expressed the view that the erection of the garages could not affect the view from Richmond Hill in the summer and that the garages would not be visible owing to trees and shrubs.

He also expressed the surprising opinion, said Mr. Simes, that modern flats in Denton-road, looking out on to the restricted land, would not be injuriously affected by lock-up garages almost directly under their windows.

Evidence accepted

Mr. Simes pointed out that Alderman Calvert Smith, for Richmond Borough Council, had said he was satisfied that the back wall of the garages would be detrimental to the view from Richmond Hill when visible, and that it would be visible during the winter months.

"I have inspected the site and the view of it from Richmond Hill and the riverside walk," said Mr. Simes, "and in the light of that view I have no hesitation in accepting the evidence of Alderman Calvert Smith.

"While, during the summer months, the view will be obscured so long as the trees and shrubs remain, the impression which I received from the evidence of Mr. Morris Leigh was that the applicants are not concerned to protect these shrubs from damage by

Mr. Simes said he was not satisfied by the evidence that it would not be reasonable to lay out the land as ornamental gardens in connection with the flats.

Still less, he said, could he believe that the erection of the garages would not have a detrimental effect on those houses in Denton-road which at present looked out on to land restricted from building under a 1930 deed.

Mr. Simes declared: "The applicants have failed to satisfy me upon either of the grounds on which their application is based.

Public money spent

"The view from Richmond Hill is one of outstanding beauty and, though the ice-rink and the industrial development to the north are unfortunate, the efforts which have been made by the local authorities to prevent any further spoilation should not be frustrated in any way.

"When St. Albans Investments acquired this land," he said, "they were well aware that public money had been expended in order to preserve this area of land from building.

Richmond and Twickenham Times, (12 July 2002)

Our view is under threat

RTT 12.7.02

Sir,-We are writing to draw your attention to a glaring omission in Ken Livingstone's recently published draft for the Spatial Development Strategy for Greater London.

While stating that he values the importance of strategic views and major landmarks he has failed to include the famous view from King Henry's Mound in Richmond Park to St. Paul's Cathedral.

It is not included in the Proposed View Protection Framework, neither is it included in the proposed lines to the landmarks of St Paul's Cathedral, 'Map VA2 Proposed London Panoramas'.

Soon after St Paul's was completed in 1710, an avenue of trees was planted in celebration from King Henry VIII's Mound, an ancient barrow and the highest point in the park, aligned directly towards England's great new cathedral.

In May 1992 the Secretary of State for the Environment gave protection to this view, following an Inspector's decision to turn down British Rail's application to build a high rise block on Liverpool Street Station.

This secured the principle that nothing should ever interrupt the view of the dome of St Paul's Cathedral from King Henry's Mound, a premise which governs the height of many buildings in the City of London to this day.

But, ten years on this view is under threat again if it is not to be included in The Mayor's view protection framework. This association will be writing to Ken Livingstone to ask why the view to St Paul's has not been included under his protection scheme and urging him to include it. We will also be making representations to Richmond upon Thames Council who are the protectors of this view under their UDP and to The Royal Parks Agency who are guardians of it and who maintain the Avenue and Mound.

This vista is an historic and much valued cityscape which gives joy and pleasure to a great many Londoners and tourists who come to Richmond Park.

It is the sole visual link to the City for the Thames Landscape Strategy. I very much hope that your readers will feel able to support this plea by writing to Ken Livingstone, Mayor of London (London Plan Consultation), Greater London Authority FREEPOST LON 17265 London SW1P 3YS and to Richmond on Thames Council, Environment Planning and Review, Civic Centre, 44 York Street, Twickenham. TW1 3BZ.

Sylvia Peile, Ham and Petersham Association.

Richmond and Twickenham Times, (01 August 2003)

View of St Paul's should be protected

THE ANCIENT view of St Paul's Cathedral from King Henry's Mound in Richmond Park looks set to be saved from a threat to remove its protected status.

Last year, Ken Livingstone's Draft London Plan included a list of historic views and sightlines which must be preserved from being blocked by new development.

Local heritage activists were distraught to see that the King Henry's Mound view had been omitted from the list.

The Richmond Society and others mounted a campaign and attended hearings of the public inquiry into the plan, whose report this week came out in favour of protecting the Richmond view.

The inquiry report stated: "We consider its strategic protection should be maintained.

The inspectors added: "We found the viewing place at the mound to be interesting and well-maintained, offering attractive views to the west as well as the strategic view.

"We saw the view towards the cathedral, through the shrubs and between the trees, attracts both visitors and tourists.

"We found much to agree with in the arguments put forward in support of this unique and outstanding view."

A victorious Peter Locke, chairman of the Richmond Society's conservation, planning and development committee, declared: "The first round of the battle to safeguard the historic ten mile view of St Paul's from Richmond Park has been won."

Mr Locke, who represented the society at the hearings, had argued strongly that the importance of the view is London-wide and not simply confined to locals visiting Richmond Park.

He drew attention to the support given by Ham resident James Batten, a member of both the Ham and Petersham Association and the Richmond Society.

Mr Locke said: "It was he who in 1976 restored the view from the mound by personally cutting his way through the overgrown holly hedge which had blocked it and was subsequently instrumental in getting the vista protected."

Although this week's report is not binding on Mr Livingstone, the campaigners believed they have won an important victory and hope that the mayor will accept the inquiry's recommendations.

Tony Arbour, Richmond council leader and London Assembly member, welcomed the report decision too.

He said: "Mr Livingstone's proposal to delete this view was vandalism.

"I am glad that the representations I made, along with those of the council and local amenity societies, to the examination in public have prevailed.

"However, the mayor has now to be convinced that his crazy proposal is withdrawn.

"I shall continue to do my best to see that he sees sense."

The Ham and Petersham Association says the view from King Henry's Mound to St Paul's Cathedral is almost as old as the cathedral itself.

Soon after St Paul's was completed in 1710, an avenue of trees was planted from the mound, aligned directly towards England's great new cathedral.

This is possibly the only planned distant vista of a cathedral dome in Europe, apart from the keyhole view of St Peter's through the back gate of the Villa of the Knights of Malta in Rome.

New laws threaten view of St Paul's

The battle continues over plans to squeeze a historic park view of St Paul's as the borough's London Assembly Member has vowed to fight for its protection.

The historic viewing corridor from Henry's Mount to the cathedral is threatened by directions giving the mayor powers to approve high rise buildings in the capital.

Tony Arbour AM has attacked the Mayor of London and Secretary of State for Communities and Local Government, for "arrogantly" refusing to back down over the narrowing of protected views of St Paul's from Richmond Park.

This follows the publication of letters from the Mayor Ken Livingstone and communities minister the Rt Hon Hazel Blears setting out their refusal to reconsider their plans.

Hot on the heels of the laws being passed last month, a planning application has already been lodged for a high-rise building that would narrow the iconic vista according to Mr Arbour.

Condemning their decision to reconsider he said: "I am disappointed, but unsurprised, that the Mayor and Secretary of State have ignored the London Assembly and public opinion. Once again this shows the Mayor's complete disregard for outer London's views.

"Development in London is necessary, but it can take place without sacrificing our historic views. Once gone, the viewing corridors will almost certainly be lost forever.

"I shall work to get the same statutory protection for the view of St. Paul's Cathedral from Richmond Park as there is for the view of the Thames from Richmond Terrace."

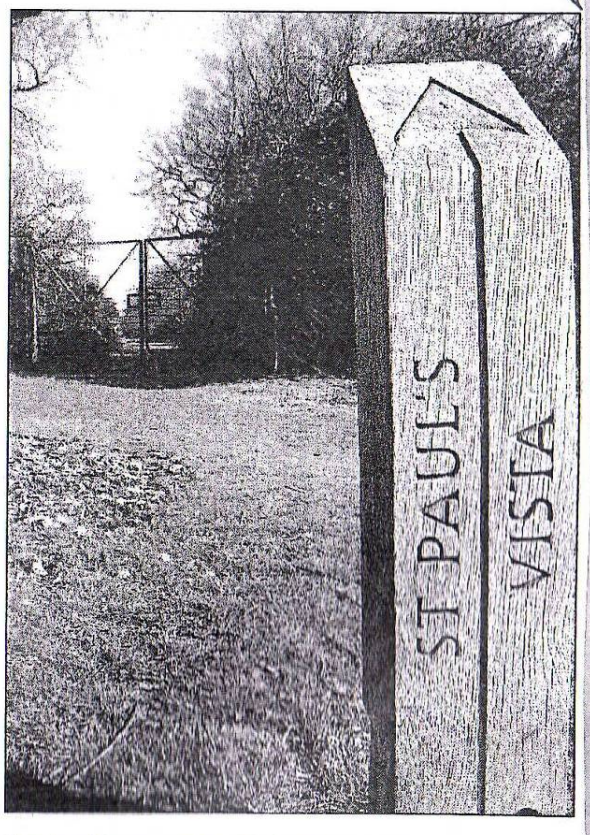
Mr Arbour said discussions are already taking place about a private members bill to secure the future of the vista.

A spokeswoman for Ken Livingstone said: "The Mayor does not accept that the changes to the viewing corridors, including that from Richmond Park, will cause any harm to the capital's historic views.

"In fact, the new policy brings in a series of views along the River Thames that had no protection at all under the previous policy.

"The revisions to each view have been carefully tailored to ensure that the essential historic view remains protected."

❐ **See rttimes.co.uk for more**



Under threat: The historic view Deadlinepix HY1425

Richmond and Twickenham Times, (07 September 2007)

Surrey Comet, (26 October 1901)

Times 26/10/1

THE VIEW FROM RICHMOND-HILL.—At a meeting of the Twickenham District Council, on Thursday night, Dr. Martindale Ward announced, in connexion with the proposals of the central committee with regard to the purchase of Marble-hill, that Lord Dysart will introduce a Bill in the next Session of Parliament for the purpose of dealing with his Ham and Petersham estates and rendering them available for building development. It will be proposed, he said, that Lord Dysart should give up all his remaining manorial rights over Ham and Petersham commons and Ham-fields, should also give up to the public Petersham-meadow immediately below Richmond-hill, and a strip of land at least 100ft. wide extending for two miles along the river bank, from Twickenham Ferry to the One Tree, near Kingston. In return for this all common rights over the remainder of the estates would be extinguished. Dr. Ward added that, although it was not included in the scheme, he had no doubt that when Lord Dysart began to develop his land the first thing he would do would be to throw a bridge across the Thames at Twickenham. At a meeting of the same body last night Dr. Ward, the council's delegate on the central committee, said that Mr. Torrance, Chairman of the London County Council, who presided over the deliberations of the committee, had expressed an opinion very much in favour of the suggested scheme. It was intended that the estate of 66 acres should be preserved as a public park for ever, and maintained by the London County Council without any expense to Twickenham. A motion in favour of the scheme was carried by a large majority.

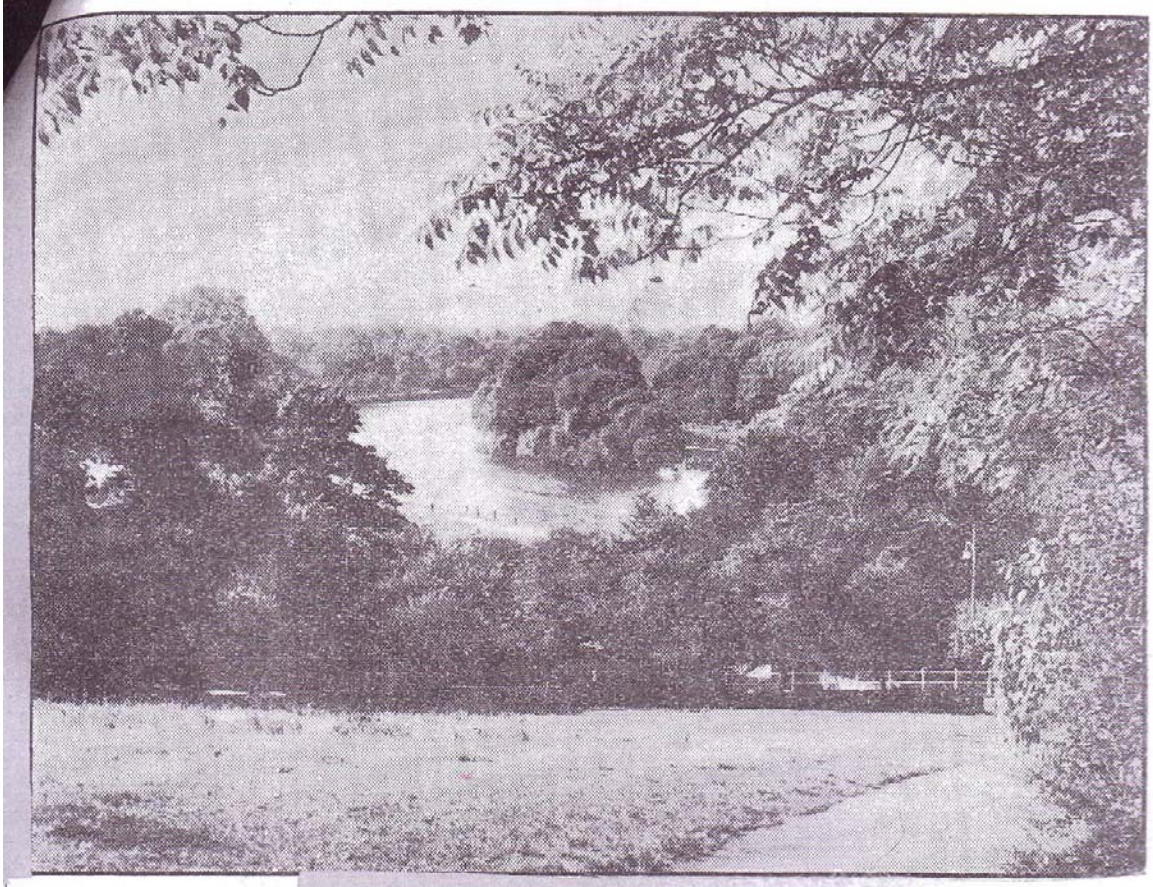
Surrey Comet 26/10/1

The Twickenham District Council may be congratulated upon having taken a broad view of its responsibilities in the matter of the proposed acquisition of the Marble Hill estate, instead of following the narrow parochial and inglorious lead of three of its number, who opposed the making of a £3,000 grant towards the purchase money because, forsooth, if the estate were not built over Twickenham would suffer a loss of rateable value and of trade. The classic village would be up in arms were it suggested that it is in any respect a suburb of its historic neighbour across the water, but it owes, all the same, not a little of its rapid growth to its propinquity to Richmond, which on its part knows full well that its whole prosperity depends upon the preservation of the natural glories with which it is surrounded, and which it is therefore Twickenham's duty, almost as much as Richmond's, to retain unimpaired. With the news that the Twickenham Council has thus risen to the height of a great opportunity, comes the intelligence that the committee of the Surrey County Council who have had the subject before it, will recommend to that body a grant of £10,000 towards the purchase. If Surrey thus knows how to do its duty in this matter, surely Twickenham, which will have the full enjoyment of the open space to be provided for all time, has done right in also lending its aid. Surrey's proposed grant is conditional upon arrangements being made for the preservation as an open space of Petersham Meadows, and as to that it transpired at the Twickenham Council meeting that the Earl of Dysart has some other conditions to apply, which can only be settled in the next Session of Parliament. On the whole, therefore, the outlook as to the purchase of Marble Hill is not free from difficulty, though we have confidence that in the end the result desired will be attained.

THE VIEW FROM RICHMOND-HILL.—The Richmond Town Council considered on Saturday the heads of a proposed agreement, whereby the Lammas rights over 200 acres of open land at Ham should be extinguished, and the same be made available for development as a building estate by their owner, Lord Dysart. The consideration, which is to be embodied in a Bill to extinguish these rights, is that Lord Dysart should dedicate to the public Ham-common and Petersham-common, the Petersham-meadows at the foot of Richmond-hill now rented by the Town Council, and a strip of land 150ft. in average width from River-lane, Petersham, to the One Tree at Kingston by the riverside. Certain easements were to be retained by Lord Dysart in regard to these lands, including rights of access and of compensation if used for any purpose other than as an open space. It was reported that the Central Committee for the Preservation of the Richmond-hill view had expressed their approval of the proposals, and the council were recommended by the General Purposes Committee to do the same. Mr. Thompson moved as an amendment that the London County Council should be requested to introduce a Bill to secure all the lands that were needed for the preservation of the view, including the Lammas lands in question, which, he said, would if built over be a disfigurement to the view. Lord Dysart, he said, would also be able to make roads across the reserved lands and by the riverside, which would further disfigure the landscape they wished to save. The council rejected the amendment and accepted the recommendation, agreeing, moreover, to contribute the allocated amount of £5,000 to the purchase by the London County Council of Marble-hill on the Twickenham side.

Thames Valley Times, (30 September 1953)

EVERYBODY KNOWS THIS VIEW



ONE of the most famous views in the world is the bend of Richmond's river, with its wooded island in midstream, seen from the slopes of Richmond Hill.

In this new picture, taken for the "Thames Valley Times" last week-end, the trees are seen at their best as autumn begins to change the colour of the leaves.

The Guardian, (08 September 2008)

theguardian

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UN threatens to act against Britain for failure to protect heritage sites

- Unesco may put buildings on endangered list
- New legislation to address concerns, say ministers

Severin Carrell, Scotland correspondent
The Guardian, Monday 8 September 2008

The UN is threatening to put the Tower of London on its list of world heritage sites in danger after its experts accused the UK of damaging globally significant sites such as Stonehenge, the old town of Edinburgh and the Georgian centre of Bath, the Guardian has learned.

Unesco, the UN's cultural agency, has told ministers in London and Edinburgh that it wants urgent action to protect seven world heritage sites which it claims are in danger from building developments, and said in some cases the UK is ignoring its legal obligations to protect them.
Their complaints range from decisions to approve new tower blocks in central London, such as the 66-storey "shard of glass" at London Bridge, to the failure to relocate the A344 beside Stonehenge despite promising action for 22 years, to a proposed wind farm which threatens neolithic sites on Orkney.

For all seven sites, it has asked the UK to write detailed progress reports replying to its concerns by February.

Unesco's world heritage centre in Paris is also sending two teams of inspectors to Edinburgh and Bath this winter to investigate its concerns that new buildings in both cities will damage their "integrity" and their "outstanding universal value."

In its strongest criticism, Unesco's world heritage committee has said it "deeply regrets" the decision by Edinburgh city council to press ahead with a hotel, housing and offices development called Caltongate next to the Royal Mile, despite expert evidence it will ruin the medieval old town's unique form.

In the committee's final report after its annual meeting in July in Quebec, which has just been released, it also accuses the UK of breaching world heritage site guidelines by failing to warn it in advance about the Caltongate scheme. Last month, Koichiro Matsuura, Unesco's director general, told the Scotsman there was growing concern about Edinburgh. "It is crucial that its outstanding features are preserved and protected," he said.

Leading architects and conservationists, including Sir Terry Farrell and Marcus Binney, chairman of Save Britain's Heritage, have said they share Unesco's anxieties. Farrell, appointed Edinburgh's "design champion", told the Guardian the city urgently needed a proper urban design masterplan. "I'm very supportive of Unesco's position," he said.

Binney said: "Heritage has taken a back seat to Cool Britannia and encouraging everything modern, and we're now uncomfortably in the limelight for failing to have proper policies to protect our world heritage sites, and timely criticisms are now being made."

In potentially its most serious conflict with ministers, Unesco has said it could put the Tower of London on its "world heritage in danger" list next year if ministers fail to honour promises to strengthen planning guidelines for the area.

Unesco is worried that the "iconic" Norman Tower and its 13th-century walls will be overshadowed by Renzo Piano's London Bridge tower, the so-called "shard of glass", and a 39-floor tower on Fenchurch Street in the City. It accepts that a new management plan for the area is being drafted but is angry that the new towers are still being approved.

The Department for Culture, Media and Sport, which has lead responsibility for protecting the UK's 27 world heritage sites, says it is introducing a heritage protection bill which will give all sites in England the same legal protection as a conservation area.

It said its delegation to the Quebec meeting had successfully challenged some criticism from Unesco by showing that planners were acting to draft guidelines on protecting several sites and their skylines. "The tone of the meeting was very positive and our delegates came away with a very positive feeling about the likely final outcome," it said. "Nothing has been said or received subsequently to alter this impression."

The UK overturned a proposed warning that the Palace of Westminster world heritage site, which includes the abbey and St Margaret's church, could also be added to the "in danger" list next year if Unesco's concerns were ignored, by citing the heritage protection bill and planning guidelines. But Unesco still "regrets" that the UK has failed to put in a "buffer zone" to restrict damaging developments and draw up a proper "skyline study" to allow planners to rapidly assess development proposals. It accuses the UK of a "lack of clarity" in assessing the conflicts between conservation and development.

