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Pückler and America  
*Edited by Sonja Duempelmann*



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BULLETIN

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PÜCKLER AND AMERICA

<i>List of color plates</i>	iv
Introduction <i>Sonja Duempelmann</i>	1
What is the Romantic Landscape? <i>Elizabeth Barlow Rogers</i>	11
Pückler's Muskau Park <i>Cord Panning</i>	25
Identity, Knowledge, Landscape: Biography and Space in Pückler's Work <i>Ulf Jacob</i>	31
Pückler's Significance for Landscape Architecture in America <i>Gert Gröning</i>	53
Muskau and America: Pückler's Influence on Charles Eliot and Regional Landscape Planning in the United States <i>Keith N. Morgan</i>	67
Bringing the Americanized Pückler Back to Germany: Charles Eliot and the German Park Reform Movement <i>David H. Haney</i>	89
Pückler at Harvard University <i>Michael G. Lee</i>	111
The Useful and the Beautiful: An American Analog to Pückler's Aesthetic <i>Daniel Nadenicek</i>	135
Hirschfeld, Pückler, Poe: The Literary Modeling of Nature <i>Linda Parshall</i>	149
Pückler and German Travel Literature <i>Hubertus Fischer</i>	171

## COLOR PLATES

- 1: The Tumulus, Pückler's burial place in his park at Branitz. Photo: Sonja Duempelmann.
- 2: The Long Meadow in Prospect Park, Brooklyn. Photo: Sonja Duempelmann.
- 3: A meadow in Muskau Park. Photo: Elizabeth Barlow Rogers.
- 4: Richmond Hill. Photo: Cord Panning, Stiftung Fürst-Pückler-Park Bad Muskau.
- 5: Design for a castle by Karl Friedrich Schinkel. Courtesy town of Bad Muskau.
- 6: View from the eastern side of the park toward the park: (a) as envisioned in 1834 (Collection of the town of Bad Muskau); (b) in 1989 (photo: Ekkehard Brucksch, Stiftung Fürst-Pückler-Park Bad Muskau); (c) in 2005 (photo: Astrid Roscher, Stiftung Fürst-Pückler-Park Bad Muskau).
- 7: Flower garden in Muskau Park. Photo: Astrid Roscher, Stiftung Fürst-Pückler-Park Bad Muskau.
- 8: Plan of Rüstringen Park by Migge, 1913. *Die Gartenkunst* 12: 183.
- 9: Aerial perspective of Rüstringen Park by Migge, 1914. *Die Gartenkunst* 12: frontispiece.
- 10: "Graves are the mountain tops of a remote new world," inscription in the railing atop the land pyramid in Pückler's park at Branitz. Photo: Gert Groening.

# INTRODUCTION

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## PÜCKLER AND AMERICA

**Sonja Duempelmann**

*University of Maryland*

In 1975, Jim and Lolly Robertson founded the highly acclaimed ice cream parlor “Prince Pückler’s” in Eugene, Oregon. The Robertsons had come across a recipe named for Prince Hermann von Pückler-Muskau (1785–1871) in a culinary history of ice cream and decided to name their shop after him as well.<sup>1</sup> Although delicious ice cream might be an extremely effective and, to a certain degree fitting, means of propagating the Old World aristocrat’s name, as numerous children in Oregon would no doubt attest, we might also be delighted to find that Pückler’s reception in the United States rests on a firmer foundation. He planned in 1834 to cross the Atlantic and explore North America, but he never made the trip. His reputation in the United States is therefore largely based on the English translations of some of his writings and the knowledge about his landscape gardens passed on by some of the first generation professional landscape architects in the United States. The essays in this collection explore the different paths that led to Pückler’s recognition in the United States.

Pückler was born into a noble family in 1785. His enthusiasm for landscape gardening was possibly sparked when, after having finished his humanistic education and military training, he paid a visit to Goethe during one of his early journeys. Goethe had created a landscape garden along the river Ilm in Weimar, and his conversation with the young Pückler promoted the young aristocrat’s interest in nature and gardening. Pückler became count of Muskau and Branitz upon his father’s death in 1811. After participating in the Wars of Liberation against Napoleon, he spent time in England, where he visited a number of landscape gardens and familiarized himself with diverse gardening techniques. Inspired by his experiences, Pückler set to work on his own estate after his return to Muskau in 1815. From that time on, his landscape creations and writings as well as his extravagant, unconventional, and daring lifestyle that led him to be called variously a snob, dandy, adventurer, and lady-killer by many of his contemporaries, earned him fame and admiration in the German states and abroad.

Pückler came to hold a position among German landscape architects much like Frederick Law Olmsted's among their American counterparts. In German landscape architecture and garden journals of the early twentieth century, Pückler was frequently cited in conjunction with the landscape gardeners Peter Joseph Lenné, Friedrich Ludwig von Sckell, and Gustav Meyer, who, together with Christian Cay Laurenz Hirschfeld, were considered to be the founders of German garden art.<sup>2</sup> During the heated debate about the reform of garden art in Germany at the beginning of the twentieth century, Pückler and his works were often used as examples by advocates of the naturalistic style and nature gardens as well as by advocates of the architectural style. Promoters of both used Pückler's teachings and landscape parks to support their arguments, as did advocates of site-specific designs not influenced by preconceived formulas or styles. Using nationalistic rhetoric, for example, the garden director Carl Hempel praised Pückler's creations as genuine German garden art in 1908 in arguing for the naturalistic garden.<sup>3</sup> In 1911, by contrast, the garden director of Aachen, Wilhelm von Wessberge, used quotations from Pückler's writings to demonstrate that the modern architectural house garden corresponded with the prince's teachings.<sup>4</sup> The garden architect and dendrologist Camillo Karl Schneider referred to Pückler's park in Muskau to support his view of the equal significance of both, the naturalistic and architectonic styles.<sup>5</sup> And the garden architect J. P. Grossmann argued for the development of a garden art that, in keeping with Pückler's teachings, took each site's character and function into account.<sup>6</sup> Pückler's standing among German landscape architects and his general prestige led citizens in Cottbus to form a committee in 1908 for the erection of a monument to Pückler in their city, an initiative that was seconded in 1911 by a group of influential garden directors and other dignitaries.<sup>7</sup> Despite Pückler's fascination with English landscape gardens and his turn to the English landscape gardener Humphrey Repton's son, John Adey Repton, for advice,<sup>8</sup> some German landscape architects in the 1920s and 1930s credited Pückler with the development of a German landscape style distinct from the landscape gardens in England. The Breslau garden director Edmund Gläser claimed the prince for Silesia and described him as "a German rooted in the soil and attached to his *Heimat*."<sup>9</sup> This admiration for the "Garden Prince" culminated in the founding of the Fürst Pückler-Gesellschaft in 1930.<sup>10</sup> That society existed until 1945 and was the precursor of the Pückler Gesellschaft e.V. created in West Berlin in 1979 to restore and maintain historic gardens and to support research in garden history.

While the *New Yorker* cartoonist Edward Frascino probably had other associations in mind when he depicted a proud American suburbanite's backyard pyramid (Figure 1), those familiar with Pückler's work are re-



*"And that's my tomb."*

Figure 1: Copyright The New Yorker Collection 2006 Edward Frascino from cartoonbank.com. All Rights Reserved.

mindful at once of his park at Branitz (Plate 1, page 181). Pückler's reception in the U.S. seems to have been both complex and shallow, both direct and indirect, and it is often difficult to reconstruct the circumstances of his reception and influence. At first glance, for example, there seem to be several striking conceptual similarities between Pückler's Muskau Park and the Biltmore Estate in North Carolina. Roughly the same size as Pückler's estate, the Biltmore Estate, like the park in Muskau, had a river running through it and incorporated farms, forests, and a village. Olmsted, like Pückler, considered views back to the main house and into the distant countryside essential, and he thus provided for vistas from the palatial chateau-style Biltmore House towards the Great Smoky Mountains. Though without an iconographic space comparable to Muskau Park, Olmsted's Biltmore Estate includes many features to be found there.<sup>11</sup> Whether these similarities reflect a deeper affinity in outlook between Pückler and Olmsted is a question that bears further consideration.

What exactly, then, has Prince Pückler's impact on American landscape architecture and literature been? How far have his literary and garden works been known in America? How have they been regarded? Did American landscape architects appropriate ideas promoted by Pückler in his works, and if so, how knowledgeable and critical were they of Pückler's works? Or did they simply and directly emulate his design ideas? Did they borrow from Pückler and create something new? And who were these American figures? How did they become aware of Pückler in the first place?

In recent years, scholars such as Noël Dorsey Vernon and Kurt Culbertson in the United States and Gert Gröning and Franziska Kirchner in Germany have begun to address these questions.<sup>12</sup> It was the goal of the conference "Pückler and America" held in Bad Muskau" in June 2006 to initiate a transatlantic dialogue on Pückler's work and reception. Organized jointly by the Stiftung Fürst-Pückler-Park Bad Muskau, the German Historical Institute, Washington, DC, and Auburn University, the conference brought together scholars in the fields of landscape history and literature from the United States and Germany. This supplement to the GHI's *Bulletin* presents a selection of the papers delivered in Bad Muskau.

In their contributions here, Elizabeth Barlow Rogers, Cord Panning, and Ulf Jacob introduce and contextualize the prince and his park in Muskau. After sketching how Romanticism was expressed in landscape and garden design, Rogers juxtaposes Pückler's landscape gardens in the German states with the urban public parks of the social reformer Frederick Law Olmsted in the democratic United States. Despite the differences in the two men's intention and in the locales and political contexts in which they worked, Rogers underscores the commonalities in their landscape works. Both Pückler and Olmsted were influenced by the Romantic idea that nature offered a remedy to the ills of civilization as well as a means to foster national identity. Rogers sees Pückler and Olmsted as two of the last Romantics in landscape architecture before landscape architects increasingly adopted a more formal design language and beaux-arts approach in park design again.

Cord Panning, executive director of the Stiftung Fürst-Pückler-Park Bad Muskau, gives an overview of the development of the park and draws the reader's attention to the difficulties in preserving the prince's work over the past century and a half. Since 1945, the park has been divided by the German-Polish border, but it has been the focus of a very effective and fruitful binational collaboration since the end of the Cold War. The border is, of course, the result of political events that occurred long after Pückler's sale of the estate in 1845; ironically, though, as a result of this latest twist of history the park reflects its original inception better

today than it had for decades. Moreover, it also arguably comes closer to fulfilling the role many American landscape architects in the early twentieth century ascribed to it than it did at the time of their visits. For the most part ignoring Pückler's sometimes high-handed actions in the village of Muskau, they considered it to be a prime example of a regional landscape that incorporated and thereby protected not only stretches of farm and forest land but also entire villages. The park today has taken this concept a step further by bridging not only municipal boundaries but also national borders.

Pückler's landscapes at Muskau and Branitz, as Ulf Jacob shows in his contribution here, are the products of his complex character as well as of his interactions with and reactions to a diverse array of contemporaries. Attached as he was to his noble family's history and its aristocratic privileges, Pückler was a witness to the break-up of Europe's old feudal order and the emergence of a new capitalistic society. Pückler adhered to conservative family tradition while at the same time embracing the Protestant work ethic. Both attitudes converged in his garden work. Analyzing the prince's attempt to realize himself as a nobleman, a man of letters, an artist, and an adventurer, Jacob interprets Pückler as a creator of different types of space. *Herrschaftsraum* (ruling space), *Textraum* (textual space), *Transzendenzraum* (transcendental space)—these spaces, Jacob contends, mark distinctive phases in Pückler's life in which the prince, influenced by other writers and contemporary cultural figures, appears as the shaper. As Jacob shows, these phases were interrupted by journeys that, much as they might have stemmed from Pückler's seemingly insatiable thirst for adventure, constituted escapes into worlds very different from his own—England (1826–29) and the Eastern Mediterranean and North Africa (1835–40). One world he had planned to visit but never did was the New World.

What might Pückler have seen if he had actually carried through with his plans to travel to North America? Gert Gröning speculates on this question in his overview of Pückler's influence in the U.S. Gröning's contribution and those by Daniel Nadenicek, Keith Morgan, David Haney, and Michael Lee offer insights into Pückler's reception by landscape architects in the United States. Gröning begins his overview of "Pückler's significance for landscape architecture in America" in the middle of the nineteenth century, when encyclopedias and a handful of German immigrants were the main sources of knowledge in the U.S. about Pückler's work. Pückler's reception in American landscape architecture and gardening circles really only seems to have begun towards the end of the century, however. As landscape architecture was gaining momentum as a newly recognized profession at the turn of the century,

many American landscape architects visited Muskau Park on their tours of Europe and became infatuated with Pückler's creation.

Foremost among Pückler's American admirers was the Olmsted protégé Charles Eliot. Keith Morgan describes how Eliot developed a keen interest in the prince's landscape expertise and came to "turn to Pückler as his alternative to Olmsted as a role model." Eliot's enthusiasm for Pückler was based on his reading of Pückler's *Andeutungen über Landschaftsgärtnerei* (Hints on Landscape Gardening) and his visit to Muskau Park in 1886 at the close of his year-long European tour. On his return to the United States, Eliot remained deeply impressed with Pückler's landscape. Morgan shows how Eliot adopted the lessons he learnt in Muskau in private and public landscape commissions in his native America. Eliot's German experiences were particularly valuable, as Morgan demonstrates, for his vision of a metropolitan park system for Boston.

Eliot occupies a central place in the complex bilateral transfer of ideas in landscape architecture between Germany and America at the beginning of the twentieth century that David Haney explores in his article. Haney points out that the diffusion of Pückler's ideas was not a one-way street. After Eliot had adapted Pückler's lessons to the American landscape, the Boston metropolitan park system and other open space systems developed for American cities became models for German planners and landscape architects. The urban planner Werner Hegemann was one of the most fervent German advocates of American-style parks and park systems. Hegemann's descriptions of American parks sparked the interest of the landscape architect Leberecht Migge, who transformed the American lessons into park designs for Germany. Haney thus identifies a line of development that leads from Pückler's landscape ideas to the landscapes designed by Eliot in the northeastern United States and back to Germany by way of Hegemann and Migge.

Eliot, who died in 1897 at the age of 38, would probably have become the head of the landscape architecture program that Harvard University launched in 1900 had he lived. Given Pückler's influence on Eliot and the Boston park system, it is probably not surprising that Pückler played an important role in the landscape history curriculum at Harvard. What might come as a surprise, however, is the continuous attention that was paid to Pückler at the expense of other notable German landscape gardeners and architects such as Lenné and Sckell at Harvard through the twentieth century. Michael Lee offers insights into this story by examining how landscape history was written and taught at one of America's most influential schools of design. Since Harvard's first course dealing with landscape history was taught by Frederick Law Olmsted Jr., who had been a friend and colleague of Eliot's, it is likely that Pückler was included in the curriculum from the start, even if the first written record

of Pückler's work figuring in the program dates back only to 1907. Lee shows how Pückler was regarded by the younger Olmsted's successors at Harvard and how their personal interests in different facets of Pückler's work shaped knowledge of German landscape history in the United States. Despite the skepticism about the role of history in design pedagogy in the modernist era, landscape history remained a required course at Harvard, and Pückler nonetheless stayed in the picture as teaching objectives changed over the years. Lee concludes that the continuing interest in Pückler and his landscapes at Harvard to this day is the result of the powerful legacies of Olmsted and Eliot.

Before Harvard's impact on landscape historiography, pioneering American landscape architects were influenced by the Romantic ideas and values of their time. Like Pückler in his landscape garden in Muskau, American landscape architects strived to combine the useful with the beautiful in their designs. Daniel Nadenicek explores the world of thought underlying this theoretical concept in America. The combination of the useful and the beautiful was promoted by the Transcendentalists in the first half of the nineteenth century and had an impact on the design philosophy of some of the first American landscape architects, including Frederick Law Olmsted, Robert Morris Copeland, and Horace William Shaler Cleveland. Nadenicek describes how Ralph Waldo Emerson and like-minded artists such as Horatio Greenough aimed at creating an American aesthetic based on the useful and beautiful, and how they considered landscape architecture an appropriate means of realizing that aesthetic. Olmsted, Copeland, and Cleveland, like many educated Americans who came of age in the mid-nineteenth century, were deeply influenced by Transcendentalist beliefs, and Nadenicek explains how Copeland and Cleveland gave aesthetic expression to Transcendentalist thought in their design for Sleepy Hollow Cemetery in Concord.

Nadenicek suggests it was Romantic ideas that gave rise to similar design approaches combining utility and beauty in Pückler's Germany and Emerson's America rather than a more direct link between the prince and the "Transcendentalist designers." Some of the major Transcendentalist writers, by contrast, were well acquainted with Pückler's literary work. Bronson Alcott and Margaret Fuller, for example, were admirers of Pückler's writings.<sup>13</sup> Pückler became known to English-speaking readers through Sarah Austin's translations of his *Briefe eines Verstorbenen* (1830–31), which were published under the titles *Tour in England, Ireland, and France in the Years 1828 & 1829* and *Tour in Germany, Holland and England in the years 1826, 1827, & 1828*. As might be expected, Pückler's accounts of his travels include many descriptions of gardens and parks. The landscapes he creates verbally in the *Briefe* are the subject of the essays by Linda Parshall and Hubertus Fischer that conclude this collection.

The most palpable indication of Pückler's literary influence in the U.S. is arguably Edgar Allan Poe's tale "The Landscape Garden," which was later revised and published as "The Domain of Arnheim." This story, Parshall argues, displays a great debt to Pückler the "portrayer of gardens." His writings on gardens draw upon the ancient pastoral tradition, Parshall shows, but fall clearly within the German Romantic movement. It is the Romantic aspect of Pückler's writing, she suggests, that inspired Poe to use some of the prince's tales in his own work. Whereas Parshall locates Pückler in the pastoral tradition, Hubertus Fischer considers Pückler's writings in the context of another literary genre: travel literature. Fischer defines the elements in Pückler's *Briefe eines Verstorbenen* that set them apart from the work of other contemporary travel writers. Pückler tried to emulate Heinrich Heine's *Reisebilder (Travel Pictures)*, Fischer notes, and deeply admired Walter Scott. Although Pückler's literary efforts met with both praise and criticism, admirers and critics alike acknowledged his individuality. In fact, quite atypically for the genre, the prince's published letters were based on actual correspondence, and, like few other writers, Pückler offered readers powerful descriptions that created the illusion one was his travel companion. Would Pückler have taken readers on his American journey? We will never know.

The aforementioned conference and this *Supplement* to the GHI's *Bulletin* would not have come into being without the initiative of Rachel Hildebrandt. In 2004, she contacted the GHI on behalf of the Stiftung Fürst-Pückler-Park Bad Muskau with a proposal for an exhibition illustrating German-American connections in the spheres of landscape design and literature. The proposal itself was the result of a long-running discussion between Gert Gröning of the University of the Arts Berlin, Joachim Wolschke-Bulmahn of the Leibniz University in Hannover, and Cord Panning, executive director of the Muskau foundation.

I wish to thank everyone who helped to bring about the conference and make it a success. My special thanks go to my co-organizers at the Stiftung Fürst-Pückler-Park Bad Muskau, Cord Panning, Ute-Martina Kühnel, and Rachel Hildebrandt as well as to former GHI director Christof Mauch, who enthusiastically participated in the conference and made this publication possible. This collection would never have made it to the printing press without the help of David Lazar at the GHI, to whom I am truly grateful. I would like to thank all the contributors for their timely responses during the editing process and their patience. Finally, I would like to express my thanks to Auburn University, and to all the employees and interns at the Stiftung Fürst-Pückler-Park Bad Muskau and at the Polish Park Administration who in a variety of ways helped prepare and run the conference, not least by providing the participants with refreshing *Pückler Eis* in authentic surroundings.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> I thank Jonathan Skolnik for telling me about his favorite ice cream parlor in Eugene.

<sup>2</sup> See, e.g., Meyer Jungclaussen, "Der zeitgemässe Pückler: Wesenszüge seiner Kunst aus den 'Andeutungen über Landschaftsgärtnerei,'" *Die Gartenkunst* 55, 7–8 (1942): 102–04.

<sup>3</sup> See, e.g., Carl Hampel, "Vortrag über Gartenkunst und ihre neuzeitlichen Bestrebungen. Teil 1," *Die Gartenwelt* 12, 51 (1908): 604–07. The same nationalist vein is evident in F. Zahn, "Fürst Pücklers gartenkünstlerisches Wirken: Ein Gedenkblatt zum 100 jährigen Bestehen des Muskauer Parks," *Die Gartenkunst* 28, 5 (1915): 61–71 (71). Also see Willy Lange, "Kunstwerke und Kunst im Garten," *Die Gartenwelt* 9, 48 (1905): 565–67.

<sup>4</sup> Wilhelm von Wessberge, "Was bedeutet Pückler für die moderne Gartenkunst?" *Die Gartenwelt* 15, 10 (1911): 131–2.

<sup>5</sup> See Camillo Karl Schneider, *Landschaftliche Gartengestaltung* (Leipzig, 1907), 4, 113; and Josef Buerbaum, "Kritische Betrachtungen zu C. K. Schneiders Buch: 'Landschaftliche Gartengestaltung,'" *Die Gartenwelt* 12, 6 (1907): 63–67.

<sup>6</sup> J. P. Grossmann, "Die Moderne in der Gartenkunst," *Die Gartenwelt* 9, 28 (1905): 331–34.

<sup>7</sup> See, e.g., the unsigned articles, "Tagesgeschichte: Cottbus (Denkmal für Fürst Pückler)," *Die Gartenwelt* 12, 37 (1908): 444, and "Denkmal für den Fürsten Hermann von Pückler," *Die Gartenkunst* 13, 3 (1911): 64.

<sup>8</sup> On Humphrey Repton's influence on Pückler and John Adey Repton's visit to Pückler, see Manfred Uhlitz, "Humphrey Reptons Einfluss auf die gartenkünstlerischen Ideen den Fürsten Pückler-Muskau" (Ph.D. dissertation, Freie Universität Berlin, 1988) and Manfred Uhlitz, "Prince Pückler and John Adey Repton's visit to Prussia," *Journal of Garden History* 9, 4 (1989): 221–30.

<sup>9</sup> Edmund Gläser, "Hermann Pückler, ein schlesischer Mensch," *Die Gartenkunst* 49, 6 (1936): 89–95.

<sup>10</sup> See, e.g., "Gemeinschaftsarbeit: Neugründung einer Fürst Pückler-Gesellschaft," *Die Gartenwelt* 34, 46 (1930): 641–42.

<sup>11</sup> On Olmsted's work at the Biltmore estate, see Dana F. White and Victor A. Kramer, eds., *Olmsted South: Old South Critic/New South Planner* (Westport, 1979) and Charles E. Beveridge and Susan L. Klaus, *The Olmsteds at Biltmore*, NAOP Workbook Series 5 (Bethesda, 1995).

<sup>12</sup> Noël Dorsey Vernon, "Adolph Strauch: Cincinnati and the Legacy of Spring Grove Cemetery," in William H. Tisher, ed., *Midwestern Landscape Architecture* (Urbana, 2000), 5–24; Kurt Culbertson, "George Edward Kessler: Landscape Architect of the American Renaissance," in Tisher, ed., *Midwestern Landscape Architecture*, 99–116; Franziska Kirchner, *Der Central Park in New York und der Einfluss der deutschen Gartentheorie und-praxis auf seine Gestaltung*, Quellen und Forschungen zur Gartenkunst 23 (Worms, 2002); Gert Gröning, "Pückler und Amerika: Die Rezeption Pücklers bei Landschaftsarchitekten in den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika," *Stadt und Grün* 7 (2003): 49–55. See also Patrick Bowe, "Pückler-Muskau's Estate and its Influence on American Landscape Architecture," *Garden History* 23, 2 (1995): 192–200, and Joachim Wolschke-Bulmahn, "Zwischen Hudson-River und Neiße, Fürst Pückler, die Muskauer Wasserfälle und das Hudson-River-Portfolio," *Die Gartenkunst* 10 (1998): 300–09.

<sup>13</sup> See Margaret Fuller, letter to Caroline Sturgis, March 4, 1839, in Robert N. Hudspeth, ed., *The Letters of Margaret Fuller*, vol. 2, 1839–41 (Ithaca, 1983–c1994), 57–61 (61), and Sigrid Bauschinger, *The Trumpet of Reform: German Literature in Nineteenth-Century New England*, translated by Thomas Hansen (Columbia, SC, 1998), 158.

## WHAT IS THE ROMANTIC LANDSCAPE?

**Elizabeth Barlow Rogers**

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Romanticism, to a greater extent than we perceive, still affects the way we think about the world today. Its roots lie in the Western European movement that occurred roughly between the years 1760 and 1830. So completely do we take for granted its premises now that we lose sight of how the premium Romanticism put on individuality completely revolutionized society and how human beings thought about themselves and one another.

The Age of Romanticism was one of great political upheavals and the overthrow of absolute monarchy as a form of government. It was the age in which a vast sea change in the arts occurred. Music, literature, drama, painting, sculpture, architecture, and landscape gardening had previously emanated almost exclusively from royal, princely, and ducal courts. During the late eighteenth century and throughout much of the nineteenth, the rise of democratic forms of government either violently overthrew or gradually eroded the aristocratic cultural monopoly. This vast movement toward democracy was accompanied by the birth of patriotic sentiment and the glorification of the nation state. The period was moreover one of tremendous economic change. It witnessed the Industrial Revolution and the rapid enlargement of cities, the rise of middle-class commerce accompanied by the political empowerment of the bourgeoisie, and a growing respect for the common man.

This was the world into which Prince Hermann Ludwig Heinrich von Pückler was born in 1785, just four years before George Washington took the oath of office as president of the United States and the start of the French Revolution (Figure 1). He died in 1871, the year that Germany's numerous duchies and principedoms became united as a nation-state under Prussian leadership with Bismarck at its helm and Wilhelm I as newly crowned Kaiser. That event rendered virtually powerless all the minor nobility of which he was a member. Clearly, the prince's era was one of tremendous cultural and political transformation.

But our concern here is not with Romanticism as a social and political movement but as a *philosophical* phenomenon of international dimensions. In this light, we want to examine its effect on garden theory and to trace its influence on the designed landscapes of France, England, Germany, and America. Only in this way will we be able to fit Pückler into the context of his time, understand him as an artist, and compare his



Figure 1: Hermann Prince of Pückler-Muskau, c. 1838. Lithograph by Wilhelm Devrien; courtesy Stiftung Fürst-Pückler-Park Bad Muskau.

work with that of other landscape designers whose work can also be classified as Romantic.

Speaking in the broadest generalities, we can characterize English Romanticism as primarily literary and historical as well as painterly, a movement centered on Englishness itself, an Englishness that endears the green pastoral countryside with its hedgerows, fields, and grazing cattle. This gentle landscape has been gilded by the words of Shakespeare and the great Romantic poets, Wordsworth, Keats, and Shelley as well as by the paintings of Constable. What may be termed English Romanticism in

landscape design is in fact the picturesque garden ornamented with Gothic, rustic, and nostalgically recalled Classical architectural forms. French Romanticism as applied to landscape design, on the other hand, is more theatrical in character. Drawing on the philosophy of Rousseau, it is a landscape of idealized sentiment in which set-piece scenes are created for the purpose of eliciting a certain emotional response. Italian Romanticism is perhaps an oxymoron because of that country's overwhelming debt to its ancient classical and Renaissance past. This made the relatively brief nineteenth-century craze for the English-style garden there a later embarrassment in cases where it had caused the eradication of fine old villa gardens. By contrast, German Romanticism is inherently passionate and deeply nature-loving, an expression of national soul that is identified with forest and folk—the German land and German people. The German artist Caspar David Friedrich carried Romanticism to a fever pitch with his highly charged scenes of an imaginary nature in its most extreme manifestation and history in its most mysteriously evocative form. German Romanticism is rooted in a mythic attachment to the Fatherland and is equated with moral virtue and social harmony. American Romanticism is essentially religious in character. In a new democratic nation of continental dimensions the sublime scenery of untamed Nature was seen as the work of divine creation, a source of soul-stirring revelation, an expression of Ralph Waldo Emerson's transcendentalist philosophy. The artists of the Hudson River School, beginning with Thomas Cole, celebrated it, and the German-born master Albert Bierstadt portrayed the scenery of the Far West in terms of glowing dramatic and majestic grandeur.

For Frederick Law Olmsted, naturalistic park design was meant to be spiritually uplifting and to have a civilizing effect on the ethnically diverse population in the country's rapidly growing industrial cities. While inflected differently according to diverse national temperaments, the cross-currents of Romantic influence coursed from country to country. At its core was the emphasis on individual emotional experience as opposed to acceptance of societal norms and universal precepts based on reason alone.

To understand better the similarities and differences between French Romanticism, German Romanticism, English Romanticism, and American Romanticism with regard to garden art, we must examine both novels and treatises on landscape theory and design of the period. Two of the great literary figures tower over the Age of Romanticism: Rousseau and Goethe, each of whom wrote a novel in which a garden is both a Romantic metaphor and a design prescription. In terms of actual garden design theory, we must look to *De la Composition des paysages* (Essay on Landscape) published in 1777 by Rousseau's admirer and patron René Louis de Girardin and to Christian Cay Lorenz Hirschfeld's five-volume *Theorie der Gartenkunst* (Theory of Garden Art) published between 1779 and 1785.

In Rousseau's novel *La Nouvelle Héloïse*, the protagonist Julie has converted an old orchard into an "Elysium," a *hortus conclusus* symbolizing the heroine as chaste matron. According to Saint-Preux, Julie's tutor, erstwhile lover, and still secretly enamored family friend:

The dense foliage which surrounds it makes it impervious to the eye, and it is always carefully locked. . . . The turf, green and thick but short and close, was interwoven with wild thyme, mint, sweet marjoram, and other fragrant herbs. . . . I encountered here and there some shady thickets, as impervious to the sun's rays as if they were in the densest forests; these thickets were composed of trees of the most flexible wood, the branches of which had been made to bend round, hang down to the ground, and take root, by a process similar to that which mangrove trees follow naturally in America. . . . I followed winding and irregular walks bordered by these flowery thickets and covered with a thousand garlands of woody vines. . . while under foot we had smooth, comfortable, and dry walking upon a fine moss, with no sand, no grass, and no rough shoots. . . . All these little paths were bordered and crossed by a limpid and clear stream, sometimes winding through the grass and the flowers in almost imperceptible rivulets, sometimes running in larger brooklets over a pure and speckled gravel which made the water more transparent.<sup>1</sup>

Rousseau has Julie tell her visitor that her garden is virtually maintenance-free. Anyone who has ever built a wild garden knows that it is not a simple matter of rearranging nature here and there and leaving things alone. But Julie's creation in *La Nouvelle Héloïse* is not meant to be understood as a practical venture; it is merely an argument for the charms of natural simplicity and rustic taste. However, as such, it was extremely influential. Girardin's garden at Ermenonville stands as the most prominent example of a Rousseau-inspired landscape.

Although an aristocrat of the old order, Girardin was a man of liberal sympathies, believing, no doubt, that the democratic ideals that were in the air in the years immediately prior to the French Revolution would be sufficient to bring about certain necessary social changes without completely destroying the *ancien régime*. It was natural, then, for the marquis to befriend the author of *The Social Contract*, published in 1762, a year after *La Nouvelle Héloïse*. Rousseau spent the last years of his life at Ermenonville as the guest of the marquis, and upon his death in 1778, Rousseau was buried in the garden on a small poplar-encircled island at one end of the lake. His legion of admirers subsequently made pilgrimages to this spot, and imitations of Rousseau's poplar-surrounded gravesite became one of the great garden design tropes of the late eighteenth

century. Rousseau's influence impregnates the garden at Ermenonville, as Girardin's *Essay on Landscape* attests. In his *Essay*, Girardin quotes "a man whose every word is a sentiment" (undoubtedly he is referring to Rousseau):

Nature flies from frequented places; it is at the tops of high mountains, in the depth of forests, and in desert islands, that she displays her most enchanting beauties; those who love her, but can not go so far to seek her, are reduced to offer her some violence, and to force her in some measure to come and dwell among them;—this cannot be some without some little illusion.<sup>2</sup>

Here we come to the central issue in our attempt to define the Romanticism in relation to landscape design. Rousseau, as quoted by Girardin, clearly subscribes to the notion of the sublime as defined by Edmund Burke in his famous *Philosophical Inquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful* (1777). For Burke, the sublime stimulates the kind of pleasurable terror that causes one to gasp with astonishment. Accordingly, the exalted and intensely emotional experience associated with this aesthetic category was most likely to be found in wild, untamed nature. But country estates are not situated on the tops of mountains, in the depths of forests, or on desert islands. In making a garden, according to Rousseau, the designer is reduced to inflicting some violence on nature—cutting away undergrowth, excavating soil to create lakes, and so forth. His attempt to create scenery that is a combination of art and nature inevitably falls into an intermediate aesthetic category between Burke's beautiful and sublime, one that its proponents called the picturesque.

The garden that the marquis de Girardin, with Rousseau at his side, created was a garden of *sentiment* in which emotions were evoked by visual reminders and literary associations, a garden in which the beauty of nature was enhanced by artistry. The marquis intended it to be an animated landscape painting made with nature's own materials. The alliance between actual landscape painting and landscape design forms the chief principle upon which Girardin laid out Ermenonville. In his *Essay*, he states that in order to make a garden, "you must understand that a landscape plan can neither be imagined, sketched, drawn, colored, or retouched, by any but a landscape painter."<sup>3</sup> He instructs the reader, whom he assumes to be an estate owner like himself, to become familiar with the advantages of his property and after doing so to bring a painter to the site.

He goes on to say, "If from the saloon objects obstruct your sight, go up to the top of the house, from thence choose the best distance and background, taking care not to destroy such of the buildings and plantations as are already there, and will suit the composition of the land-

scape: and now the painter may make a sketch, composing a fore-ground to correspond with the distance you have determined upon the country."<sup>4</sup> Thus, Girardin did not think that a topographical plan was necessary; the studied views of the painter would provide sufficient guidance in laying out his grounds.

Echoing Rousseau, he draws attention to the difference between the romantically inclined picturesque style and the truly Romantic sublime:

If picturesque beauty gives pleasure to the eyes; if a poetical scene interests by bringing before us the happy pictures of Arcadia; and it is in the power of the painter or poet to produce these—some situations there are which nature only can give, and which I will call *romantick*. . . .<sup>5</sup>

He goes on to write,

Here the mind wanders with pleasure, and indulges those fond reveries, which become necessary to such as are open to soft affections, and know the just value of things: We wish to dwell in these scenes forever, for here we feel all the truth and energy of nature.<sup>6</sup>

Thus, the trick in picturesque garden design was to produce such artfully contrived naturalistic scenery as to induce the Romantic occupation so prized by Rousseau: solitary reverie.

Let's turn now to Germany and Goethe, the towering genius who sparked the romantic *Sturm und Drang* (Storm and Stress) movement and then went beyond it to achieve a philosophical middle ground between unbridled emotion and Enlightenment reason. In this regard, it is useful to compare Goethe's 1809 novel *Die Wahlverwandtschaften* (*Elective Affinities*) with Rousseau's *La Nouvelle Héloïse*, published forty-eight years earlier. A further comparison between Christian Cay Lorenz Hirschfeld's (1743–92) five-volume *Theorie der Gartenkunst* with Girardin's *Essay on Landscape* will confirm our understanding of the difference between French and German Romanticism with regard to landscape design.

In the elegantly constructed plot of *Elective Affinities*, the action takes place to a large extent in a garden in which the author's personal knowledge of the principles of landscape design is evident. Unlike Rousseau's imaginary garden, this one is not the setting of reverie but of tragedy. It is not a *hortus conclusus* like Julie's Elysium but quite the opposite, a garden in which expansive views are as important as secluded spots adorned with rustic structures. The building of the garden is central to the plot of *Elective Affinities*, and Goethe approaches the subject from both a poetical and a practical perspective.

Like Julie, Charlotte, one of the four protagonists, is the mistress of a Romantic garden. The opening scene in the book takes place in the newly finished moss hut she has designed. This feature is typical of the Rousseau-influenced garden. But for Goethe, a sound landscape design was not merely a collection of charming, evocative features arranged in a naturalistic setting. With the entrance of another protagonist, the Captain, an experienced engineer, it becomes apparent that an overall plan encompassing the entire property should be made, with consideration as well of the views of its surrounding scenery. The Captain sets to work, and “the topographical map on which the estate and its surroundings had been drawn in pen and wash—with graphic accuracy in a relatively large scale, its precision thoroughly checked by the Captain’s trigonometric measurements—was soon finished.” Eager not to offend Charlotte because her plans for the garden are being superseded, the men decide to “bring out those illustrated English estate descriptions.”<sup>7</sup>

The books—undoubtedly those of Humphry Repton, the influential English landscape designer—revealed, according to Goethe, “in each instance a map of the area and a view of the landscape in its natural state, then on separate flaps the change artfully made to utilize and enhance its original good properties. From this the transition to their own estate, their own surroundings, and what could be made of them, was an easy one. Now it became a pleasant task to consult the map the Captain had made, although at first it was hard to tear themselves away from Charlotte’s original conception of the project.”<sup>8</sup> Practical Charlotte frequently reminds them of the costs new plans will involve.

The consideration of the layout of paths in terms of the best views to be achieved as one moved through the landscape was of critical importance. Here, the fourth principal character in the book, Charlotte’s beautiful ward Otilie, plays a role:

Putting her finger on the highest part of the rise, Otilie said: ‘I would build the summer house here. You wouldn’t see the manor from there, of course, since it would be hidden by the clump of trees; instead, you would be in a new and different world, with the village and all the houses hidden from sight. The view of the lakes, toward the mill, the hills, mountains and countryside, is extraordinarily beautiful; I noticed it as we went past.’<sup>9</sup>

Thinking in terms of a comprehensive plan; the retention of some picturesque structures while opening the garden up to broad views of the countryside; partially hiding a village from view while integrating it into the overall scheme; understanding (if nevertheless disregarding) the high costs involved in executing such a grand project; reliance on Repton’s books for inspiration; the consciousness that the scenery revealed by

movement through the landscape is critical in large-scale park design, thus making the layout of roads and pathways of the essence—in these ways *Elective Affinities* is almost a treatise on landscape theory in the guise of a novel.

An actual treatise with which Goethe was undoubtedly familiar did exist at the time of the novel's publication: C. C. L. Hirschfeld's *Theory of Garden Art*.<sup>10</sup> Hirschfeld provides an entirely new perspective on the garden as a moral force in society. He makes the case, moreover, for landscape as an important—in his opinion *the* most important—branch of aesthetics. As Linda Parshall explains in the introduction to her translation of the *Theory of Garden Art*:

The broad attraction of the *Theory* was largely due to its mingling of genres: part musings on the joys of living close to nature, part philosophy of aesthetics, part historical survey, part travel book, part poetry anthology, part moral and political tract. It offered inspiration and encouragement to would-be garden designers, travelers, poets, to any and all who deemed themselves people of sensitivity and sensibility.<sup>11</sup>

Although, unlike Goethe, Hirschfeld never designed a garden, Parshall imagines one that, based on the *Theory*, he might have created:

What should strike us most in a Hirschfeldian garden is the omnipresence and loveliness of nature. Although we may recognize the contribution of art in a small monument or pavilion, on benches inscribed with poetry, or in the design of a rustic bridge, although we may notice less obvious additions such as an artificial ruin, a cascade, a pond, or a picturesquely planted group of trees, nature should prevail. Such a garden cannot be surveyed from any one vantage point, cannot be understood just by looking. It demands that we move through its scenes and interact with its beauties. Hirschfeld's garden is an inclusive one, variable, integrated with the landscape around it, and finally elusive of precise description.<sup>12</sup>

Hirschfeld is nationalistic in his attitude. A man of social conscience, he favors public access to landscape experience, advocating the creation of *Volksgärten*, or people's gardens. He believes that Germans, being lovers of nature, are possessed of strong moral character. Although Hirschfeld does not employ the fervent language that would characterize the true Romantics of the next generation, the Romantic notion of something never completely resolved and always becoming is inherent in his theory. His insistence on the dominance of nature itself as the main landscape motif, the subservience of picturesque features to a harmonious totality,

the necessity of moving through a landscape in order to regard its scenery in multiple perspectives, and the desirability of creating parks for the people anticipates such nineteenth-century parks as Central Park in New York City.

As we have remarked, Prince Herman von Pückler-Muskau was born in the years when the power of the aristocracy was in its twilight phase. Turning his back on public life after a period of serving in the military, he made cultural pursuits, travel, and the landscaping of the estate he inherited in 1810 his principal spheres of activity. Like Girardin before him, Pückler was a liberal aristocrat inspired by the writings of Rousseau. He sought to better the lives of his tenants and encouraged local industrial production with the development of his alum works and mining operations. He incorporated the existing town of Muskau in his landscape plans and made public access to his park a point of pride. He employed two hundred full-time gardeners and day laborers. The Muskau park, however, unlike Central Park, which would take shape only a few years later, was not the result of civic weal primarily. Rather, it was intended to be a monument to family honor and an example for other noble landowners in estate beautification and good stewardship.

Pückler was as lively a writer as he was engaging in person. He turned his acute observations and astute impressions during his travels abroad into several books, the most popular and influential of which was *Briefe eines Verstorbenen* (literally, “letters of a dead man”; translated as *Travels of a German Prince in Holland, England, and Ireland*), where he describes many great country estates as well as London’s parks. At the time he visited these places in 1828, he was already well advanced in his great project of making Muskau, his vast estate straddling the River Neisse a combination of park, pleasure garden, and model of sound agricultural practice and beautification. In scope, Pückler’s efforts were comparable to the transformation of the barren rock-studded land in the middle of Manhattan Island into Central Park. Boldly imaginative and unrestrained in his spending habits, Pückler had set about turning Muskau’s sandy flatlands into orchards, grain fields, and broad meadows for grazing. His forested hills were managed according to the best timber practices of the day. The property contained a village as well as mines and industrial works. All of this outlying landscape was included in the prince’s grand scheme, and views of it were intended as part of his comprehensive design.

In addition to the soil improvement and tree cutting and replanting he undertook for his agricultural lands and forests, Pückler rechanneled the Neisse in places in order to create a more desirable alignment of the river as he was building his park and pleasure garden. As was the case in the creation of Central Park, the artistically embellished part of his

grounds involved dredging lakes, creating new streams, moving massive amounts of earth—and a very large expenditure of funds.

The prince's identity as a distinguished landscape designer was already firmly established by 1834 when he published his most influential and enduring work *Andeutungen über Landschaftsgärtnerei* (*Hints on Landscape Gardening*). This magnificent volume of garden theory, illustrated with hand-colored engravings and fold-out "before-and-after" views of the Muskau park, was clearly modeled on Humphry Repton's beautiful books with their fold-out views.<sup>13</sup>

Unlike Girardin's purely painterly approach to landscape design, Pückler, like the Captain in *Elective Affinities* and also like Olmsted and Calvert Vaux in Central Park, developed a topographic plan that gave a much more explicit rendering of the entire property, including what can only be shown in plan, namely, its circulation system of roads and paths. Color diagrams illustrate good and bad ways of laying out paths with regard to the appearance of the landscape and the way that Pückler wished his visitors to move through it in order that its unfolding scenery would produce an orchestrated visual and emotional experience.

The *Andeutungen* would have been an extraordinary memorial to Pückler's work at Muskau had the park there ceased to exist, which fortunately is not the case. Though inspired by Repton's landscapes as well as by the contents and example of his expensively produced, lavishly illustrated books, Pückler's *Andeutungen* displays the prince's originality and independence of mind. In spite of the fact that Pückler called Repton "the hero of our art" and Capability Brown "the Shakespeare of gardening," his gardening principles were not mere echoes of those of these admired English landscape designers. They were German at the core and very much his own. The *Andeutungen* is, above all, imbued with the same nature-loving, nationalistic spirit as Hirschfeld's *Theory*.

Frederick Law Olmsted was aware of Pückler's park in Muskau at the time he advised his young associate Charles Eliot to visit it on his tour of Europe in 1883, and some have suggested that there may have been a direct influence of Pückler's work on the designers of Central Park. It is unlikely, however, that Olmsted and Calvert Vaux were familiar with the *Andeutungen* at the time they prepared their Greensward Plan. One way to account for some of the design similarities between Central Park and Pückler's creation Muskau is by the common inspiration these men drew not only from the landscapes of the great country estates and the newly redesigned royal parks in England with which they were familiar but also from nature and the ethos of Romanticism that pervaded the culture of their time.

Movement through and around varied kinds of naturalistic scenery—meadows, woodlands, lakes—is the common principal of their respective

designs. At the same time, both designs rely on sound engineering, particularly with regard to the construction of bridges, roads, and paths, the all-important means of circulation that revealed the scenery of each of the two parks as it was meant to be viewed: sequentially, with carefully contrasted types of landscape creating variety and surprise while remaining part of an integrated and comprehensible whole. Perhaps the most obvious and striking similarity is their mutual scenic ideal: the long meadow. Both Olmsted and Pückler used sweeping greenswards with indefinite borders as the most expressive element in their respective designs (Plates 2 and 3, page 182).

But however physically similar these lovely greenswards are, there is a basic difference in their underlying design intention and purpose. For Olmsted and Vaux, it was essential to create a sense of illimitable distance within a park that was surrounded by a city, and they employed considerable finesse to emphasize distance while screening boundaries. Ironically, what ultimately made Central Park truly Romantic was exactly what was *not* intended—the growth of the skyscraper city defining its edges in such a way as to create an impression that one can only characterize as the *urban sublime*. Whereas Olmsted and Vaux were presented with a rectangular piece of land within an engulfing metropolis, Pückler had a natural valley surrounded by agricultural countryside with which to work, and his objective was to dissolve apparent boundaries between his forested hillsides and the rural areas beyond by strategically opening up views in various places. While the Olmsted and Vaux parks are in fact inwardly oriented without seeming to be so, Muskau is an interiorly focused landscape that turns outward. Moreover, Pückler's long meadows, though similar in appearance to those of the American designers, are not meant to look as if they simply dissolve in the distance. If one stands on his castle terrace, it is apparent that they fan out through the pleasure ground and the park toward the Neisse and beyond, each to a particular terminus. These view lines, obscured for so many years due to management neglect and reforestation, are fortunately being cooperatively restored today by Muskau's respective German and Polish park administrations.

Central Park, by contrast, has but one axially aligned focal point: the Belvedere, Calvert Vaux's Victorian Gothic miniature castle atop Vista Rock, which was originally visible from the Mall, Central Park's principal promenade. Its other buildings are tucked as inconspicuously as possible into the landscape, and the rustic summerhouses crowning the park's beautiful rock outcrops of Manhattan schist are small scenic overlooks rather than eye-catching follies.

Finally, the basic premises upon which the parks were built were fundamentally different. In the case of Muskau, although the town was

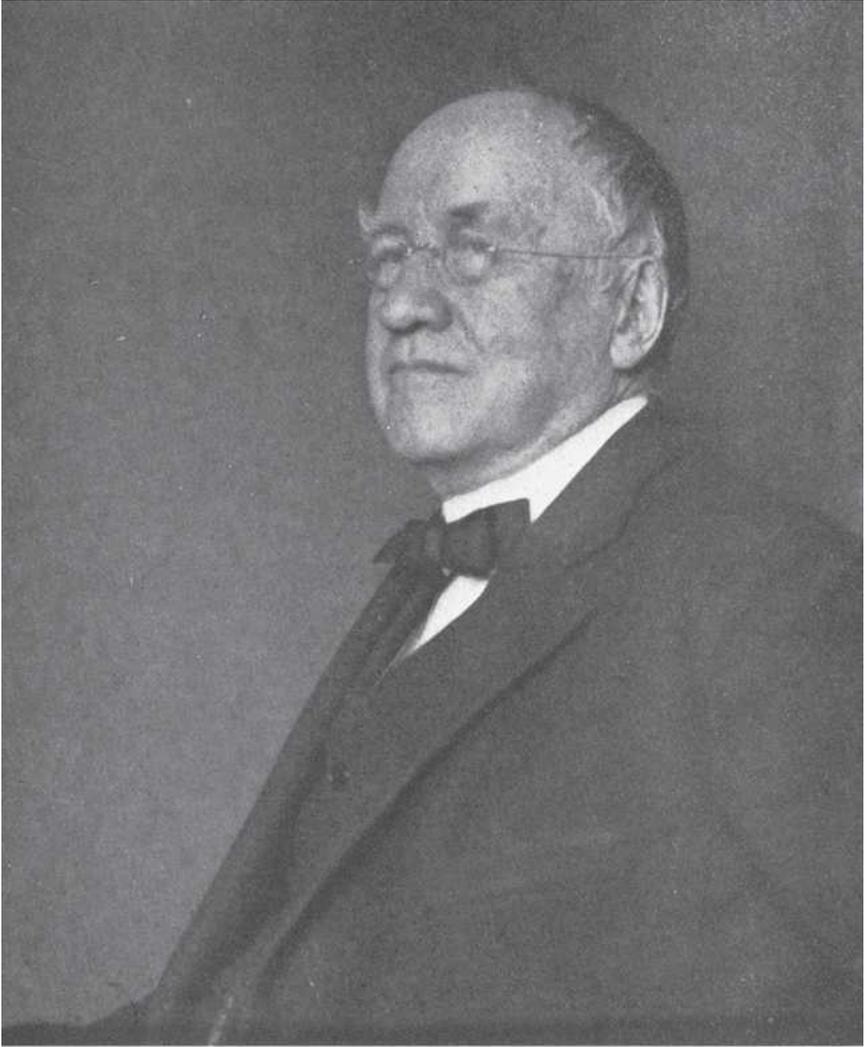
part and parcel of the park and Pückler was proud to employ as many as two hundred men and make it accessible to them and their families for outings, his was not what Central Park was intended to be, a democratic people's park. His motive was aristocratic family pride, and his work an act of noblesse oblige as well as the obsession of an artist to create. He well understood that the forces of democratic capitalism were at work, inalterably transforming the world into which he had been born. Muskau, then, can be read as a Romantic memorial to a vanished society.