Of the seven sites examined by Unesco, Liverpool had the greatest success: the city council was praised for acting on Unesco's fears about the damage to its Georgian buildings from building plans.

In advance of the inspectors' visit to Bath, DCMS officials have said they are "extremely concerned" about the accuracy of claims in Unesco's report about the damage that could be caused by proposals for seven-storey flats and a college to its Georgian centre.

John Graham, chief executive of Historic Scotland, said he shared Unesco's anxieties about plans for high rises in Edinburgh's Leith docks and a tower to replace the St James' centre, a 70s concrete shopping centre in the New Town due for demolition.

But he had no fears about the Unesco inspectors' visit in November.

"The judgments we've reached are sound and defensible; that is the stance we will be taking when the mission arrives," he said.

Heritage sites under threat

Stonehenge and Avebury

Site The neolithic stone circle and avenues, and the associated megalith circles at Avebury, were listed in 1986.

Problem A cause of anxiety for 22 years, Unesco is angry that plans to reroute the A344 with a tunnel and build an offsite visitors' centre have again been scrapped. It "regrets" the continued delays and "urges" ministers to act quickly.

Neolithic ruins, Orkney

Site Skara Brae, Maeshowe and the Ring of Brodgar were among the ancient sites listed in 1999.

Problem Three planned wind turbines will be visible and Unesco wants the project stopped. Historic Scotland agrees they will damage it. A public inquiry will report soon.

Edinburgh

Site The "remarkable" medieval Old Town and Georgian New Town of central Edinburgh were listed in 1995.

Problem Unesco fears several building projects in the city centre and Leith docks will damage the site's architectural heritage. It "deeply regrets" the city has approved a hotel, office and housing complex by the Royal Mile, and is sending inspectors to visit.

Bath

Site The city's grand neo-classical Georgian crescents, terraces and squares were listed in 1987.

Problem Unesco fears plans to build 2,000 flats in buildings up to nine storeys, and an engineering school sponsored by James Dyson, will damage the site's setting. It is sending inspectors and wants the schemes blocked until its committee has studied the plans.

Liverpool

Site Its maritime mercantile city, with its churches and Georgian warehouses, was listed in 2004.

The Times, (19 June 1901)

RICHMOND HILL VIEW.

Mr. F. Chapman, of Sion House, Twickenham, who is endeavouring to second Sir Whittaker Ellis's efforts to preserve the view from Richmond Hill, has received the following letter from Mr George Meredith:—

"Dear Sir,—Baffle the threat, bright scene. . . . We need a Wordsworth to protest against such a wrong as the violation of the view from Richmond Hill, which is in truth one among our national treasures. Happily the cry in defence of it has only to be raised in time, for it is a matter touching all of British blood who have some vein of poetic sentiment. Richmond Hill makes a more universal and thrilling appeal than Orrest Head.—Yours truly,

"GEORGE MEREDITH."

Mr. J. Rhodes, writing to the "Daily Chronicle," says:

"Sir,—To permit the destruction in part, much less the whole, of that beautiful, that delectable view we have from Richmond Hill, a view renowned, not only by our own people, but almost throughout the world, would constitute a crime. We have suffered enough at the hands of modern vandalism, the speculative builder has torn from us many beautiful landmarks, especially around the Metropolis, during the last half century, and if this is the result of what is called our improved civilization, then heaven protect us from its further ravages. I trust that this charming scene from Richmond Hill, reminding one of the land of Beulah, described by the immortal dreamer, John Bunyan, may yet be preserved."

"T. H.," Pegswood, Northumberland, writing to the "Morning Leader," says:—

"Sir,—Though I have never been either to Twickenham or Richmond, I am greatly pained to know that the view from Richmond Hill is in grave jeopardy of obliteration. For the long stretch of lovely scenery from Twickenham Eyot to Richmond Bridge, of which I have heard and read so much, to be delivered up to the tender mercies of the modern builder is, in my humble opinion, little short of desecration. But is not the retention, the preservation, of all such places a national and not merely a local question? The fate of Surrey to-day may be that of, say, Devonshire to-morrow."

Mr. Michael Field, writing to the "Daily News," says:—

"Sir,—Since Sir Whittaker Ellis wrote to 'The Times' calling attention to the danger that threatens the glorious and most typically English view from Richmond Hill, there has been a comparative silence in the papers, which is surely due to a mistaken belief that the wolf is not already seizing its prey, and that the cries of alarm are premature. I write to assure your readers, to assure London—yes, England, too—that actually and at this moment some of the timber on the Lebanon House Estate is felled to the ground, and that building materials are accumulating on the river meadows that have been so famed, so enjoyed.

"We must all feel there is something of a national quality in this great view of the Valley of the Thames, so near to our capital that has but few spots of eminent loveliness close at hand. Now the question must be put plainly and face to face with the danger. Shall we lose this incomparable and precious outlook for ever?—will we suffer the river-meadows, in a few weeks to become a trivial, defaced, repellant mass of bricks and dust? If we choose worthily, immediate action must follow. A representative committee should at once be formed to petition the City of London for help. The purchase of 150 acres would secure for Londoners of this and of future generations the enjoyment of the most beautiful landscape they can reach with ease. George Meredith has written appealing to all Englishmen who love their land to save the bright scene. If they would do it, they must act promptly and practically, as befits Englishmen."

A writer in the "Licensed Victuallers' Mirror" says: "From what I can gather from correspondence in the papers, the view from Richmond Hill, which is threatened by the jerry builder, consists of property situate at Twickenham, one of the most important being Mount Lebanon, next door to Orleans House, just round the bed of the river before reaching Eel Pie Island. This place, which is announced for sale, was originally purchased by Mr. William Cunard, the present owner of Orleans House, from the late Sir John Astley, who was then proprietor of the Orleans Club. Mount Lebanon has a beautiful avenue of cedar trees and a nice square old-fashioned mansion, but as prices go on this part of the river it will probably be sold very cheaply. My sympathies are entirely with the Richmond folk in this question of preserving the view from Richmond Hill, but at the same time where are they going to stop, for really Mount Lebanon is barely visible from the Star and Garter, and if it were entirely built over could hardly be said to spoil the view. I can understand the necessity of preserving Glover's Island and Petersham Meadows, but it is asking public spirited individuals too much to preserve such places as Mount Lebanon, Orleans House, or Eel Pie Island."

On the reception of the Parks Committee's report, at the last meeting of the London County Council, Mr. John Burns asked whether, in view of the probable loss to London and the suburbs of the beautiful view from Richmond hill, and the misfortune which would necessarily accrue to the people of London, the Committee would take into consideration the advisability of co-operating, either with the Richmond Corporation, the Middlesex County Council, the City Corporation, or the Metropolitan Public Gardens Association, in order that the people of London might have secured to them for all time the permanent enjoyment of the beautiful view from Richmond-hill.—Mr. Henry Clarke: Perhaps the Council will permit me to say that Richmond-park itself was saved in the early part of last century by the Corporation. (Cheers.)—Mr. Burns: I wish they would do this job to-morrow. (Hear, hear.)—Lord Monkswell, chairman of the Parks Committee, said the Council were much interested in Mr. Clarke's statement. He hoped it would be an incentive to the Parks Committee to do something towards preserving the Richmond-hill view.

The Times, (15 July 1901)

Times 15/7/1

There is no more famous prospect in England than the view from Richmond-hill. There is none more characteristic of English scenery at its best. It is SCOTT'S "inimitable landscape," though, like a true Scotsman, he makes JEANIE DEANS say of it, "It's braw rich feeding for the cows, and "they have a fine breed o' cattle here; but I "like just as weel to look at the craigs of "Arthur's Seat, and the sea coming in ayont "them, as at a' thae muckle trees." Thus with sure instinct does SCOTT strike the true note of Richmond's incomparable scene. Perhaps we all like "just as weel to look at the craigs of 'Arthur's Seat, and the sea coming in ayont 'them," and at many another gem of Scotland's northern beauty. Perhaps many of us like even better to look at landscapes more romantic or more enchanting, grander or more picturesque, such as the traveller of sensibility can find in all parts of the world. Yet nowhere in this broad and beautiful England can the English eye look upon a landscape more purely and essentially English, more instinct with the very spirit of our land, than that which greets it from "thy hill, "delightful Shene." The pencils of REYNOLDS and of TURNER—painters as English as the scene they portrayed—have rendered it immortal. THOMSON and SCOTT—Scotsmen both, yet English of the English in their feeling for Richmond-hill and its charm—have done the same with their pens. History has consecrated it with countless associations. Nature herself and that patient embellishment of homely and peaceful human life which is almost a second nature have conspired to make it what it is :—

"Inchanting vale! beyond whate'er the Muse
"Has of Achaia or Hesperia sung!
"O vale of bliss! O softly swelling hills!
"On which the Power of Cultivation lies,
"And joys to see the wonders of his toil."

That is how it struck a Scot of sensibility early in the eighteenth century. Early in the nineteenth the note had somewhat changed, and SCOTT is less pompous than his predecessor, though still the rhetoric somewhat outstrips the sensibility. Richmond-hill is to him "a com-"manding eminence, where the beauty of English "landscape was displayed in its utmost luxuri-"ance. . . . A huge sea of verdure, with "crossing and intersecting promontories of "massive and tufted groves, was tenanted by "numberless flocks and herds, which seemed to "wander unrestrained and unbounded through the "rich pastures. The Thames, here turreted with "villas, and there garlanded with forests, moved "on slowly and placidly like the mighty monarch "of the scene, to whom all its other beauties were "but accessories, and bore on its bosom an "hundred barks and skiffs, whose white sails and "gaily fluttering pennons gave life to the whole." That is a little overcharged, perhaps. We do not now see the view from Richmond-hill with the eyes of THOMSON or with the eyes of SCOTT. But still we can see it, still we can rejoice in its essential features unimpaired. What will be the sentiment of those who come after us when another hundred years have passed? It rests with ourselves of the present generation to determine. If we choose to bestir ourselves, we may hand down our inheritance in the prospect from Richmond-hill unimpaired, or at least not seriously defaced, to those who come after us. It cannot be preserved from change. Change is the law, the inexorable and, on the whole, the not unkindly law, alike of nature and of human nature, and, just as we do not see the prospect with the eyes of THOMSON or with the eyes of SCOTT, so we do not and cannot see what they actually saw. But in nature, and even in the peaceful landscapes "on which the Power of "Cultivation lies," the change which is inevitable is also in large measure imperceptible. It is only man who unmakes what nature and man have made. If the estate of Marble-hill, comprising some 66 acres in the middle distance of the view from Richmond-hill, is sold to the speculative builder, the most famous landscape in England will be ruined for evermore. This is what we are threatened with as now imminent and, apparently, almost inevitable. The land is in the market, and, unless it is at once purchased and reserved for public use and enjoyment, the hand of the destroyer will be at work in a few days. "The woods will be felled," wrote SIR J. WHITTAKER ELLIS a few weeks ago, "the sylvan "scenery destroyed, and spick and span "modern villas bedeck the shores of the "River Thames from Twickenham Eyot to "Richmond-bridge." "Turreted with villas" the landscape always was since first it emerged in literature. But a villa in those spacious and lordly days was essentially a sylvan retreat such as THOMSON descried "thro' pendent woods that "nodding hang" and associated with "Ham's "embowering walks," with "Esher's groves," with "where the Muses haunt, In Twitnam's "bowers," or with "where the silver Thames "first rural grows." Really, it is incredible that all this wealth of scenery and association, the very quintessence of "this blessed "plot, this earth, this realm, this England," should be in jeopardy. The national purse is not overflowing at present, but, in all those countless millions at which SIR ROBERT GIFFEN reckons the accumulated capital of the country, surely a mite might be found

The Times, (15 July 1901) *continued:*

to redeem the view from Richmond-hill from the trail of the speculative builder. Heroic efforts have been made, by SIR J. WHITTAKER ELLIS and others, to avert this calamity, and the London County Council is stirring in the matter. But the movements of public bodies are slow, and the method of redemption suggested with great public spirit by SIR J. WHITTAKER ELLIS has been barred by the action of the vendor. We sincerely trust, however, that some method will even yet be found, and that the means for taking it will not be lacking. Why are we to lavish our picturesque sensibility, our feeling for history, romance, and beauty on lands and scenes not our own, to protest against the restoration of St. Mark's at Venice or against the submersion of the Temple at Philæ, and yet care nothing for such a truly national possession as the prospect from Richmond-hill? When we lease Westminster Abbey for a soap factory, when we hand over the dome of St. Paul's to the advertiser, when we sell the Victory to a marine store dealer, and send the mace of the House of Commons to the pawnbroker, then we may feel no scruple in defacing the "unrivalled landscape" of SCOTT. But till then, let us hope, *noblesse oblige.*

SIR J. WHITTAKER ELLIS has appealed, not without encouraging results, to the London County Council and other public authorities to take the matter up and stay the threatened spoliation. To this appeal we cannot but give an earnest and unqualified support. We would appeal, too, as others have done, to the public spirit of Englishmen. Shall it be said of this wealthy and prosperous generation that it could spare no money and give no thought to the preservation for posterity of its inheritance in what still remains of beauty and sylvan charm to the most characteristic English landscape to be found within the four seas? It is not its incomparable beauty alone, but the essential nationality of its beauty, that should endow it with eternal consecration. RUSKIN, in a famous passage, describes a landscape in the Jura, and then tells how he "endeavoured, in order more strictly to "arrive at the source of its impressiveness, to "imagine it for a moment a scene in some "aboriginal forest of the new continent. The "flowers in an instant lost their light, the river "its music; the hills became oppressively "desolate; a heaviness in the boughs of the "darkened forest showed how much of their "former power had been dependent upon a life "which was not theirs, how much of the glory of "the imperishable, or continually renewed, "creation is reflected from things more precious "than it in its renewing. Those ever-springing "flowers and ever-flowing streams had been dyed "by the deep colours of human endurance, "valour, and virtue, and the crests of the sable "hills that rose against the evening sky "received a deeper worship, because their far "shadows fell eastward over the iron wall of Joux "and the four square keep of Granson." That is how a famous landscape affects the generous mind far more deeply than by its mere natural beauty—by the memories it enshrines of "human "endurance, valour, and virtue;" let us add, of tranquillity, peace, and toil. But what was Granson to RUSKIN or RUSKIN to Granson compared with what the prospect from Richmond-hill is, or should be, to every Englishman who loves his country and its history?

[illegible]

At the meeting of the London County Council yesterday, in answer to Mr. Burns, M.P., Lord Monkswell (chairman of the Parks Committee) stated that, with regard to the question of the preservation of the view from Richmond Hill, the vendor of the property had met him in the most friendly spirit. He would have several proposals to put forward at a conference to be held at Spring-gardens next Friday, which would be attended by delegates from the Councils of London, Middlesex, and Surrey, the Richmond Corporation, the Twickenham Urban District Council, and various open space societies. He very much hoped they would be able to come to some satisfactory conclusion.

At a meeting of the Court of Common Council to-morrow, the Lord Mayor will lay before the Court a letter from the secretary of the Commons and Footpaths Preservation Society as to what steps can be taken to preserve from threatened disfigurements the view from Richmond Hill, and suggesting the appointment of three corporators to attend a conference about to be convened on the subject.

CONFERENCE AT TWICKENHAM.

The representatives of the Richmond Town Council and the Twickenham District Council met in conference at Twickenham Town Hall last night, but their deliberations took place in committee.

The Times, (15 November 1901)

IN PARLIAMENT.—SESSION 1902.

RICHMOND HILL (PRESERVATION OF VIEW).

(Dedication of Lands as Public Open Spaces to secure the Preservation of the View from Richmond Hill; Vesting Petersham Meadow and other lands in Public Authority as Open Spaces; Vesting Petersham Common and Ham Common in Public Authorities; Vesting of land along the River Thames in Public Authority as Public Open Spaces; Exchange of Lands; Extinction of Common Rights over Ham Lammas Lands; Substitution of other Lands; Provisions for regulating Commons and Open Spaces, making Bye-laws, and giving Powers to Local Authorities; Agreements with County Councils, Corporations, District Councils, and other Authorities; Amendment of Acts and Schemes.)

NOTICE is hereby given that application is intended to be made to Parliament in the ensuing Session for leave to bring in a BILL for the following purposes or some of them (that is to say):

(1.) To make provision for protecting the View from Richmond Hill and for preserving certain areas of land situate in front thereof from being used for the erection of buildings. To provide for the dedication with that object of certain lands known as Petersham Common, Petersham Meadows and other lands in the Parish of Petersham and for vesting such lands in the Mayor Aldermen and Burgesses of the Borough of Richmond in the County of Surrey (hereinafter referred to as the Richmond Corporation) to be held by them in perpetuity as Public Open Spaces and to empower the Richmond Corporation to make regulations and bye-laws for the proper protection management and control thereof.

The lands proposed to be vested in the Corporation lie within an area bounded on the North by Nightingale-lane, on the East by Richmond Park, on the South-east by Petersham Park on the South partly by Petersham Park and partly by the grounds of Bute House and St. Peter's Church and Vicarage on the South-west by River-lane and the grounds of Petersham Lodge, and on the West by the River Thames.

(2.) To vest in the Urban District Council of Ham in the County of Surrey the soil of certain lands known as Ham Common in the Parish of Ham in the County of Surrey to be held in perpetuity as a Public Open Space subject to the provisions of the Metropolitan Commons (Ham) Supplemental Act 1901 and to give the said Council powers for the protection management and control thereof. Ham Common is bounded on the North partly by the Village of Ham and partly by Sudbrook Park on the East by Richmond Park on the South partly by the grounds of Latchmere House and partly by lands belonging to the Earl of Dysart and on the West by the Village of Ham.

(3.) To vest in the Surrey County Council, the Richmond Corporation, the Mayor, Aldermen and Burgesses of the Borough of Kingston-upon-Thames, the Urban District Council of Ham or one or all of them certain lands in the County of Surrey lying along the River Thames and including the towing path between Nightingale Lane and Richmond Ferry on the North, and a point on the bank of the River Thames known as Half Mile Tree, near the Northern bounday of the Borough of Kingston-upon-Thames on the South, and to dedicate such lands in perpetuity as a public promenade or open space and to authorise and provide for the making of bye-laws by such local authorities or some of them, and conferring powers for the protection management and control of the lands so to be vested in them.

(4.) To authorise and empower the Right Hon. Sir William John Manners Earl of Dysart (hereinafter referred to as "the Earl of Dysart") and the Trustees for the time being of the Will dated the 26th day of June 1873 of the late Right Hon. Sir Lionel William John Manners Earl of Dysart (hereinafter referred to as "the Trustees") and all or any other person or persons for the time being entitled to the said lands proposed to be dedicated as aforesaid (hereinafter referred to as "the dedicated lands") to convey the dedicated lands without payment, and to enter into any agreement or agreements as they may be advised with any County or other Council Corporation or public body person or persons as may be provided for by the Bill.

(5.) To extinguish all lammas and other rights of Common whatsoever exerciseable in over or upon all such part or parts of the lands known the Ham Lammas Lands or Ham Fields (hereinafter called the Lammas Lands) as belong or under any deed of sale or exchange may or shall belong to the Earl of Dysart and the Trustees or either of them The Lammas Lands lie within an area bounded on the North-west and South-west by the River Thames, on the South by the Borough of Kingston-upon-Thames and on the East by Ham Street and Upper Ham Road.

(6.) To provide for compensation to the owners of any rights of common in respect of their extinction or to provide that such rights shall be exerciseable over other lands in substitution for the Lammas Lands and to empower the Earl of Dysart and the Trustees to enter into any Agreement or Deed and make any arrangement for the sale or exchange of a portion or portions of the Lammas Lands to or with any other owner or owners of other portions of the Ham Lammas Lands and to empower any such other owner or owners on their part to sell or exchange or enter into any arrangement with the Earl of Dysart and the Trustees for the sale or exchange of such respective parts of the Lammas Lands.

(7.) To provide for the release or extinction of the rights and interests of the Earl of Dysart and the Trustees in Petersham and Ham Commons.

(8.) To empower any Corporation, County or other Council or public body in whom the said Commons may be vested to ascertain the persons entitled to rights of Common thereon and to define such rights and to provide for the adjustment and regulation of the exercise of such rights either by the Board of Agriculture or in such other way as the Bill may provide.

(9.) To make provision for reserving in through or over the dedicated lands, to the Earl of Dysart and the Trustees such easements rights and reservations as may be in his or their judgment necessary for the enjoyment and development of any other land and hereditaments for the time being belonging to them or either of them.

The Times, (25 November 1901)

THE VIEW FROM RICHMOND-HILL.

Times 25/11/1

(FROM A CORRESPONDENT.)