We may conclude that, drawing inspiration from a common source and with many of the same landscape ideals, Pückler's park at Muskau and Central Park nevertheless remained independent creations and that it would be wrong to claim that the German park is ancestor to the American. What both have most in common is their debt to Romanticism. Their similarities rest upon their designers' profound belief in Nature as civilization's best nurse and as an expression of each nation's fundamental identity.

If Olmsted's work was along somewhat parallel lines as Pückler's but not directly influenced by it, it is another story with that of his successors. Interestingly, Pückler, not Olmsted, became for Samuel Parsons, Calvert Vaux's partner and successor as New York City Parks Department landscape architect, "the hero of our art" (Figure 2). Thanks to Parsons, who had visited Muskau in 1906, a translation of Pückler's *Andeutungen* into English was published in 1917.<sup>14</sup>

In his textbook *The Art of Landscape Architecture* published two years earlier, Parsons quotes large sections of the *Andeutungen*. It is clearly evident that he was looking over the translator's shoulder as he wrote. Not only does Parsons quote Pückler at length, more than a quarter of the forty-eight illustrations he included in the book are of Muskau. The others, mostly of Central Park and of country estates in the vicinity of New York City, are portrayed as examples of Pückler's design principles. Confirming his reliance on Pückler as his supreme authority, he makes his chapters parallel Pückler's exactly, often with the same titles and in the same order. His book, in effect, is not the product of original thought but rather a verbatim American version of the *Andeutungen*.

One can only speculate why Parsons holds up Pückler as his principal role model and makes practically no mention of Olmsted in a book intended to instruct American landscape architects. Perhaps this is so because of Parsons's close association with Calvert Vaux and the fact that both men felt slighted because of Olmsted's greater renown as Central Park's co-designer and of his later reputation as America's preeminent landscape architect. In this case, Parsons must have felt remarkably fortunate to have discovered in Germany an alternate role model who designed along the same lines as Olmsted. Parsons's textbook for landscape architects represents a last stand for the Romantic picturesque park. By



Samuel Parsons

Figure 2: Samuel Parsons. From Mabel Parsons, *Memories of Samuel Parsons* (1926).

the time Parsons wrote, architects and landscape architects had moved in an entirely new direction. American designers trained at the *École des Beaux-Arts* in Paris and at the American Academy in Rome were designing neo-classical and Italianate mansions and gardens. Even Frederick

Law Olmsted, Jr., who inherited his father's practice and became a founder of the American Society of Landscape Architecture, combined a neo-classical urban design vocabulary with a naturalistic landscape style in his practice.

But the legacy of Romanticism continues, and fortunately it is being preserved, as in Muskau. Romanticism itself, though not entirely dead today, has undergone a sea change. As scientific materialism gained force in the nineteenth century, the notion of nature as a manifestation of divine handiwork and source of religious comfort turned out to be only a way station on the path toward twentieth-century existentialism. Pückler and Olmsted were products of an age before Charles Darwin's *Origin of Species* (1859) forever altered human understanding of nature and man's estate. Darwin's pioneering insights and the subsequent discoveries of other scientists proved nature's workings to be those of an impersonal mechanism, however deeply felt their effect on us. Nevertheless, the Romantic park has endured and remained popular. Some contemporary landscape architects now employ Olmsted and Pückler's design principles in their work, and the revival of their reputations, combined with the ongoing restoration of their historic creations, have given their respective German and American visions of nature-based landscape design relevance once more. And under certain conditions of light and weather, they are indeed very Romantic.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *La Nouvelle Héloïse*, trans. Judith H. McDowell (University Park, 1968/1987), 304 ff.

<sup>2</sup> René Louis de Girardin, *An Essay on Landscape*, trans. D. Malthus (London, 1783; reprint, New York, 1982), 17.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 21–22.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 141–42.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 147.

<sup>7</sup> Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Elective Affinities*, trans. R. J. Hollindale (Harmondsworth, 1971), 46, 68–69.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 69.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 76–77.

<sup>10</sup> Linda B. Parshall's fine translation: Christian Cajus Lorenz Hirschfeld, *Theory of Garden Art* (Philadelphia, 2001).

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 5.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 9.

<sup>13</sup> Humphrey Repton, *Sketches and Hints on Landscape Gardening* (1794). *Observations on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening* (1803), and *Fragments on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening* (1816).

<sup>14</sup> (Boston, 1917).

# PÜCKLER'S MUSKAU PARK

## Cord Panning

*Stiftung Fürst-Pückler-Park Bad Muskau*

On May 1, 1815, Count Hermann Pückler-Muskau—he was made a prince seven years later—issued a proclamation to the citizens of Muskau. It was his plan, he informed his subjects, to “satisfy one of his favorite inclinations,” namely his desire to create a gigantic landscape garden. Pückler’s proclamation, which caused much consternation among the citizenry, can be taken as the starting point of his career as a theorist and practitioner of landscape garden design. Over the course of the next decades, a new chapter in the history of landscape gardening was written in Muskau.

Several different influences come together in Pückler’s landscape garden in Muskau. The most decisive were his journeys to England, the Romantic tendencies of the time, certain personal experiences, and the location’s natural characteristics. In Muskau Park, Pückler directly adapted gardening elements of the Regency-era gardens shaped by Humphry Repton. Pückler also in part followed the example of England’s first gentlemen, the prince regent who later became King George IV. The parks and buildings the future monarch had built, for example, in Windsor made a strong impression on Pückler. Another source of inspiration was the Regency architect John Nash, whom Pückler met in London. Among Nash’s innovations were his use of ornamental shrubs at the Royal Pavilion in Brighton, his designs for the shorelines of lakes (as for instance in Regent’s and St. James’s Parks), and the cottages in Blaise Hamlet near Bristol.

The pivotal moment of revelation for Pückler occurred when he saw the cultural landscape at Richmond Hill in the valley of the Thames (Plate 4, page 183). With its medley of mansions, parks, gardens, farms, and dwellings, Richmond Hill prompted Pückler to go beyond landscaping a medium-sized park and to attempt to represent an idealized social microcosm within the framework of the park’s design. Muskau Park owes its uniqueness not only to this unusual objective but also to the ingenious combination of the natural lay of the land with artificial garden and park elements. The Garden Prince’s natural-philosophical convictions were in harmony with his restrained designs that idealized nature.

The realization of Pückler’s ambitious vision for Muskau Park proceeded in fits and starts as a result of swings in both his mood and his finances. Many of the projects planned for the park were never carried

out. The central castle designed by Karl Friedrich Schinkel, for example, was not built (Color plate 5, page 183). Characteristically, Pückler's plans reached completion only in his mind. In his book *Andeutungen über Landschaftsgärtnerei* (Hints on Landscape Gardening, 1834), Pückler blended a general how-to-book on gardening with an idealized description of Muskau Park. Theory does not entirely match practice: the landscape park presented in the book as a perfect model deviated considerably from the actual park. After finishing this book, Pückler left Muskau for a six-year journey through the countries of the Mediterranean. On his return, he offended his divorced wife, the owner of the estate, not only by bringing back a young female African slave but also by his impatient and underhanded attempt to sell the Muskau estate. The sale finally took place in 1845.

The history of the preservation of Pückler's innovative park design began only a few years after the sale of the estate to Prince Frederic of the Netherlands in 1846. Eduard Petzold, a legendary gardener from Muskau whom Pückler had recommended, oversaw the development of the park from 1853 to 1878. Following Pückler's principles, he carried out the first the basic clearings of the woods as well as all other necessary work so that the park's original concept remained unchanged. During the second half of the nineteenth century, another important step in this direction was the replacement of wooden structures in the park, such as bridges and pavilions, with more solidly constructed structures. Prince Frederick provided the considerable sums necessary to complete and preserve Muskau Park.

Following the death of Prince Frederick, the Arnim family became the owners of the Muskau estate. The preservation and care of the renowned landscape park in the years from 1883 to 1945 are to be credited to the Arnims. It was during the Arnim family's ownership of Muskau that American landscape architects such as Charles Eliot, Samuel Parsons, and Thomas Sears visited Muskau (Figure 1).

I believe that they saw a stronger aesthetic and social harmony of town and park, citizens and aristocrats in Muskau than Pückler had originally intended. He encircled the town with his greenswards in order to create—through the strategic and cleverly restrained use of space—the greatest possible aesthetic effect, which was meant to legitimize his family's claim to natural dominance in the Neisse River valley. Arrogantly, Pückler had virtually erased the town from the park whenever it suited him. The American landscape architects who came to Muskau after Pückler's death apparently failed to recognize the actual intentions of the plan and saw in Muskau's early system of greenery a model for progressively planned recreational spaces in urban America. Pückler's *Andeu-*



Figure 1: Thomas Sears, photograph of Muskau castle. Courtesy of the Smithsonian Institution, Archives of American Gardens, Thomas Sears Collection.

*tungen*, published in English translation in 1917, also contributed to this misunderstanding. In the *Andeutungen*, Pückler presents himself as a property owner whose social standing dictated social involvement.

The Second World War was a twofold catastrophe for Muskau Park. First, the park was the scene of extensive fighting shortly before the end of the war. Much of the town and the park's structures were destroyed, and bullets and shrapnel caused long-term damage to many trees. Secondly, at the Yalta and Potsdam conferences the Allies set the Oder and Neisse Rivers as the future German-Polish border. Muskau Park was, consequently, divided in half. The Neisse, once a connective element in the park, became an almost unbridgeable division.

The situation of the eastern portion of Pückler's park in the period 1945–1989 can be summarized very concisely. Quite understandably in light of the immense problems of the postwar era and the state of German-Polish relations, no one in Poland gave any thought to preserving a little known cultural monument created by a German prince. The eastern portion of the park was assigned to the Department of Forestry. The historic spatial composition gradually disappeared as the result of increasing natural succession, which was accelerated by the

reforestation of open spaces. Whereas the park's old trees were respected with a certain professional awe, even if they were not cared for in particular, the two most important park structures on the Polish side, the English House and the Mausoleum, were torn down in the 1970s. The construction of border installations along the Neisse resulted in further alterations in the park's appearance. Aside from these isolated changes, however, Muskau Park remained largely untouched as it returned to the wild.

On the German side of the Neisse, the future of the park was very uncertain in 1945. The Muskau estate was appropriated by the socialist authorities immediately after the war. Preserving the country's aristocratic heritage was not high on the socialists' list of priorities, but the park's advocates eventually succeeded in persuading the authorities to follow the Soviet model and turn the park into a modern cultural heritage park. The park administration established in the 1950s as a part of Muskau's municipal government struggled to preserve the artistic outline of the western section of the park. In some areas, they succeeded surprisingly well given the difficult economic situation and the lack of personnel. They were not able, however, to restore or rebuild the structures damaged or destroyed during the war, with the exception of the so-called Old Castle.

During the 1970s, great effort was put into plans for the preservation of the German portion of the park. Those plans were, by today's standards, inadequate, and some of the measures carried out in the 1970s had to be rectified later on, in some cases already in the 1980s. In recent years, we have finally finished addressing the faulty decisions of the 1970s.

German-Polish cooperation on the restoration of Muskau Park began cautiously in 1988 with a meeting of preservationists from the two countries. This positive development received an unexpected boost from the political changes that transformed Central and Eastern Europe after 1989. Poland and united Germany have embarked on an unprecedented international collaboration to restore a cultural monument. Three phases in this collaboration can be discerned.

The first phase goes back to 1991–92. On October 30, 1991—Pückler's birthday—the re-erection of the Pückler Stone, a massive boulder Pückler had placed at the highest point in the park, was festively celebrated. Many trees had to be felled to restore the views of the hilltop, and the boulder itself, which had been moved for use elsewhere, had to be returned to the site Pückler had chosen for it. Since then, the Pückler Stone has stood as a symbol of German-Polish cooperation in Muskau Park. In the months following the dedication ceremony, German and Polish authorities established administrative structures for each half of the park. The Polish part was virtually wrestled away from the Forestry Department and turned over to the Ministry of Culture. The state of

Saxony took over responsibility for the German side from the local government.

The second phase began in 1998–99. After the initial energy behind the collaboration waned somewhat, new impetus came from several simultaneous developments toward the end of the 1990s. In 1998, German and Polish authorities applied to have Muskau Park named a UNESCO World Heritage site. The two sides also established an innovative cross-border program to create jobs in the park for young Poles and Germans.

The most important restoration projects in the years following 1998 were the re-creation of Pückler's system of roads and paths and the clearing of the vistas on the Polish side of Muskau Park (Plate 6, page 184). These projects have been indispensable for making it possible for us to understand and enjoy Pückler's aesthetic intentions. Only now, after years of effort to reverse decades of neglect, can we experience the close spatial interlocking of the two halves of the park along the Neisse River. The significance of the natural topography and thus the monumental gesture of Pückler's creation can be experienced again in its entirety.

On the German side, priority was given to landscaping the pleasure ground and the three flower gardens according to the zoning principle that Pückler had applied (Plate 7, page 185). At considerable expense, extensive renovations were carried out on a number of buildings, such as the Orangerie, and the New Castle was rebuilt.

Once the aesthetic connections between the two halves of the park became apparent again as a consequence of the Polish restoration measures, park officials set their hopes on rebuilding at least one of the two bridges across the Neisse that Pückler had designed. A decision was made in favor of the so-called double bridge, two bridges that connect across an island in the river. It is not possible here to recount the multitude of political and administrative hurdles we faced in trying to realize this project. It seems a miracle that the bridge was actually built across the former EU border. Construction began in 1999 and was completed in 2003, but the bridge first went into use on May 1, 2004, when Poland became a member state of the EU.

The third phase of the German-Polish collaboration in Muskau Park began in 2004, and it has seen successes that previously would not have been thought possible. In addition to the opening of the double bridge, the year 2004 also brought Muskau Park's designation as a UNESCO World Heritage site. A particularly fascinating aspect of the park's restoration is the way it has coincided with political developments since 1990. The cautious aesthetic interlocking that occurred in Muskau Park when the park's spaces reopened began during the early post-Cold War thaw. The gradual expansion of the vistas and the construction of the

bridge led to the reunification of the landscape garden at the time of the EU's eastward expansion. It is therefore legitimate to see the restoration of Muskau Park as a political act of monument preservation because, first, there are political connotations in vistas and bridges across the border and, secondly, the work in the park has contributed a great deal to understanding between Germans and Poles.

The decisive question for the future is whether we will be able to complement the aesthetic and spatial reunification of the park with the establishment of a single joint German-Polish administration to maintain it. Exciting work lies ahead in Bad Muskau.

# IDENTITY, KNOWLEDGE, LANDSCAPE: BIOGRAPHY AND SPACE IN PÜCKLER'S WORK

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Prince Hermann Ludwig Heinrich von Pückler-Muskau, the “inveterate traveler to all points and to nowhere,” as Heine dubbed him, was a complex figure who continues to be difficult to fathom. Labels such as landscape designer, successful author, and globe-trotter, or ladies’ man, *enfant terrible*, and melancholic eccentric capture only some facets of a personality that poses a challenge to researchers. To understand the twists and turns in his life and work, we must try to grasp the distinct details conveyed in the abundant source material and to understand them as the remains of a historically evolved totality. The present study attempts to do justice to this challenge. It rests on the assumption that the ensemble of expressions of Pückler’s life can be viewed as the manifestation of a continuity between action and meaning. This continuity was centered inwardly on a core of individual character traits, and at the same time it corresponded outwardly to the socioeconomic, political and cultural conditions of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The structure of this continuity can be described in cultural and sociological terms as a meshwork of dynamic interactions between personality, society, knowledge and inner artistic symbolism, in this case symbolism having to do primarily with landscape. From this perspective, Pückler comes into focus as an animated spatial designer whose identity as a “demiurge” and cultural innovator was conditioned and facilitated to a considerable degree by his social standing and the resources associated therewith. This same identity was also bound to an inspiring and validating network of mentors and supporters, a network that was constantly changing. Even towards the end of his life, Pückler’s universe of contacts and correspondents, as well as his range of reading, was marked by an acute sensitivity to his contemporaries. In communicating with his social and cultural peers, he opened himself up to a realm of ideas that touched on almost all areas of knowledge and that provided the intellectual framework for his view of the world and his own existence. This same realm of ideas served as a reference point for all his actions. And finally, he recognized a universal medium in the discipline of landscape gardening, a medium that allowed him to exemplify his knowledge, to give expression to his own being, to conceive of order and mastery in a spatial sense, and ultimately to realize his ideal of a sphere of life that unified beauty and utility.

Proceeding from this premise, it is the aim of this study to demonstrate the significance of Pückler's work as a landscape architect, to consider not just its art historical impact but also its meaning as spatial constructions with social implications<sup>1</sup> and as "symbol paintings" (Wolfgang Lipp) in which aesthetics, everyday activities, and utopian dreams are inseparably connected. Attention will be focused in particular on the parks Pückler created for himself in Muskau (1811–45) and Branitz (1846–71). The main features of a typologically articulated model of explanation will then be presented that elucidates the development of Pückler's concepts of identity and space. This model, in combination with the sociological types that Pückler embodied over the course of his life—benevolent ruler, man of letters, artist-prince, and man of the world—makes it possible to distinguish four configurations of landscape in his work: *Herrschaftsraum* (ruling space), *Textraum* (textual space), *Kunstraum* (artistic space), and *Transzendenzraum* (transcendental space). In the development of this work, his journeys to England and the Orient, each lasting several years, represented both caesuras and transitions. Localization, dislocation, and fiction are inseparably bound together and also complement each other in Pückler's life and work.<sup>2</sup> The different forms of his imagination, investigation, and appropriation of space are in this sense not only unconventional but should also always be understood as translations from one mode of his (spatial) existence into another. Before sketching the course of this spatially focused biography, I would first of all like to point out three themes that had a lasting effect on his decision to dedicate himself to landscape gardening on a sociocultural basis, and which in their problematic contradictions continued to influence this decision throughout his life.

## Imposing Order, Achieving Progress, Healing Stigmas

Taking an historic view of Pückler's life, one can register, depending on one's perspective, divergent aspects of a many-sided profile that nonetheless stemmed from a single personality. Society and culture opened a realm of possibilities that offered opportunities for individual development but at the same time constituted normative, limiting, and depriving influences. In this context, the relationship between personality, context, and gardening practice was mediated in a three-fold manner: socially with respect to (feudal) governance, order and tradition; culturally as a variation on the (bourgeois) theme of "progress through work"; and, in reaction to the experience of crisis resulting from this dual orientation, a symbolic technique to transform stigma into charisma.

Let us turn our attention first to the persistent conservative element in this triad. Viewed through the lens of class theory, Pückler appears as

an exemplary scion of the feudal aristocracy, which still possessed most of the land and power in Germany in his day. After the death of his father, Count Ludwig Karl Erdmann von Pückler, in 1811, he took possession from his mother Clementine (1770–1850), a member of the long-established family of Callenberg, of the principality of Muskau in the Saxon region of the Upper Lausitz. He thereby took control of more than 10,000 subjects and a territory that incorporated, along with the town of Muskau, 41 villages, 21 small farms, and 7 vassal manors. As the highest-ranking official, the prince of Muskau also served as the patron of churches and schools, supervised trade relations and the judiciary, bore responsibility for levying tariffs and customs, and was entitled to a seat and a vote in the local parliament. Although social reforms were being enacted in Prussia at the time, the majority of the population, mainly farmers, still had the status of hereditary subjects, which meant they were still bound to the land and not free to move at will. Regarding their property rights, they counted as *Lassiten*, meaning that they owned only a portion of their already paltry holdings and owed labor to their landlords. The conditions that reigned at this time were “almost like serfdom.”<sup>3</sup> Faced with these circumstances, even contemporary observers were moved to comment that “Saxony, compared with other states, is a full century behind the times.”<sup>4</sup> The young Count Pückler<sup>5</sup> was also constrained by these anachronisms. At the end of the Napoleonic wars, the Kingdom of Saxony was on the losing side and the Lower Lausitz and about two-thirds of the Upper Lausitz, including Muskau, fell to Prussia. Pückler came to a more sharply focused, restorative self-understanding at this time. With “a decisiveness seldom observed in his character, he fought for his outdated, circumscribed privileges” and seemed “in the state of his consciousness and the fields of his interest to become absorbed into the situation of the minor princes who once ruled in these parts.”<sup>6</sup> A decade after Prussia’s annexation of Muskau, Pückler commented bitterly: “When our dear God allowed me to become Prussian, he turned his face from me.”<sup>7</sup> Despite all his metamorphoses, the impetus towards traditional governance was still visible in all the later paradigms of identity he tried on; the phantom pain from his loss of status and from his diminished aristocratic standing due to the onslaught of social change at the time, remained and persisted.

Indeed, even Pückler’s attraction to the art of gardening was consistent with his conservative inclinations. From earliest times, a preoccupation with horticulture was part of the cultural milieu of feudal society’s leading class. The beautification of their residences with magnificent gardens and parks fulfilled a two-fold function. On the one hand, it clothed the aristocracy’s claim to power, and, on the other, it also satisfied the need, typical of those in their social standing, for luxury and entertain-

ment. Within the medium of constructed landscape, the exercise of power over man and nature, grounded in patriarchal conceptions of order, was aesthetically elevated. This practice was in no way limited to a single style in landscape architecture. On the contrary, thanks to its European network of connections, the nobility fostered an innovative transfer of culture, in the area of garden design. The English version of landscape gardening, which around 1800 was “all the rage,” was also appropriated on the continent despite the middle-class, democratic character ascribed to it. The vehement rejection of the formal Baroque garden, which through natural philosophic propaganda became a political phenomenon and a profession of liberal ideas, was on the continent not so much an expression of a social revolution as it was evidence of a cultural paradigm shift. Within the illusory freedom of the landscape, it was possible to reproduce the retrograde aristocratic concepts of order, hierarchy, and hegemony. Pückler is a prime example of the feudal fascination with the “naturalness” of space.

However, neither the ideal of an ethical lifestyle and the intention, based in feudal concepts of sovereignty, to shape the environment, nor the receptivity of the aristocracy to the fashions of European culture, can explain the vehemence with which Pückler held to his interest in landscape gardening—despite the various crises he experienced, his attempts to escape his troubles, and his amply documented restlessness. At this juncture, the second driving reason for his actions comes into play, one which demanded acquisition and change: Pückler’s aristocratic conservatism had its converse, or, more accurately stated, its antithesis, in the ethos of creative activity—in other words, in work.<sup>8</sup> His commitment to practical work experience was joined inseparably to the idea of perfectibility,<sup>9</sup> to the assumption that the individual human being is, like humankind generally, destined to attain perfection, and that the active advancement of individual abilities is the decisive precondition for this development towards perfection. Influenced by the late Enlightenment, Pietism, and philanthropy, the prince felt obliged not to “bury his talent,”<sup>10</sup> not to squander his gifts, and to use productively the wealth given to him. He used this same rationale again and again to justify his gardening art, and we find many references to it in his books and the unpublished writings he left behind after his death. Beyond the inner, moral responsibility he experienced, the concept of perfection through work represented for Pückler at the same time a transcendental, religious imperative, since he believed that the well-being of his soul and the quality of his life after death were manifestly bound to the social and cultural merit generated by his life on earth.

One of the earliest sources for this work ethic, which appears so distant from feudalism and so in line with Protestantism, may be found

in the socialization and exposure to culture that the 'crown prince' of Muskau experienced during a four-year stay in the boarding school of the Herrnhuter Brotherhood in the town of Uhyst. It was there, according to his own account, that he first cultivated his own small garden. There, too, he developed an almost exhibitionist inclination to expose his soul and exercise self-control, practices he documents in countless letters and diary entries. In later years, he discovered Joseph Emil Nürnberger's teaching of the heavenly "world gymnasium," a highly elaborated variation on the theme of perfectibility, about which I will have more to say later. Furthermore, it should not pass without mention that Pückler's ostentatious combination of (garden) work, altruism, self-enhancement, and progress in general corresponded to the thought and practice of the Freemasons. This conceptual kinship, which need not be viewed in any way as opposed to the spiritual needs of the prince, nourishes the conjecture, expressed occasionally in the secondary literature and supported by evidence from a number of sources, that Pückler may in fact have joined a Masonic lodge. Even though membership can neither be proven nor discounted, it can now be stated that for Pückler landscape gardening proved to be the surest way to follow the profound inner calling towards an activity that would lead to redemption and salvation, and would also be conducive to improving both one's self and the world. Given the context in which Pückler lived, there was a profound ambiguity in his affinity for landscape gardening: socially, it was an activity that expressed an aristocratic and extroverted attitude of dominance, but culturally, it embodied the middle-class, introverted call to work.

The inverse of this same double legitimization of his role as gardener concealed a two-fold potential for interference. First, his social status, guaranteed by heredity, as an almost autonomously ruling member of the nobility came under the influence of modern developments, such as liberalization, industrialization, and mobilization, and began quickly to evolve into an obsolescent model of an outmoded social type. Second, the new ideology of work and earned merit generated doubt and displeasure. Under the pressure of his self-imposed requirement to measure the fruits of his efforts in life and in art against the ideal of perfection, Pückler repeatedly experienced disappointment and failure. Furthermore, the diametrical opposition of these two value systems led unavoidably to a conflict of competing interests. The traditional aristocratic ruler and the productive bourgeois world-embellisher confronted each other in a kind of socioculturally induced split personality. It was no doubt this inner strife that challenged him again and again in renewed attempts to overcome the contradiction between the old order and new progressive trends through his work to create harmonizing designs in the landscape. The central theme of Pückler's life and work was accompanied by his own

very personal psychodrama, which had developed over several generations in his family's history. The inner chemistry of this psychodrama consisted of neglect, rejection, and homelessness, the details of which would far exceed the limits of this investigation. I will comment only briefly here on its consequences for his life's work. The prince once described himself as a "butterfly" flitting playfully from blossom to blossom.<sup>11</sup> The complementary counterpart to this image was the broken Pückler who embodied the "expiring feudal nobility" as "theory in the flesh"<sup>12</sup> and who was marked by a catastrophically unfolding process of socialization. This was the Pückler Bettina and Lars Clausen portrayed in their penetrating study of Leopold Schefer.<sup>13</sup> Since his childhood, the prince's peculiarly unstable, debilitated, and unresolved condition was like a vacuum, sucking a whole swarm of guilt feelings and fears of failure into his psyche. In his letters, he portrayed himself as notoriously inadequate, and in his countless narcissistic ruminations as unloved, immature, ungifted, insecure, unsuccessful, empty, insane, impulsive, sick, introverted, and, all in all, incapable of normal social interaction. Such self-descriptions might seem at first to be little more than playing at world-weariness, but they should be taken seriously. Although they appear to be quite conventional symptoms of despair, I believe they point to a lifelong, profound inner turbulence that provided the energy sustaining Pückler's creative fervor. While the prince exaggerated the problematic aspects of his being to the point of constructing a garish caricature, stereotyping himself as a melancholic,<sup>14</sup> a hypochondriac, a provocateur, an erotomane, or a hermit who had rejected the world, he found in the guise of the artist-demiurge who could transform the "desert" into an "oasis"<sup>15</sup> a possibility to rise up out of the ashes like a phoenix. Viewed from a sociological perspective, Pückler's propensity to extreme self-stigmatization transposed itself into charisma or self-embellishment. The stigma of a capricious loser in the game of modernity, someone doomed to downfall, was transformed into the charisma of a heroic, luminous figure leading into the future.<sup>16</sup> In the ideologically discredited reverberations of downfall, anomy, and chaos, Pückler established islands of peace and quiet. As a landscape gardener, he worked towards the betterment of himself, of humanity, and of the face of "mother earth."<sup>17</sup> His social decline and personal faults were artistically counterbalanced by his performance as "gardener,"<sup>18</sup> a role that evolved into that of a magician of the landscape, taking on heroic, even "saintly" traits in the process. Animated by the significance of his own mission, he identified himself with the great figures of world history: his list of idols ranged from Alexander the Great and Jesus, Martin Luther and Frederick the Great, to Napoleon to Mehemed Ali. It was inevitable that this process of self-determination by the "park fanatic,"<sup>19</sup> with its trajectory towards the

ingenious and superhuman, would be accompanied by new compulsions and awkwardness.

At this point, we can put forward a preliminary thesis: the art of landscape design, conceived as a special form of social action, became for Pückler an indispensable mode of being. Finding himself in the role of the gardener-creator, laden as it was with changing concepts of identity, he was able to bring together in a universal, life-affirming response his aristocratic instincts, which insisted on order and dominance, with a religiously based, flexibly middle-class work and advancement ethic. At the same time, he was able to include in this amalgam his urge to deliver himself from his social and individual stigmas. It was above all this ambiguity in his personality and his behavior, allowing him to rise above the bounds of class and culture, that qualified him as a “super emblem . . . of the epoch.”<sup>20</sup>

### Muskau Park: The Ruler and His Domain, 1811–1845

Every “beginning” is an arbitrary point of reference that neglects the ongoing recapitulation of experience. Nonetheless, a spatially focused biography of Pückler cannot do without marking a new start, a new opening, or, in other words, a beginning. For all intents and purposes, the story that concerns us here begins long before the birth of its main character. The Muskau synthesis of aristocracy, worldly intellectual culture, and landscape art had been initiated much earlier on his mother’s side of the family and carried through several generations of the Callenberg family. Contrary to the still widely circulated myth of his origins, according to which Pückler suddenly appeared on scene like a *deus ex machina* to transform the *tabula rasa* of his principality into a paradise, he by no means acted alone on a drab, raw landscape. His gardening efforts possibly began with an already existing park complex. His grandfather, Count Hermann von Callenberg (1744–1975), had begun in 1783 to create very spacious landscape designs on both sides of the Neisse River, and this project, dubbed the *Clementinengang* (Clementine’s corridor), anticipated the landscaped garden that later followed.<sup>21</sup>

Callenberg’s influence as a role model for Pückler was not limited, however, to aesthetic, artistic impulses. He in fact provided the paradigm for the role of the broadly educated, cosmopolitan sovereign, concerned with enlightenment, tolerance, perfectibility, and general welfare. Pückler himself repeatedly made reference to this ancestral aspect of his efforts: from the “oak of Hermann” in Muskau to “Hermann’s mount” in Branitz, the name called up not only his own person, but also that of the Germanic hero Armenius, better known as Hermann, who defeated the Romans in a decisive battle in the year 9 A.D. For Pückler, the name Hermann also

always evoked the memory of his honored grandfather. Before, however, he could engage in the challenge handed down by his ancestor and shoulder the inherited burden of ruling and being creatively bound to a specific place, he went through a phase of rambling travels. His youthful wanderings in the years from 1806 to 1810 took him through France and Switzerland and as far as Italy.<sup>22</sup> These travels were as a late variant of the *grande tour* as a declaration of individual freedom. Living freely and traveling abroad, the future ruler expanded his horizons and the artist-to-be exercised his powers of observation, his mental capacities, and his creative subjectivity.

Upon his return, Pückler cast himself as an enlightened sovereign of an organic social entity. He presented himself as a patriarchal ruler who expected to be obeyed and who in turn could be expected to support his subjects. He outlined his conception of his role most clearly in his address before the dignitaries of Muskau upon taking up his title. Shaped by the eighteenth-century spirit of the Callenberg family and influenced at the same time by contemporary feudal and princely romanticism, he attempted in the climate of the post-Napoleonic restoration to harmonize the traditional claims of a ruler with a controlled, authoritarian form of modernization. During this hopeful phase at the outset of Pückler's reign, the Muskau poet Leopold Schefer (1784–1862), Pückler's friend, deputy, and advisor, contributed important accents to his sovereign's reign.<sup>23</sup> In all likelihood, the decision to take again in hand the thread of local gardening culture, which had temporarily been severed, and to weave it together with the best English innovations into a gigantic park complex, transcending the boundaries of art and life, originated in the visionary alliance between the sovereign and his advisor. This assumption is supported not only by Schefer's personal remembrances, which appeared in 1849 in the Leipzig *Illustrierte Zeitung*.<sup>24</sup> Already in an 1811 poem of Schefer's that Pückler edited, we find self-perfection related programmatically to world improvement. Schefer writes, "On to beauty! You must perfect yourself!" and "On this meadow rich and fertile/ the art of mankind should build the realm of beauty."<sup>25</sup> Inspired by the impressions of an excursion through the parks of England undertaken together with Schefer in 1814, Pückler decided in May 1815 that the time for action had finally arrived: his princely seat having been destroyed during the wars and the surrounding region bled dry by the armies that passed back and forth across it, Pückler made his famous call for the construction of the Muskau Park. He signaled his determination by adding a current of threat to his description of the garden paradise he envisioned. Taking into consideration this initial constellation of the project, it can be understood not only as an artistic venture and display of princely ostentation but also as an exercise in identity-formation. And it provided a green framework

for the socially acceptable (self)-portrait of the “benevolent ruler” and active pursuer of self-improvement. Furthermore, the project represents a kind of late absolutist environmental and development policy that was to contribute not only to the socioeconomic improvement of the miniature empire but also the ethical education of its population. In this multilayered sense, Muskau Park can be spoken of as a space of rule (*Herrschaftsraum*).

This essay is not the appropriate venue to discuss the social significance of the individual structures spread over the 600 hectares of the park complex.<sup>26</sup> The following observations will, though, give some indication of this significance. It was not just aesthetic considerations that had bearing upon many important aspects of the park design, such as the overall relationship between castle, park and city of Muskau, as well as on countless details, such as the configuration of the paths and borders. These elements also gave expression to the underlying “micro-physics of power,” to borrow a term from Michel Foucault. Nevertheless, in relation to the identity and motivation of the ambitious “creator,” the dimensions, pace of development, and complexity of the Muskau “residential landscape”<sup>27</sup> speak a clear language. Given the alliance between the ruler of Muskau (and his financial power), enlightened-pietistic reform spirit, and Romantic artistry, there seemed to be no obstacle that could not be overcome. The “realm of the beautiful” was suddenly within reach. Heedless of potential losses, the creative will of the “iconoclast”<sup>28</sup> forged ahead. With youthful fervor he wanted to perfect the environment and to influence the consciousness of his fellow human beings so as to improve their lives and his own as well. Far from the metropolitan centers, hidden away in the Muskau heath, a garden-centered mode of living developed that departed from convention. Pückler and his wife Lucie, whose influence is still often underestimated, gathered a group of original thinkers along with Schefer. Contributing to the intellectual atmosphere of his “heteropia,” to borrow again from Foucault, were pantheist preacher Johann Gottfried Petrick; philosopher and Freemason Maximilian Karl Friedrich Wilhelm Grävell, who was well versed in questions of statesmanship, humankind, and immortality; and the previously mentioned Joseph Emil Nürnberger. The park superintendent Jacob Heinrich Rehder contributed horticultural expertise. Worldliness and provincial stubbornness converged in the brilliant garden project in Muskau.

The unbounded optimism of the early years was followed, however, by hubristic melancholy. The ideal order of the project of perfectibility collided with mundane economic constraints. Pückler’s inherited resources melted away quickly, and each new plan added to his debts. The charismatic oasis-creator had scarcely begun his work in the favorable climate of Saxon late absolutism, when he found himself again on the

sober ground of Prussian reformism. Under these circumstances, the art of landscape, which he had chosen as the ideal medium for individual and collective emancipation, increasingly became a burden. In the shadow of crisis and depression, the assurances of the “gardener” lost their glow. Only eight years after his gripping appeal of 1815, Pückler referred to his project in Muskau as a “chimera,” and, faced with crushing debts, he admitted to his wife that “sometimes I am overcome by cold shivers when I think about the future. What will become of this whole business! Sometimes I wish very ardently that I were dead. The only option left to me before my downfall is narcosis.”<sup>29</sup>

Although he would in fact reach a ripe old age, and the conclusion of the Muskau park project would not come for more than twenty years, the major chord of alienation and discouragement struck here in these early utterances continued to reverberate throughout his life, despite the many moments of joy he experienced. The repetitive reflexive relationship between creative enthusiasm and enervating melancholy characterized Pückler’s entire career as a landscape architect.

## Dislocation I: The “Dead Man” in England, 1826–1829

Having reached the limits of his role as “father of the people” as well as the limits of his *Herrschaftsraum*, Pückler set aside his hereditary obligations and ties to his homeland and decided once again to change his surroundings. In the early 1820s, he traveled to Berlin with ever greater frequency to partake of the freedom of city life. Then, in February 1826, after his pro forma divorce from Lucie, he began four years of travels on the pretext of finding a rich wife. The results of this undertaking—it could also be called an escape—were myriad. First, Pückler deepened his knowledge of landscape art. The impressions he gathered during his countless excursions provided the foundation of his own theory and practice of gardening. In addition to the technical knowledge he acquired, the prince was also influenced greatly by the style of the English Regency. As he moved among the upper reaches of society, he studied attentively the coalescence of politics, society, and conviviality, without, however, closing his eyes to the daily life of the “common people”. He also registered very perceptively not only the innovations in art, architecture, theater, and fashion, but also the newest advances in technology and in the media. He became acquainted with the dandy as a social type and adapted his own manners and self-presentation to this type. Nevertheless, he realized that elegance and luxury did not come out of thin air. Although he did not have the ability to conceptualize, let alone analyze, socioeconomic conditions, the *Augenmensch*<sup>30</sup> (visual man) Pückler intuited the dramatic changes the expansion of trade and industry was bring-

ing about. Pulled back and forth between fascination and horror, he experienced how man and nature were subjected to the profitability requirements of an increasingly mechanized society, and how they could be deformed and destroyed in the process. Encountering the refinement of Regency culture and the raw power of capitalism side-by-side was an unsettling experience that irreversibly undermined Pückler's old certainties. This experience provided a basis for new ideas and new patterns of perception, but also provoked hitherto unknown fears and social phobias in Pückler.

Travel also spurred Pückler to turn to writing as an "organ" for constructing a modernized self- and world-image. His letters to Lucie and the entries in his extensive *Erinnerungsalben*<sup>31</sup> (memory albums) constitute, when viewed from this perspective, not just the basis of the very popular published collection of his letters, the *Briefe eines Verstorbenen* (literally "letters of a dead man,"<sup>32</sup> 1830–32), but must also be understood as the beginning of a process of literary production that resulted in his *Andeutungen über Landschaftsgärtnerei* (*Hints on Landscape Gardening*) and *Tutti Frutti* (both 1834) as well as his new mode of confronting reality, structuring his environment and realizing his social identity as a prince. As a foreigner travelling abroad, he experienced a dislocation that took him from the traditional *Herrschaftsraum* of rule in Muskau to the *Textraum* (textual space) of the increasingly intellectualized man of letters.

### **The *Andeutungen*: The Man of Letters and Textual Space**

Pückler did not experience this transition in isolation. Behind the pseudonym of "the dead man" stood a network of colleagues and contacts. At the center of this network, Pückler, Lucie, and Schefer were joined by the Berlin diplomat and *homme de lettres* Karl August Varnhagen von Ense and his wife Rahel, the famed salon hostess. Although further research into the internal dynamics of this group is needed, there is reason to assume that its members helped in the selection and editing of Pückler's letters for publication and provided important advice and support to the novice author. It should be clearly emphasized that *Briefe eines Verstorbenen* do not give an authentic first-person account of the author's travels. Rather, it must be assumed that the raw material of Pückler's actual correspondence underwent a self-reflective, discursive process of literary transformation and supplementation. In the years between his journeys and the publication of the *Briefe eines Verstorbenen*, major changes had occurred in Europe. The July Revolution of 1830 had ushered in a period of political turmoil and change that would culminate in the revolutionary upheavals of 1848–49. The advocates of Saint-Simonism began in the early 1830s to publicize their reform ideas with missionary zeal. The most

important center in Germany for the exchange of Saint-Simonian ideas was without a doubt the Varnhagen circle in Berlin. The movement soon counted Pückler among its self-acknowledged members.

A number of Saint-Simonian ideas contributed to the reformulation of his social identity and his view of the world, notably, the conception of history as an alternating cycle of critical-negative and organic-positive epochs, the cult of love, the call for a renaissance of faith, and the anticipation of a new golden age that would emerge from the crisis of the present. The first evidence of this ideological affinity was a reference in the *Briefe eines Verstorbenen* to the founder of the movement, Claude-Henri Comte de Saint-Simon. This reference, dated December 2, 1827, was added later to the third part of the book. The fact that in this same passage of the printed text there is also a reference to the mysticism of Angelus Silesius, a figure Rahel Varnhagen admired, points to the spiritual and intellectual influence of both Varnhagens.

In 1832, the same year that the third part of the *Briefe eines Verstorbenen* was published, Pückler began working intensively on the book on the theory of gardening that he had started seven years earlier. Saint-Simonian ideas had an obvious influence on the internal architecture of the resultant book, *Andeutungen über Landschaftsgärtnerei*, and gave that architecture an additional level of meaning. The *Andeutungen* featured extensive discussion, gleaned from numerous sources, of garden art and its practical aspects along with visionary descriptions of an idealized Muskau park. The account of Muskau was presented within the framework of Saint-Simon's visions of a utopian society.<sup>33</sup> This reinterpretation of the meaning of gardening was historically conceived and apparently the guiding idea behind planning for the park in Muskau.<sup>34</sup> In the guise of a fictionalized family and class saga, the virtual garden realm of the *Andeutungen* was intertwined with an historical tale of advanced social development, industry, and general contentment. This tale concludes full of promise with the beautification of the landscape in and around the Muskau estate.

With his adoption of the Saint-Simonian world view, the prince undertook a radical modification of his own self-image. Pückler's account suggests that the "pace of rising industry and education," which precipitated the transformation of the "nobleman" from "someone focused only on enjoyment and opportunities to rob others" into "someone using industry to make acquisitions,"<sup>35</sup> culminated, with compelling necessity, in his emergence as gardener-creator. It was no longer a class privilege, a divine dictate, or an idea from the Enlightenment that validated the actions of the prince, but rather the logic of an objective historical process that mediated between order and movement. As an author working in textual space, he was able to reinvent himself as a proponent of progress.

His connection to the feudal aristocracy of the past was transformed into an avant-garde nobility of the progressive spirit that was called upon to lead a new movement on the long path towards the “merger of interests through universal civilization.”<sup>36</sup>

Pückler’s claim of wanting to unite in Muskau the legacy of the past with the accomplishments of the present to form a “well-ordered whole”<sup>37</sup> thus incorporated much more than the Romantic dream of a *Gesamtkunstwerk*, and it was also much more concrete than the socio-political fantasies of a nobleman who had been born too late. The desired unity, described in the text of the *Andeutungen* in suggestive word images by Pückler and ingeniously illustrated by August Wilhelm Schirmer, encompassed structures of princely rule, places of worship (including a chapel for burials!), the town, manufacturing facilities, and gardens. In a metaphorically condensed and at the same time animated form, this unity also embodied the Saint-Simonian ideal of an organic whole. Whether Pückler was aware that Saint-Simon’s original intention had been to transform all of France into a park landscape filled with art works, museums, and cultural monuments, we do not know. However, nothing could be clearer than the concluding passage of the *Andeutungen*, when the author, appearing here for the first and last time without a pseudonym, says, “only when each person works in his own realm tirelessly and fully towards accomplishing his own goals, and the thousand facets of this work are then combined easily and beautifully into *one* ring . . . only then could the lovely dream of the Saint-Simonians be realized: a universal beautification of our mother earth.”<sup>38</sup> This passage makes explicit the subtext running throughout the work as a whole: it will not be “new experiments with theoretical forms of government imported from abroad”<sup>39</sup> (meaning revolutions) but rather individual private initiatives, animated by love and a sense of art, that will change the world for the better.

What at first glance appears to be a handbook for landscape gardeners proves upon closer inspection to be a set of practical instructions for a Saint-Simonian reform project à la Pückler. But as he was preparing the *Andeutungen* for publication, the prince was well aware of how uncertain and how vulnerable the paradise he had anticipated in the space of the text actually was. In the first volume of his *Tutti Frutti*,<sup>40</sup> he ironized and counterbalanced the heroic optimism of the *Andeutungen* with a gloomy contrasting vision. The joyful utopia was followed by a grim warning. In this work, the vision of the future, again centered on Muskau, is bleak: the park has been subdivided, the trees cut down for fire wood, the Neiße River has been turned into a canal, and a textile factory has been installed in the castle. And the ashes of the prince’s descendants (unborn at the time of writing and never to be born) have been spread as fertilizer onto

the fields. With this Saint-Simonian portrayal of the negative aspects of the contemporary world, Pückler remains true to his melancholic inclinations but is also very clear-sighted about the potential for violence in the dawning era of modernity. Capitalism unleashed new productive energies, as he had seen during his travels in England, but with it came exploitation, war, and environmental destruction. This hellish prospect stood in stark opposition to the vision of beneficent unity and order presented in Saint-Simonian literature. Nevertheless, despite his doubts, Pückler did not give up hope completely. In the third volume of *Tutti Frutti*, he relativizes his pessimistic foreboding when he voices his conviction that the Saint-Simonian prophecy of human unity, spiritual and material, "must yet be fulfilled," its obvious flaws on points of detail notwithstanding.<sup>41</sup>

## Dislocation II: *Semilasso* in the Orient, 1834–1840

Following the reading suggested here, the *Andeutungen* can be understood as a blueprint for Pückler's further engagement in Muskau only to a limited degree. It reads much more like a farewell to the project in Muskau. The ideal described in the space of the text could no longer be secured in the three dimensions of reality. The sweeping gestures in the text and illustrations concealed the certainty of failure. Although work on the park intensified following Pückler's return from England, the gap between his dreams and what could feasibly be accomplished grew ever wider. The result was not a transformation in his theories about gardening toward greater practicality but rather another dislocation.

As Pückler's disappointment increased, so, too, did the radius of his field of escape. Old Europe, with its decaying social structures and thoughtless faith in progress, no longer offered sufficient scope for the cosmopolitan aristocrat's imagination. Very much in keeping with the times, he first thought of traveling to America. But although he made detailed plans for a tour of the New World and booked his transatlantic passage, he ended up redirecting his flight from Europe toward the Orient. For his reading public at home, Pückler transformed himself into "Semilasso," the weary one.

In early 1835, the prince crossed the Mediterranean from Toulon to Algiers; he would not see Muskau again until the late summer of 1840. The official reason for his change of plans was a duel. There was, however, a deeper reason for his choice of the Orient over America. In Letter 48 of the *Briefe*, he wrote of "old plans . . . a time to stroll beneath Africa's palm trees, and to observe the aging wonders of Egypt at last from the pinnacle of its pyramids."<sup>42</sup> Given Pückler's self-image and world view as expressed in the *Andeutungen* and the negative counterpart

presented in *Tutti Frutti*, the change in his travel plans is not surprising. Having failed in his efforts to create a culturally enriched “oasis,” “surrounded by forest, like an island by the sea,” in the “desert” at home,<sup>43</sup> Pückler transferred his passion for order to the deserts of North Africa and to the person of the Egyptian proconsul Mehemed Ali, whose sphere of direct influence he entered in 1837. With great vision and brutal decisiveness, this potentate had set about modernizing the native peasant culture of Egypt. Pückler, in sharp contrast to Europe’s political leaders, admired his host and saw him as a guarantor of prosperity, order, and security. Whereas European leaders looked to the Middle East for economic opportunities that might be exploited, the prince saw a promising alternative to Western decadence and the crisis besetting Europe.

Pückler was not alone in this view. In 1833 a delegation of Saint-Simonians led by Barthélemy-Prospér Enfantin landed in Alexandria to search for a feminine Messiah and to advance the modernization of Egypt through a variety of projects, including the construction of dams and canals (the construction of the Suez Canal was a belated product of this effort). For Pückler and the Saint Simonians, Egypt signified much more than the longings and clichés typically subsumed in the catchword Orientalism. In Mehemed Ali’s empire,<sup>44</sup> they saw an opportunity to create a completely new, model society. That this dream never materialized despite the reforms that were set in motion is well known. For many members of Enfantin’s delegation, the Egyptian adventure ended in sickness or even death. Pückler himself eventually fell out of favor with the viceroy, and in January 1838 he set out on his long return journey to Europe.