London has many pleasant suburbs, but there are two which are beautiful, Hampstead and Richmond. In each place there is a sharply rising hill with large open spaces. The open lands of Hampstead not only give wide prospects over town and country, they penetrate into streets and lanes and wander among Queen Anne houses and quaint old cottages. There are many of the features of a picturesque country village within sight of St. Paul's. Richmond has her noble park and famous view. Each of these suburbs has been threatened with irreparable disfigurement. Some years since, Parliament-hill and the adjacent meadow slopes were about to pass into the builder's hands. The effect would have been to ruin the Heath, and Hampstead with it. The threatened lands were rescued ; the Heath was doubled in size, and an adequate open space secured on the northern heights of London. Now it is the turn of Richmond. The charm of the renowned view lies in its quiet sylvan character. From the old elms of the Terrace—in perfect harmony with the scene below—the eye wanders over garden, meadow, and wood to the silver waters of the Thames, flowing gently down between green lawns and stately trees. Replace wood and meadow by villas and terraces, by bricks and smoking chimneys, and the Richmond view as we have known it is no more. Some landscapes are on so large a scale, or are seen from so great a height, that details do not greatly matter. In the view from Richmond-hill details are everything. Hence the proposal to build on the Marble-hill Estate threatened ruin to the view. In the very centre of the view are the Marble-hill trees. Sweep them away and the setting of the river is hopelessly changed. Nothing that could be done elsewhere would neutralize the disastrous effect of the conversion of the park of Marble-hill into a building estate.

It was natural, therefore, that, as Hampstead was saved by a large purchase of land on the part of the public, so an attempt should be made to save Richmond by similar means. Sir Whittaker Ellis first called attention to the danger in the public Press. The London County Council at once took action. At their instance a committee representative of local authorities and open space societies, and including such distinguished artists as Sir Edward Poynter and Sir William Richmond amongst its members, was called together, and an option of purchase in favour of the Council was obtained upon payment of a substantial deposit. More recently the Council has consented to find half the purchase-money, and to maintain Marble-hill as a public park when it is secured. The total cost of the purchase is put at £72,000. Of this the London Council will find £36,000 ; and other public bodies are asked to supply the balance. The Surrey County Council has already undertaken to find £10,000, the Richmond Corporation £5,000, and the Twickenham District Council £3,000. There is still £18,000 to be made up, and for the whole or greater part of this sum the committee look to the Middlesex County Council and the Corporation of London. Meantime the London Council will apply for the necessary Parliamentary powers to carry out the arrangement.

But the scheme of the committee does not stop here. There are other properties which contribute their quota of lawn and wood to the Richmond view, and it was felt from the first that the opportunity should be taken to preserve, if possible, all the essential features of the prospect, once for all. In the immediate foreground lie the Petersham Meadows of Lord Dysart. These meadows, though liable to floods, have been menaced with building operations from time to time. Some years ago Lord Dysart offered to give them to the public, if he were allowed to enclose Ham Fields and stop up a network of foot-paths traversing his estates. The offer was not considered a good one, and the Bill which was promoted by his lordship was rejected by the House of Commons. A much better offer is now made. Not only are all the meadows in the fore-front of the view to be permanently dedicated to the public, but Lord Dysart offers a broad strip on the river bank from Richmond to Kingston to form a waterside garden. The committee have approved generally of his lordship's offer, and it is understood that a Bill will be introduced to give effect to it. On the Middlesex side the proprietors of several mansions have handsomely consented to enter into conditions, to be embodied in the Bill of the London Council, which will preclude building on the river bank. Residents at Richmond have pointed out that the scheme will be incomplete unless the river frontage of the Cambridge-house Estate, which runs up-river from the old bridge on the Middlesex side, is also kept intact. It would probably be impossible at the present moment to increase the money-burden of the proposed scheme upon the ratepayers. But if the London Council are endowed by Parliament with power to make arrangements in the future for still further securing the view, it is to be hoped that some reasonable arrangement as to this land also may eventually be made.

But the whole project depends on the acquisition of the Marble-hill Estate under the option of purchase held by the Council. That option holds good till the end of this year only ; and the Council naturally desire to be assured of the contributions of other local authorities before they pledge the London ratepayers to the purchase. It is said that the Middlesex County Council, from which a substantial contribution is expected, have been advised by one of their committees to annex to their promise the condition that the council is to take part in the permanent maintenance and management of the Marble-hill-park. Such a condition would, it is feared, endanger the whole scheme. To form a composite board of management for a small park of 68 acres would be both cumbrous and costly. It is admitted that the London Council must have the practical control of any such board, both because it is finding half the purchase-money, and because, but for its timely and spirited action, the Marble-hill trees would by this time have been felled, and the view injured beyond remedy. To call complicated machinery into existence without any effective result is not a course which can commend itself to those who desire the speedy and simple solution of the problem how to save the view from Richmond-hill. It is earnestly to be hoped that the Middlesex

The Times, (25 November 1901) *continued:*

Council will show that public spirit which has marked its action on other occasions, and will aid London in putting beyond risk of harm a prospect of world-wide renown by offering a free and generous contribution towards the necessary expenses.

A correspondent calls attention this morning to the approaching expiration of the time within which the option of purchasing the Marble-hill Estate at Richmond must be exercised if the property is to be preserved for public uses ; and we are glad to give what emphasis we can to his reminder. There is manifest necessity for prompt action in a matter which is of no small importance in its bearing upon the general beauty of the environs of the metropolis. We need not repeat our correspondent's succinct narrative of the events which have led up to the present position of affairs ; and will only say that the London County Council, responding to a cry of alarm from SIR WHITTAKER ELLIS, was the first public body to take action for the preservation of the Richmond-hill view in general, and that under its auspices a very strong committee was appointed to inquire into the matter. The result was that the Council secured the option of purchase of the Marble-hill Estate, which will soon expire ; and that it has since undertaken to supply one-half of the total sum required, or £36,000, appealing, as in such circumstances it may justly do, to other public bodies to supply the remainder. The Surrey County Council has undertaken to find £10,000, the Richmond Corporation £5,000, and the Twickenham District Council £3,000. It is hoped that the other great body whose constituents are largely interested in the question, the County Council of Middlesex, will see its way to a handsome contribution, or possibly even to the provision of the whole of the £18,000 still required ; but our correspondent mentions a report to the effect that this council has been advised, by one of its committees, to demand, in return for a contribution, that it should take part in the management of the public park which is projected on the Marble-hill site. We cordially agree with our correspondent in the hope that this condition will not be insisted upon. The large contribution given by the London Council will certainly entitle them to a predominant share in the government ; and, as our correspondent points out, the establishment of a sort of compound board for the control of a park of only sixty-eight acres in extent would be a proceeding at once cumbrous and costly. We may add that the London County Council, in whatever other respects its ways and works may be open to criticism, has succeeded admirably in the control and preservation of the parks and public gardens committed to its care. The excellence of its record in this respect should afford a sufficient guarantee to the Middlesex Council that the interests of their constituents will be perfectly safe in its hands. The Middlesex Council will, we understand, hold its meeting in the course of the ensuing week ; and we trust that it will approach the important question of the preservation of the view from Richmond-hill in a conciliatory and liberal spirit, such as will earn for it at once the approval and the gratitude of the public.

THE VIEW FROM RICHMOND-HILL.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES.

Sir,—The desire to preserve the view from Richmond-hill at the expense, mainly, of the London ratepayer seems universal, and it is therefore much to be hoped that the misunderstanding to which you refer as likely to arise between the London and Middlesex County Councils may be settled.

According to your correspondent the latter council claims as a condition of its contribution some voice in the management of the 66 acres to be acquired, and I notice that both you and your correspondent refer to the acquisition as if the land was to be used as a "park."

Now it is, of course, impossible to say what ulterior aims some people may have, but if it is allowed to be assumed that a new park, in the ordinary sense of the term, is to result from the purchase it is not altogether surprising that Middlesex, within whose area the land lies, should wish to be consulted. There can, however, be no justification for any such proposition. The land is bought, if bought, for the sole purpose of preserving inviolate a particular view, not to add another park to London.

The south-west border of the metropolis is amply furnished with pleasure grounds and parks, to mention only Kew Gardens, with its 250 acres, and Richmond Park, with over 2,400 ; and it would be sheer waste of money to lay it out on this land, which should be left just as it is and let under proper restrictions for preserving the Marble-hill trees.

It was doubtless somebody's duty to step in and conserve this famous landscape, and the representatives of London's ratepayers may, I suppose, be congratulated on having accepted it as theirs by coming to the rescue so liberally.

It is much more easy nowadays for councillors to dip their hands into the unfathomable pockets of the ratepayer than for Chancellors of the Exchequer to ask Parliament for special votes ; but some consideration is nevertheless due to the London ratepayer, who is just now feeling the pinch of his rates most acutely, and who may ere long wake up to his helpless condition. I hope, therefore, you will not lend any encouragement to the idea that the acquisition of these 66 acres forms an excuse for providing a new public park, which is not wanted and which might easily cost the rates from £3,000 to £4,000 a year to maintain.

By discountenancing such an idea accord on the part of Middlesex is more likely to be brought about.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

November 25. R. MELVILL BEACHCROFT.

HENRY VIII'S MOUND

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES

Sir,—Eleven months ago you published a letter in which I suggested the restoration of a view of London from Henry VIII's Mound in the grounds of Pembroke Lodge, in Richmond Park, to which the public had been admitted. This view, which had been lost for perhaps a century, has now been reopened, and it is possible on clear days to see the dome of St. Paul's exactly in the centre of the vista through the avenue which begins a little to the east of the mound and continues through Sidmouth Plantation. Yours truly,

JOHN GLOAG.

3, The Mall, East Sheen, S.W.14, June 2.

TIMES 3F-50

HENRY VIII MOUND

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES

Sir,—Mr. John Gloag's letter concerning the King Henry VIII Mound raises a point of interest. There is a tradition that the avenue through the Sidmouth Wood was aligned not on St. Paul's but on the Tower of London, and that, from a lookout on top of the King Henry VIII Mound, the fire lit at the Tower, to indicate that sentence had been executed upon Queen Ann Boleyn, was observed and passed on to the King at Windsor. The Ministry of Works intends to clear the vista as soon as labour can be made available for the purpose Yours faithfully,

I. K. C. HOBKIRK, Bailiff of the Royal Parks.

Rangers Lodge, Hyde Park, W.2, June 30.

HENRY VIII'S MOUND

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES

Sir,—The recent opening of the grounds of Pembroke Lodge in Richmond Park has given the public access to Henry VIII's Mound, which is situated at the northern end of the grounds. Westwards, this mound commands a fine view of the Thames valley, and once, in the opposite direction, it commanded an equally fine view of London. The beginning of a big avenue runs eastwards from the mound to Sidmouth Plantation. The rest of it is now lost in that plantation, which has grown up and closed the view of London, with the dome of St. Paul's exactly in its centre. On John Rocque's map of 1741-45 the whole avenue is shown running from Henry VIII's Mound to Oliver's Mount—another mound long since destroyed. When Sidmouth Wood was planted in 1823, it was realized that the view might be obliterated, so a vista along the line of the old avenue was kept open in order to retain it; but there is only a ragged gap now through Sidmouth Wood to mark that line, and the view of St. Paul's is closed. It would not be either difficult or costly to reopen this vista by cutting back the trees that have blurred the line of the lost avenue, and this glimpse of St. Paul's dome, seen through a perspective of green walls, would increase the pleasure of all visitors to Richmond Park who walk round Henry VIII's Mound.

Yours truly,

JOHN GLOAG.

3, The Mall, East Sheen, S.W.14, June 26.

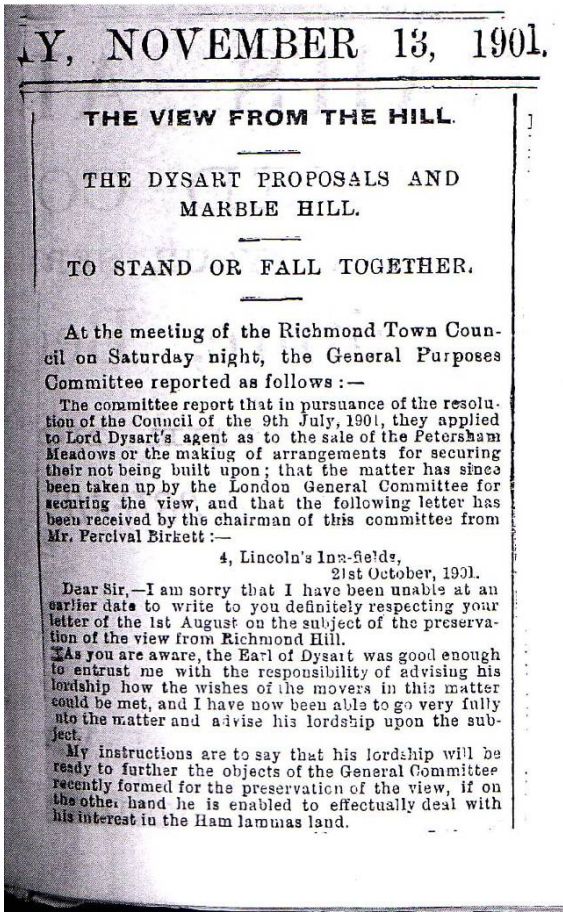
The Times, (date unknown, 1950)

The Twickenham Herald, (05 June 1901)

THE VIEW FROM RICHMOND HILL.

It will be a source of satisfaction to all interested in the world-famed view from Richmond-hill that so able and influential a champion for its preservation should have arisen, at this critical time, as Sir J. Whittaker Ellis. This is, of course, not the first time by many that Sir Whittaker has raised his voice for the preservation of the view from Richmond-hill. He and many others have from time to time dwelt more or less eloquently, but always emphatically, on the desirability of saving from destruction the unparalleled view. Richmond and its inhabitants have done much to conserve and keep unimpaired all within its own borders that affects the view. The Terrace Gardens, Petersham Meadows, Petersham Ait, and the river Thames have all been objects of anxious solicitude on the part of Richmond people, and a good deal of money has been laid out, cheerfully and wisely, in assisting in the great aim of the townspeople—a notable instance being the recent action by Mr. Max Waechter in regard to Petersham Ait. All that Richmond has done, however, threatens to be seriously discounted unless a new and great effort is made to preserve the present aspect of certain estates on the Twickenham side of the Thames, which, in default of tenants for the whole, are about to be cut up for building purposes. The danger has been threatening for some time, and notes of alarm in the Press have not been absent, but at last it seems likely that a determined effort will be made to do something. The letter from Sir Whittaker Ellis to the London Press puts the matter very clearly, and it seems scarcely possible that his earnest plea for the safety of the most notable view in the world will be ignored. At the same time, no doubt the answer of many appealed to will be, as it has been in the past, that the preservation of the view is Richmond's business. That has been said in Twickenham as well as in London, but it is merely a blind and stupid excuse. From all parts of the country and from all parts of the world, people come to enjoy the view from Richmond Hill, but more particularly do they come from London in their thousands and Twickenham and neighbourhood in their hundreds, every week in the year, to gaze from the Hill on the stretch of typical English scenery which lies before them in the valley of the Thames. It is an inspiring sight, but the grandeur and beauty of it need not be enlarged upon in the columns of a local newspaper. The question is, What can be done to preserve it intact, and to preserve especially the delightful foreground to the picture which lies between Richmond Bridge and Twickenham Church? We know what ought to be done. The whole of the riverside land should be purchased as it comes into the market, and preserved as meadow land for the public use. In order that this may be accomplished the question must be freed from all petty jealousies and must be looked at broadly, first and foremost, as one of national importance. The nation must come to the assistance of local effort in a most generous spirit. The resources of the district are not equal to accomplishing alone or even with a little assistance what is desired. The metropolis is keenly interested, but not it alone; not even only in this country would any disfigurement of the view be deplored, the interest in it is world-wide. The difficulty is to unite and bind together this interest in such a way as to produce a means of putting an end for a very long time to any fear that this fine stretch of scenery will suffer through the irresitible growth of London. The influence of great names is needed, but how is it to be got? Only by the formation—and that speedily—of a committee, the nucleus of which might be the Lord Mayor of London, the Chairman of the London County Council, the Mayor of Richmond (Sir James W. Szlumper), Sir J. Whittaker Ellis, the President of the Royal Academy, Mr. J. Bigwood, M.P., Mr. T. Skewes-Cox, M.P., and perhaps one or two others. A public subscription should be immediately started, and a strong effort should be made to induce the City Corporation, the London County Council, some of the wealthier City Companies, and the Railway and Tramway Companies with running powers to Richmond to contribute handsomely to a national fund. Richmond and Twickenham would no doubt give generously for obvious reasons. The great point is, that something should be done promptly.

The Twickenham Herald, (13 November 1901)



...Y, NOVEMBER 13, 1901.

THE VIEW FROM THE HILL.

THE DYSART PROPOSALS AND MARBLE HILL.

TO STAND OR FALL TOGETHER.

At the meeting of the Richmond Town Council on Saturday night, the General Purposes Committee reported as follows :—

The committee report that in pursuance of the resolution of the Council of the 9th July, 1901, they applied to Lord Dysart's agent as to the sale of the Petersham Meadows or the making of arrangements for securing their not being built upon; that the matter has since been taken up by the London General Committee for securing the view, and that the following letter has been received by the chairman of this committee from Mr. Percival Birkett :—

4, Lincoln's Inn-fields,
21st October, 1901.

Dear Sir,—I am sorry that I have been unable at an earlier date to write to you definitely respecting your letter of the 1st August on the subject of the preservation of the view from Richmond Hill.

As you are aware, the Earl of Dysart was good enough to entrust me with the responsibility of advising his lordship how the wishes of the movers in this matter could be met, and I have now been able to go very fully into the matter and advise his lordship upon the subject.

My instructions are to say that his lordship will be ready to further the objects of the General Committee recently formed for the preservation of the view, if on the other hand he is enabled to effectually deal with his interest in the Ham lammas land.

... state that his lordship has been advised not to part with the ownership of the soil of any of his land, but subject to that I have to make on his Lordship' behalf the following propositions :—

(1) His lordship will dedicate as open space to the public in perpetuity (subject to the schemes already made for their management) Petersham Common and Ham Common.

(2) He will also similarly dedicate as open spaces the Petersham Meadows, numbered 4, 10, and 12 on the 1/2,500 scale Ordnance Map, the market garden ground lying to the south-west of No. 12, and a small piece of the garden beyond that. He does not propose to dedicate the pieces of land shown upon the tracing which you have supplied, lying to the south of Nos. 10 and 12.

(3) He will then release the Corporation of Richmond from the rent which they pay for these meadows.

(4) Lord Dysart will also dedicate in perpetuity as a public open space or promenade a belt of land of a breadth of not less than 100 feet above high water mark along the river Thames from Twickenham Ferry to the Half-mile Tree, wherever his lordship's land abuts upon the river. Of course he could not dedicate land belonging to the Thames Conservancy or to such owners of the lammas lands as have lands running down to the river.

(5) There will be a reservation in this dedication that if ever any of these lands are taken compulsorily by public authorities, railway companies, &c., his lordship will receive the compensation money.

(6) The commoners' rights over his lordship's land in the Ham Fields to be extinguished.

Of course I have stated these terms very generally, and I reserve the fullest power to modify them on any question of detail.

I shall be glad to hear at the earliest moment whether the General Committee, which meets at the London County Council offices, and the Richmond Corporation approve of these propositions, as you will readily understand it will be necessary to give notice for a Private Bill for the ensuing session.

Of course you will understand that it may be necessary to obtain the consent of the Court of Chancery to this scheme.—Yours faithfully,

(Signed) P. BIRKETT.

Charles Burt, Esq.

The lands referred to in Par. 2 of Mr. Birkett's letter contain about 32 acres, and comprise all that was asked for by this committee except two small portions near Petersham Church containing three acres. A plan of the property can be seen in the Council Chamber.

The letter has been submitted to the Executive Subcommittee in London, but not to the General Committee as yet.

A letter has been received from the clerk to the London County Council with reference to the Marble Hill Estate, of which that body has secured the option to purchase at £70,000, and paid a deposit of £3,500, as follows ;—

London County Council,
County Hall, Spring-gardens, S.W.
22nd October, 1901.

Sir,—At a meeting held here yesterday by the committee appointed to prepare a scheme and report upon the question of the preservation of the view from Richmond Hill, the following resolution was arrived at :—

That a letter be addressed to the Middlesex and the Surrey County Councils, the Corporation of the City of London, the Richmond Corporation, the Twickenham Urban District Council, the Metropolitan Borough of Hammersmith, and the London County Council, asking those several bodies if they will contribute the following respective amounts to the purchase of the Marble Hill Estate, on the understanding that the London County Council promotes a Bill to provide for the acquisition of the estate, with the necessary enabling powers, and undertakes the custody and maintenance of the property as a public open space for ever :—

	£
Middlesex County Council..	12 000
Surrey County Council	10,000
City Corporation	5,000
Richmond Corporation	5,000
Twickenham Council	3,000
Hammersmith Council	1,000
London County Council	36,000

The amount of £72,000, being £70,000 for the purchase money and £2,000 for interest and expenses, was assumed for the purpose of arriving at the proportional contributions of the several public bodies immediately interested in the preservation of the view, such contributions to be not less than the amounts set out above.