### **Branitz: The Space of Transcendence, 1845–1871**

Five years after his oriental intermezzo, Pückler found his project to transform his estate in Muskau on the verge of collapse. Neither his efforts at self-actualization in philosophy and literature nor his flights to other cultures could alter this situation. With the abolition of compulsory labor service for tenants, which had been delayed until 1844, one of the last supports of the feudal order was removed, and the prince made haste to divest himself of his deeply indebted holdings. In March 1845, the sale of the Muskau estate was completed. A handsome sum remained even after the various expenses associated with the sale had been paid, providing the 60-year-old Pückler with the means to make a new start. His first response—his reflexive response to crisis—was to embark anew on a phase of restless activity that took him from Thuringia and Brandenburg to Switzerland and Italy.

When this spell of restlessness passed, Pückler found himself once again tied to a specific location. By 1847 at the latest, it had become clear

that he would once again take on the role of gardener and cultural benefactor, this time on his patrimonial estate in Branitz. The metaphor of the "oasis" that he had used extensively in the *Andeutungen*, now enriched by his experiences in the Middle East, became the definitive leitmotif of his landscape design efforts. Pückler's aristocratic desire for order and his continuing fixation on perfecting himself and the world through (garden) work now found expression in his determination "to create oases in the sands of the desert."<sup>45</sup> Earlier, his energies had been exercised upon the "wasteland" of Muskau and its residents, who were "not exactly on the highest cultural level."<sup>46</sup> Now Pückler faced the challenge posed by the "miserable Cottbus region, and the even more miserable race of people who inhabit it."<sup>47</sup>

Suppressing the reality principle, Pückler energetically tried to create a sensually beguiling microcosm of the Orient filled with decorative treasures and amusing surprises. Donning fez and kaftan, he would often astound visitors. The prince, newly returned from foreign lands, was soon regarded as a miracle worker, sporadic resistance to his project notwithstanding. "You make a paradise out of a barren desert," his local admirers declared,

You conjure an Eden  
In our barren land,  
Oasis in the desert,  
With your skilled, creative hand.<sup>48</sup>

Although the Branitz complex radiated outward into the surrounding territory on the pattern of the *ferme ornée* (ornamented farm), it conveyed the impression within of offering a refuge from the world. This tendency in the design towards encapsulation and enclosure did not occur by accident. The political confusion and upheavals in the period leading up to the 1848 revolutions left Pückler with the feeling that order was giving way to chaos. The present seemed to him to be dominated by a "morbid urge towards anything new,"<sup>49</sup> godlessness, egoism, and industry. Nothing was certain any longer.

If this view of circumstances had been shaped in large part by Pückler's reading, literature also offered him the means of grappling with the crisis. In the spring of 1847, he read the book *Still-Leben oder Über die Unsterblichkeit der Seele*<sup>50</sup> by Joseph Emil Nürnberger, and the experience was like a revelation in his search for knowledge and consolation. Nürnberger's astronomical-astrological fantasy and his powers of spiritual speculation offered the seeker a two-fold treasure: the prospect of an afterlife in the depths of the universe and guidance towards attaining happiness on earth. The former was based on the notion of a "world gymnasium," in which human beings are schooled and move progres-

sively upwards from one class level to the next, while at the same time migrating from planet to planet and from one solar system to another. As preparation for this intergalactic curriculum, Nürnberger advocated a withdrawn, well-ordered "still-life" dedicated to contemplation and communion with nature that avoided fleeting sensations and distractions. The book held up the cultivation of beautiful park landscapes as a particularly suitable form of self-perfection, and as such it offered Pückler both a justification of his activities thus far and a reason to cosmically modify his identity as gardener. Obviously stimulated by the hope of being able some day to continue his gardening work in the miraculous parks of distant planets, he set to work in Branitz to organize own personal "still-life" and give it expression in his garden design as a preliminary stage of a higher form of existence. He used the term "still-life" repeatedly in this context. The symbol of a star or the sun, which appeared in many different variations in the park in Branitz, expressed this cosmic desire in highly visible yet enigmatic fashion.

On a more mundane level, the layout of the gardens at Brantiz was influenced by both English gardens and the model of the Mediterranean villa. From early on, Pückler had turned to travel as a remedy for melancholy. His 1846 trip to Italy strengthened the alluring image of the carefree life of the warm south. Since his plans to move had miscarried, Pückler was all the more inclined to follow the trend in German art and architecture at the time and try to recreate the *dolce vita* at his "old northern nest."<sup>51</sup> Many details in the gardens adjoining the main house—the "Italian wall," for example, and the decorative sculptures in the classical style—attest to this influence. Relieved of the burdens of rule, Pückler could give free play to his artistic inclinations in his treatment of space. This artistry was by no means an expression of a belabored, ironic, backwards-looking Romanticism, as has been occasionally insinuated. Rather, Pückler's late work, which could be viewed as a precursor of a modern "land art," incorporated lyrical, natural, and abstract elements and provided for both entertainment and social intervention. From this perspective, the oasis in Branitz was indeed a "park of progress,"<sup>52</sup> and the creative practice of the "artist-prince" who presided over this realm was very much of its time, or even ahead of it.

Towards the end of the 1850s, Pückler's efforts as a "tamer of the earth," as Rahel Varnhagen once dubbed him, increasingly incorporated transcendental elements with an other-worldly orientation. The subliminally resonating notion of transience and questions about the ultimate purpose of life moved to the foreground of his artistic endeavors. This change was certainly linked in part to the prince's advancing age. Increasingly lonely and plagued by a variety of physical afflictions, he was confronted inexorably with his own mortality and the limitations of

the possible actions left to him on earth. In concert with this awareness, a significant revision of his self-image and world view had taken place. Once again, this change in outlook had literary roots. Pückler became an adherent of the pessimism of his new *Leibphilosoph* (personal philosopher), Arthur Schopenhauer.<sup>53</sup> The idea of progress, long dominant in Pückler's thinking, gave way to the "indifference of eternity."<sup>54</sup> The ideal of individual and collective perfectibility was now opposed by "non-being,"<sup>55</sup> which would release one from all compulsions, sorrows, and fears. From the bleak perspective of life Schopenhauer put forward, old age, loneliness, and even death no longer appeared catastrophic but rather desirable. Art, as a means of overcoming oneself and attaining untarnished awareness, also acquired a new relevance. Pückler was now able to justify the "only pure pleasure" of "being creative in nature" as something that was "completely objective" and "without any personal interest."<sup>56</sup> Doubts, however, persisted and were in fact intensified by others, above all by Ludmilla Assing (1821–1880), the combative niece of the Varnhagens who tried to win Pückler back for the defenders of progress.

Although the aging artist-prince assumed more and more the attitude of the wise man, he was never able to resolve the tensions inherent in his ideas. Pückler's struggle for metaphysical certainty and spiritual assurance produced an intense note in his design activity at Branitz. With the creation of the pyramid ensemble, consisting of the tumulus (1856), the land pyramid (1862), and Hermann's Mount (1868), and several accompanying structures, the artistic space of the park was expanded to the west, following the path of the sun, to produce a space of transcendence. This aspect was in turn bound into a rather spectacular plan of utilization, including a burial site, a race track, and prominent vantage points. The whole complex was extremely rich in iconographic, historical, and biographical points of reference, and it is clear that Pückler sought to go beyond traditional uses of the pyramid in garden design as well as its associations with memorializing the dead.<sup>57</sup> Its essence is not exhausted in the keeping, mourning, and remembering of a single destiny, but is directed rather with charismatic force toward the mystery of life itself. According to the "wise man of Branitz," everything having to do with birth and death, with growth and decline, can be condensed into a celestial unity within the "spirit of the universe," in which the individual's existence is both negated and affirmed, like a "wave in the ocean."<sup>58</sup>

In line with the speculative uncertainty of this idea, Pückler left himself several options regarding the symbolic and ritualistic aspects of his undertaking. Thus, the burial of his chemically decomposed remains in the earthen tumulus was linked to Schopenhauer's interpretation of death

as a liberating “melting away into nothingness”<sup>59</sup> (while at the same time “maintaining the lineage”). By contrast, the land pyramid, which originally had twelve levels, can certainly be understood as a manifestation of an afterlife pointing towards perfection, as Grävell and Nürnberger, for example, had anticipated. Grävell had developed the concept that the process of individual improvement would lead step by step to the unification of all human beings in an identical spiritual presence. Furthermore, the inscription on the star-shaped decorative lattice-work at the top of the pyramid presupposes a continuity that prevails over death. Its inscription “Graves are the mountaintops of a distant new world” extends the breadth of meaning of this earthly construction, referring directly to its *Genius loci*, into the transcendental, utopian realm (Plate 10, page 188). The tomb, erected on a slightly raised embankment in the park, does in fact appear like a “mountain top” and thus takes on the significance of a collective sign of hope. Accordingly, as vague as this prophecy may seem, it is by no means limited to the promise of a personal afterlife, but rather it announces a new world, which, in the form of the expanse of pyramids in the Branitz park, seems already to extend into the present. The end, so the monumental icon augurs, is a beginning; the impulse of a life that fulfills itself will continue to have an effect in realms of the future.

Translated by Richard W. Pettit

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> See Ulf Jacob, “‘Es soll gut auf der Erde werden,’ oder Die Gartenwelten des Hermann Fürst von Pückler-Muskau als soziale Raumstrukturen,” *Kulturosoziologie* 7, no. 2 (1998): 55–79.

<sup>2</sup> For an overview of Pückler’s landscape gardening projects, see: Stiftung Fürst-Pückler-Park Bad Muskau, *Fürst Pückler. Parkomanie in Muskau und Branitz. Ein Führer durch seine Anlagen in Sachsen, Brandenburg und Thüringen* (Hamburg, 2006). Ludmilla Assing wrote the classic biography of Pückler: *Fürst Hermann von Pückler-Muskau. Eine Biographie*, 2 vols. (Hamburg and Berlin, 1873–74).

<sup>3</sup> Lars Clausen, “Fürst Pückler auf dem Höhepunkt der Krise. Eine soziobiographische Erhellung des Landschaftskünstlers,” in Joachim Matthes, ed., *Lebenswelt und soziale Probleme. Verhandlungen des 20. Deutschen Soziologentages zu Bremen 1980* (Frankfurt/Main, 1980), 385.

<sup>4</sup> Maximilian Karl Friedrich Wilhelm Grävell, *Sachsens Wiedergeburt. Ein Sendschreiben an Se. Majestät König Friedrich August* (Mainz, 1814), 33.

<sup>5</sup> Pückler did not receive the title of prince until 1822.

<sup>6</sup> Hermann Graf von Arnim and Willi A. Boelcke, *Muskau. Standesherrschaft zwischen Spree und Neiße* (Frankfurt/Main, 1979), 178.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 155.

<sup>8</sup> “And the life of man is work,” Pückler announced already in 1811. See Bettina Clausen and Lars Clausen, *Zu allem fähig. Versuch einer Sozio-Biographie zum Verständnis des Dichters Leopold Schefer*, 2 vols. (Frankfurt/Main, 1985), vol. 1, 393.

<sup>9</sup> See, for example, Hermann Fürst von Pückler-Muskau, *Briefe eines Verstorbenen. Ein fragmentarisches Tagebuch aus Deutschland, Holland, England, Wales, Irland und Frankreich, geschrieben in den Jahren 1826 bis 1829*, ed. Günter J. Vaupel, (Frankfurt/Main, 1991), vol. 2, 108.

<sup>10</sup> This phrase, used frequently by Pückler, is from the gospels of Mathew and Luke. It occurs in any number of literary works, as, for example, in Schiller's play *Die Räuber*.

<sup>11</sup> Letter to the Countess Ida Hahn-Hahn, February 13, 1845, in Hermann Fürst von Pückler-Muskau, *Briefwechsel und Tagebücher des Fürsten Hermann von Pückler-Muskau*, 9 vols., ed. Ludmilla Assing(-Grimelli) (Hamburg and Berlin, 1873–76; Reprint: Bern, 1971), vol. 1, 270.

<sup>12</sup> Clausen and Clausen, *Zu allem fähig*, vol. 1, 93. See Clausen, "Fürst Pückler auf dem Höhepunkt der Krise."

<sup>13</sup> Clausen and Clausen, *Zu allem fähig*.

<sup>14</sup> On the relationship between melancholy, order, and the art of gardening, see Ulf Jacob, "'Ich möchte manchmal ganz sehlich, ich wäre todt'. Andeutungen über das Melancholische in Hermann Fürst von Pückler-Muskau's Persönlichkeit und künstlerischem Werk," in Stiftung Fürst Pückler-Museum Park und Schloss Branitz, ed., *Pückler, Pyramiden, Panorama. Neue Beiträge zur Pücklerforschung* (Cottbus, 1999), 110–28.

<sup>15</sup> See, e.g., Ulf Jacob, "Oasendämmerung. Lausitzer Variationen einer (landes-) kulturellen Ordnungsmetapher," *Kritische Berichte* 31, no. 4 (2003): 20–37. See also Ulf Jacob and Ute Jochinke, *Oasen der Moderne. Stadt- und Landschaftsgestaltungen im Lausitzer Revier* (Husum, 2004).

<sup>16</sup> On the social dynamic of stigmatization, self-stigmatization, and the process of generating charisma, see Wolfgang Lipp, *Stigma und Charisma. Über soziales Grenzverhalten* (Berlin, 1985).

<sup>17</sup> Hermann Fürst von Pückler-Muskau, *Andeutungen über Landschaftsgärtnerei, verbunden mit der praktischen Beschreibung ihrer Anwendung in Muskau*, ed. Günter J. Vaupel, (Frankfurt/Main, 1988), 299.

<sup>18</sup> See Mohammed Rassem, "Das Gärtner-Gleichnis. Similitudo ab agricultura," in Mohammed Rassem, *Stiftung und Leistung. Essays zur Kultursoziologie* (Mittenwald, 1979), 11–27. See also Hans Peter Thurn, "Gärtner und Totengräber. Zur Paradigmatik der Kultursoziologie," *Kölnener Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie* 37 (1985): 60–74.

<sup>19</sup> Pückler-Muskau, *Briefe eines Verstorbenen*, vol. 2, 334.

<sup>20</sup> Clausen and Clausen, *Zu allem fähig*, vol. 1, 93.

<sup>21</sup> See Günter J. Vaupel, "Zur Geschichte von Muskau unter den Grafen Callenberg," in Hermann Graf von Pückler-Muskau, *Entre chien et loup. Briefe und Biographie 1785–1808*, ed. Günter J. Vaupel (Dresden, 2005), 38ff.

<sup>22</sup> See Pückler-Muskau, *Briefwechsel*, vol. 2. See also Hermann Fürst von Pückler-Muskau, *Jugend-Wanderungen. Aus meinen Tagebüchern. Vom Verfasser der Briefe eines Verstorbenen* (Stuttgart, 1835).

<sup>23</sup> On the relationship between Pückler and Schefer, see Clausen and Clausen, *Zu allem fähig*; and Lars Clausen, "Fürst Pückler auf dem Höhepunkt der Krise."

<sup>24</sup> Leopold Schefer, "Der Park von Muskau. Eine Skizze," *Illustrierte Zeitung*, August 11, 1849, 87–90; August 18, 1849, 107–09.

<sup>25</sup> These verses are from the poem "Die Weihe": Leopold Schefer, *Gedichte*, ed. Hermann Graf von Pückler-Muskau (Berlin, 1811), 95ff.

<sup>26</sup> On this question, see Jacob, "Es soll gut auf der Erde werden," 59–65.

<sup>27</sup> Von Arnim and Boelcke, *Muskau*, 306.

- <sup>28</sup> Schefer, "Der Park von Muskau," 88.
- <sup>29</sup> Letter to his wife, Lucie, December 21, 1823, in: Pückler-Muskau, *Briefwechsel*, vol. 5, 435.
- <sup>30</sup> The prince describes himself with this term in a letter to Karl August Varnhagen von Ense, December 28, 1846, in Pückler-Muskau, *Briefwechsel*, vol. 3, 411.
- <sup>31</sup> See Beate Schneider, "Die 'Erinnerungsbilder' von Hermann Fürst von Pückler-Muskau" in *Englandsouvenirs: Fürst Pücklers Reise 1826–1829*, ed. Stiftung Fürst-Pückler-Park Bad Muskau (Zittau, 2005), 148–200.
- <sup>32</sup> The *Briefe* were translated by Sarah Austin and published under the titles *Tour in England, Ireland, and France in the Years 1828 & 1829*, vols. 1 & 2, and *Tour in Germany, Holland and England in the years 1826, 1827, & 1828, In a series of letters by a German Prince*, vols. 3 & 4 (London, 1832).
- <sup>33</sup> See also Jacob, "Es soll gut auf der Erde werden," 65–72.
- <sup>34</sup> Pückler-Muskau, *Andeutungen über Landschaftsgärtnerei*, 166.
- <sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 175.
- <sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 176.
- <sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 299.
- <sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>40</sup> Hermann Fürst von Pückler-Muskau, *Tutti Frutti. Aus den Papieren eines Verstorbenen*, 5 vols. (Stuttgart, 1834).
- <sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 3, 102.
- <sup>42</sup> Pückler-Muskau, *Briefe eines Verstorbenen*, vol. 2, 626.
- <sup>43</sup> Pückler-Muskau, *Andeutungen über Landschaftsgärtnerei*, 156.
- <sup>44</sup> See Hermann Fürst von Pückler-Muskau, *Aus Mehemed Alis Reich. Ägypten und der Sudan um 1840* (Zürich, 1985).
- <sup>45</sup> Diary entry, April 15, 1847, Pückler-Muskau, *Briefwechsel*, vol. 9, 250.
- <sup>46</sup> Pückler-Muskau, *Andeutungen über Landschaftsgärtnerei*, 158.
- <sup>47</sup> Diary entry, December 1847, Pückler-Muskau, *Briefwechsel*, vol. 9, 259.
- <sup>48</sup> Pückler Archives, Branitz, reproductions from the holdings of the Varnhagen collection in the Bibliotheka Jagiellonska, Cracow, Poland, Signature F-Ak/001/K.-Nr. 149/Nr. 1, sheet 162 ff. and and 178.
- <sup>49</sup> Diary entry, June 7, 1845, Pückler-Muskau, *Briefwechsel*, vol. 9, 158 ff.
- <sup>50</sup> Joseph Emil Nürnberger, *Still-Leben oder Über die Unsterblichkeit der Seele. Briefe an eine Freundin* (Kempten, 1839). A second expanded edition followed in 1842. The possibility can not be ruled out that Nürnberger also made hidden reference to Pückler and his Muskau garden domain.
- <sup>51</sup> Letter to Ludmilla Assing, May 9, 1867, Pückler-Muskau, *Briefwechsel*, vol. 4, 134.
- <sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, 134.
- <sup>53</sup> Letter to Ludmilla Assing from November 18, 1866, Pückler-Muskau, *Briefwechsel*, vol. 4, 132. On Pückler's discovery of Schopenhauer, see Ulf Jacob, "Fortschritt oder 'Einerlei der Ewigkeit'. Beobachtungen zur Schopenhauer-Rezeption des Fürsten Hermann von Pückler-Muskau," in Stephan Beetz et al., eds., *Soziologie über die Grenzen. Europäische Perspektiven* (Hamburg, 2003), 357–89.
- <sup>54</sup> Letter to Ludmilla Assing, June 5, 1864, Pückler-Muskau, *Briefwechsel*, vol. 4, 100.
- <sup>55</sup> Letter to Ludmilla Assing, April 21, 1860, Pückler-Muskau, *Briefwechsel* vol. 4, 56.

<sup>56</sup> Diary entry, June 1862, Pückler-Muskau, *Briefwechsel*, vol. 9, 337.

<sup>57</sup> On the pyramid theme, see Stiftung Fürst-Pückler-Museum Park Branitz, *Pückler, Pyramiden, Panorama*.

<sup>58</sup> Letter to Ada von Treskow, September 13, 1866, in *Geliebter Pascha! Feurigste Gnomini! Hermann Fürst von Pückler und Ada von Treskow in ihren Liebesbriefen*, ed. Gabriele Seits (Zürich, 1986), 251.

<sup>59</sup> Arthur Schopenhauer, *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung*, vol. 1, ed. Ludger Lütkehaus (Zürich, 1999), 527.

# PÜCKLER'S SIGNIFICANCE FOR LANDSCAPE ARCHITECTURE IN AMERICA

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Several years ago, on the occasion of the opening of an exhibition of photographs of Pückler's parks by Udo Lauer, I spoke on the subject of Pückler in America. Many in the audience no doubt thought my choice of topic odd. Given Muskau's remote location, what might Pückler and America have to do with one another? The audience members were by and large unaware of Pückler's influence on the other side of the Atlantic. "Pückler and America" is a wide field which can be approached from many promising directions. I will plough just one furrow of this field and will try to give an idea of Pückler's significance for landscape architecture in America.

Before turning to "Pückler and America," it might be useful to consider "America and Pückler" briefly. Pückler looked for examples for his park design and for money everywhere. Perhaps in hope of finding both, he planned to visit the United States. In 1834, he described his plans in a letter to his publisher, Louis Hallberger, and anticipated that he would send "many truly interesting reports from America."<sup>1</sup> Perhaps Pückler was interested in trying to learn something about money-making from German immigrant Johann Jakob Astor, who was by then the richest man in the United States.<sup>2</sup> Had he eventually visited Astor, he might also have met Jacob Ehlers, a German who, after emigrating to the U.S. in 1841, worked on the landscaping of the estates of several members of the Astor family.<sup>3</sup> While in New York and the Hudson Valley, Pückler might perhaps have visited the English-born painter Thomas Cole, who stands along with Asher B. Durand as the founder of the Hudson River school of landscape painting.<sup>4</sup> It has been suggested that the very popular "Hudson River Portfolio" (1820) of landscape prints by William Guy Wall, an Irish-born member of the Hudson River school, might have been an influence on Pückler's arrangement of the waterfalls at Muskau.<sup>5</sup> Although that argument has not stood up under closer scrutiny, it is still likely that the Hudson Valley and the Catskill Mountains would have been on Pückler's itinerary.<sup>6</sup> Had Pückler postponed his visit to the U.S. by a decade, his trip up the Hudson might have included a stop in Newburgh to visit Andrew Jackson Downing, who published his *Treatise on Landscape Gardening, Adapted to North America*, the founding text of American landscape architecture, in 1841.<sup>7</sup>

Downing's *Treatise* appeared during what I would call the "pre-professional phase" of Pückler's influence in the U.S. In all, I would argue, the history of Pückler's impact in America can be divided into five phases. The pre-professional phase was followed by an "encyclopedic phase," an "enthusiastic phase," a "professional phase" of the early twentieth century, and, finally, a "phase of subdued professional interest."

## The Pre-Professional Phase

As the first school of landscape architecture in the United States was established only in the early twentieth century, it would make little sense to speak of Pückler's professional influence in the country during the nineteenth century.<sup>8</sup> This is why I call the first phase the pre-professional phase. Certainly, interested Americans might have read about Pückler's park-related ambitions in his *Andeutungen über Landschaftsgärtnerei (Hints on Landscape Gardening)*, copies of which may have crossed the Atlantic after its publication in 1834. Francis (Franz) Lieber included an entry on Pückler in the 1836 edition of his *Encyclopaedia Americana*.<sup>9</sup> The article made passing mention of the park at Muskau. In 1855, a New York publisher brought out an edition of the correspondence of the well-known English beauty and writer Marguerite, Countess of Blessington. In one of the letters reprinted there, "the prince" is described as "not only gossiping, but impertinent, affected, false, and not acquainted with the manners of good or bad society in England."<sup>10</sup> This brief characterization may not have affected his reputation as a landscape architect in America, but nor did it do anything to help his chances of finding a rich wife willing to subsidize his plans for the park at Muskau. One year after the appearance of the countess' correspondence in the U.S., Downing's *Rural Essays* was published posthumously. Downing mentions "that excellent judge of such matters, Prince Puckler-Muskau" in connection with a description of the Duke of Devonshire's magnificent park at Chatsworth, which Pückler himself had visited during his travels.<sup>11</sup> Downing had a high opinion of German parks, especially those designed by Peter Joseph Lenné, and he contributed to Pückler's reputation among Americans interested in park and garden issues. Downing's premature death in 1852 meant the loss of an advocate of Pücklerian design in America.