I enclose a map showing the Marble Hill Estate, and also indicating some lands on the Surrey side of the river with the owner of which the committee hope to be able to make such arrangements as will secure them for the use of the public in perpetuity, free of all rights and restrictions.

In view of the approach of the Parliamentary session, I have to ask that you will lay this communication before the Council at the earliest convenient time, and acquaint me with the decision thereon.—I am, sir, your obedient servant

(Signed) G. L. GOMME.

The Town Clerk, Richmond.

The Twickenham Herald, (11 January 1902)

The Herald.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 11TH, 1902.

THE DYSART ESTATES BILL.

In our last issue we described the salient features of the Dysart Estates Bill, or to employ the euphemistic phraseology of the promoters, the Richmond Hill View Preservation Bill. By whatever name it is called the Bill is to all intents and purposes a measure the chief aim of which is the development of the Dysart estates in this neighbourhood. The introduction of the measure at this particular juncture is no accident. The trustees being evidently men who know their business, have adroitly seized the opportunity afforded by the agitation for the preservation of the view from Richmond Hill to revive, although in a greatly altered form, a measure which, a few years ago, was rejected in Parliament by a large majority. Whether the present Bill will receive any better treatment than its predecessor remains to be seen. He would be a bold man who would prophesy what Parliament will, in its wisdom, see fit to do; but in estimating the chances in favour of the measure getting through, it is well to bear in mind that the circumstances to-day are not what they were at the time that the first Bill was introduced. On that occasion the opposition was simply overwhelming, the Press, the public, and the local governing bodies being arrayed in a solid phalanx of protest to the Bill. To-day, on the other hand, there appears little likelihood of the measure encountering opposition *a outrance*. For instance, Kingston's neutrality, if not its cordial co-operation, may fairly be reckoned on seeing that the ancient borough is asked to give up nothing. Nor is the position of the younger borough of Richmond very dissimilar, putting aside for the moment the question of the preservation of the view from Richmond Hill. Richmond is asked to give up nothing, and in return for the concession is to have handed over to her for safe-keeping Petersham Meadows (which form the forefront of the view from the Hill) and the riverside land. These are solid inducements, and the only question is whether, assuming the Bill is passed, damage is likely to be caused to the view by reason of building operations in Ham. On this point, owing to the absence of data, there is much diversity of opinion, and it is impossible to say who are right: those who hold that if an appreciable number of houses are erected in Ham they will be visible from the Hill and will thus adversely affect the view, or those who contend that, provided a judicious system of tree planting is carried out and care exercised with regard to the cutting down of existing trees, the view will not be disfigured. A satisfactory feature of the Bill, and one which will do much to render it acceptable in the eyes of the people of Richmond, is that there is to be no roadway alongside the river. As regards the Lammas rights which the Bill asks for power to extinguish, these, it must be remembered, relate exclusively to lands situate within the parish of Ham, and it is for the people of Ham to decide whether they will give up these rights, which are exercised by a mere handful of Commoners, for the consideration which is offered them. If they do consent to give up their rights they may rest assured that Parliament will see to it that they receive substantial compensation. Looked at all round, the proposals of the promoters of the Bill are not such as should be rejected off-hand and without due deliberation.

During the approaching Session of Parliament there are at least two schemes of prime importance affecting the district, to which public attention ought to be carefully directed. There is the Bill of the London United Tramways Company, by which powers are sought to extend the Company's authorised lines from the top of Kingston Hill along the main road, and across Putney Heath to Wandsworth and Wimbledon; and the Bill introduced into Parliament by the Earl of Dysart's legal advisers, under the title of the "Richmond Hill (Preservation of View) Bill," in which, in exchange for a definite advantage gained to the Dysart estates by the abolition of the lammas rights over certain fields at Ham and Kingston, his lordship proposes to hand over as open spaces for ever certain woods, meadows and lands in the foreground of the view from Richmond Hill. The terms which his lordship offers are certainly not ungenerous, though we daresay they are open to variation in some respects. In the case of Kingston, whose interest in the open lands between the Half Mile Tree and Teddington Lock is not less than that of Ham itself, his lordship makes a special offer of a very gratifying kind. In a word, he offers to vest in the Corporation of Kingston as an open space the cricket and football field in Richmond-road, Kingston, some five acres or thereabouts in extent. This recognition of Kingston's claim to be considered does credit not less to his lordship's largeness of heart than to his sense of what is right and fair; but it is impossible to repress a regret that during the last few months a portion of the field has been appropriated by the builders; and, so strongly does this regret assert itself, that, even at the risk of making a

The Twickenham Herald, (11 January 1902) *continued:*

suggestion which may appear invidious, we would say that his lordship has other meadows better suited by their proportions for cricket and football, which, being off the main road, would at the same time entail, possibly, a less sacrifice on his lordship's part. But we are not looking a gift horse in the mouth. Much as we appreciate the inclusion of this clause in the Bill, the arrangement is in the nature of a bargain initiated by his lordship, and unless we much mistake the generosity with which he is approaching this matter, he will desire that Kingston shall have a sports field in every way suited to the uses for which it is so badly needed in this growing end of the town.

In the village of Ham a very strong opinion is held that something more than is being offered is due; and here again we anticipate the matter is quite capable of friendly adjustment. The few remaining claimants of the lammas rights, inhabitants of Ham, are not unnaturally regarding themselves as the most important people to be compensated. The abolition of their rights is a *sine quâ non* to the success of the Bill. How does his lordship propose to treat them? He appears to regard the rights rather as a parochial than a personal possession, provides machinery for estimating the value of such rights, and proposes to hand over the money to the Ham Council with power to utilise it for various parochial purposes defined in the Bill. Ham shares, of course, with the public at large, in the valuable grant of land from the Half Mile Tree to the Lock, and his lordship also parts for ever with his manorial rights over Ham Common, a concession valuable in itself, but no such material advantage to the parish as it is looking for. On the whole our view is that so far as the terms offered to Ham are concerned they are certainly insufficient, and upon due representations being made to his lordship we doubt not the terms will be enlarged.

Very important questions will arise over the control and up-keep of the strip of 200 feet of riverside land between Kingston and Teddington Lock to come to the public. The Bill proposes to vest it in the Ham Council, but unless the Council can be provided with ample funds from some source other than the pockets of its own ratepayers, the question of placing the control in the hands of a body so weak financially must certainly be questioned. In the consideration of this point much will depend on what the future of the land is to be. The Bill imposes some restrictions, forbidding the erection of any building, and no trees are to be permitted to exceed ten feet in height "except with the consent of the Trustees." Let us hope that such consent would be forthcoming so as to enable the land to be made into something else than a wind-swept waste in winter, and a burning desert in summer. But if anything of this kind is to be done with the land—and in all probability a public demand would arise for it to be laid out with some regard to picturesqueness—then the question presents itself how the Ham Council is to find the funds; or whether there be not some other body or bodies who will come forward to take over or share the control and the expense. Such are the chief points in the Bill, to which we wish most cordially a successful passage through Parliament, enabling as it does, by Lord Dysart's generosity, several very thorny questions to be settled, and contributing as it does, both directly and indirectly, in a most important manner, to the maintenance unimpaired of the famous view from Richmond Hill.

THE DYSART ESTATES DEVELOPMENT BILL.

11/1/2

THE TOWN COUNCIL TO BE ASKED TO OPPOSE

Some striking developments are in store for the public next week with regard to what is technically described as Richmond Hill (Preservation of View) Bill, but better known as the Dysart Estates Bill. It will be remembered that at its meeting in November the Richmond Town Council decided both to support the Bill and to make their contribution towards the purchase of the Marble Hill Estate, on the Twickenham side of the river, conditional upon the passing of the Dysart Bill. At the December meeting the Council, at the request of the London County Council, decided to withdraw the condition referred to, but without cancelling their support to the Bill. At the meeting of the Council to be held next Tuesday, however, we have good reason to believe that a recommendation will be made for an out and out opposition to the Bill, both on preamble and clauses, and that it will take such a form and be supported in such a way that the Council will pretty certainly adopt it. Such a result of the strong opposition that we and others have offered to the Bill will be very gratifying to all those who have been concerned at the threatened injury to the View involved in the passing of this measure.

The Richmond Hill View.

11/1/2

At the Twickenham District Council on Thursday evening, the Riverside Lands Subcommittee presented a report upon the London County Council Bill for the purchase of Marble Hill. Section 27 of the Bill provides:—

The Council may when and as they shall think fit so to do demise and lease any lands acquired by them under this Act and not required for the purpose thereof or such part thereof as the Council shall think it expedient to let on building leases either altogether or in parcels to any person or persons who shall erect and build or covenant and agree to erect and build thereon or on any part thereon houses erections or buildings of such size or class of buildings and upon such plan and elevation and of such height and with such storeys as the Council shall think proper for such term or number of years as they may think fit so as there be reserved in every such demise or lease such peppercorn or other yearly rent to be incident to the immediate reversion of the premises therein comprised as to the Council shall seem reasonable and so that in every such demise or lease there be contained a covenant for the payment of the rent thereby to be reserved.

The Twickenham Herald, (29 March 1903)

THE RICHMOND-HILL VIEW.

1853

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES.

Sir,—Being now relieved from my position as chairman of the London County Council, I beg that with your usual courtesy you will enable me to lay before the public the facts of the case with regard to the important and pressing question of the preservation of the Richmond-hill view.

I have been chairman of the executive committee from its inception, and I have watched with keen interest and anxiety all the phases of the attempts made to save this unique and historic view from destruction. With so much that is hideous in our London surroundings it will be a national disgrace if our efforts should fail. The Press first called attention to the threatened danger, but no one seemed inclined to take any action. Mr. W. H. Dickinson and I talked the matter over, and then we approached several members of the Council to elicit the opinion whether we would be justified in seeking the aid of the Council. We received great encouragement, and on my initiation a meeting was called for in July inviting representatives from the Corporation of London, Middlesex County Council, Surrey County Council, metropolitan borough of Hammersmith, Richmond Corporation, Twickenham Urban District Council, various societies interested in the preservation of open spaces, and Sir Edward Poynter, president of the Royal Academy, and Sir William Richmond as representing art.

The position at that time was critical, as part of the Marble-hill estate, the preservation of which was essential to the object we had in view, was already being laid out for building, and trees were daily being cut down. Immediate action was necessary. By the intervention of Lord Monkswell, Sir Edward Poynter, and others, an option of purchase at the price of £72,000 was obtained from the owner, together with an undertaking that building operations should be suspended for a limited period; and the London County Council paid down the deposit which was requisite to secure this option. The committee then turned their attention to the question of providing the money necessary for completing the purchase and converting the 66 acres into a public park; and various public bodies were approached to obtain contributions. The Parks Committee of the London County Council, after considerable discussion, was prevailed upon to recommend the Council to contribute one half of the purchase price and to undertake the future maintenance of the park, and this recommendation was ultimately agreed to by the Council. The Surrey County Council willingly voted £10,000, Richmond Corporation £5,000, and Twickenham Urban District Council £3,000.

Notwithstanding every effort of the committee, some of the other public bodies have held aloof; and the only hope that I now have of saving for Londoners and, indeed, for the nation, what I may almost describe as one of their greatest art treasures, lies in the appeal I now make to private generosity.

The second limit of time is fast approaching, and we still need to raise £18,000. I will not believe that for lack of such a sum the public will permit the vandalism of building over the Marble-hill estate.

Surely some of our rich men will respond to the earnest appeal I now make, and will put their money out at the best rate of interest they ever had, the sincere and eternal gratitude of the community.

I respectfully seek your powerful advocacy in support of the scheme at this most critical juncture.

Yours very faithfully, A. M. TORRANCE.

Clydesdale-house, 16, Highbury-quadrant, N., March 25.

We cannot understand the attitude of the pub which Mr. Torrance refers in his letter to the T which continue to hold aloof from the in every v movement to preserve the view from Richmond Hill. been rumours to the effect that there is some jealousy of the London County Council in the matter, b truth or otherwise we cannot say. Meantime M has done well to direct his efforts elsewhere in s necessary funds. It appears that only £18,000 is wa appeal for this sum is now made to private gen cannot imagine that the appeal will be made i matter is pressing, and the response will, we trust, be immediate. The view is undoubtedly one of the fines dom, and it would be a national disgrace if the attem made to preserve it should be in vain. But that, we will not be so.

RICHMOND TOWN COUNCIL.

THE VIEW FROM THE HILL.

AGREEMENT SEALED. 29/3/1902

THE PURCHASE OF MARBLE HILL ESTATE.

DECISION TO CONTRIBUTE A FURTHER SUM NOT EXCEEDING £5,000.

A special meeting of the Richmond Town Council was held at the Town Hall on Tuesday evening, when the members present were His Worship the Mayor, (Alderman Aldin), Alderman Blasby, Burt, Keay, Ratcliff, Ray, Roberts, Skewes-Cox, M.P., and Sir J. W. Szlumper, and Councillors Alabaster, Beauchamp, Bensted, Billett, Carless, Chancellor, Cook, Davis, Edgar, Heasler, Hilditch, Hulme, Lucas, Mason, McDougall, Metzner, Pierrepont, Simpson, Skelton, C. Capel Smith, Thompson, Wadd, and Ward.

THE DYSART BILL.

On this subject the General Purposes Committee reported as under:—

The Draft Agreement referred to in the report of the Committee to the February Council has now, after much further discussion and consideration, been in substance approved by Messrs. Horne & Birkett on behalf of Lord Dysart, and by the Committee and the Town Clerk on behalf of the Corporation, subject to the confirmation of the Council.

The following is a full summary of the Agreement. Lord Dysart's ownership of lands referred to and the Bill pending in Parliament are recited. It is agreed that subject to the passing of the Bill in its present or some modified form

1. Lord Dysart and all other necessary parties will grant to the Corporation (a) The fee simple of Petersham Common 17a. 1r. 14p. subject to existing rights of Common; (b) The fee simple of the three Petersham Meadows Nos. 4, 10, and 12 on the Plan, also plot of nursery ground and also piece of garden held with Petersham Lodge, all shown on Plan and coloured pink. Total acreage about 32 acres, subject to existing tenancies; (c) Strip of freehold land adioining the river between River Lane, Petersham, and the southern boundary of the Borough near Ham House, about 7a. 2r. 0p. subject to right of towing on payment of (the apportioned sum of) £5 per annum by the Thames Conservators.

The Twickenham Herald, (29 March 1903)

2. Reservations to Lord Dysart and the owners for the time being of the Dysart Estates and his and their assigns, (1) Free access of light and air over the lands granted to any buildings on the Dysart Estates and the windows and openings thereof. (2) All existing rights of way and passage of water and soil in respect of any part of the Dysart Estates and full right of access for Lord Dysart, his heirs and assigns and the owners and occupiers for the time being of any part of the Dysart Estate to and from the riverside lands, and to and from the River Thames over the said riverside lands. (3) Full right for Lord Dysart and his successors in title, owners of Ham House and their friends in their company at all times for all purposes of pleasure with or without horses and vehicles to pass and repass at their own risk along and over the riverside land. But no metalled road or way is to be made other than a gravelled footpath and a path for towing. (4) Right of access to the Petersham Meadow No. 4 on the Plan from "The Wilderness" as reserved by the lease of this meadow to the Corporation. (5) If any of the land is acquired compulsorily from the Corporation and payment made for it, the compensation money after deduction of expenses is to be paid to Lord Dysart, his heirs or assigns.

3. The Corporation are to preserve Petersham Common and the riverside land as open spaces for the use and enjoyment of the public, subject to the provisions of any scheme authorized by Parliament for the management thereof, and shall not suffer any building to be erected on any of the lands to be conveyed except such (if any) as may be authorized by such scheme, or except as to Petersham Meadows a Pavilion or Conservatory or other building suitable for a park or recreation ground, nor plant trees or shrubs or do anything which shall obstruct the view of the River Thames from Ham House and grounds, or be a nuisance, damage, or annoyance to Lord Dysart or the owners or occupiers of any part of the Dysart Estates.

4. If the pending Bill is not passed into law in its present or some modified form this Session, the Agreement is to be void, but if so passed, all necessary documents to give effect thereto are to be executed.

5. On the faith of the Agreement being observed by Lord Dysart, the Corporation are not to oppose the Bill, but this is not to prevent the Corporation from petitioning against the Bill to secure amendments and clauses for confirming the Agreement and giving effect thereto and opposing clauses or amendments inconsistent therewith.

The Committee recommend the Council to authorize the sealing and exchange of the Agreement and to empower the Committee to take the necessary steps for obtaining the confirmation thereof by the pending Bill and the insertion in the Bill of such amendments and clauses as they may think requisite or desirable.

—Alderman Burt (Chairman of the Committee), in moving the adoption of the recommendation, said that on the last occasion when the matter was before the Council the negotiations with the representatives of Lord Dysart had not been completed and the draft agreement was unsettled. Since that date there had been a good deal of discussion, and negotiation between the Committee and Lord Dysart's solicitors and the agreement had at last been settled in a form which was satisfactory to the Committee. All the points of objection taken by the Committee to the draft agreement as originally submitted had been waived by Lord Dysart's solicitors, and the agreement now stood in what he ventured to think was a satisfactory form. Referring to the various points in the agreement, Alderman Burt said with regard to Petersham Common it would be in the recollection of the Committee that some two or three years ago they offered £500 in respect of the manorial rights, and the Council would have bought the rights at the time had not Lord Dysart's solicitors desired that there should be some right of way from the main road to Lord Dysart's land across the Common. With regard to the riverside land, the Thames Conservators now paid £25 per annum for the whole towing path between River-lane and the One Mile Tree, near Kingston, and of this amount £20 per annum would be paid to the Surrey County Council and £5 to Richmond. The arrangement, so far as concerned Richmond, was very satisfactory, inasmuch as Richmond got 32 acres of freehold land, besides Petersham Common, as a free gift. They gave nothing in exchange, and were getting something as a set off to their contribution towards the purchase of the Marble Hill estate on the other side of the river. The rents from the meadows, including what was paid by the Corporation itself, came to £180 per annum, and this sum would go towards the reduction of the £500 per annum which Richmond would be paying for the purchase of Marble Hill. It might be said that in this agreement no account was taken of the inhabitants of Ham and the Ham Lammas rights, but it was not the duty of the Richmond Corporation to interfere with the affairs of Ham. He did not think it was Richmond's duty to protect their rights, seeing that they had a Council of their own and were going to Parliament to lay their case before the Committee of the House of Commons. With Ham it was a question of money; there was no opposition by them, on public grounds, to the Bill. According to the petition that they had deposited against the Bill their chief ground of opposition was that they did not receive adequate compensation. The Lammas rights did not belong to the inhabitants of Ham, but to the tenants of the manor, and it was quite plain that no Parliamentary Committee would consent to those rights being taken away without compensation. Ham had not asked Richmond to assist or interfere in any way. He ventured to say that 99 out of every 100 people in the county would say that it was a matter of greater importance that the view from Richmond Hill should be preserved than that the Lammas rights at Ham should be maintained. In conclusion, he mentioned that the Committee were unanimous in making the recommendation.

Alderman Blasby seconded.

Councillor Thompson moved as an amendment:—

In the opinion of this Council the Ham Lammas Lands Enclosure Bill ought not to be called the Richond Hill Preservation of View Bill, inasmuch as it does not preserve or tend to preserve the view from Richmond Hill, but will certainly if carried tend to destroy the view from Richmond Hill by developing the commonable land in the centre of the view for building purposes; will tend to spoil the adjacent reaches of the Thames; and will certainly spoil the view of the residents on the Middlesex side; and that it be referred back to the General Purposes Committee.

He said that if the agreement was ratified and the Bill passed it would mean that for the consideration of thirty acres of waterlogged ground the Richmond Council helped Lord Dystart to steal the Ham Lammas lands. The result would be the destruction of the view from the Hill in many respects, and not its preservation. The Lammas lands, not being built on, did not now show from the Hill, but when they were built over they would show up a great deal more than many people imagined. If the Lammas lands were built upon, row upon row of houses would be built which would completely change the character of the whole district. There were to be roads across the estate, and it would be developed as a building estate. If the Bill was passed it would afford Lord Dysart an opportunity of making a regular town of the locality. With regard to the river amenities, there was nothing more delightful than the view from the Thames above Teddington across the Lammas lands to Richmond Park. This charming view would be destroyed by building on the Lammas land.

THE RICHMOND HILL VIEW.

Photo by W. S. Stuart, Richmond.