Further information about Pückler's park in Muskau may have come to America via Adolph Strauch.<sup>12</sup> Strauch was trained in the parks at Schönbrunn and Laxenburg in Austria, and he later worked for Pückler in Muskau. In 1845, the prince encouraged Strauch to broaden his experience and visit other gardens in Europe. After stays in Paris and London, Strauch travelled to Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1852. There, he designed both

private and public open spaces, most notably the bucolic Spring Grove Cemetery.<sup>13</sup> Spring Grove earned him national fame in the United States and beyond,<sup>14</sup> and I am certain Pückler would have been delighted with Strauch's creative adaptation of many of his own ideas.

It is not clear how familiar Frederick Law Olmsted, America's first great landscape architect, was with Pückler's work. In 1850, Olmsted went on a hiking tour of Britain and the continent with his brother John and their friend Charles Loring Brace.<sup>15</sup> We know that the travelers visited the English Garden in Munich, but we do not know whether Olmsted was aware of Muskau. In his long entry on "Park" for the *The American Cyclopedia* (1875), Olmsted dedicated a few lines to parks in Germany but did not mention Muskau.<sup>16</sup>

There is still much that we do not know about this early pre-professional phase of Pückler's reception in America. It is a topic that needs more research.

### The Encyclopedic Phase

There seems to be almost a quarter century of silence about Pückler before he shows up again in America a few years after his death. This new interest is reflected above all in encyclopedias. In 1876, five years after Pückler's death, an entry in the *American Cyclopedia* refers to his "magnificent parks at Muskau and Branitz."<sup>17</sup> In 1879, the *Globe Encyclopedia* mentions Pückler's "extensive and celebrated park gardens" and notes that he had described them in his *Andeutungen über Landschaftsgärtnerei*.<sup>18</sup> Encyclopedia references such as these may have helped satisfy the strong interest in popular education and higher learning that swept America in late nineteenth century. This situation helped to prepare the third phase of Pückler's significance for landscape architecture in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Like the first phase of Pückler's American career, this second phase warrants more research.

### The Enthusiastic Phase

The third phase of Pückler's influence in America, which I have dubbed the enthusiastic phase, coincides with the beginning of the professionalization of landscape architecture. In 1898, the Association of New England Park Superintendents, the first professional organization of its kind in the country, was established in Boston; it later changed its name to the American Institute of Park Executives and merged with several other organizations in 1965 to create the National Recreation and Park Association.<sup>19</sup> The American Society of Landscape Architects (ASLA) was founded in 1899,<sup>20</sup> one year before Harvard launched the first full-blown academic program in landscape architecture.

Although the *Andeutungen* had not yet been translated into English, Pückler's park at Muskau was well known at least within professional circles in the Northeast in the last decade of the nineteenth century. One source of that knowledge was the Arnold Arboretum, which had been established in 1872 on the outskirts of Boston. In 1892, John George Jack, a lecturer in arboriculture at the arboretum, reported on his visit the previous year to "the famous Muskau Park, the masterwork of Prince Hermann von Pückler"<sup>21</sup> in the professional journal *Garden and Forest*. The area around the park in Muskau, Jack wrote, "is a most unpromising one for the creation of what has been called the best park in Germany."<sup>22</sup> For him, the park was an oasis in a desert, and he described what he saw there enthusiastically. "The arrangement of the specimens and groups of trees is so admirable that there is not a feature distracting or displeasing the eye. Fresh vistas and landscape-pictures are brought out at every step or every visit, and roads and paths are so skillfully planned that their existence is unsuspected until they are stepped upon."<sup>23</sup> Jack especially liked the design of the roads in the park at Muskau: America, he argued, could have used a "Prince Pückler in the designing of some recently made parks where roads often seem to be a mean feature, where hills and great rocks have to be removed or mutilated and natural ponds filled in order to conform to lines traced on some chart, apparently without much reference to topography."<sup>24</sup> The park at Muskau, by contrast, offered "a perfectly harmonious picture."<sup>25</sup>

*Garden and Forest* was edited by Charles Sprague Sargent, the founding director of the Arnold Arboretum.<sup>26</sup> Sargent seems to have appreciated Muskau and may have visited it while touring Europe between 1865 and 1868. It was he, perhaps with the backing of Frederick Law Olmsted, who had recommended to Jack that he visit Muskau. Muskau is mentioned time and again in *Garden and Forest* during its first five years of publication (1888–92). Readers in 1888, for example, were referred to Pückler's *Andeutungen*, which had appeared over a half century earlier, and in 1890 they were directed to the French translation of 1847, *Aperçu sur la plantation des parcs en general, joint à une description du parc du Muskau*. *Garden and Forest* also took note in 1890 of the guidebook, *Der Park von Muskau* (1856) by Eduard Petzold, the longtime director of the park in Muskau, and of Petzold's *Fürst Hermann von Pückler-Muskau in seinem Wirken in Muskau und Branitz, sowie in seiner Bedeutung für die bildende Gartenkunst Deutschlands* (Prince Pückler-Muskau and His Activities in Muskau and Branitz, and His Significance for Garden Art in Germany, 1874). A detailed map of the Muskau park appeared in *Garden and Forest* in 1891. The map accompanied a contribution by Charles Eliot, to whom I will turn later.

Sargent had a direct connection to Muskau in the person of Alfred Georg Rehder. Rehder was the grandson of Jacob Heinrich Rehder, who had worked as Pückler's gardener in Muskau from 1818 until his death in 1852.<sup>27</sup> In the spring of 1898, the 36-year-old Alfred Rehder was sent to America by Ludwig Möller, the editor of the professional journal *Möller's deutsche Gärtnerzeitung*. Rehder was meant to stay for six months, but, rather than return, he stayed in the U.S. and worked as Sargent's right-hand man.<sup>28</sup> He remained at the Arnold Arboretum until his retirement in 1940.

Sargent's interest in Pückler's park at Muskau was shared by his nephew, Henry Sargent Codman. A partner in Olmsted's firm, Codman published "a list of works on the art of landscape gardening . . . which have been published in English, French, German and Italian" in *Garden and Forest* in 1890.<sup>29</sup> Codman's bibliography, which he described as complete as he had "been able to make it," included some 300 titles.<sup>30</sup> About one-fifth of the books listed were marked with a star, indicating that Codman considered them to be of "special interest." Pückler's *Andeutungen* carried such a star. In compiling this bibliography, Codman had drawn upon a number of private and public libraries, including the British Museum and the Bibliothèque Nationale. German authors were well represented in his own library, as the catalogue of the Codman collection at the Boston Public Library attests. Among the German titles Codman owned were Pückler's *Andeutungen* as well as Petzold's *Fürst Hermann von Pückler-Muskau* and his guidebook to Muskau.<sup>31</sup> Codman died in 1893 at the age of 43. At the Olmsted firm he was succeeded by Charles Eliot.

Charles Eliot was the son of Charles William Eliot, the long-serving president of Harvard who transformed the university into a research institution on the German model.<sup>32</sup> While planning a two-year tour of Europe, the younger Eliot was advised by Frederick Law Olmsted to visit Muskau. He took that advice and was deeply impressed by what he saw. Muskau, he wrote, was

landscape gardening on a grand scale, and the resulting scenery is extremely lovely. Altogether it is the most remarkable and lovable park I have seen on the Continent. There are no ledges; but steep irregular slopes of river bluffs, and hills beyond. The woods have an almost American variety of species, and many American plants are very common,- such as wild Cherry, Acacia, and Cornel. I found even Clethra, Hamamelis, and Diervilla [Weigela]. There are many large Oaks, and much Juglans (walnuts), Liriodendron, Magnolia, Negundo, Tilia, etc. One valley is all Conifers. A long stream, derived from the river, is exceedingly

well treated; its varied banks are covered with *Cornus*, etc., and masses of American *Asters*, *Eupatorium* and *Golden-rod*. The water about the *Schloss* is also most exquisite with a tiny island or two, a water terrace, and a landing under a far-reaching *Negundo*. The distant parts are wholly *naturalesque*, with well-designed roads and paths, and charming views from capes of highland over the river valley and the almost hidden *Muskau* village. . . . This work of Fürst Pückler is of a sort to make me very proud of my profession! For here in a land of dull, almost stupid scenery, Nature has been induced to make a region of great beauty, great variety, and wonderful charm.<sup>33</sup>

Eliot had prepared thoroughly for his visit to *Muskau*. During visits to the British Museum in October 1885 and in January 1886, he requested a total of twelve books in German, the majority of which related to *Muskau*. They included Pückler's *Andeutungen* and Petzold's two works on Pückler and *Muskau*.<sup>34</sup>

Eliot had his camera with him during his visit to *Muskau*. Six of his photographs of the park and the castle have survived; four are shown here (Figures 1–4).<sup>35</sup> Eliot, who was later to play a decisive part in the development of Boston's park system,<sup>36</sup> was certain that Pückler's park in *Muskau* had a lesson for landscape architecture in the United States, which he felt was still in its infancy.<sup>37</sup> For "us Americans," Eliot wrote in one of his contributions to *Garden and Forest*, "the signifiacnce . . . of this work at *Muskau* is very obvious."<sup>38</sup> When, he went on to ask, "shall a rich man or a club of citizens, an enlightened town or a pleasure resort, do for some quiet lakeshore of New England, some long valley of the Alleghanies, some forest-bordered prairie of Louisiana, what Pückler did for his valley of the *Neisse*?"<sup>39</sup>

Eliot knew that some of Pückler's "essays on landscape were long since translated into French" and hoped "that they may yet appear in English, for they contain a very clear presentation of the elements of landscape design, as well as many lively descriptions of his work at *Muskau*."<sup>40</sup> I am sure Eliot would have been a sensitive translator had he lived long enough to take on the project. He died very unexpectedly, however in 1897 at the age of 38. Two years later, his father, who, like the younger Eliot, had become aware of the importance of landscape architecture for America through Olmsted's influence, established the program in landscape architecture at Harvard.

## The Professional Phase

In 1906, the American landscape architect Samuel Parsons, Jr., spent three full days exploring the park at *Muskau*.<sup>41</sup> Parsons had begun his career



Figure 1: Stream in Oak-Wood Muskau: photograph and caption by Charles Eliot, 1886. Eliot Collection, Loeb Library, Harvard University.

working with Calvert Vaux on Central Park and had gone on to direct park planning in the city for nearly thirty years.<sup>42</sup> Parsons was instrumental in the organization of the ASLA in 1899—it was founded in his office—and he served as its first vice president. Although Parsons seems

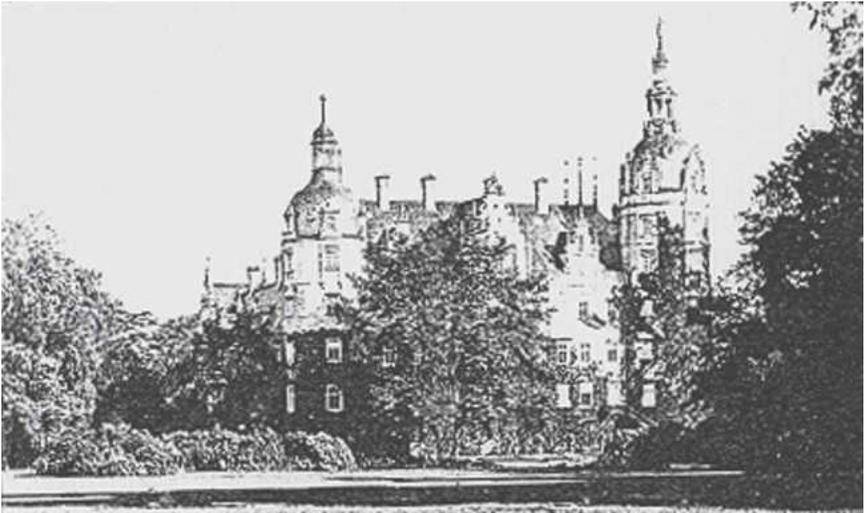


Figure 2: Muskau Schloss: photograph and caption by Charles Eliot, 1886. Eliot Collection, Loeb Library, Harvard University.

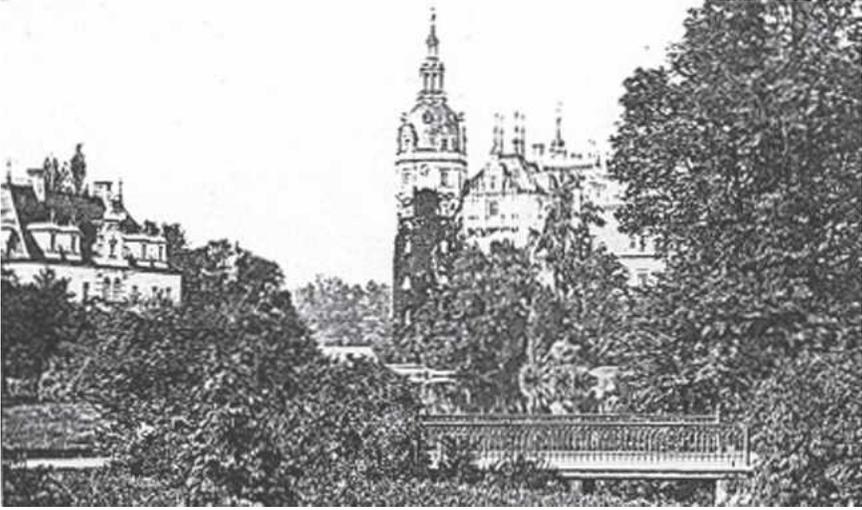


Figure 3: Amtshaus and Schloss. Muskau: photograph and caption by Charles Eliot, 1886. Eliot Collection, Loeb Library, Harvard University.

to have been generally disappointed by Europe's public parks, he was clearly impressed by Muskau. He wrote: "The greater extent and larger features of river, lake and hilltop of Muskau give it an incontestable advantage over the smaller areas of the New York parks although we



Figure 4: Ruins of Dorf Berg. Muskau: photograph and caption by Charles Eliot, 1886. Eliot Collection, Loeb Library, Harvard University.

may except perhaps the noble natural beauties and distant views of Van Cortlandt and Pelham Parks and Prospect Park, Brooklyn. But when we come to the details of Muskau . . . its superiority at once impresses the American vision."<sup>43</sup> Parsons continued to admire Muskau, and it is here where I suggest marking the beginning of the fourth phase of Pückler's significance for landscape architecture in America, the professional phase of the early twentieth century.

In his book *The Art of Landscape Architecture* (1915), Parsons called Pückler's work at Muskau unsurpassed and offered several photographs and planting plans as evidence.<sup>44</sup> Parson's *Art of Landscape Architecture* was followed two years later by an English translation of Pückler's *Andeutungen* by Bernhard Sickert under the title *Hints on Landscape Gardening*. The translation had been published with the support of the ASLA and included an introduction by Parsons. It was the second title in a series of texts that the ASLA hoped would help set standards for the fledgling profession.<sup>45</sup>

Parson's was not alone in voicing admiration for Pückler. The 1917 translation of the *Andeutungen* included a preface by John Nolen, another noted American landscape architect and city planner.<sup>46</sup> The year 1917 also saw the publication of *An Introduction to the Study of Landscape Design* by Henry Vincent Hubbard and Theodora Kimball. This book, which was to serve as a standard text for American students in the field for decades, included descriptions of the work of Pückler and Petzold in Muskau. A second edition appeared in 1929, and it was last reprinted in 1969.

Although Pückler's park in Muskau served as a textbook example of park design for American students through much of the twentieth century, it was difficult for them to actually visit the park after World War II. The Allies' decision to take the Oder-Neisse line as the German-Polish border cut Pückler's park in two. During the forty-year existence of the German Democratic Republic, Americans interested in Pückler's work had only very limited opportunities to see it firsthand. Professional attention to Pückler, so marked in the early decades of the twentieth century, clearly began to wane.

## The Phase of Subdued Professional Interest

The unexpected collapse of the communist regimes in Eastern Europe and the reunification of Germany opened the way for renewed professional interest in Pückler's work. Compared to the enthusiasm both German and American professionals in landscape architecture had expressed during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, this new attention to Pückler's work is rather subdued, and for that reason I would label this final phase of Pückler's influence in America the phase of subdued professional interest. Given the long-standing reciprocal ignorance

among German and American landscape architects about professional developments in the other country, I find it remarkable that Pücklerian park design still seems to be of significance for landscape architecture in the U.S.

Much of this revived American interest in Pückler seems to be historically focused. A short article on metropolitan open spaces published in 1989, for example, noted that “as American cities expanded, several early landscape architects, inspired by the work of Pückler-Muskau and others, envisioned vast open space systems extending through and around the nation’s growing urban regions.”<sup>47</sup> This is clearly a reference to the professional phase of the early twentieth century. One of the main examples of metropolitan open spaces this article cited was the Minneapolis park system; I have found no evidence, though, that suggests either of the two landscape architects responsible for Minneapolis’ park system, Horace W. S. Cleveland and Theodore Wirth, were influenced by Pückler’s work. That Pückler did have an influence elsewhere in the Midwest is made clear by a recent collection of studies on the history of landscape architecture in that region.<sup>48</sup> The essay on Adolf Strauch’s work in Cincinnati, for instance, calls attention to the connection between Strauch and Pückler and features an old engraving of Muskau Park.<sup>49</sup> Similarly, the essay on Edward Kessler, who designed parks for Kansas City, Indianapolis, and several other Midwestern cities in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, underscores the deep impression Pückler’s work made on Kessler.<sup>50</sup>

Pückler crops up in American reference works and textbooks published in the past two decades. The short biographical entry for Henry Vincent Hubbard in the handbook *American Landscape Architecture: Designers and Places* (1989) includes a photograph of the “long view” in Muskau that had earlier appeared in Hubbard and Kimball’s *Introduction to the Study in Landscape Design*.<sup>51</sup> The Chicago Botanic Garden’s *Encyclopedia of Gardens* (2001) does not give Pückler his own entry, but several articles discuss his work.<sup>52</sup> General surveys and textbooks such as Elizabeth Barlow Rogers’s *Landscape Design: A Cultural and Architectural History* (2001) tend to give only brief attention to Pückler. Rogers, for example, discusses Pückler in a short section entitled “Repton’s Influence in Germany.”<sup>53</sup>

The renewed though subdued interest in “Pückler and America” is a promising sign. It may contribute to a new understanding of Pückler’s work from a democratic and tri-national—German, American, and Polish—perspective. The ongoing restoration of Pückler’s park in Muskau is not simply the re-creation of a landscape park but also a project that is creating new opportunities and new hope in an economically hard-pressed region. The project extends beyond the park itself

and aims at the creation of a *Kulturlandschaft*, a cultural landscape, that encompasses the regions on both sides of the Polish-German border.<sup>54</sup> Pückler's work could take on a new importance in the twenty-first century if this social dimension of Muskau Park's restoration receives international attention. There could perhaps be yet another phase in the story of "Pückler and America."

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Pückler to Hallberger, September 9, 1834, in *Briefwechsel und Tagebücher des Fürsten Hermann von Pückler-Muskau*, 9 vols., Ludmilla Assing, ed. (Hamburg and Berlin, 1873, 1874–76; reprint Bern, 1971), vol. 8, 437.

<sup>2</sup> See Gustavus Myers, *Die grossen amerikanischen Vermögen* (Berlin, 1916), 123.

<sup>3</sup> See the entry on Ehlers by Cynthia Zaitzevsky in Charles A. Birnbaum and Robin Karson, eds., *Pioneers of American Landscape Design* (New York, 2000), 104–06.

<sup>4</sup> See William H. Truettner and Alan Wallach, *Thomas Cole, Landscape into History* (Washington, DC, 1994).

<sup>5</sup> Martin Sperlich, "Das neue Arkadien, Der Garten als utopische Landschaft," *neue heimat, Monatshefte für neuzeitlichen Wohnungs- und Städtebau* 26, no. 6 (1979): 10–23. Sperlich notes that Wall's Hudson River Portfolio, which began to be issued in 1821, a decade and a half before Pückler published his *Andeutung über Landschaftsgärtnerei*, helped popularize a "fresh romanticism" (*frische Romantik*) focused on the "New Rhine" in New York much as illustrated English travel books had helped foster a "middle-class romanticism about the Rhine" (*rheinische Bürgerromantik*). "Obviously," Sperlich then argues, "Pückler who planned to visit America, copied his artificial water falls at Muskau from these examples" (22).

<sup>6</sup> See Joachim Wolschke-Bulmahn, "Zwischen Hudson-River und Neiße, Fürst Pückler, die Muskauer Wasserfälle und das Hudson-River-Portfolio," *Die Gartenkunst* 10, no. 2 (1998): 300–09. Comparing the paintings of the falls in Muskau that Pückler commissioned from August Wilhelm Schirmer for his *Andeutungen über Landschaftsgärtnerei*, Wolschke-Bulmahn suggests the similarities between Wall's work and Schirmer's might be the result more of similarities in painterly technique than of physical resemblance between the waterfalls in New York and Muskau. The similarity, he cautions, might be "purely accidental" (308). See also Steffen Krestin and Beate Schneider, "August Wilhelm Schirmer, Biographisches," in Fürst-Pückler-Museum Schloß Branitz, ed., *Parktraum—Traumpark, A. W. Schirmer, Aquarelle und Zeichnungen zu Pücklers "Andeutungen über Landschaftsgärtnerei"* (Cottbus, 1993), 22–25.

<sup>7</sup> On Downing, see Birnbaum and Karson, eds., *Pioneers of American Landscape Design*, 96–100.

<sup>8</sup> See Gert Gröning, "About the Evolvement of Landscape Architecture", in Maria Auböck, ed., *GROW!, Current Tendencies in Architecture and Landscape* (Munich, 2007), 94–109.

<sup>9</sup> "Pückler-Muskau (Hermann Lewis Henry, prince of)," *Encyclopaedia Americana* (Philadelphia, 1836). In the preface to the first edition of the *Encyclopaedia Americana*, which appeared in 13 volumes between 1829 and 1833, Lieber noted his debt to the *Allgemeine deutsche Real-Encyclopaedie für die gebildeten Stände* published by the Leipzig firm F. A. Brockhaus.

<sup>10</sup> "F. B., Letter to Lady Blessington," October 16, 1832, in Richard Robert Madden, *The Literary Life and Correspondence of the Countess of Blessington*, (New York, 1855), 254.

<sup>11</sup> Andrew Jackson Downing, *Rural Essays* (New York, 1856), 498.

<sup>12</sup> On Strauch, see Birnbaum and Karson, eds., *Pioneers of American Landscape Design*, 384–88.

- <sup>13</sup> Adolphus Strauch, *Spring Grove Cemetery: Its History and Improvements with Observations on Ancient and Modern Places of Sepulture* (Cincinnati, 1869).
- <sup>14</sup> In Germany, for example, Oswin Hüttig mentioned Strauch in his *Geschichte des Gartenbaus* (Berlin, 1879).
- <sup>15</sup> See Frederick Law Olmsted, *Walks and Talks of an American Farmer in England* (Columbus, 1852; revised edition, Columbus, 1859).
- <sup>16</sup> Frederick Law Olmsted, "Parks," in *The American Cyclopaedia, A Popular Dictionary of General Knowledge*, volume 12 (New York, 1875), 95–108.
- <sup>17</sup> *The American Cyclopaedia*, vol. 14, 65–66.
- <sup>18</sup> "Pückler-Muskau, Hermann Ludwig Heinrich, Fürst," in *The Globe Encyclopaedia of Universal Information* (Boston, 1876–79), here 253.
- <sup>19</sup> See Conrad Louis Wirth, *Parks, Politics, and the People* (Norman, Oklahoma, 1980), 9. The other organizations involved in the creation of the National Recreation and Park Association were the National Recreation Association (1906), the National Conference on State Parks (1921), the American Association of Zoological Parks and Aquariums (1924), and the American Recreation Society (1938). See also Mary Virginia Frye, "Development of Municipal Parks and Recreation," in Sidney G. Lutzin and Edward H. Storey, eds., *Managing Municipal Leisure Services* (Washington, DC, 1973), 13–40.
- <sup>20</sup> See American Society of Landscape Architects, *A Report on Professional Practice and Charges of Landscape Architects* (Brookline, Mass., 1911).
- <sup>21</sup> John George Jack, "Notes of a Summer Journey in Europe—IX." *Garden and Forest* 5 (1892): 123–25, here 123.
- <sup>22</sup> Jack, "Notes," 123.
- <sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 124.
- <sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>26</sup> Stephanie Barry Sutton, *Charles Sprague Sargent and the Arnold Arboretum* (Cambridge, Mass., 1970), 131.
- <sup>27</sup> On the Rehders, see Werner Manno, "Jacob Heinrich Rehder 1790–1852, Alfred Georg Rehder 1863–1949," Cornelia Wenzel, ed., unpublished lecture manuscript, Stiftung Fürst-Pückler-Park Bad Muskau (Bad Muskau, 2002); see also Werner Manno, "Kunstgärtner in Muskau," in Helmut Rippl, ed., *Der Parkschöpfer Pückler-Muskau* (Weimar, 1995), 250–52.
- <sup>28</sup> See Ida Hay, *Science in the Pleasure Ground, a History of the Arnold Arboretum* (Boston, 1995).
- <sup>29</sup> Henry Sargent Codman, "A List of Works on the Art of Landscape Gardening," *Garden and Forest* 3 (1890): 131–35, here 131.
- <sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 131.
- <sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 135. Petzold's guidebook: *Der Park von Muskau* (Hoyerswerda, 1856).
- <sup>32</sup> See Charles William Eliot, *Charles Eliot* (Boston, 1902).
- <sup>33</sup> Charles W. Eliot, *Charles Eliot, Landscape Architect* (Boston, 1903), 191.
- <sup>34</sup> Mention should also be made here of Ludmilla Assing, *Aus dem Nachlass des Fürsten Pückler-Muskau* (Hamburg and Leipzig, 1873–76).
- <sup>35</sup> Charles Eliot Collection, Loeb Library, Harvard University; the photos are labelled in Eliot's hand "Stream in Oak-Wood Muskau"; "River Neisse. Muskau"; "Ruins-Dorfberg. Muskau"; "Schloss. Muskau"; "In the park. Muskau"; and "Amtshaus and Schloss. Muskau."
- <sup>36</sup> Henry Vincent Hubbard, "Landscape Architecture," in Subcommittee on Memorial History of the Boston Tercentenary Committee, *Fifty Years of Boston* (Boston, 1932): 347–52, here

348. In August 1892, Charles Eliot was appointed landscape architect to the Metropolitan Park Commission in Boston: see C. W. Eliot, *Charles Eliot*, 380.