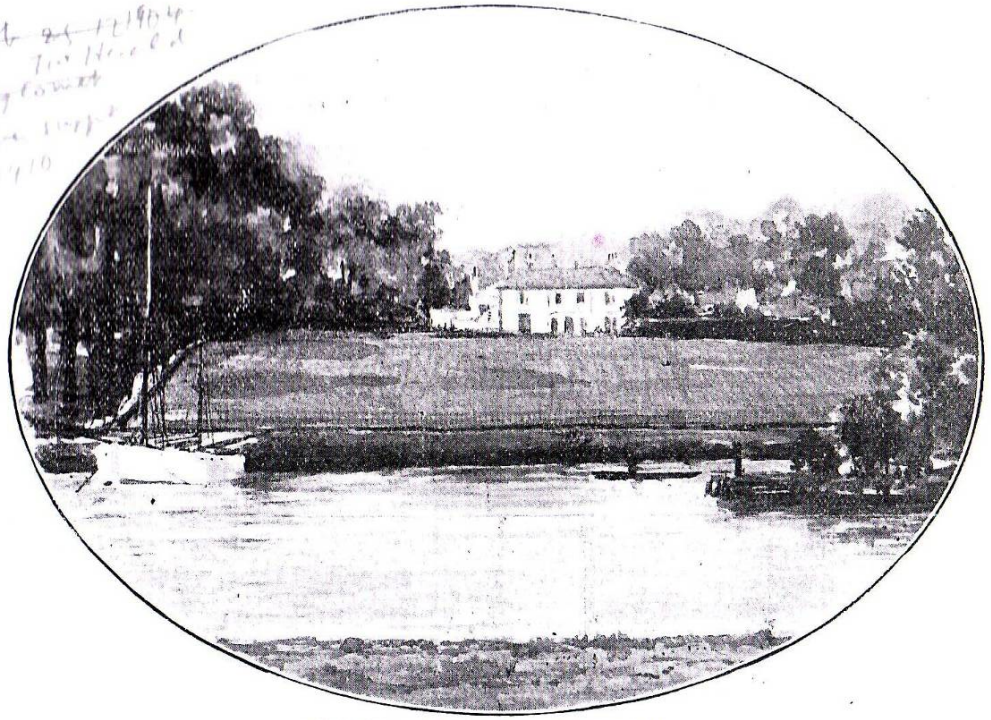
COUN. A. CHANCELLOR, J.P.

"THE VIEW" is Richmond's principal asset, and is renowned the world over as being the finest pastoral views in England. On a clear day the following places are visible:—Highgate and Hampstead Hills, St. Ann's Hill, Cooper's Hill, Windsor Castle and Forest, the heights near Farnham, and other prominent features in the County of Surrey. The extensive lines of trees seen beyond Petersham are the grand avenues in Bushey Park. The nearer view of the windings of the silvery Thames, with its rich slopes and lovely islets, form a magnificent panorama, and when once seen to perfection will never be forgotten. Wood and water cannot be more finely varied; rich groups of foreground contrast with the grand pastoral landscapes.

A few years ago an arrangement was come to with the Earl of Dysart whereby the Petersham Meadows came into the hands of the Corporation as an open space, and later on, with the assistance of the London County Council and the Twickenham District Council, Marble Hill, Twickenham, on the opposite bank of the river, was purchased so as to save the view from Richmond Hill being spoilt by the erection of buildings thereon.

At another time there was a danger of that lovely islet, Petersham Ait, becoming an advertising station, and, thanks to the generosity and local patriotism of Sir Max Waechter, Bart., that evil has been averted for ever. He purchased the islet and handed it over to the Corporation.

It had been supposed that the view had been by these arrangements entirely protected from spoliation, but it was recently discovered that the "Meadowside" property, of about 6½ acres, in Twickenham Meadows, adjoining the Marble Hill Estate, had not been preserved, and that it was being advertised for building purposes. Coun. Chancellor observed this announcement, and at once set to work to find someone who would purchase the property and allow restrictions to be placed thereon, as it is in the centre of the view from Richmond Hill. Coun. Chancellor was successful in his quest, and the valuable services he rendered in obtaining restrictive covenants preventing the property being built over or used in any way for business or trade purposes, were recognised by the Corporation according him a special vote of thanks. The illustration on this page shows the portion of the property that has been preserved.



MEADOWSIDE, TWICKENHAM.

The Twickenham Herald, (02 July 1910)

The Twickenham Herald, (01 August 1958)

"SUPERLATIVE DUTY OF RICHMOND"

Is to preserve the view from Richmond Hill

Will not be affected by Twickenham building—says Q.C.

"We consider it our superlative duty in Richmond to do anything that is necessary to preserve the view from Richmond Hill, and we like to consider ourselves as trustees of the view which, I think it is fair to say, is unique in its proximity to a big town like London."

So said Ald. H. E. Calvert Smith, who was supported by his brother senior alderman, Ald. T. Raymond Starr, at the Lands Tribunal in London yesterday (Thursday).

The tribunal had commenced hearing on Wednesday an application by St. Albans Investments, Ltd., seeking the removal of restrictive covenants to permit them to build garages on the other side of the river at Haversham Grange, Twickenham.

Their counsel, Mr. R. W. Goss, Q.C., told the Tribunal "Neither the famous view from Richmond Hill nor the amenities of the riverside will be affected by the proposals to build garages at Haversham Grange".

The application was opposed by Richmond Council and Surrey County Council, who represented by Mr. G. H. Newson, Q.C. and Mr. J. A. Gibson; London County Council, represented by Mr. Harold Marham, and Middlesex County Council, represented by Mr. G. T. Thomas.

There were also 12 private objectors.

Before the application was opened, Mr. Ershine Simes, Q.C. who is hearing the application, sprang a mild surprise when he announced that he had already inspected the site, something which usually follows after the hearing is completed.

He said that on a fine day last week he had looked at the site from Richmond Hill and had visited the site at Haversham Grange and found the proposed garages marked out.

A more detailed report of the hearing is to be found on the inside pages.

R.T.T. 26-7-1958

Grange battle to open

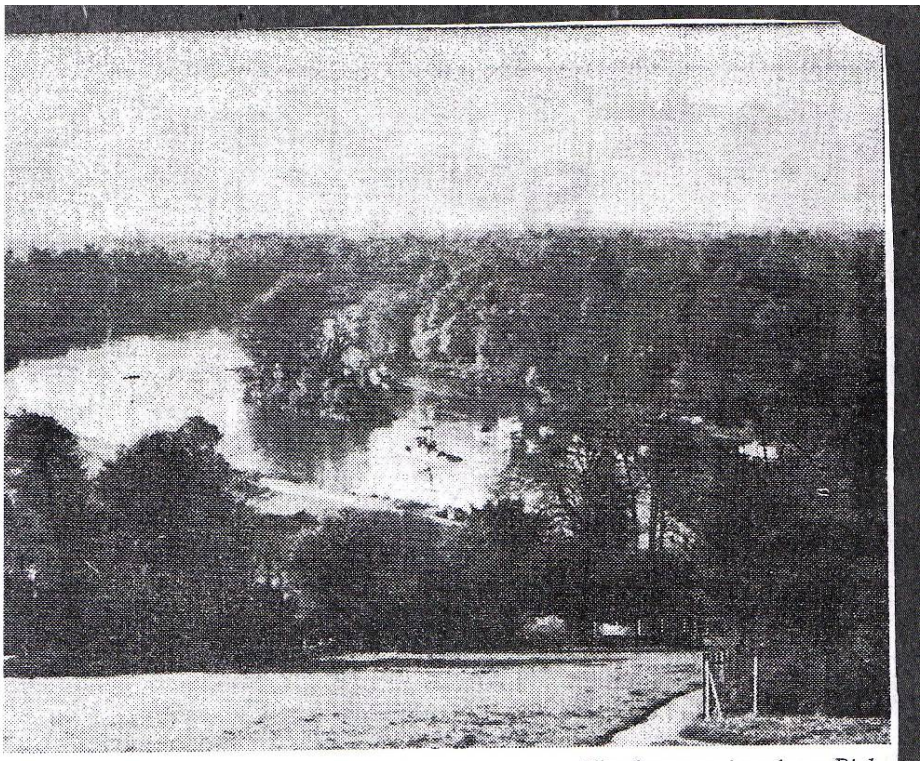
BATTLE over a building site that forms part of the view from Richmond Hill will be joined on Wednesday next week, when the Lands Tribunal in London will begin to hear an application for the modification of a restrictive covenant on land at Haversham Grange, Cambridge Park, East Twickenham.

Application has been made by the freeholders, St. Albans Investments Ltd., under the Law of Property Act, 1925, and two days have been set apart for the hearing. One of the main objectors will be Richmond Borough Council.

They and Twickenham Borough Council, London, Middlesex and Surrey County Councils are the parties to the restrictive covenants, which the freeholders want waived to permit the building of 27 garages.

The councils paid over a sum of money to the then owners of the land for the right to enforce the covenants and to preserve the view from Richmond Hill.

The Twickenham Herald, (10 April 1964)



The famous view from Richmond Hill.

ets and artists have loved this view

ΓΙΟΝ Richmond, and what is the first thing you ink of? The taste of a very special kind of ke, cricket on the green or a row on the river, n the theatre that sticks in the memory, or the ; four-in-hands at the Royal Horse Show?

This is the first of a number of articles by local historian E. ROYSTON PIKE, in which he tells the story of some of the famous and not so famous beauty spots of Richmond, Twickenham and Barnes. In this first article, Mr. Pike recalls how poets, writers and artists of the past have reacted to the celebrated view from Richmond Hill.

u are a veritable For-erly but old, will you ecall a supper at the ırter, when in the Ter-ns Chinese lanterns he dusk and there was of old-time romance scented air. But as t it is the view from ill that first comes to ı this you are in good leed.

ave rhasodised about have painted it at all the year, generations ers have looked down on the scene, and more people than ever p and stare and try to it.

ı for a century ago a ibed "the carriage folk from every village to enjoy the prospect, sititng basking in the ning themselves under ıd evergreens, and the s and children stroll-ı delightful confusion."

VER SHEEN

cars for carriages, ription still holds good. v, the Thames looks sunshine, even though w deprives it of a good sheen that gave Rich-iginal name.

is a fine scene," Sir ott in "The Heart of ı" makes the Duke of to his companion, the trted and surefooted

fortunate sister, then lying under sentence of death for infanticide—"a fine scene: we have nothing like it in Scotland."

And the stout old voyager Captain George Vancouver, who lies buried in Petersham churchyard, declared: "I have travelled over the world, and this is the most beautiful place I've ever seen. Here I will live, and here I mean to die." And indeed it was here that he let go his anchor for the last time.

That was in 1798, and just 50 years earlier died the poet who may be claimed as Richmond's own, and among whose most memorable lines may be found these inspired by the view from Richmond Hill:

Heavens! What a goodly prospect spreads around,
Of hills, and dales, and woods, and lawns, and spires,
And glittering towns, and gilded streams, till all
The stretching landscape into smoke decays!

This was James Thomson, whose tablet beside the entrance to the gardens at Pembroke Lodge, not far from the gate into the park) he spent the last 12 years of his life in Richmond and lies buried in the parish church.

He had a cottage in Kew Foot Lane (now Kew Foot Road) that became incorporated in the hospital buildings; in a summer-house in the garden, overlooking the Thames, he did his writing, with a bowl of punch on the table before him.

Dr. Johnson described him as fat and middle-sized, of a dull countenance, and of a gross, unanimated, uninviting appearance, silent in mingled company but cheerful among select friends, by whom he was very tenderly and warmly beloved.

He was a great walker, and it was on a summer evening in 1748, when he had walked from London to Hammersmith and there taken a boat for Richmond, that he caught a chill from which he died. He was buried in Richmond church, and there you may see his monument. It was not erected, however, until 1792, when "the Earl of Buchan, unwilling that so good a Man and sweet a Poet should be without a Memorial, denoted the place of his interment for the satisfaction of his Admirers."

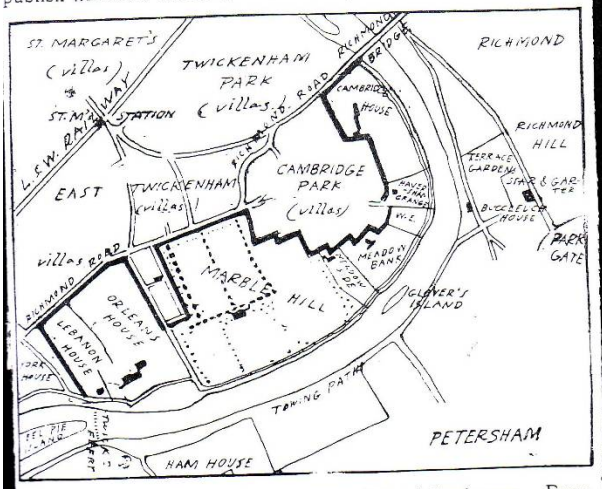
STILL REMEMBERED

Much more expressive is the tablet mentioned above, in the grounds of Pembroke Lodge, and Thomson would have been gratified to learn that more than 200 years after his death he was still remembered. He is hailed as "The Poet of Nature," and the inscription goes on:

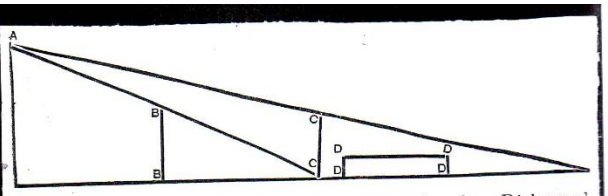
Ye, who from London's smoke and turmoil fly,
To seek a purer air and brighter sky,
Think of the Bard who dwelt in yonder dell,
Who sang so sweetly what he loved so well.
Think as ye gaze on these luxuriant bowers,
Here, Thomson loved the sunshine and the flowers . . .

Westminster Budget THE RICHMOND HILL VIEW. 26·7·1901

London will have to decide very promptly whether it is prepared to pay for the view from Richmond Hill. The map we publish with this article will enable any of our readers who may



be hazy on the subject to form an exact idea of the danger. From various points of the terrace gardens and the terrace between those gardens and the Star and Garter the whole course of the river is seen from Richmond Bridge to Twickenham Ferry. But about half this course is richly screened by trees on the Hill itself, so that only bits of it are discerned from any one point. In the chief view, which opens out just before one comes to the Star and Garter, the eye strikes across the river at Glover's Island, cuts over a little section of Meadowside, and hits the great block of woodland formed by the two properties, Marble Hill and Orleans House. An imaginary line drawn on the map from the Star and Garter across the island into these properties, and continued till it touches the Richmond road, explains how it is that the view at this critical point is so imperviously wooded. The avenues rise, screen upon screen, thick enough and tall enough to shut out the houses that crowd just behind, so that the eye travels across from their tops to another range of tree-tops on the horizon, with the illusion of unbroken woodland. Marble Hill, it will be seen, is the most important part of this wonderfully lucky screen, for with the bend of the river the shore at Orleans House turns out of view: the wooded cape is chiefly Marble Hill. It is Marble Hill that is now in the road-makers' hands. For the present their operations are limited to the half of the estate away from the river, between the house and the Richmond-road. On the plan will be found, roughly indicated by dotted lines, the roads that have already been cut. Smaller dots represent the disposition of the avenues. The roads are three in number, cutting down, two of them through avenues, to a base line that just shaves the old house, and itself involves the destruction of the avenue of trees that backs the house. Three gashes have been made for these roads in the avenue skirting Richmond-road, and two other gashes bring the flanking roads out into view from the river, on each side of the house. The owners are understood to argue that a number of villas can be packed into the plots into which the spaces between these roads will be cut up without being visible from the Hill. This may seem plausible to anyone who climbs the Hill at the present season, when foliage is at its thickest, and while the minimum of tree-cutting has been done that the roads require. When the villas come to be built there is no security for the remainder of the trees, and a simple diagram will explain the value of the more distant avenues to screen away not so much the new villas built on the property as the close-thronged villas existing just beyond it.

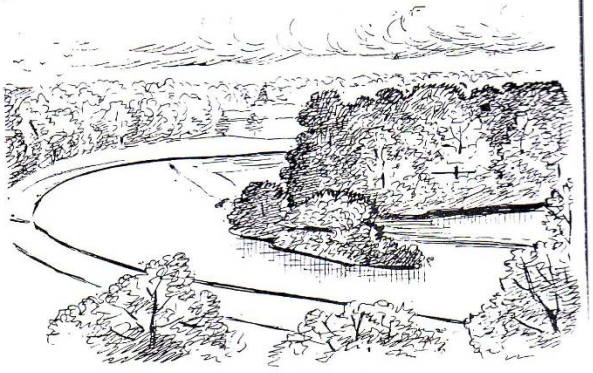


Let A be the point of view of an observer stationed on Richmond Hill. Let B B be the nearer screen of trees, C C the more distant of the same height, and let D D D D be villas on the far side of C C.

Then it is clear that the nearer the screen C C is pushed up to the villas the more valuable it is; for to the line of vision passing over the top of B B those villas will be perfectly visible, whereas they are invisible so long as C C stands in the way. This point is practically demonstrated in the view from Richmond Hill. Turn to a point a little lower than Glover's Island, to the right of the principal view, where the riverside properties are not so deep. At once the villas of the Richmond-road intrude, with disastrous effect. The compromise, then, of buying only the riverside half of Marble Hill would be really doing things by very much less than half. The screen would be worn too thin, and too low at its further boundary.

To buy Marble Hill, then, is the pressing necessity. How much will it cost, and who is to buy it? The price asked by the owner, apparently, is £70,000. Sir Whittaker Ellis, who has practical experience in these matters, regards this as not an extravagant price for an estate that has suddenly become "ripe." At the same time it is a severely commercial price, since the owners gave not more than half the sum two years ago. The public bodies already negotiating with the owners are the Twickenham District Council, the Richmond Town Council, and the London County Council. The chief hope of purchase lies with the last. A trifling addition to the rates over its large area for a single year would bring in all the money needed. Sir Whittaker Ellis puts its contribution at a farthing rate. There can be no question that a rate is the proper way to raise the bulk of the money. Subscriptions are a tedious method, and the subscribing classes have been heavily mulcted of late. The honest way is for London to pay for its view and not go whining to millionaires.

But the purchase of Marble Hill does not settle the whole question of the view. It is the most critical point of attack, but



FROM THE TERRACE.

other parts are immediately or prospectively threatened. Follow the map from the Bridge. First comes Cambridge House. This is the remnant of a property already eaten up, in great measure, by villas. They come down to the house, look in on the river, and threaten to advance. What remains here ought, if possible, to be secured. The next four properties are in no immediate danger.

Petition Notice, (31 December 1896)

THREATENED VANDALISM
ON
RICHMOND HILL.

A renewed attempt is being made by certain members of the Richmond Corporation to destroy the old hedge upon the Terrace ; also to erect an obtrusive iron railing.

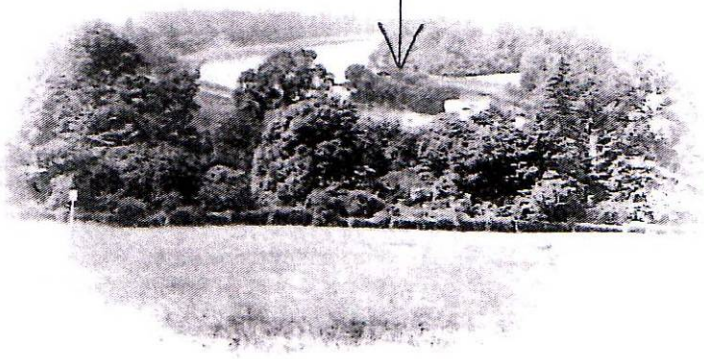
A COMMITTEE OF RESIDENTS, of which Mr. T. W. STEPHENS, of Downe House, is Chairman, has been formed to resist this objectionable and unnecessary proceeding.

ALL PERSONS, resident or otherwise, anxious to preserve the existing natural features of the beautiful Terrace and the world-famed view from Richmond Hill are urgently invited to SIGN THE MEMORIAL lying HERE.

DECEMBER 31ST, 1896.

Glover's Island Sale Card (1898)

GLOVER'S ISLAND.



VIEW FROM RICHMOND HILL.

It will be seen that "Glover's Island," which is in the centre of the above View, is a most conspicuous object from Richmond Hill.

FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY, RICHMOND SURREY.

Glover's Island, on the Thames, opposite PETERSHAM MEADOWS, near Richmond Bridge.

MESSRS. CHANCELLOR and SONS will Sell, at the Mart, E.C., on WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 21ST, at Two (unless previously disposed of), the valuable FREEHOLD PROPERTY, known as Glover's Island, with large boathouse, workshops, dressing rooms, dry dock, and garden, the whole comprising an area of about half-an-acre.

The island has for many years past been utilised for Boat building and storage purposes, for which it is well adapted, and it affords a splendid site for the erection of a first class Club or Hotel, or for an electric storage station, Launch Works, or as an advertising medium.

Partculars of sale of Messrs. Senior and Furbank, solicitors, Richmond; and of Messrs. Chancellor and Sons, 51, Pall Mall, S.W.; 1, King-street, Richmond; and at Ascot.

important site, commanding as it does a surrounding frontage & in such a unique position for advertising would readily let for such purposes & be made to produce a large income.

Already an offer of £150 per ann on lease has been made for renting the property for advertising purposes and I take it that neither the County or any other Council can prevent it being so used, therefore what the Corporation of Richmond & others interested have I think to do is to protect the view from Richmond Hill and the amenities of the place from being interfered with.

I have received several letters offering donations, also one from a gentleman, a large ratepayer who said he should have no objection to being rated extra, as he considered that

TOWN HALL,
RICHMOND, SURREY.

August 29th 1898.

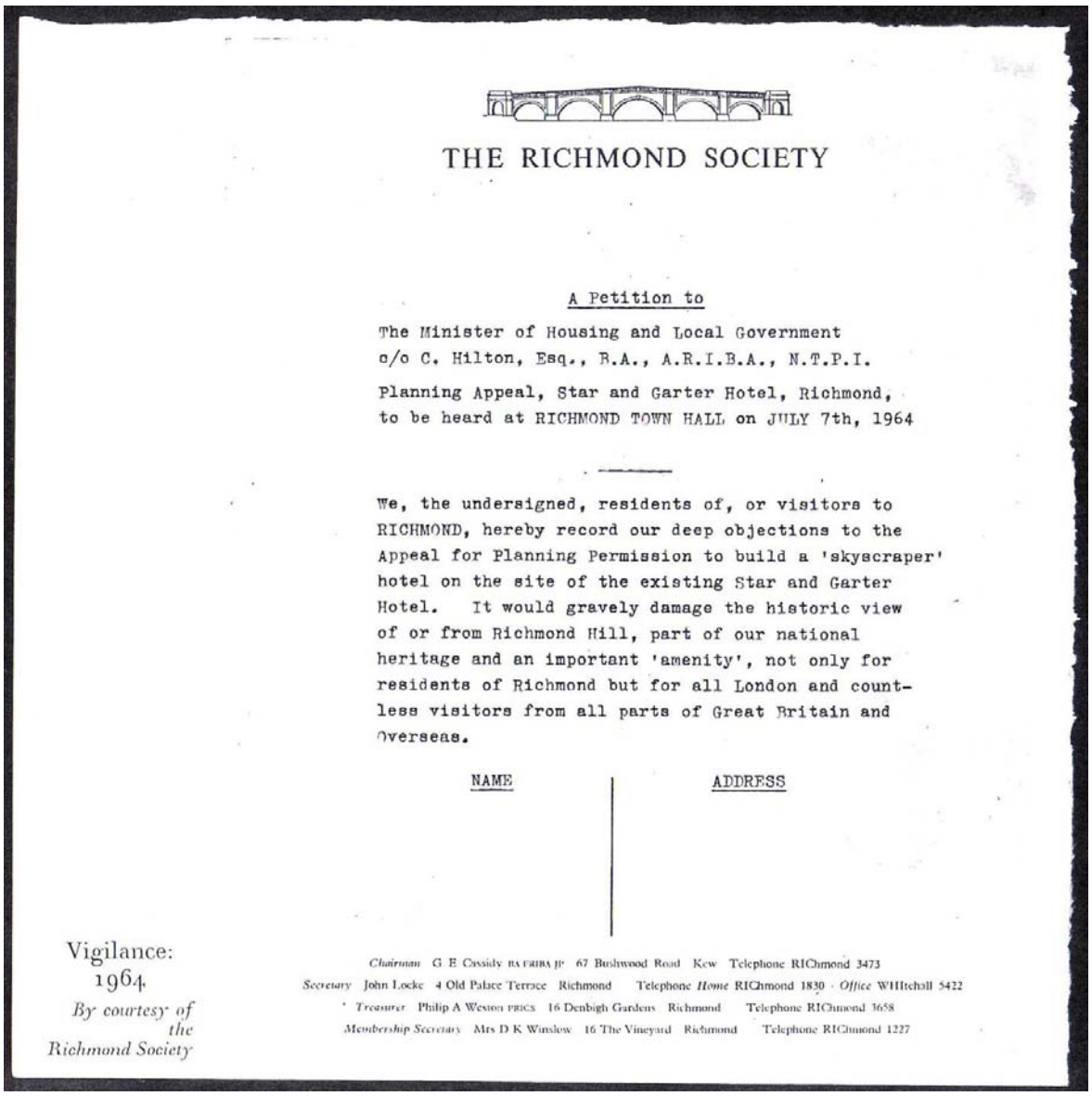
Dear Mr. Burt

Glover's Island.

I have received your letter I venture to think it is hardly what one or the other may think this place is only worth, but it is a much wider question namely, as to what people will give for it. This might very easily be reckoned up by the number of feet frontage the property Commands namely about 1000 ft & which in my opinion could easily be let first hand at 4/- a foot run. Then the party taking it would erect hoardings & sublet, for I know full well what is charged for advertisement space nowadays and in my opinion this all

Letter to Mr. Burt, from the Mayor of Richmond, (29 August 1898)

Petition Notice, (1964)



THE RICHMOND SOCIETY

A Petition to

The Minister of Housing and Local Government
c/o C. Hilton, Esq., B.A., A.R.I.B.A., N.T.P.I.

Planning Appeal, Star and Garter Hotel, Richmond,
to be heard at RICHMOND TOWN HALL on JULY 7th, 1964

We, the undersigned, residents of, or visitors to RICHMOND, hereby record our deep objections to the Appeal for Planning Permission to build a 'skyscraper' hotel on the site of the existing Star and Garter Hotel. It would gravely damage the historic view of or from Richmond Hill, part of our national heritage and an important 'amenity', not only for residents of Richmond but for all London and countless visitors from all parts of Great Britain and Overseas.

NAME | ADDRESS

Chairman G E Cassidy RA FRIBA JP 67 Bushwood Road Kew Telephone RIChmond 3473
Secretary John Locke 4 Old Palace Terrace Richmond Telephone *Home* RIChmond 1830 · *Office* WHItehall 5422
Treasurer Philip A Weston FRICS 16 Denbigh Gardens Richmond Telephone RIChmond 3658
Membership Secretary Mrs D K Winslow 16 The Vineyard Richmond Telephone RIChmond 1227

Vigilance:
1964.
By courtesy of the Richmond Society

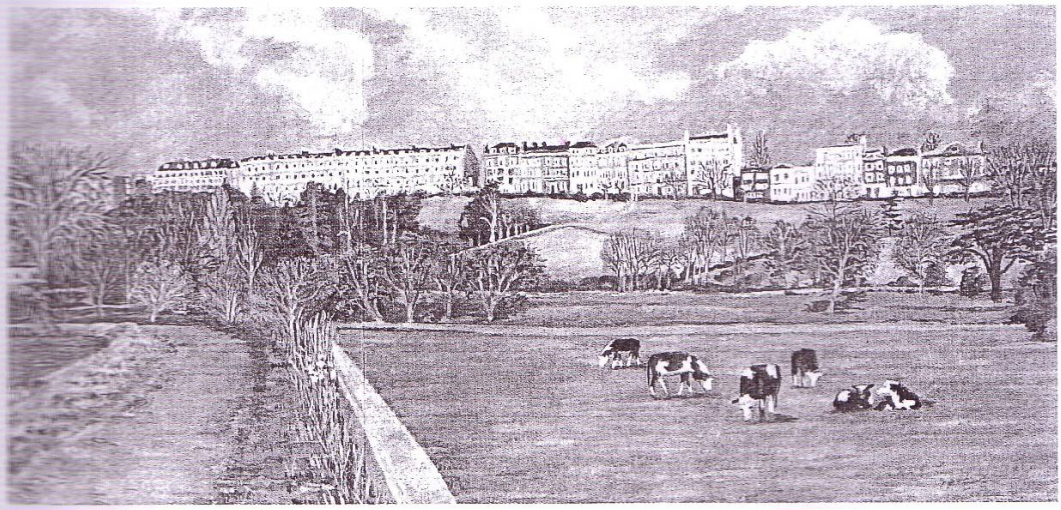
Petition Notice, (19 October 1999)

The Petersham Society,
The Ham & Petersham Association,
The Richmond Society

WELCOME EVERYONE TO AN OPEN MEETING

Will Cattle Still Graze On Petersham Meadows?

IN JANUARY 1997 AT PETERSHAM VILLAGE HALL,
YOU STATED YOUR VIEWS FORCEFULLY.
SINCE THEN THE OFFICERS OF THE THREE SOCIETIES
HAVE WORKED HARD WITH THE COUNCIL.
NOW WE NEED YOUR HELP TO DECIDE HOW WE CAN
MAINTAIN THIS HISTORIC VIEW FROM RICHMOND HILL,
A PRICELESS PART OF OUR NATIONAL HERITAGE.



Elizabeth Martin

PLEASE JOIN US AT

Petersham Village Hall
Bute Avenue off Sudbrook Lane

on Tuesday October 19th 1999 at 8.00pm

For further information contact Chris Brasher on 01488-638498
or Graham Ball, Rosebank, off River Lane, Petersham 0181-940 0812

9.4 Newspaper Articles: Richmond, Virginia

New York Times, (26 June 1909)

CLASS AND CASTE IN OLD VIRGINIA

Ellen Glasgow's New Novel "The Romance of a Plain Man" Deals with Social Prejudice.

IF in some century yet to come a dweller from the shores of Baffin's Bay or the Antarctic Continent, seeking for information about manners and customs in the great American Republic, should chance upon Ellen Glasgow's novel "The Romance of a Plain Man," (the Macmillan Company, $1.50,) he would derive from it some curious ideas. He would be convinced by its perusal, for instance, that American life was firmly established upon lines of class; that nothing but the most heroic effort made it possible for a lad of the lower classes to make his way into affluence; that although he might become very rich and attain a position of great financial power, his wealth would not open for him the exclusive gates of society, that although he might marry within those gates the other people who dwelt therein would never recognize him as an equal and he would never outgrow his conviction of his own inferiority.

Possibly all these things are true, just as Miss Glasgow depicts them, in the region where the scene of her story is laid—Richmond, Va., during the last two decades of the nineteenth century. Unless there is proof to the contrary, the novelist must always be supposed to be familiar with the conditions of which he writes, and by the same token must he always be granted his point of view. Nevertheless, it is a pity that a novelist of Miss Glasgow's gifts should select a theme, no matter how true it may be locally, so at variance with our National spirit and so impossible in any other locality. For the spirit of caste dominates the whole story, and is, in fact, the central inspiration out of which it seems to grow.

The narrative, which is in the first person, is the story of his life told by the son of a man who belonged to the "poor white trash." His childhood was spent in poverty, neglect, and hard work, but a little girl from the upper classes had once called him "a common boy," and the phrase had moved him to revolt. And so, little by little, by dint of patience, persistence, and hard work he gradually climbs up out of his inheritance. Now and then through the dreary years he has a glimpse of the little girl, who always shows him, after that first experience, a kindly face. He has happened to make a friend also in the man who is the greatest financial power in the State, and with this man's advice and help by the time he reaches his mid-twenties he has acquired some education and is already amassing a fortune. Then the little girl, grown into a spirited, beautiful young woman, defies her family, breaks through the barriers of class, and marries him.

The story is very largely concerned with the results to both of them of their marriage. Each feels for the other tender, passionate, and devoted affection. But he is absorbed in the great game of finance which he is playing to the limit of his strength. His ambition is to become as great a power in the new industrial South as his friend and mentor, now growing old, has been. His wife's friends, dwellers by right of inheritance within the charmed circle of good birth, are the very impersonations of courtesy. But they make him feel constantly his social inferiority, and he can never enter their presence without feeling that he has no right there. So he throws into his work all his energy, time, and strength, determined to put at his wife's feet greater and more brilliant gifts than any of them could bring. But the wife does not really care for these things. She wants her husband and she wants love, and all the little attentions which the men of her own class have the time to think about and the wit to give. And so they go on through ups and downs of fortune and of feeling to a consummation which barely escapes being tragedy.

Miss Glasgow, as always, has a story to tell, and knows how to tell it. She writes with a fine reserve and with a sure instinct for the dramatic situation and the telling phrase. The story has a leisurely movement that allows her opportunity to disclose remarkable powers of observation and description. The scenes pass vividly before the reader's eyes, and the serious quality of the story holds his attention from the start. With the exception of the narrating hero, who, perhaps, because in some respects he is so untrue to life elsewhere in this country, is never quite convincing, the characters stand out very clearly. In particular, that of Gen. Bolingbroke, the hero's friend and adviser, is a very lifelike creation.

Adeline Knapp.

Miss Adeline Knapp, whose death after a long illness was reported from California last week, had a remarkably active career in journalism before she finally took up her work as a writer of fiction. Miss Knapp was a Buffalo woman by birth, but her journalistic experiences came to her in California. There she ran a newspaper of her own for a couple of years, reported the last revolution in the Hawaiian Islands for The San Francisco Call, was a correspondent from the Philippines, besides doing the regular work of a city reporter.

Despite her success, however, she wrote in a recent letter: "They said I made a hit, (in Hawaii,) but the experience convinced me that newspaper work does not offer a real career for a woman—the sacrifices are too great." For this reason, Miss Knapp wrote, "I went away from cities altogether and lived for two or three years alone in a cañon in the Contra Costa foothills. I built a house there, a small one, all myself, cut down trees, tramped the woods, wrote a book or two, and did a lot of thinking."

Miss Knapp wrote a number of short stories for some of the leading children's magazines. A novel by her, "The Well in the Desert," was recently published by the Century Company. In the letter already quoted she referred to two other longer novels in contemplation.

The Times Dispatch, (25 September 1892)

AS A PLACE TO LIVE

RICHMOND HAS MORE ADVANTAGES

Than Almost Any City in This Country—As An Educational Centre Few Places Surpass It—The Reasons Why.

I shall endeavor to discuss fairly and impartially in this article the question of Richmond as a place of residence and education, and offer some suggestions as to improvement.

There are two ways of handling a subject of this kind. One, which is the easy way, is the "patriotic," where all sores are sweet; where there are no drawbacks, or so insignificant as to be unworthy of mention; where winters are mild and summers cool; where air is fragrant, health perfect and water pure—a veritable paradise. The other route, which, however, has fallen into very poor repute, is the plain, business method, where facts and not fancies are dealt in, but softened a little, perhaps, so that nature or beauty may not be left too much unadorned.

I will adopt the latter method, in which both sides are presented; but as this will be done without prejudice, but with the true belief that honesty is the best policy for Richmond, as it has been found for other things, if not places, it is hoped that the reader, while accepting the good as true, will not turn with anger or disgust from the unfavorable and condemn without investigation or consideration for the unfavorable, being injurious, can only be expected by recognizing its existence. Know thyself is an adage as applicable to the incorporated individual, or the city, as to the individual A, B or C.

THE CLASSES.

There are two principal classes, moved by different and frequently diverse motives, in settling a city that we need consider in this case, people of income, generally wealth or its comfortable circumstances, and those desirous of educational advantages for their families. The other, people who seek to make money or a comfortable living. The former, comparatively few in numbers, are not attracted by a desire or gain, but almost wholly by a desire for the pleasures of home and social society, good schools, agreeable surroundings, genial climate and salubrity.

The latter, the vast majority, on the contrary, are mainly influenced by gain or in some way of making a living, and only secondarily by good churches and schools, pleasant surroundings and good health.

The former would not go to a place to reside, even though gold and silver were as abundant there as they were with Solomon's friend Hiram, if the society was rude and coarse, education neglected and surroundings bad, while the latter rush eagerly to spots where money is easily to be made, even though yellow jack and cholera lurk in jungle or swamp conveniently near, or to lowlying deserts where there is neither food, water nor anything but the bare opportunity of amassing wealth.

Thus to Hillsboro, Hartford and other cities where business affords an opportunities of gain, but whose social, intellectual and physical attractions are great, the wealthy, the leisurely, the cultivated are ever tending, so that these cities have become the most beautiful and attractive in the world as places of residence, while to Liverpool, Chicago, Manchester, Leeds, Sheffield, Birmingham, Pittsburg, Cincinnati, Minneapolis, Duluth—the same story. And why worry the reader with reminding him of Florence, Big Stone Gap, Bristol, Goodensville, Glasgow, Harrisonburg, Goshen, Sheridan and Rosie City—the same story all—money easily made in Richmond and then scattered broadcast to the four winds of heaven, lost to sight, but not to memory dear.

Now what do these facts, painful, amusing or instructive, according as we look at them, prove but that Richmond is a city where money is easily made, and therefore, that those seeking where money is easily to be made should settle in Richmond. But we will give other proofs that Richmond is the place to come to, either to make money or a comfortable living.

RICHMOND'S DEARNESS.

Another reason why those seeking money or a good living should come to Richmond is—Dearness. This seems a paradox, but it is strictly true. As a rule, low prices and stationary, decaying and dead places and high prices are live, active and growing places are linked together, though sometimes owing to scarcity through lack of production, prices are high in the former, and for contrary reasons sometimes low in the latter; but as in the first case, profits, on account of paucity of transactions are small, population is not attracted by reason of high prices, so on the contrary as profits, by reason of multiplicity of transactions are large, population is not deterred by low prices, the rule that high prices and growth and low prices and stagnations are twin brothers still holding true. Five silver mines, sub-treasury schemes and Farmers' Alliance are but other names for low prices, reasons sometimes low in the latter; the live, the active, the stirring, those who build cities shun such a place, while on the other hand where prices and profits are high thither people flock in crowds. Hence, if we wish to build up Richmond never say things are cheap, first, because they are not cheap, and secondly, if they were cheap it would be suicidal to say so.

Thus: Is money cheap in Richmond? No, because best secured notes are never less than 6 per cent. and current discount at banks is 7 per cent. and upwards for desirable paper. Therefore, Richmond is a good place for capitalists, because their money brings large returns.

Is house rent cheap? No; and because house rent is not cheap is the very reason why thousands of houses have been built in Richmond within the past ten years. If rents had been cheap in all probability not half the houses would have been erected. Therefore, Richmond is a good place for builders, because of abundance of work in building houses and demand for them afterwards at good rental.

WAGES NOT LOW.

Are profits low in Richmond? No; for if they were Richmond would never have had her many elegant stores, larger and finer now than ever, and ground on Broad street would not be selling for six, eight hundred and more per front foot. If profits were not high new merchants would never be attracted to our streets, and one of the largest retail houses in the United States would not now be establishing a branch on Broad street, almost rivaling the parent stock. Richmond is a good place for merchants, wholesale and retail, for they all make money; therefore merchants should come to Richmond.

Is marketing low? No. Let vegetables be low; take the profit out of the business and then see how soon the gardens will be neglected, and then abandoned; and then the gardener will move to where there is a profit in the calling. Market gardeners should settle around Richmond, because there is money in the business.

And so of the dairymen and poulterers; they can all make money easily. Fowls and eggs are generally high enough to satisfy the most grasping, for the liquids are rarely less than 25 cents for the smallest, up to 40 and 50 cents for respectable roosters or friers, and eggs range from 15 to 40 cents a dozen.

Then if everything is high, what becomes of those living on salaries? Their wages, too, are high, ranging from $12, $15 to $18, and higher for first-class bookkeepers, salesmen, managers and agents.

Then must everything be high and nothing low? No; have low prices, but let them be from abundance, but let that abundance spring from elevating the a city the best investment is to elevate the hewer-wiuners so that they may earn high wages.

THE POORER HERE.

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LIBBY HILL PARK.

A Bird's-Eye View of One of the Prettiest of Richmond's Many Pretty Resorts, Several Handsome Residences in the Distance.



themselves, learn from daily object lessons of politeness, what good manners, the highest ambition of society to teach, are.

A CULTURED CITY.

Now, what better place than Richmond; what place so good for wealthy people seeking pleasure and elegance to settle in? Richmond may not be a centre of art and of science; a city where the ladies are up in all the ologies, isms and what nots of the present day, but it is emphatically a city where the people are cultivated, if not learned; are versed in the niceties and elegance of polite society, but without pretention, vulgarity or ostentation; where wealth is enjoyed and displayed with refined taste in homes, parlors and entertainments, but where nurse-pride is unknown, and where simplicity and cordiality so prevail that the most awkward is soon put at ease.

To become a member of such an easy, natural and homely, but elevated, society is itself a liberal education, and our arms are extended and our doors thrown open in cordial invitation to all, of whatever creed or nationality, to learn in its school; but the ostentatious, the pretentious, the vulgar and those who think that wealth alone is an open sesame to our hearts and homes will have many things to unlearn before they can appreciate the charms of Richmond society; but let even such come, because we can teach them valuable lessons in deportment valuable at least to the children, if the elders are too old.

Richmond, as a place of residence, is the city of all others to which the leisurely, the wealthy, the refined and the cultivated should come when seeking change of abode.

THE CLUBS.

A most attractive feature of Richmond and between these wide extremes are churches with creeds varying from rigid Calvinism to easy-going Arminianism.