<sup>37</sup> In a short contribution to *Garden and Forest*, Eliot wrote of the park at “Paulovsk” (sic) that there was “no futile striving after the loveliness of England or any other foreign land” and “no planting of incongruous specimens and no out-of-place flower-bedding”; the “park of Muskau teaches the same lesson, and under conditions closely resembling those of our Middle States.” Charles Eliot, “Anglomania in Park Planning,” *Garden and Forest* 1 (1888): 64.

<sup>38</sup> Charles Eliot, “Muskau—A German Country Park,” *Garden and Forest* 4 (1891): 38–39, here 39.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 39.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>41</sup> On Parsons, see Birnbaum and Karson, eds., *Pioneers of American Landscape Design*, 287–91.

<sup>42</sup> See also Parsons’s *Landscape Gardening* (New York, 1895).

<sup>43</sup> Samuel Parsons, *Report to Park Board New York City of Samuel Parsons, Landscape Architect on Visit to European Parks* (New York, 1906), 7.

<sup>44</sup> Samuel Parsons, *The Art of Landscape Architecture* (New York, 1915).

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>46</sup> On Nolen, see Charles D. Warren, “John Nolen and the New Synthesis in American City Planning” in John Nolen, *New Towns for Old, Achievements in Civic Improvement in Some American Small Towns and Neighborhoods* (1927: reprint Amherst, Mass., 2005), xi–cxv. See also John L. Hancock, “John Nolen,” in William H. Tishler, ed., *American Landscape Architecture: Designers and Places* (Washington, DC, 1989), 70–73.

<sup>47</sup> Roger B. Martin, “Metropolitan Open Spaces,” in Tishler, ed., *American Landscape Architecture*, 165–66, here 165.

<sup>48</sup> William H. Tishler, ed., *Midwestern Landscape Architecture* (Chicago, 2000).

<sup>49</sup> See Noël Dorsey Vernon, “Adolph Strauch, Cincinnati and the Legacy of Spring Grove Cemetery,” in Tishler, ed., *Midwestern Landscape Architecture*, 5–24, here 7.

<sup>50</sup> On Kessler, see Gert Gröning, “Zur Freiraumkultur im Mittleren Westen der Vereinigten Staaten, Teil 1: Das Wirken George Edward Kesslers (1862–1923), eines deutschstämmigen Landschaftsarchitekten, im Mittleren Westen am Beispiel Indianapolis,” *Stadt und Grün* 53, no. 1 (2004): 43–48, and “Zur Freiraumkultur im Mittleren Westen der Vereinigten Staaten, Teil 2: Besondere Elemente des Freiraumsystems von Indianapolis,” *Stadt und Grün* 53, no. 2 (2004): 46–51. See also Kurt Culbertson, “George Edward Kessler, Landscape Architect of the American Renaissance,” in Tishler, ed., *Midwestern Landscape Architecture*, 5–24.

<sup>51</sup> See Kenneth I. Helphand, “Henry Vincent Hubbard,” in Tishler, ed., *American Landscape Architecture*, 6769.

<sup>52</sup> Candice A. Shoemaker, ed., *Chicago Botanic Garden Encyclopedia of Gardens*, 3 vols. (Chicago, 2001). See the following entries in this work: Clemens Alexander Wimmer, “Books, Gardening,” 160–65, here 163 and 165; Margrethe Floryan, “Branitz,” 186–88; Isabelle Van Groeningen, “Color,” 314–17, here 315; Gert Gröning and Joachim Wolschke-Bulmahn, “Germany,” 512–523, here 515–16; Antonín Marián Svoboda, “Průhonický Park,” 1088–1091, here 1090.

<sup>53</sup> Elizabeth Barlow Rogers, *Landscape Design: A Cultural and Architectural History* (New York, 2001), 259–60.

<sup>54</sup> See the brochure issued by the Stiftung Fürst-Pückler-Park Bad Muskau, “Muskauer Kulturlandschaft” (2001).



Figure 1: Ellen Peabody Eliot with Samuel Atkins Eliot in her lap and Charles Eliot at her side. This photograph may have been taken while the Eliot family was traveling in Europe. Courtesy of Alexander Y. Goriansky.

# MUSKAU AND AMERICA: PÜCKLER'S INFLUENCE ON CHARLES ELIOT AND REGIONAL LANDSCAPE PLANNING IN THE UNITED STATES

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Boston landscape architect Charles Eliot introduced America to the writings of Prince Ludwig Heinrich Hermann von Pückler and to his estate at Muskau in Germany as a model for the reform of landscape architecture in the United States.<sup>1</sup> For Eliot, Muskau was the ideal improved landscape, one that considered the environment of all members and elements of society, that assessed the inherent characteristics of the site and climate, and that relied primarily on indigenous plant material for its development. In his writings for the American profession and for the public, Eliot frequently referred to Pückler and to Muskau for the lessons they could teach. In his private estate and public park commissions, Eliot domesticated the Muskau formula, as he reinterpreted it for the needs of his contemporaries. This was not a subtle change of landscape attitudes but a significant redirecting of what landscape architects did and how they did it. His example in the United States was as powerful as had been that of Prince Pückler in Germany. In many ways, Eliot sought to follow Pückler's example, to the extent that different circumstances and times would allow.

Charles Eliot was naturally conditioned to make these connections.<sup>2</sup> The son of Charles W. Eliot and Ellen Peabody Eliot, the landscape architect was born in Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1859 (Figure 1). His father was then a professor of chemistry at Harvard College; his mother was a descendant of prominent Boston families. After losing a promotion battle in 1863, Professor Eliot left Harvard and took his family to Europe for two years to observe laboratory practices in the sciences and to study the progressive educational environments of French and German secondary schools and universities.<sup>3</sup> Thus, his son early on became a product of a cosmopolitan intellectual culture. Unlike his father, however, young Charles was a diffident and introspective child, characteristics that became more pronounced when his mother died of tuberculosis and his father, surprisingly, ascended to the presidency of Harvard College, both in 1869.

Like Prince Pückler, a man fascinated by landscape gardening who spent much of his time between 1806 and 1810 traveling on the Continent

and between 1812 and 1815 in England, Charles Eliot was a landscape flâneur, a constant but attentive wanderer, and a connoisseur of landscape forms.<sup>4</sup> While still a teenager, Eliot began in 1875 to take a series of walking tours, often tied to the termini of public transportation routes, that allowed him to visit natural areas throughout the greater Boston basin.<sup>5</sup> In his diary of 1878, he provides a “Partial List of Saturday Walks before 1878.” Eliot would later recommend many of these sites as additions to the Metropolitan Park System.

Young Charles was naturally “fitted” for entrance to Harvard College, but he did not find the education or the environment to his liking. These were the years in which his father was attempting to reform the curriculum and structure of Harvard and, by extension, American higher education at large. President Eliot (Figure 2) integrated his study of French and German educational patterns with the existing American attitudes to formulate a new and challenging elective system for undergraduates and more rigorous programs for professional schools. Despite this revolution, young Charles found more rewarding his self-education during the summers that he spent camping on Mount Desert Island in Maine with the Champlain Society, a club of Harvard undergraduates that he founded to explore the natural history of the island.<sup>6</sup>

Following college, father and son discussed how the latter should train for the profession of landscape architecture since no academic programs existed in the United States. Young Charles first took science and agriculture courses at Harvard’s Bussey Institute and then accepted an unpaid internship in the Brookline offices of the dominant American landscape architect, Frederick Law Olmsted—indeed, Eliot was the first of an impressive series of interns who would emerge from Fairsted, the name of the Olmsted home and studio.<sup>7</sup> While working for Olmsted, Eliot helped to prepare the plans for the nearby Arnold Arboretum, developed under its first director, Charles Sprague Sargent, as well as for the continued development of the Boston Municipal Park System.

After two productive years with Olmsted, Eliot decided that he needed to continue his education as a landscape architect through a period of travel, first in the United States and then for a year in Europe.<sup>8</sup> While traveling, Eliot wrote frequently to Olmsted about the sites he visited and the people he met. Olmsted responded:

I have seen no such justly critical notes as yours on landscape architecture matters from any traveler for a generation past. You ought to make it a part of your scheme to write for the public, a little at a time if you please, but methodically, systemically. It is part of your professional duty to do so.<sup>9</sup>



Figure 2: President Charles W. Eliot, 1875. Harvard University Archives.

In following this advice, Eliot began to turn to Pückler as his alternative to Olmsted as a role model in the field of landscape architecture.

After a five-month excursion to American sites, Eliot was in Europe from November 1885 through October 1886, spending the largest percentage of his time in England but traveling widely in Britain and on the Continent, as far east as Russia and as far south as Italy. Before embarking on his personal Grand Tour, Eliot spent the dreary winter months reading voraciously at the British Museum. He consumed the literature of landscape design and theory from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries in English, French, and German.

On January 10, 1886, Eliot recorded the following observations from Prince Pückler's *Andeutungen über Landschaftsgärtnerei* (1834):

In the park, I make it a point to use only native or thoroughly acclimated trees and shrubs, and avoid entirely all foreign decorative plants. For nature beautified must still preserve the character of the country and climate in which the park is situated; so that its beauty may seem to have grown spontaneously, and without betraying the pains which have been spent on it.<sup>10</sup>

January 19, Eliot devoted to "Skell and Furst Muskau, the great Germans after Hirschfeld. Their books not very valuable and very tough reading." By the 22nd, however, he had finished several books by or about Prince Pückler, deciding to "consider his book one of the best after all."<sup>11</sup>

In addition to his time at the British Museum, Eliot used his months in England to learn about the emerging efforts in landscape preservation. Through his father, he was introduced to James Bryce, British historian, politician, conservationist, Secretary of the Commons Preservation Society, and author of the Scottish Mountains bill.<sup>12</sup> Bryce recommended Eliot attend speeches given by fellow conservationists and provided further introductions (Figure 3). During his tour of England, Eliot met with Canon Rawnsley, vicar of Crossthwaite, Keswick, and secretary of the Lakeland Defense Association, then fighting the intrusion of railroads and reservoirs into sites like Thirlmere in the Lake District.<sup>13</sup>

Eliot proceeded methodically with his extensive European tour, planning the visit to Muskau as one of the final stops of this educational hegira. Eliot arrived in Muskau on September 21, 1886, and reported in a letter to his family:

The village is surrounded by a park, the Schloss standing close beside the village, near the river Neisse. My walk was long and most interesting. This is landscape gardening on a grand scale, and the resulting scenery is extremely lovely. Altogether it is the most remarkable and lovable park I have seen on the Continent.

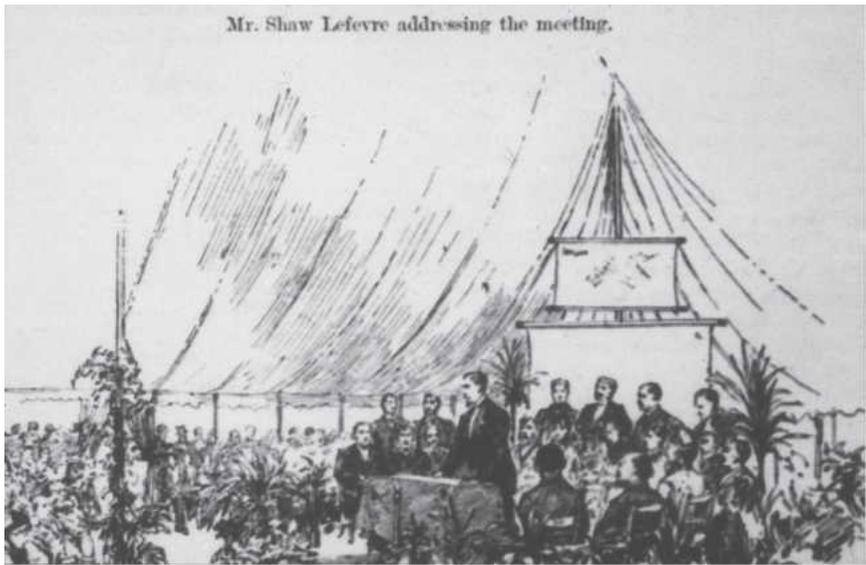


Figure 3: Mr. Shaw Lefevre addressing a meeting concerning the preservation of the Hampsted Heath, London, 1885. Courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford University.

There are no ledges; but steep irregular slopes of river bluffs, and hills beyond. The woods have an almost American variety of species, and many American plants are very common,—such as wild Cherry, Acacia and Cornel . . . This work by Furst Puckler is of a sort to make me very proud of my profession! For here in a land of dull, almost stupid scenery, Nature has been induced to make a region of great beauty, great variety, and wonderful charm.<sup>14</sup>

Perhaps Eliot had realized in advance that he had saved the finest example of landscape architecture for the climax of his tour.

In one of the last letters he wrote before returning from Europe in October 1886, Eliot reported to his mentor Olmsted: “My travels are over: for I cannot imitate Count Pückler—who journeyed through Europe for five years or more.” He continued:

I spent two whole days there [at Muskau], in the park all the time. In London last winter I had read his little book, and the descriptions written by his foreman after his death and something about the count’s life . . . His park is probably the finest work of real landscape gardening on a large scale that this century has seen

carried out in Europe. It is a work that has made one proud of the profession—for here was a river valley in great part very barren, fringed by monstrous woods of p. sylvestric and in no way remarkable for beauty—but now one of the loveliest vales on earth—full to the brim, so to speak, of variety or pleasant change, of quieting and often touching beauty.<sup>15</sup>

The example of Muskau and the model of the prince would continue to haunt Eliot throughout his life.

After his return to America, Eliot continued to ponder and apply the lessons of Muskau. Declining an invitation from Olmsted to become a member of his firm, Eliot established an independent practice in landscape architecture in Boston in December 1886. As Olmsted had advised, Eliot soon began to write on a range of topics in landscape architecture, often citing Muskau as a cure for American ills. On April 4, 1888, Eliot published an article in *Garden and Forest* entitled “Anglomania in Park Making” in which he argued against the American habit of using English models of landscape design as the constant formula. Instead, Eliot wanted his colleagues to study the quality of the site and region, “using no planting of incongruous specimens and no out-of-place flower-bedding.” He continued:

The park of Muskau teaches the same lesson, and under conditions closely resembling those of the Middle States. Indeed, American trees, shrubs, and herbaceous plants are very numerous in this noble park . . . It is next to impossible to find an American park in which these things have been planted as freely.<sup>16</sup>

For another issue of the journal later that month, Eliot also submitted “A list of books on landscape gardening” that was culled from his readings at the British Museum. Beginning in 1625 with Francis Bacon, the bibliography ends in 1834 with Fürst Hermann Ludwig von Pückler-Muskau’s *Andeutungen über Landschaftsgärtnerei*.<sup>17</sup>

On January 28, 1891, Eliot published a lengthy review essay on Muskau, illustrated by a map that he had been given by a friend, Dr. Carl Bolle in Berlin, before his visit to the estate (Figure 4). After a brief biography of the prince and a recounting of his travels in the early nineteenth century, Eliot praised Pückler for “his intense interest in both natural and humanized scenery.” Eliot continued:

[W]e find Pückler . . . intent upon including in one great landscape scheme his Schloss, his village, his alum works, and all the slopes and levels that enclose them—intent upon evolving from out of the confused natural situation a composition in which all that was fundamentally characteristic of the scenery, the history,



and the industry of his estate should be harmoniously and beautifully united.<sup>18</sup>

Eliot admitted that Pückler had been fortunate to have a contained valley with an ample river for his composition. "To restore the unity of the river-level just mentioned, he had to buy and remove a whole street of village houses which extended from the town square to the mill."<sup>19</sup> He had to purchase 2,000 morgen of land in all. "In the upland regions the original tangle of knolls, dells and glades was to be made still more pleasantly intricate by opening the wood here and closing it there, and by breaking and fringing the original Pine forest with a great variety of appropriate trees and shrubs." "It would be difficult to make choices between the view from the low-lying Schloss over the quiet meadows to the semicircle of hills beyond the river, and the reverse view from these hills looking across the stream and the intervale to where turrets of the Schloss and the long row of village roofs lie close together under the edge of the dark woods which crown the western range of heights."<sup>20</sup>

Eliot concluded:

The significance for us Americans of this work at Muskau is very obvious . . . half of our continent presents verdurous scenery of many different types, from the rocky Pine woods of Quebec to the Palmetto thickets of Florida. Throughout this varied region there is a woeful tendency to reduce to one conventional form all such too meager portions of the original landscape as are preserved in private country-seats and public parks . . . When shall a rich man or a club of citizens, an enlightened town or a pleasure resort do for some quiet lakeshore of New England, some long valley in the Alleghenies, some forest-bordered prairie of Louisiana, what Puckler did for his valley of the Neisse? He preserved everything that was distinctive. He destroyed neither his farm nor his mill, nor yet his alum works; for he understood that these industries, together with all the human history of the valley, contributed to the general effect a characteristic element only second in importance to the quality of the natural scenery itself.<sup>21</sup>

The comprehensive and integrated treatment of the prince's landholdings would remain the dominant lesson from Muskau for Eliot.

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From his earliest commissions, Eliot was mindful of the example of Muskau for a range of American landscape types, from which I will choose four initial examples. One of his earliest public park designs was

for the modestly scaled White Park in Concord, New Hampshire. In his first report to the park commissioners on May 10, 1888, Eliot wrote:

Every city of the new West may have its carpet-bed 'park' if it so wishes, but Concord proposes to seize her opportunity to provide for her citizens and their posterity something very much more valuable. She will set aside and preserve, for the enjoyment of all orderly townspeople, a typical, strikingly beautiful, and very easily accessible bit of New England landscape. Would that every American city and town might thus save for its citizens some characteristic portion of its neighboring country! We should then possess public places which would exhibit something more refreshing than the monotony of clipped lawns and scattered flower beds.

The plan adopted by the Commission provides for the enhancement of the natural beauty of the park by spreading water in the lowland where nature made a marsh, by making grassy glades in two or three hollow parts where nature grew Alders and Birches, by planting a thicket of Mountain Laurel here and opening a vista to the Merrimac there; and then the plan leads paths in such directions and by such routes as will best display the beauty of the place while injuring it least.

Landscape art does not consist in arranging trees, shrubs, borders, lawns, ponds, bridges, fountains, paths or any other things "so as to produce a picturesque effect." It is rather the fitting of landscape to human use and enjoyment in such manner as may be most appropriate and most beautiful in any given space. When this is generally understood by the public and practiced by the profession, parks and country-seats will be so designed as to be not only well arranged and beautiful, but beautiful in some distinctive and characteristic way, as is the White Park at Concord.<sup>22</sup>

For Eliot, the driving purpose in the creation of the White Park was the preservation of a typical element of New England scenery. While the state capital, Concord was also a mill town, and Eliot sought to provide a bit of regional landscape for all levels of society. He wanted to insure that it contained no artificial elements of park-making, such as carpet bedding, but relied upon an analysis of the site, the area, and its history for the creation of this public park.

Other early commissions allowed Eliot to apply the lessons of Muskau in a range of circumstances. For the textile-mill-owning Hazard family in Peacedale, Rhode Island, he laid out their private estates. He also developed "the Waterway," an entrance drive along the mill race as

a green corridor for all to use and laid out the grounds of the adjacent public library and memorial hall built by the Hazards across from the mill complex and company store. Just as Pückler had incorporated his alum factory as well as his Schloss, for the Hazards Eliot strove to create a comprehensive and inclusive landscape that stretched from the mill square to the owners' estates. As Eliot wrote to Mrs. Rowland Hazard on August 27, 1888: "When you come to start upon your delightful scheme of a village park in connection with the Memorial building, you will be sure to feel the need of a plan of the neighborhood. A plan would also help to solve many problems on your several adjacent estates."<sup>23</sup> In November 1888, he wrote again: "You will see I have imagined that all the land between the new Hall and the old house will become part of Peace Park, and that the pond-shore, up at least as far as the brook which enters the cove, will be included."<sup>24</sup> Eliot's landscape development at Peacedale reinforced the efforts of Roland Hazard II as both mill owner and as the amateur architect for many of the buildings and bridges in the village (Figure 5).<sup>25</sup>

The park commissioners of Youngstown, Ohio, led by a young lawyer named Volney Rogers, invited Eliot in 1891 to develop the river valley of Mill Creek as a comprehensive park corridor for the industrial city. While the valley of Mill Creek does not represent as broad and generous a corridor as Pückler's Neisse River, Eliot could not have avoided seeing the relationship in this commission. As Eliot described the environment in a letter to his wife:

This beautiful park is a winding gorge with bluffs on each side which vary from sixty to more than a hundred feet in height. A rapid stream flows through it; and within the park area several tributaries enter this stream through deep wooded ravines. . . . In the valley are two small lakes,—ponds they would be called in New England,—one having a water surface of about forty-three acres, the other of about twenty-six. It is desirable to have a drive on each side of the gorge its full length.<sup>26</sup>

Eliot provided walks, bridle paths, and carriage drives to allow residents of Youngstown total access to the natural landscape, an amphitheater, and a pavilion for resting. The circuit of these lakes, the creek, and the ravine were landscape preservation and development problems not unlike the ones that Pückler confronted at Muskau.