There is also room and welcome for those of no creed, or of creed so nebulous as to be indefinable, provided morality governs conduct.

Excluding those belonging to the colored people, we have fifty-three orthodox and three Jewish churches, besides several that are heterodox; ten church homes and asylums, five military and medical charitable homes, and several other institutions of similar purpose, including the Richmond Exchange for Woman's Work, a most admirable institution, whereby ladies of gentle birth, but reduced circumstances, may dispose without publicity of the elegant productions of their exacting needles and the dainty creations of their lustrous hands.

GOOD FELLOWSHIP.

The people of Richmond are instinct with hospitality and good fellowship, and a good cause or a worthy individual rarely suffers in their midst. Those whose hearts are moved by another's woes and whose souls are wrung by another's sorrows will find in Richmond a most congenial atmosphere, and nowhere else will they find so good a sphere where all their noblest and most godlike intuitions would find ampler development.

Another important social feature of Richmond are its numerous charitable associations not under church patronage. While most of us resemble pharisees in willingness to perform our good deeds and rites of whatever kind in the full blaze of day, there are many who cannot unless veiled in mystic secrecy, and for all such Richmond offers a fertile field, and in its pregnant and secret societies flourish with wondrous luxuriance.

As in the case of churches, all tastes can be accommodated. For those who will be satisfied with nothing short of the original Dr. Jacob Townsend, ten lodges and three commanderies of orthodox Masons, lineal descendants, some say, of the builders of Solomon's Temple, or as others more modestly say, of the builders of the glorious and immortal cathedrals of the Thirteenth century, stand ready to initiate the neophyte into the mysteries of the craft.

A SLIGHT VARIATION.

If any one, however, wearied of the same old thing, desires a slight variation, a lodge of the Ancient and Accepted Scotch Rite Masons is convenient; or if one is epicurean in such things there is Acca Temple, Nobles of the Mystic Shrine, Sons of the Desert; or, if one demands something modern and uncrusted with the dust of centuries or with the dust of ages, if Masons are really descendants of the builders of the Temple, he will be cheerfully accommodated by any one of four encampments and seven lodges of Odd Fellows, or of ten tribes of Red Men, or of nine lodges of Knights of Pythias; or, if still unsatisfied, one desires something brand-new, with the polish of the shop still untarnished, he will find consolation somewhere among twelve lodges of Knights of Honor, six councils of Legion of Honor and the same number of Royal Arcanum, five lodges of the Order of



WASHINGTON MONUMENT AND CITY HALL.



THE NEW PUMP-HOUSE.

OUR BROTHER MASONS.

WHAT THE CRAFTSMEN ARE DOING.

Work in the Blue Lodges—Notes from the Chapters—The Mystic Shriners—News About Masons of High Degree.

At the regular monthly communication of Richmond Randolph Lodge, No. 19, held on the third Tuesday in September, the Sublime Degree of a Master Mason was conferred. The candidate was the Rev. George H. Ray, Jr., of Ashland Lodge, No. 156, and it was done at the request of that lodge. His father, the Rev. George H. Ray Sr., of the grand working committee, presided in the first and third sections and the District Deputy Grand Master in the second. The work was very impressively done and after it the Rev. Mr. Ray made an eloquent address to his son. The craft then went from labor to refreshment.

At the last regular communication of Lafayette Royal Arch Chapter, No. 42, there were two candidates for the Council degrees, which was impressively conferred.

At the regular meeting of the Nobles of the Mystic Shrine in Acca Temple, held on the fourth Thursday in September, there was elected as recorder A. R. Gunn and as captain of the guard C. W. Burnham. There was a fine repast following the work. Mr. L. P. Baker is the potentate and confers the degrees in a very impressive manner.

MASONIC NOTES.

The Grand Chapter of Royal Arch Masons and the Grand Commandery of Knights Templar will meet at the Masonic Temple about the middle of October. Mr. William B. Isaacs is busily engaged in preparing his reports for the occasion.

District Deputy Right Worshipful William Ryan has been quite busy during the last week paying the various lodges official visits and instructing them in the work.

The Richmond members of the Masonic fraternity are greatly pleased at the idea of having a Masonic library and reading room accessible at all times of the day. The Rough Ashlar has added the feature to its editorial rooms over the city hall. Masonic papers from all parts of the world can be seen here. It is a good thing, and is appreciated by those who are fond of Masonic literature.

THE ROUGH ASHLAR.

The September number of the Rough Ashlar, a magazine devoted exclusively to the interests of the Masonic fraternity, is before me, and in make-up and contents compares most favorably with any similar publication in the United States. There are many good articles in this month's number. I note particularly "Masonry at Wholesale," in which the too-prevalent practice of solicitation of candidates into lodges, without as careful investigation as should be had, is vigorously combatted.

The article "A Woman Cannot Be a Mason" is most excellent. It is credited to the Trestle Board, another Masonic journal, published in San Francisco, and gives it its full.

A Mason's contract is complete in all its details and contains an express proviso that persons made incompetent by the civil law from making a valid contract are not eligible to membership in the fraternity. Atheists, idiots, infants, imbeciles, insane persons, bondmen and women cannot be made Masons, but the real reasons why not never seem have occurred to one Mason in a thousand. Ask any Mason you meet "Why cannot a woman be a Mason?" and you will invariably receive an answer ascribing some vulgar physical disqualification. "Because she cannot keep a secret" is a sample of the most familiar yet foolish answers ever given to this much mooted question. The true

THREE OF THE WORKERS.

BRIEF SKETCHES OF PRESIDENT, SECRETARY AND TREASURER.

D. C. Richardson, Carlton McCarthy and Wm. H. Cullingworth—Men who Have Labored for the Monument.

D. C. Richardson, president of the Soldiers and Sailors Association, was born in New Kent county, Virginia, and is about 48 years of age. His parents moved to Richmond when Mr. Richardson was a small boy, and he has resided here ever since. When scarcely 16 years of age he left school and enlisted as a private soldier in Parker's Battery of Artillery. At the second battle of Manassas, he was painfully wounded. The Confederates advanced after their victory and by some oversight Private Richardson was left wounded upon the battlefield from Saturday afternoon until the following Wednesday morning. He was then placed in an ordnance wagon and jostled nearly thirty miles over the roughest of roads to the house of Mr. Foote in Fauquier county, where he was tenderly nursed by Miss Mary J. Brent until he was able to walk on crutches. On his return to Richmond, he there learned that his only brother, a youth only 14 years of age, who had enlisted with him in the same company, had been killed at the battle of Sharpsburg.

Mr. Richardson was discharged from the army by reason of his wounds, but after a few months re-enlisted in the same company, and remained until after the surrender at Appomatox. He could have received a discharge at any time after his re-enlistment because of disability, and his comrades in Parker's Battery frequently refer to the faithfulness and devotion to duty on the part of this young soldier, under circumstances which would have caused many a less resolute youth to have faltered and abandoned the field.

STUDIED UNDER DIFFICULTIES.

Having enlisted in the army when so young, the advantages of an education in the University of Virginia which he was just about to enter had been denied him, but Mr. Richardson took his books into camp and availed himself of every opportunity for mental improvement. One of his messmates was James Darden, a college graduate and a well educated gentleman. In winter quarters, when the army was inactive, Mr. Richardson pursued his studies under Corporal Darden's tutelage, and he tells with much satisfaction that during the winter of 1864-65 he read Cæsar and Virgil in the original through several times and learned to read without much difficulty the New Testament in Greek.

At the close of the war Mr. Richardson returned to Richmond and found his father an invalid and the family reduced to poverty. His cherished ambition was to become a lawyer, and for some months he studied in the office of Messrs. Johnson & Gulson, but the exigency of the occasion demanded that he should go to work to support his father's dependent family. He did not, however, abandon his studies, and every leisure moment was devoted to the study of law.

In July, 1870, he was elected clerk to the police justice of Richmond, and while filling that office attended in the afternoon the law class of Richmond College. In 1874 he graduated and received his diploma as Bachelor of Law and soon after qualified for practice. In 1880 he was elected Police Justice and filled that office by successive re-elections for eight years. In July, 1888, Mr. Richardson declined re-election as Police Justice and resumed the practice of his profession. As a practitioner Mr. Richardson has made for himself an enviable reputation.

Mr. Richardson has been a zealous worker in this noble movement, and has rendered invaluable assistance from the start. He is a great admirer of the chivalrous and self-sacrificing deeds of the private Confederate soldier, and upon many public occasions his voice has been heard in their behalf. He is one of the best known men in the city, and is held in the highest esteem by all who know him. At present he is Secretary of the Old Dominion Building and Loan Association. Bright, original, and liberal-hearted, as well as being a facile writer and an interesting conversationalist, Carlton McCarthy is one of the most companionable of men.

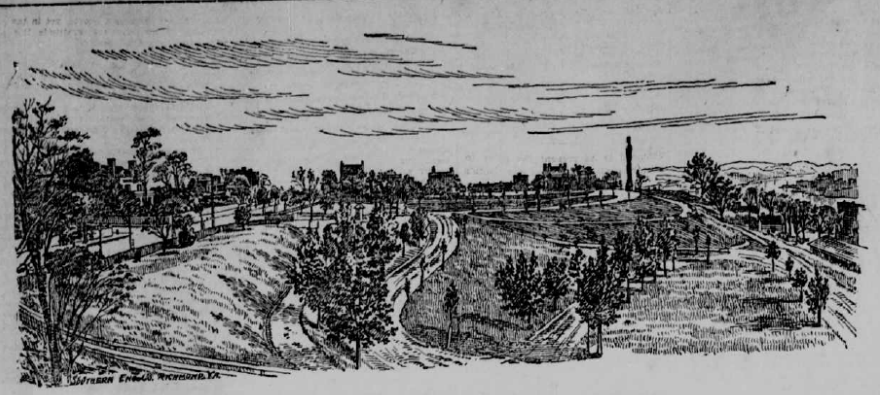
Treasurer Cullingworth.

Mr. William H. Cullingworth, treasurer of the Confederate Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument Association, has been another enthusiastic and devoted worker in the cause. Mr. Cullingworth was born in the lower part of the city, then Henrico county, October 23, 1826, and finished his education at the classical school of Franklin Minor, in Albemarle county. After leaving school he entered the tobacco business as an employee of the late James H. Grant. He remained with Mr. Grant until the breaking out of the war, when he enlisted in Company G, First Virginia Infantry. After the war he resumed his connection with the tobacco business, being first with S. W. Venable & Co., of Petersburg, and then with Cullingworth & Ellerson.

In the memorable campaign of 1884 Mr. Cullingworth was particularly active, having always had a penchant for politics, and after the election of Cleveland he was, May 15, 1885, appointed Postmaster of Richmond. In that position he served until November 30, 1888, when he was removed by President Harrison. He then engaged in merchandizing, but in 1892 did all in his power for the nomination of Mr. Cleveland for a second term. He was reappointed postmaster in February last, and entered upon the duties of his office March 1st. Mr. Cullingworth has always considered it in order to solicit for the monument, and has never lost an opportunity to press it upon the attention of the public.

BIG HEARTED "UNCLE BILLY".

There are few more popular men in Richmond than Postmaster Cullingworth. He is a great big, whole-souled fellow. He is a great big, whole-souled fellow, and was never known to frown in his life. His 275 pounds of avoirdupois are supplied with a heart of proportionate size, and he is familiarly known among his host of friends as "Uncle Billy," the guardian angel of the Union Democratic Club and the Union Scouts.



THE MONUMENT SITE.

A Wiew of Marshall Park, Showing the Shaft in the Rear and Its Surroundings.

HOW IT ALL WAS DONE.

A HISTORY OF THE CONFEDERATE SOLDIERS AND SAILORS MONUMENT.

How the Movement Originated and How the Funds Were Raised—The Work of the Memorial Bazaar.

The history of the Confederate Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument Association is quite a varied one, and sets forth in glowing colors the patriotism of the citizens of Richmond in their perseverance and faithful efforts to perpetuate the heroic deeds of the self-sacrificing men who fought, bled and died in behalf of the principles they believed to be right.

The beginning of the movement was unique. One afternoon, in the fall of 1867, several gentlemen were seated on the porch of Captain Frank W. Cunningham, at the corner of Broad and Twenty-seventh streets, discussing the probable site to be selected for the Lee Monument. "Why is it you erect all your monuments in honor of generals? What could they have done but for the bravery of the private soldier? Why don't you erect a monument to the private soldiers?" these questions were asked by Joseph B. Welsh, a native of Philadelphia, who had moved to Richmond since the war. The questions were pertinent, and the suggestion was at once adopted as feasible and appropriate. After quiet an informal discussion of the matter a meeting of those interested in the object was called.

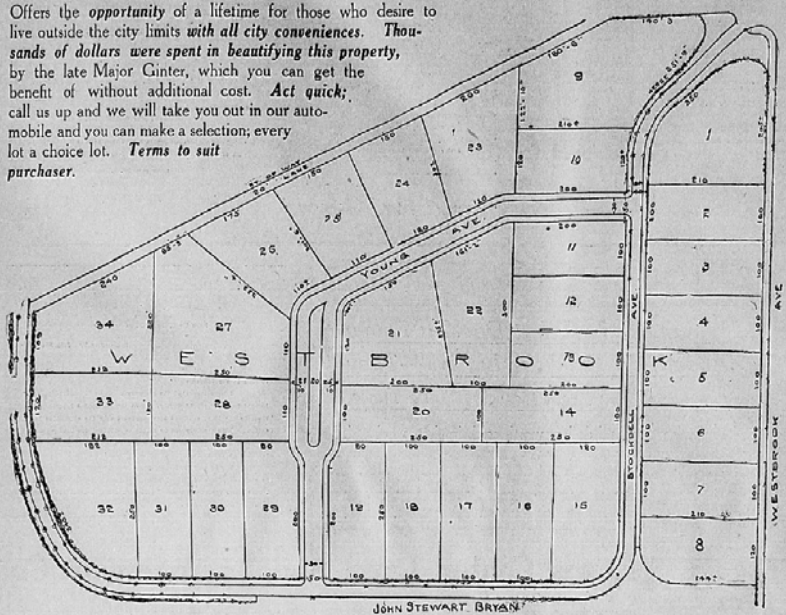
THE ASSOCIATION ORGANIZED.

On the evening of December 1, 1867, an enthusiastic meeting was held in Marshall Club House, corner of Twenty-eighth and Broad streets, and the Confederate Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument Association was organized. The following officers were elected: President, Joseph B. Welsh; Vice-President, Dr. Hunter McGuire; Secretary, Wm. H. Cullingworth; Treasurer, Wm. H. Palmer. The following gentlemen were elected managers: Wm. H. Cullingworth, Wm. H. Palmer, Joseph B. Welsh, Dr. Hunter McGuire, Dr. Charles Bell Gibson, Dr. Wm. H. Taylor, Dr. Wm. H. Gaines, Dr. Wm. H. Haxall, Dr. Wm. H. Fitzhugh, Dr. Wm. H. Cabell

The Times Dispatch, (18 September 1910)

"Westbrook Lawn"

Offers the ***opportunity*** of a lifetime for those who desire to live outside the city limits ***with all city conveniences. Thousands of dollars were spent in beautifying this property,*** by the late Major Ginter, which you can get the benefit of without additional cost. ***Act quick;*** call us up and we will take you out in our automobile and you can make a selection; every lot a choice lot. ***Terms to suit purchaser.***



Formerly the ***lawn*** of the beautiful home of the late Major Ginter. ***An Ideal Suburb.*** We have sub-divided this into thirty-four beautiful building sites. ***Wide McAdam Streets, Privet Hedges, Elegant Shade Trees, Water and Sewers will be installed. Best Car Service,*** only eight minutes from Broad Street. There is nothing to ***compare*** with this around ***Richmond.***

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JOHN STEWART BRYAN.

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FOR SALE BY

SUTTON & CO.

We have an elegant corner Dwelling, facing Chimborazo Park, in artistic condition. Let Frank M. Sutton & Co. Phone Madison 3149.

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for an elegant Eight-Room Dwelling on Hanover Avenue, modern in every respect, hot water heat.

Ginter Park

We have a Nine Ten-Room Dwelling in this desirable suburb that we are offering at a low price just now.

Barton Heights

Several new dwellings that we can sell at reasonable prices, very easy terms, all modern and attractive.

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for a good Frame Cottage on Fifth street near Duval. Rents now to good tenant at $9 per month.

LOTS

We have a large block of ground on Main near Elm Street, that we can sell in lots to suit. Price is right.

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for a beautiful 25-foot lot on Grove Avenue Circle. One of the few left that can be bought right.

$2,500 buys Eight-Room Detached Modern Home of unusually attractive exterior on Park Avenue. Small cash payment; balance like rent.

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Chas. A. Rose Co.

$4,500—Corner Grove Avenue Home, 9 rooms, hot water heat.

$7,000—Grove Avenue, near Lombardy, 9 rooms, hot water heat.

$7,250—Grove Avenue, near Park, 9 rooms, furnace heat.

$7,500—Corner Grove Avenue Home, 9 rooms.

$4,750—Grove Avenue, near Harrison, 9 rooms.

$5,500—Park Avenue, near Harrison, 10 rooms.

$4,000—Grace Street, near Robinson, 9 rooms.

$4,600 (each)—Several Stuart Avenue Homes.

Phone Madison 1240 for inspection.

12% INVESTMENT

$2,100 will, on Broad Street, buy home, in excellent condition; never offered before. Owner must sell.

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Mutual Building.

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The man who buys a big tract of land buys a lot of trouble also, but a few acres purchased in the

Village of Bensley

"THE SUBURB BEAUTIFUL"

gives you all the advantages of living in the country without the care and worry of a large estate. Lots can be bought from $100.00 per acre up, according to location, and on easy terms, too—monthly installments, if you wish. Not the lowest priced lands around Richmond, but the best values for the money invested.

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and compare its beauties and advantages with what you find in other suburbs.

20 minutes from the heart of Richmond.

Stops 19 to 21, Richmond and Petersburg Electric Railway.

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14 NORTH NINTH STREET,
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Monument Avenue Residence, built of best material, hot water heat, electric light, hardwood floors, two baths and toilet on first floor, recessed, tiled entire length of house, glass, etc.

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Ashland Street, five TWO-story Frame Dwellings of 4 rooms each, renting for $600 per annum; a splendid investment.

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Excellent home, with hot water heat.

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Central location, corner, 12 rooms, hot water heated, suitable for a doctor.

LATHAM & RUFFIN.

$2,300 Twenty-first street, near Venable. A snug five-room dwelling, with all conveniences. Good lot, etc.

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FOR RENT.

No. 3 E. Cary
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Both of these dwellings are modern homes in the best of neighborhoods and will be thoroughly renovated before possession immediately.

Dwellings, Stores and Factories in all parts of the city. Apply to

T. M. WORTHAM & CO.

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Nine roomed, detached, Slating party finished by Durham, all modern conveniences; better than new; owner leaving city. For particulars, see

SULLIVAN & COMPANY.

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$2,250 Two centrally located HOUSES, each Fourth and Leigh Streets, rent $288 year.

LEWIS H. CHAMBERLAIN,
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One of the prettiest and most up-to-date Nine-Room Homes in this section. Owners desiring to sell to settle an estate. For particulars, see

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$1,250 A nice little six-room house on Reservoir street, renting for $10 per month. Bargain for a quick buyer.

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Westham Land Company Property.

This land has been thoroughly improved, and ranks to-day among the most desirable residential sections of Richmond. Messrs. Brinley & Hallbrook, of New York, a firm of landscape engineers of national reputation, have laid off the entire tract in a masterful manner. Ten thousand dollars have been spent in laying off the different avenues, so that prospective buyers will be able to determine the correct frontage of their house without chancing a mistake.

On the north side of Westham, or River Road, Richmond College has opened a sixty-foot avenue, which leads from Westham Road to the head of Westham Lake, known as College Avenue. This entire avenue is equipped with electric lights. A perfect roadbed with beautiful shade trees will make this avenue one of Richmond's most beautiful drives.

We own and offer for sale over THREE THOUSAND FEET fronting on the avenue, and more than TEN THOUSAND FEET fronting on the River Road, also ONE THOUSAND FEET fronting on the new Virginia Country Club grounds.

This land will be Sold cheaply for the next sixty days, and special inducements will be offered to those who will build at once

Thereafter the price will be advanced—to what figure we cannot now determine.

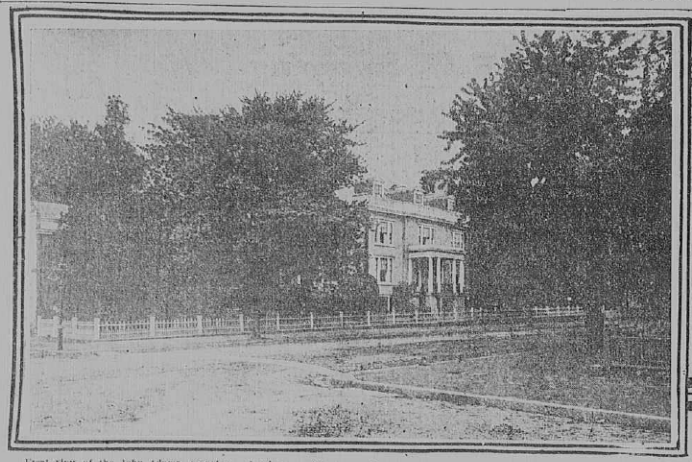
Those contemplating to build a home will do well to investigate our proposition without delay. We will sell you a lot on easy terms and finance your house if you so desire. Lose no time, MAKE ARRANGEMENTS NOW, and have your house ready for occupancy by spring.

A. L. McCLELLAN, President, Phone Madison 3217 or 4971, Southern Stock Yards, or 663-F, Westham Offices, or see the following:

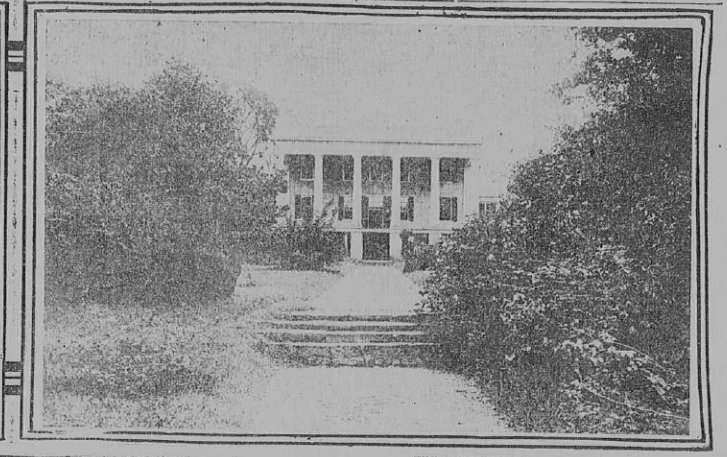
McVEIGH & GLINN, 1112 East Main St. McCURDY & JOHNSON, Mutual Bldg.
POLLARD & BAGBY, 1102 East Main St.

The Adams Home on Church Hill, Built by Dr. John Adams Who Laid Out Its Famous Garden---Sold by Him to the Van Lews.

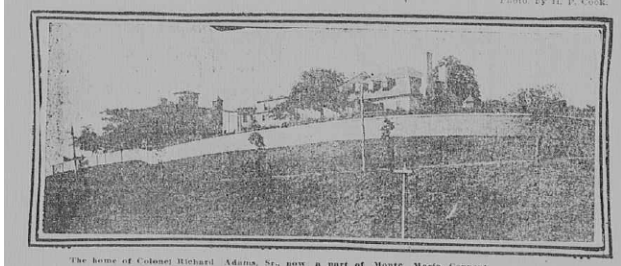
BY ALICE M. TYLER.



Front view of the John Adams mansion, showing architecture of house and fence inclosing it.
Photo. by H. P. Cook.



THE ADAMS HOUSE, RICHMOND, VA.
Built by Richard Adams for his son, John Adams. This house and its garden are beautifully described in "The Romance of a Plain Man." The property is now owned by the city. Miss Elizabeth Van Lew, a noted spy in the Federal service, lived in this house from 1861 to 1865 and until her death.
Photo. by H. P. Cook.



The home of Colonel Richard Adams, Sr., now a part of Monte Maria Convent.
Photo. by H. P. Cook.



ELLEN GLASGOW.
Author of "The Voice of the People," "The Wheel of Life," "The Miller of Old Church." Miss Glasgow has written charmingly of the Adams mansion. This is her latest picture.



A drawing of the Adams coat-of-arms, as it was originally used by the family.

About the middle of the eighteenth century, before the capital of Virginia had been established at Richmond, Colonel Richard Adams had established possession by purchase many acres of ground including what has been called Richmond Hill and extending along Shockoe Creek to the valley below. In this a fierce battle between a Pine Ridge tribe of Indians, the Richahecrians, and been fought on this ground. Richmond Hill and the Indian chiefs had been routed. That was in the autumn when the leaves of forest trees were turning to crimson and gold.

But it was in merry May time of 1676 when Nathaniel Bacon and his army marched rapidly to the falls on the James, stormed and set fire to the Indian stockade on Richmond Hill in the famous battle of Bloody Run, when the block of which Indiana streamed the waters of Bacon's Quarter Branch and ran down into the stream beneath the hill.

Colonel Richard Adams was what was called in his day and generation a distinguished man. It he were living now, progressive would be the word.

courtship was successful and Mistress Betsy Cocke became Mistress Thomas Adams, of Amherst, Virginia. It is George Wythe Munford in his "Two Colonies" as the credit of Mr. Adams that he was a devoted husband to the lady whose hand he took so much pains to win, and that he was a kind father to her daughters. Sally Cocke, the ancestress of a branch of the Massie family, in this State and city.

When the pretty Adams girls of Hollywood and Richmond Hill became the toast of the town, and their wooers were numerous, Mr. Adams and Mrs. Hotter, who lived in the house on Main street, now the property of Miss Lizzie Crenshaw, were considered the most attractive of the sisters. Peggy. The marriage was arranged by mutual consent, and the wedding took place in the month of January, 1797. Mr. Adams was married to Miss Mary Mitchell Hotter, daughter of Mr.

“Developers revise riverfront project:
To preserve view of James, plan moves condominiums to the west, adjusts heights”

Richmond Times-Dispatch (VA)-May 15, 2007
Author: WILL JONES, Times-Dispatch Staff Writer

A proposal to build high-rise riverfront condominiums east of downtown Richmond has been revised over concerns that the buildings would block views of the James River.

The changes to the Echo Harbour project are designed to reduce visual impacts to the east, where the James bends southward.

City founder William Byrd II is said to have named Richmond after observing that section of the river from what is now Libby Hill Park.

He was struck by the similarities between the James and the River Thames in the English borough of Richmond upon Thames.

George Ross, of the development company USP Rocketts, said he respects the view but is aware of no proof that it's historic.

"It's a view ... and we did everything we can to not impact it," he said. "The view that's being blocked is the view of the other side of the river, where the water treatment facility is."

To preserve the view of the bend, the two buildings planned at Echo Harbour have been shifted to the west, Ross said.

In addition, the building heights are proposed to drop gradually, from about 180 feet on the western edge of the complex to about 84 feet on the eastern side, he said. Both were initially proposed to be 160 feet tall.

Echo Harbour would have about 196 condo units, a restaurant, office and retail space, as well as about 1,000 feet of dock and an extension of the Canal Walk.

Ross estimated the potential investment at $160 million and said the 5 1/2-acre site south of Dock Street is key because it's on the river side of the CSX railroad. "This is Richmond's first and best opportunity for connecting to the river and using the river," he said.

Several critics of the Echo Harbour plans said the changes aren't substantive enough.

"It looks great for Miami Beach," Keith West said last week after reviewing the latest artist renderings for the development. He had stopped by Libby Hill Park with this children.

"It's a view that, once it's gone, you're not going to be able to get it back," said West, who represents the 7th District on the Richmond School Board.

Leighton Powell, executive director of the nonprofit advocacy group Scenic Virginia, said she considers the revised plan no better than the one filed last year.

"The problem is, it's one of these things where there's a fundamental disagreement about what the view shed is," she said. "They are limiting it to the bend in the river. Those of us who care about the view see it as the whole panorama."

William J. Martin, executive director of the Valentine Richmond History Center, said there's no record proving that Byrd named Richmond after observing the James from atop Libby Hill.

But, he added, the landscape makes a compelling case. "It's certainly true that the bends in the river ... are identical," Martin said. "It's uncanny to the views in Richmond, England."

A marker at Libby Hill Park recognizing "the view that named the city" was designated last year by the mayors of Richmond and Richmond upon Thames.

This year, the General Assembly approved a resolution celebrating the panoramic view and its role in the naming of Richmond. A copy was to be given to Queen Elizabeth II during her recent visit for the commemoration of the 400th anniversary of the Jamestown settlement.

The city's review of the Echo Harbour project is on hold because the developers have not shown adequate emergency access to the site, said Rachel O. Flynn, Richmond's director of community development.

She agreed the tiered building heights represent an improvement over the original plan. The site is zoned for office or industrial development, and any change allowing residential uses would have to be approved by City Council.

Councilman Bruce W. Tyler, 1st District, said he will be unable to discuss or vote on the case because of his ownership interest in Baskervill, the architectural firm for Echo Harbour.

“Libby Hill Park – The View That Named Richmond, Virginia”

Richmond Examiner (VA)-November 8, 2010
Author: Tonya Rice

One of the most interesting details about Richmond was the origin of her name. In the 1730's, after years of discord between William Byrd, II, a wealthy merchant and planter, and the Virginia House of Burgesses regarding the House's desire that he sell fifty acres of his land to form a new town, Byrd eventually and reluctantly gave in. For several years during that time, business establishments formed and prospered along the James River. In order to help accommodate the bustling activity and financial growth of the area, Byrd added a ferry to his own enterprise of stores and warehouse. He thereby helped to shape a town as the House initially had in mind. Byrd, also a well-known politician, had been educated in England; he knew the British landscape quite well. While standing at the top of, what is now known as, Libby Hill, he took note of the bend of the James River below the hill and the striking comparison it held to the bend and surrounding area of the River Thames in Richmond upon Thames, just west of London, England. In 1737, he officially named the new town, ?Richmond?, and became known as the city?s founder.

To celebrate this connection, Richmond, Virginia and Richmond upon Thames were named sister cities in 1991. In 2006, a commemorative plaque, featuring a captivating photograph of the River Thames?s likeness to that of the James, was dedicated by Mayor L. Douglas Wilder of Richmond, Virginia and Councillor Robin Jowit of Richmond upon Thames. It now sits in the garden of Libby Hill Park.

Libby Hill Park is one of the city?s oldest parks. Located at 28th and Franklin Streets, overlooking East Main Street, visitors can stand at the top of the same hill to take in Byrd?s observation. From Main Street and various areas of Shockoe Bottom and Church Hill, the park?s highly visible landmark, the Soldiers and Sailors Monument can be spotted as it stands atop the hill. Sculpted by Caspar Buberl and erected in 1894, this particular monument among our city?s collection was illustrated by William Ludlow Sheppard, using the famous pillar in Alexandria, Egypt, known as Pompey, as the inspiration for the 60-foot column which supports the bronze sculpture of a Confederate soldier.

The summit of Libby Hill Park provides a glorious panoramic view of Richmond from the east to the west, as well as points south towards Petersburg. The Carillon in Byrd Park can also be spotted beyond Interstate 95. There are picnic benches and other

cozy seating areas, which include the benches at the base of the walkway of crepe myrtle trees under the romantic three-tier fountain. Underlined by the park?s cobblestone walkway, Richmond?s skyline is displayed in a striking fashion. Even closer to the park are the city?s former tobacco warehouses and factories, which may provide great conversation as they represent intense reminders of the city?s history as well as an enticing backdrop.

Byrd?s ability to capture such nearly identical scenes of the two rivers - an ocean apart - over 400 years ago, without the modern technology we sport now, demonstrates a remarkable component to this city?s history. Libby Hill Park is open daily from sunrise to sunset.

“Resolution hails James view:
Lawyer fears proposal takes aim at project near Libby Hill Park”

Richmond Times-Dispatch (VA)-February 6, 2007
Author: JULIAN WALKER, Times-Dispatch Staff Writer

A proposed resolution to recognize the scenic vista of the James River from atop Church Hill's Libby Hill Park has become a contentious issue.

Del. Jennifer L. McClellan, D-Richmond, sponsored a resolution designating the panoramic view from the park overlooking the river as one with historic significance because it inspired Richmond's name.

But representatives of a Northern Virginia developer that plans to build two high-rise towers along the riverfront saw the resolution as a subtle attempt to block the project.

"I've been telling everybody, this is an example of how a hill can be turned into a mountain," McClellan said. "This is a very simple resolution celebrating a historic view that turned into something much more complicated. This is not a backdoor attempt to prevent any development from occurring."

The resolution states that historians believe Richmond founder William Byrd in 1733 named the city after noticing the similarity between the river views here and in England's Richmond upon Thames. McClellan said the resolution is an attempt to capitalize on the historic parallels between Richmond and England as the 400th anniversary of Jamestown approaches this spring.

But James W. Theobald, an attorney representing USP Development LLC, said he had concerns that the resolution was taking aim at the project.

"Basically what it said was if you stand on Libby Hill Park and any way you turn, if you see the river, it should be unobstructed and unencumbered," said Theobald, whose client wants to build two 18-story towers with about 240 residential units on a vacant lot in the 3000 block of Dock Street, just east of Great Shiplock Park.

An amended version of McClellan's resolution, including language stipulating that it will not affect local land-use decisions, passed in the House last week and awaits Senate action.

Meanwhile, Theobald said the developers are modifying the plans for the towers to preserve more of the river view.

“Development with a View:
Visions of Richmond’s Future: Vista Here Is as Vital As Across Pond”

Richmond Times-Dispatch (VA)-February 18, 2007
Author: Rick Tatnall

The General Assembly is currently considering a joint resolution (HJR 658) designating the panoramic view of the James River from Libby Hill Park in Richmond as a Historic Viewshed in Virginia. The curve of the James River and the steep slope leading to Libby Hill in Church Hill are remarkably like the features of the River Thames, leading to Richmond Hill at a royal village in western London called Richmond Upon Thames. In the 1730s, William Byrd II - an English educated planter, merchant, politician, and writer - was asked by the Virginia House of Burgesses to plan a town at the falls of the James. As Byrd had traveled many times to Richmond Upon Thames, historians believe that the striking similarity between the two "views" is the reason Byrd named this new town Richmond.

Technically, there appears to be no historical reference specifically detailing Byrd's naming Richmond for Richmond Upon Thames, but anyone who has stood on Libby Hill and Richmond Hill knows the story to be true. The views of the two rivers are incredibly similar - the height of the hills, the turn of the rivers, the width of the rivers, and the distance to the rivers from the hills. Equally impressive, equally similar, and equally important is the panoramic view looking out beyond the rivers, stretching for miles and miles and miles (now you know what inspired Pete Townsend and The Who).

Similarity as Catalyst for Name

To my knowledge, Richmond is the only metropolitan community named after another because of a distinct physical similarity that exists to this day. It is the combination of the view of the river and the view of the countryside that defines each viewshed and their undeniable connection for Richmond and Richmond Upon Thames, as well as Virginia and Great Britain.

The panoramic view of the River Thames from Richmond Hill, often referred to as "The View," has been celebrated in art and literature for hundreds of years. The View was so important to all of Great Britain that in 1902 the landscape on and below Richmond Hill stretching to the River Thames became the first and only view or vista to ever be protected in perpetuity by an act of Parliament. In 2002, an official delegation from Richmond, Virginia, traveled to Richmond Upon Thames to celebrate the 100th anniversary of the preservation of The View, and the enormous benefits it has provided the citizens of Richmond, of London, and of the entire United Kingdom.

There is significant support for the General Assembly's joint resolution, which has certainly benefited from the hype around Jamestown 2007 and the visit of Queen Elizabeth II (a copy of the resolution is to be presented to the Queen). The only objections have come from a few lawmakers concerned about its potential impact on development or its relevance to all Virginians. This resolution is not about development or land use - it simply acknowledges the importance of Richmond's view because of its direct relationship to The View in Richmond Upon Thames and the naming of the capital of the commonwealth. The resolution defines the viewshed as an important part of Virginia's heritage, something to be enjoyed by all Virginians - now and in the future - as a part of their commonweal.

This Year Marks Tie to the U.K.

In 2007, we commemorate and celebrate 400 years of historical ties to England, including the name Virginia, and the names of many of our cities, counties, towns, landmarks, and natural resources - including the James River. The ties between Virginia and the United Kingdom continue to be strong today and will certainly grow stronger in the future.

Currently, 10 Virginia cities and counties are formally "twinned" (sister cities) with communities in the United Kingdom, led by Richmond and Richmond Upon Thames starting in 1981. As the global community continues to grow closer together, these ties will have more and more influence on all our lives. The view from Libby Hill is a living tribute to the commonwealth's direct tie to the United Kingdom - past, present, and future - to be shared by all Virginians. Widespread awareness of the importance of the view from Libby Hill, and its recognition as a Historic Viewshed, are long overdue.

Rick Tatnall is the founder of Richmond Twinning, an organization devoted to fostering relationships between Richmond and cities around the world.

"The Debate is Building:
Riverfront Zoning Pits Nature, Business"

Richmond Times-Dispatch-April 24, 2002
Author: Jeremy Redmon

Elizabeth Pompeo rode up to Libby Hill Park in a tour bus, gazed at the expansive view of the James River and said "beautiful."

"They should leave it in a natural state," said the history buff from Thompson, Conn.

Pompeo was reacting to a resolution City Council approved Monday night that is the first step toward creating "RF," or riverfront, zoning. That zoning would allow developers to construct buildings up to 150 feet tall on the north side of the river from 14th Street to the city's eastern boundary with Henrico County.

The public debate over the zoning has pitted the environment against economic development. And it has led to flashbacks about the council's Nov. 26 vote allowing Dominion Resources to build a 160-foot- high office building near the James. That decision upset some Oregon Hill residents who live nearby.

The city needs the tax revenue and jobs that Dominion and other companies could bring to the riverfront, according to supporters of the new zoning. The proponents also note that developers could build industrial buildings up to 250 feet tall under the existing "M-2" zoning.

"We didn't just arbitrarily pick a number out of the air," Councilwoman Gwen C. Hedgepeth said about the height limitation, which she helped approve on a 5-4 vote Monday. "We sat down and talked to all of the property owners.

"There is plenty of time for community input. And we want community input."

Opponents point out how Church Hill is 150 feet tall. They worry that the new zoning would block public access to the river.

"The council is literally authorizing a concrete canyon that would prevent the public from enjoying the river," said Glen Besa, director of the Virginia chapter of the Sierra Club.

J.D. Cable has proposed building 60 condominiums, an amphitheater, a public plaza and a restaurant on 5 acres along the river. The land is located at 3011 and 3021 Dock St. near Great Ship Lock Park.

Cable declined to identify the heights of the buildings he is planning, but "none of our buildings is approaching 150 feet."

For context, City Hall is 270 feet tall to the top of the roof deck, not including its screened equipment and antennae. The Federal Reserve Bank building is 393 feet tall. Building stories can range in height from 12 to 18 feet.

Cable, who also owns The Tobacco Company Restaurant, said he will consult city officials and the public about his plans before he applies to rezone his land. He said he wants to rezone it to "RF" to allow for the condominiums, which would be priced between $500,000 and $750,000.

"You wouldn't expect The Tobacco Company to do anything that is not first-class," he said.

Developer William H. Abeloff has proposed building condominiums, homes, offices, parks, shops, a hotel and a public promenade along the riverfront east of Cable's land. The development, which would be called the Village of Rocketts Landing, would extend more than a mile along the James in the city and Henrico.

Abeloff has declined to comment about his plans. But an attorney representing him and his company, Rocketts Landing LLC, said the proposed buildings would not exceed 60 feet in height along the river. Other buildings set back from the river would not exceed 150 feet, according to the attorney.

The Planning Commission is expected to consider the proposed "RF" zoning at its June 17 meeting. The measure eventually will come back to the council for a final vote.

The commission recommended against the measure in a 7-0 vote April 15. If the panel again rejects the plan, it would take the votes of six City Council members to overturn the decision.

Councilwoman Delores L. McQuinn voted in favor of the resolution Monday night.

"I don't think anyone has considered a wall of 150 feet. .*.*. There may be an opportunity to stagger the buildings."

Up on Libby Hill yesterday, tour guide Frank Williamson told Pompeo how William Byrd II founded Richmond in 1737, giving the place its name because the James bends here like the bend of the Thames River at Richmond, England.

"We ought to leave it the way it is," Williamson said, adding about the possibility of a 150-foot building: "It would just destroy this view."

"Scenic Virginia Honours Officials"

Richmond Times-Dispatch-October 18, 2003

The Richmond City Council and the city Planning Commission will receive an award Monday from Scenic Virginia for rezoning land on the riverfront east of the city.

The area, which stretches down Dock Street, through Rocketts Landing to the Henrico County line, was rezoned in July 2002 to accommodate development while preserving the view from Libby Hill Park.

The city was named Richmond by William Byrd II, who was reminded of Richmond, England, when looking at the bend in the James River from the park.

"The view from Libby Hill Park is what gave Richmond its name," said Leighton Powell, executive director of Scenic Virginia. "We wanted to make sure that was preserved."

The award, named Best Preservation of a Scenic River Corridor, will be presented at noon Monday at the Kent-Valentine House at 12 East Franklin St.

Scenic Virginia is a non-profit organization that seeks to preserve the state's natural resources.