One last example is the Pitcairn family commissions and the properties for the cathedral and academy of the New Jerusalem in Bryn Athyn, Pennsylvania. John Pitcairn, a Scot by birth who prospered in Pittsburgh and became the president of Pittsburgh Plate Glass, provided the funds to establish a village for members of the Church of the New Jerusalem, a sect

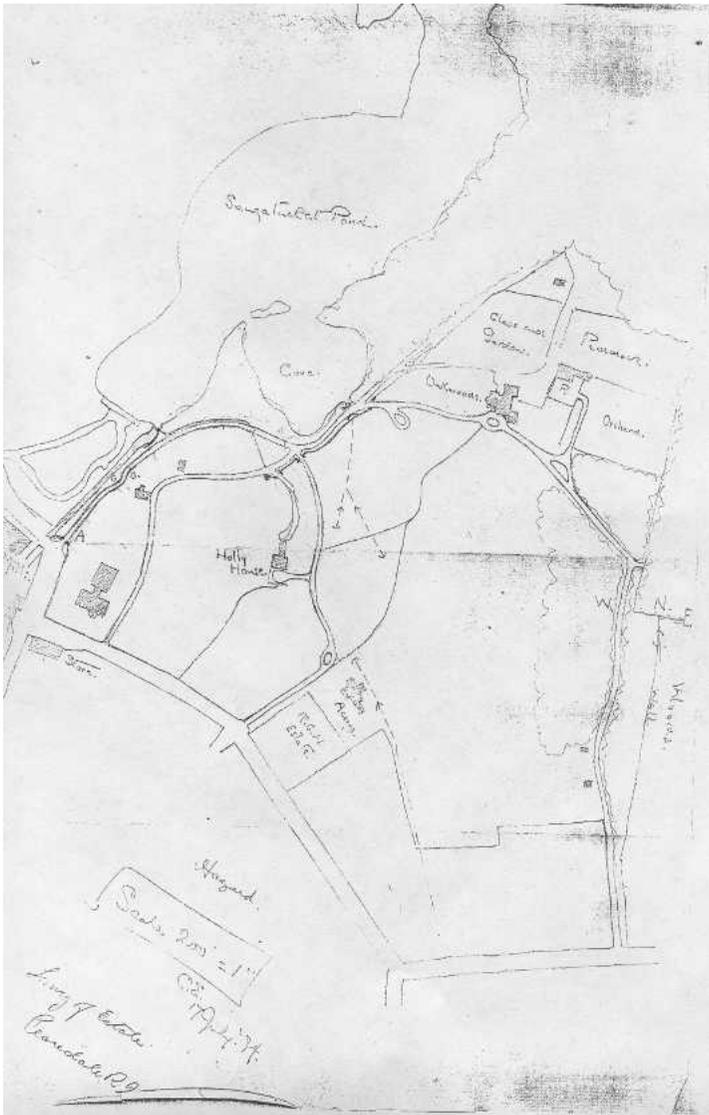


Figure 5: Plan of the Hazard family property, Peacedale, Rhode Island, drawn by Charles Eliot, July 9, 1894. Note Oakwoods and Holly House, two estates for members of the Hazard family at right and center; Saugetucket Pond at the top and the mill race paralleled by the Waterway entrance drive at its bottom; at the left center are the mills and the company store opposite an H-shaped building which was the memorial hall and library built by the Hazard family. Courtesy of the Frederick Law Olmsted National Historic Site, National Park Service, Brookline, Massachusetts.

of Swedenborgianism.<sup>27</sup> Charles Eliot began to plan for the development of the Academy of the New Jerusalem in 1891, for which Carrère and Hastings designed the early buildings. He continued to work for the Pitcairns over the remainder of his life.

Eliot's earliest letter to John Pitcairn about the possible sites of the Academy stated the following:

The land should possess, if possible, some unity of topographic character. It should not be a jumble of unrelated slopes and shapes. It should possess some pleasing central feature such as a sheet of water, a stream, or a valley, so that its effect of composition may be attainable. No boundaries should be scientific—that is they should conform to the topography in such a way as will tend to enhance the effect of unity. If woods or fine trees assist in framing and adorning the central scene so much the better.<sup>28</sup>

Eliot also laid out the grounds of Cairnwood, the first of the Pitcairn family houses, and the lane of more modest dwellings that Pitcairn gradually sold to New Church members and staff. Boston architect Ralph Adams Cram later designed the Cathedral of the New Jerusalem, begun in 1916 after the deaths of both John Pitcairn and Charles Eliot.

Eliot's largest application of the Muskau model is in the development of landscape conservation strategies for metropolitan Boston and for the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. In February 1890, Eliot submitted an article to *Garden and Forest* entitled "The Waverley Oaks: A Plan for Their Preservation for the People" in which he urged the acquisition of a stand of "aboriginal" trees of great beauty on the border between Belmont and Waltham, Massachusetts, "just as the Public Library holds books and the Art Museum pictures."<sup>29</sup> He put this idea into practice by directing the formation of the Trustees of Public Reservations, a private, statewide land conservation organization authorized by the Massachusetts legislature in 1891. He modeled this society on the early landscape conservation efforts he had observed in England, but its comprehensive attitude towards landscapes worthy of preservation was derived as much from Muskau.

Eliot quickly learned that a private organization could not move as rapidly or as expansively as he felt necessary and developed plans for a regional, public authority to acquire and preserve distinctive and unique landscapes in the metropolitan region of Boston. Lest I build a hagiography for Eliot as a unique visionary, I must admit that others who saw the need and the means joined him in this enterprise. Eliot was not the only one to look to German models for regional planning. For example, the Malden, Massachusetts, journalist Sylvester Baxter was already praising the examples of German forest management and regional planning as a

course Americans should follow.<sup>30</sup> Baxter had been schooled by Elizur Wright, whose farm crossed the boundary between two suburban towns and who fought for the development of the surrounding forest district, the Middlesex Fells, as a public landscape. In 1892, as a result of lobbying efforts led by Charles Eliot, a temporary Metropolitan Park Commission was established for Boston and the surrounding communities of the Boston basin. The permanent legislation was adopted the following year, and Eliot was named as the landscape architect to the commission, while Sylvester Baxter served as the secretary. Appropriately, the Beaver Brook Reservation, which incorporated the Waverley Oaks, was the first acquired by the new authority.

In his first letter to Charles Francis Adams, Jr., chairman of the temporary commission, Eliot outlined the landscape types he wished to incorporate into the system that would serve the entire Boston region:

As I conceive it, the scientific 'park system' for a district such as ours should include

1<sup>st</sup> Space upon the Ocean front.

2<sup>nd</sup> As much as possible of the shores and islands of the Bay.

3<sup>rd</sup> The courses of the larger tidal estuaries (above their commercial usefulness) because of the value these courses as pleasant routes to the heart of the City and the Sea.

4<sup>th</sup> Two or three large areas of wild forest on the outer rim of the inhabited area.

5<sup>th</sup> Numerous small squares in the midst of dense populations.<sup>31</sup>

This broad scheme presented a larger landscape analysis than had ever been attempted in America.

To explain these concepts and others, Eliot invoked a landscape language that had not previously been employed. His arena, he felt, was the physical world at large. In a lecture to a farmers' association in New York State, he explained that he meant "by the term 'landscape' the visible surroundings of men's lives on the surface of the earth." Eliot considered himself an architect and referred repeatedly to the definition of architecture borrowed from the English socialist and preservationist William Morris: "Architecture, a great subject truly, for it means the molding and the altering to human needs of the very face of the earth."<sup>32</sup> This broad environmental consciousness is rooted surely in the lessons Eliot drew from Prince Pückler.

To achieve his broad aims for landscape preservation, Eliot lobbied ceaselessly through prolific letter writing, frequent public speaking, appearances before legislative committees, and regular contributions to popular magazines and professional journals. His major written contribution to a philosophy of scenery management and enhancement was his



Figure 6: Arthur A. Shurcliff, *Tree-clogged Notch in the Middlesex Fells Reservation*, published in Charles Eliot, *Vegetation and Scenery in the Metropolitan Reservations of Boston* (1898).

report published in 1898, *Vegetation and Scenery in the Metropolitan Reservations of Boston*.<sup>33</sup> Although specific in its definition of the basic landscapes found in the Boston metropolitan reservations and the appropriate methods for their management and development, Eliot's report had generic implications as well for the emerging field of regional landscape planning in the United States. The study followed from years of analysis of the geology, topography, horticulture, and human use of the acquired landscapes. He stressed that all of these sites were "artificial," countering the popular assumption that these reservations were "wild" and should not be changed in any way (Figures 6 and 7). Instead, he established rational principles for the management of these places for the people.

The first four of Eliot's landscape types illustrate the way that he developed the Metropolitan Park program. First on his list of landscape forms that should be controlled by a public authority was "Space upon the Ocean front." As a member of the Brahmin elite who could escape the summer heat of Boston on the family yacht or at their house on Mount Desert Island, Maine, Eliot was sensitive to the need for public access to the ocean. He urged the Metropolitan Park Commission to acquire the long crescent beach at Revere north of Boston as an easily accessible site for summer bathing. He quickly seized by eminent domain the railroad along the crest of the beach and the private bathhouses, bars, and dance-halls that prevented free public access. He moved the railway line away

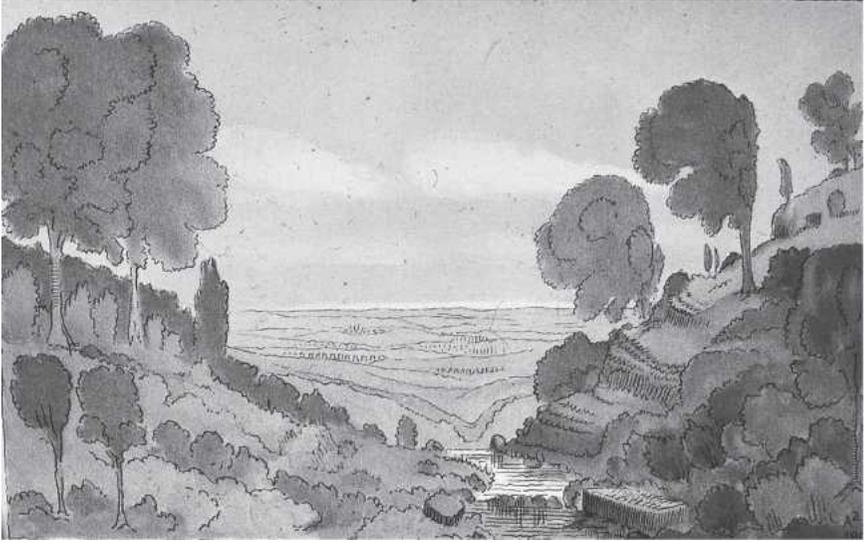


Figure 7: Arthur A. Shurcliff, *Cleared Notch in the Middlesex Fells Reservation*, published in Charles Eliot, *Vegetation and Scenery in the Metropolitan Reservations of Boston* (1898).

from the beach, tore down the shanty developments, and constructed public bathhouses, pavilions, and a police station to regulate and perfect a day at the shore. One must admit that this is an upper-class assumption of what the experience of ocean bathing should be for the working class. Nevertheless, the public arrived by the tens of thousands to enjoy what is America's earliest public ocean beach (Figure 8).<sup>34</sup>

A second broad landscape type for Eliot was the tidal estuaries that fed into Boston Harbor—the Mystic, Charles, and Neponset Rivers. The Charles was the central, largest, and most important of the three and the one that eluded Eliot's efforts during his lifetime (Figure 9). As early as midcentury, the tidal estuary of the Charles was the focus of proposals for its redevelopment.<sup>35</sup> Eliot began to work at this problem in the early 1890s in projects for the Cambridge Park Commission that included the reclamation from industrial uses of the Cambridge shore of the Charles River. He joined a legislative commission to study the possibility of damming the Charles River near its junction with Boston Harbor to allow its development as a freshwater park. The wealthy property owners along Beacon Street, whose houses enjoyed a view over the smelly expanse of the Charles estuary, feared that a freshwater river would encourage park development behind their residences, allowing public access to their prized vista. Among the sources to which Eliot turned for inspiration was the Alster Basin in Hamburg, which he had visited and photographed on



Figure 8: Revere Beach Reservation, Revere, Massachusetts, 1896. From *Charles Eliot, Landscape Architect* (1902), following page 676.



Figure 9: Charles River Basin from the air, ca. 1980 (courtesy of Alex S. MacLean/Landslides).



Figure 10: One of the Alster Basins at Hamburg, published by Charles Eliot in his report on the Muddy River and the Charles River, 1896.

his 1886 tour (Figure 10).<sup>36</sup> His proposals were not endorsed by the legislature, and it was not until 1910, more than a decade after Eliot's death, that the damming of the Charles was completed and the river reservation he had envisioned and fought for was initially developed. Eliot died rapidly from spinal meningitis in the spring of 1897, after only one decade of professional practice. Although he initially was determined to have his own office, he eventually agreed to form a partnership—Olmsted, Olmsted & Eliot—in 1893. From that base, he pursued his massive scheme for the preservation and development of the landscape of Greater Boston and an exhausting list of projects throughout the country.

In these impressive efforts, Eliot's debt to Prince Pückler remained consistent and obvious. He had learned his profession, in part, as a wanderer, following the example if not the itinerary of Prince Pückler. He had written about his travels and observations, interpreting ideals observed in different circumstances and the lessons they could teach, as had the prince. He believed, like Pückler, that both natural and human landscapes merited preservation and development. He sought to find the inherent quality or character in any landscape and improve it, primarily through the use of native plant material. Eliot believed in the broad treatment of all forms of landscape, as he had observed in Muskau, and in improving the intimate interaction of man with his environment (Figure 11). He fought for the creation of public landscape forms for all levels of society.



Figure 11: Charles Eliot, spring 1897. Courtesy of Alexander Y. Goriansky.

Even Eliot's earlier mentor, Frederick Law Olmsted, ultimately understood how novel and important the larger vision of landscape preservation and development derived from Pückler and Muskau was for the history of landscape architecture in the United States. Writing to his

partners John Charles Olmsted and Charles Eliot in 1893, Olmsted summarized his feelings about the significance of their current projects:

Nothing else compares in importance to us with the Boston work, meaning the Metropolitan quite equally with the city work. The two together will be the most important work in our profession now in hand anywhere in the world . . . In our probable life-time, Muddy River, Blue Hills, the Fells, Waverly Oaks, Charles River, and the Beaches will be points to date from in the history of American Landscape Architecture, as much as Central Park. They will be the opening of new chapters in the art.<sup>37</sup>

From Olmsted's list, only the Muddy River development of the Boston Municipal Park System was a project inaugurated before Eliot joined the partnership—all of the others were ones he brought to the firm. The Blue Hills and the Middlesex Fells were substantial forest reservations at the edges of the Boston Basin. The Waverley Oaks were the initial inspiration for the Trustees of Public Reservations and the first acquisition of the Boston Metropolitan Park System. By "the Beaches," Olmsted was primarily referring to Revere Beach on the Atlantic Ocean. The Charles River was the central of the three tidal estuaries that flow into Boston Harbor and the spine for the metropolitan landscape plan. As key elements of the comprehensive regional landscape vision that Eliot conceived, they are ultimately heirs in great measure to the ideals of Prince Pückler at Muskau.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Gert Groening discusses the interest of both Charles Eliot and his father, Charles W. Eliot, in German landscape literature and Pückler's work at Muskau in his essay "Über einige Aspekte der Arbeit deutsch-amerikanischer Gartenarchitekten in den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika des 19. Jahrhunderts," *Die Gartenkunst* 18, no. 1(2006): 33.

<sup>2</sup> The standard source for information on Charles Eliot is the biography/anthology published anonymously by his father: [Charles W. Eliot], *Charles Eliot. Landscape Architect* (Boston, 1902):hereafter CELA. In 1999, the University of Massachusetts Press republished the volume with a new introduction by Keith N. Morgan for the Library of American Landscape History's series celebrating the centennial of the American Society of Landscape Architects.

<sup>3</sup> For further information on President Eliot, consult: Henry James, *Charles W. Eliot. President of Harvard University, 1869–1909* (Boston, 1930) and Hugh Hawkins, *Between Harvard and America: The Educational Leadership of Charles W. Eliot* (New York, 1972).

<sup>4</sup> Charles Eliot discussed the landscape travels of Prince Pückler in his essay "Muskau—A German Country Park," *Garden and Forest* (January 18, 1891): "He saw Vienna, Munich, Switzerland, Venice, Rome, Naples, southern France, Paris and the lands between, for all his journeying was done wither on foot or on horseback . . . [In 1812] he made his first visit to England, where he saw the landscape work of Brown and Repton . . ." CELA, 359.

<sup>5</sup> Charles Eliot, diary for 1875, Charles Eliot Collection held by Alexander Goriansky.

<sup>6</sup> For a discussion of the Eliots' (father and son) activities at Mount Desert, Maine, and the eventual effort to secure a landscape reservation on that island, see David Haney, "Scenic Illusions: The Nature Pursuit at Mount Desert Island" (MA thesis, Yale University, 1995).

<sup>7</sup> Cynthia Zaitzevsky, *Frederick Law Olmsted and the Boston Municipal Park System* (Cambridge, Mass., 1980), discusses Eliot and Henry Sargent Codman, the first two interns in the Fairsted office who later became members of the firm: see 131–35.

<sup>8</sup> For his father's discussion of Eliot's work in the Olmsted office, see CELA, 34–45. From June through October 1885, Eliot visited urban parks, arboreta, country estates and natural areas from New England down the Atlantic seaboard to the Appalachian and Great Smokey mountains of Virginia and North Carolina. This domestic "grand tour" was a dress rehearsal for his longer and more influential study tour through England and Europe.

<sup>9</sup> CELA, 207.

<sup>10</sup> Charles Eliot, 1886 diary, January 10, 1886, Charles Eliot Collection held by Alexander Goriansky.

<sup>11</sup> The call cards that Eliot presented at the British Museum Library have been preserved in the Charles Eliot Papers, Special Collections, Loeb Library, Graduate School of Design, Harvard University. On October 11, 1885, he inspected for the first time Pückler's *Andeutungen* (1834) and *Aus dem Nachlass des Fürsten von Pückler-Muskau* (Leipzig, 1873–74).

<sup>12</sup> James Bryce was both a professor of law and member of Parliament. He had first met President Eliot and his son in 1879 when he stayed at the Eliot house in Cambridge during a tour of the United States. He later became the most respected observer of the American political system: his book *The American Commonwealth* was published in 1888.

<sup>13</sup> Rawnsley was keenly interested in what Eliot could tell him of conservation efforts in the United States and became ultimately one of the founders of the National Trust for Places of Scenic and Natural Beauty in England. Charles Eliot Norton, his father's cousin and his former professor of art history at Harvard, may have introduced Eliot to Rawnsley. Norton was an early member of the Lakeland Defense Society and a close friend of another influential Lake District resident, John Ruskin.

<sup>14</sup> Charles Eliot to his family, September 21, 1886, Charles Eliot correspondence for 1886 held by Alexander Y. Goriansky; CELA, 190–191.

<sup>15</sup> Charles Eliot to Frederick Law Olmsted, October 10, 1887, Eliot correspondence for 1887, held by Alexander Goriansky. Eliot also mentions here discussing Muskau with fellow Olmsted office member Henry Sargent Codman in an earlier letter.

<sup>16</sup> Charles Eliot, "Anglomania in Park Making," *Garden and Forest* (April 4, 1888): 64; CELA, 217–18. It was not that Eliot wanted to substitute Muskau for England but rather that the choice of plant material of indigenous quality was as evident at Muskau as in any American park. The plant material at Muskau was often quite similar to American conditions.

<sup>17</sup> Charles Eliot, "A List of Books on Landscape Gardening," *Garden and Forest* (April 18, 1888) 94–95; CELA, 221–23.

<sup>18</sup> "Muskau—A German Country Park," *Garden and Forest* (January 28, 1891): 38–41; reprinted in CELA, 358–63. This citation can be found on page 360.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>20</sup> CELA, 361.

<sup>21</sup> CELA, 362–63.

<sup>22</sup> Charles Eliot, "The White Park," *Garden and Forest* (August 13, 1890): 390–91.

<sup>23</sup> Charles Eliot to Mrs. Rowland Hazard, August 27, 1888, Charles Eliot Collection, Graduate School of Design, Harvard University; CELA, 237.

<sup>24</sup> Charles Eliot to Mrs. Rowland Hazard, November, 1888. CELA, 236.

- <sup>25</sup> William H. Jordy et al., *Buildings of Rhode Island* (New York, 2004), 383–85, provides a comprehensive discussion of the development of the Peacedale mill village and estate complex.
- <sup>26</sup> Charles Eliot to Mary Yale Eliot, May 11, 1891, Charles Eliot collection held by Alexander Goriansky; CELA, 299–300.
- <sup>27</sup> Mary Ann Meyers, *A New World Jerusalem: The Swedenborgian Experience in Community Construction*, Contributions in American Studies, 65 (Westport, 1983), especially chapter 4, “The Physical and Social Structure: Establishment of a Community,” 52–60, provides basic information on the creation of the Academy, the Pitcairn family estates, the Cathedral, and a development of houses for staff of the school and church.
- <sup>28</sup> Charles Eliot to Jonathan Pitcairn, October 17, 1891, Charles Eliot Collection, Graduate School of Design, Harvard University.
- <sup>29</sup> Charles Eliot, “The Waverley Oaks: A Plan for Their Preservation for the People,” *Garden and Forest* (February 19, 1890): 85–86; CELA, 318 (article 317–19). For a further discussion of Waverly Oaks, see Eleanor McPeck, Keith Morgan, and Cynthia Zaitzevsky, eds., *Olmsted in Massachusetts: The Public Legacy. Report of the Inventory Committee of the Massachusetts Association for Olmsted Parks* (Brookline, 1983), 1–7.
- <sup>30</sup> Sylvester Baxter, “Greater Boston’s Metropolitan Park System,” *Boston Evening Transcript*, September 29, 1893. Baxter explained the chronology of the development of the metropolitan ideal for Boston: In 1891, a brochure called ‘Greater Boston,’ by the present writer, was published . . . The organization of Boston and the surrounding cities and towns in a ‘federated metropolis’ as a civic entity was advocated, giving a unified administration for various functions of collective concern . . . Soon after the appearance of ‘Greater Boston’ . . . the writer met his friend Charles Eliot, the young landscape architect. Eliot, enthusiastic about the suggested metropolitan park system, proposed that they work together for realizing it.” I am grateful to Karl Haglund for sharing his research on Sylvester Baxter.
- <sup>31</sup> Charles Eliot to Charles Francis Adams, Jr., October 6, 1892, Charles Eliot Papers, Special Collections, Loeb Library, Graduate School of Design, Harvard University; CELA, 381. Charles Francis Adams, Jr., was familiar with Eliot’s professional credentials, having approached him in the fall of 1890 to advise on the development of a new town at Garfield, Utah, for the Union Pacific Railroad, of which Adams was the president from 1884 to 1890.
- <sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 367, 662.
- <sup>33</sup> *Vegetation and Scenery in the Metropolitan Reservations of Boston: A Forestry Report written by Charles Eliot and submitted to the Metropolitan Park Commission, February 15, 1897* (Boston, 1898).
- <sup>34</sup> For further information on Revere Beach, see Keith N. Morgan, Revere Beach National Historic Landmark nomination report, National Park Service, 2003. Revere Beach was made a National Historic Landmark on July 24, 2004.
- <sup>35</sup> For an in-depth analysis of the Charles River Basin, see Karl Haglund, *Inventing the Charles River* (Cambridge, Mass., 2003), *passim*.
- <sup>36</sup> I am grateful to Gert Groening for bringing to my attention his essay on the relationship between the Alster Basin and the Charles River Basin. Gert Groening, “Das Charles River Basin in Boston und die Alster in Hamburg: Über die Fruchtbarkeit internationalen Austauschs bei der Konzeption einer Stadtlandschaft,” *Beiträge zur räumlichen Planung* 50 (1999): 193–215.
- <sup>37</sup> Frederick Law Olmsted to partners, October 28, 1893, Frederick Law Olmsted Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

# BRINGING THE AMERICANIZED PÜCKLER BACK TO GERMANY: CHARLES ELIOT AND THE GERMAN PARK REFORM MOVEMENT

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This paper does not focus upon Pückler's influence in America but rather on how the German planner Werner Hegemann characterized the landscape architect Charles Eliot as the American heir to Pückler and, further, how Hegemann and his landscape architect colleague Leberecht Migge's "re"-introduction of Pückler's ideas via Eliot's work to Germany in the years before World War I affected landscape planning.<sup>1</sup> Within the context of landscape history, the years between 1890 and World War I may be understood as a pivotal period of transition between the landscape park era of Pückler and the open space concepts of Weimar modernism. This line of development from Pückler to Eliot in the late nineteenth century, and then to Hegemann and Migge in the early twentieth, may be but one of several informing the development of modernist landscape planning, but it is an important one, revealing a continuity of ideas in which Pückler's work played a critical, if heretofore unacknowledged, role.

Werner Hegemann was trained as an economist and urban planner, not as a landscape architect, and he understood park planning as much from a social and economic perspective as from an aesthetic one. As part of his training, he studied under the socialist economist Charles Gide in Paris in 1903–1904; the following year, he journeyed to the United States, where he studied for a time with Simon Patten at the University of Pennsylvania in what was to become the Wharton School of Economics.<sup>2</sup> After completing his doctorate at the University of Munich in 1908, Hegemann returned to the U.S. to work as a housing inspector in Philadelphia, and the following year he moved to Boston. While in Boston, he met the Olmsted brothers and their associates, some of the most important people in American park design at the time, and through them became familiar with the work of the recently deceased Charles Eliot. Because of his American experiences, Hegemann was invited to help organize the 1910 *Städtebau* (Urban Design) exhibition in Berlin, one of the most important exhibitions of the kind anywhere in the world before World War I. Hegemann was well connected in Germany: his uncle was the urban planner Otto March, who introduced him to the circle involved with the journal *Der Städtebau* founded by Theodor Goecke and Camillo

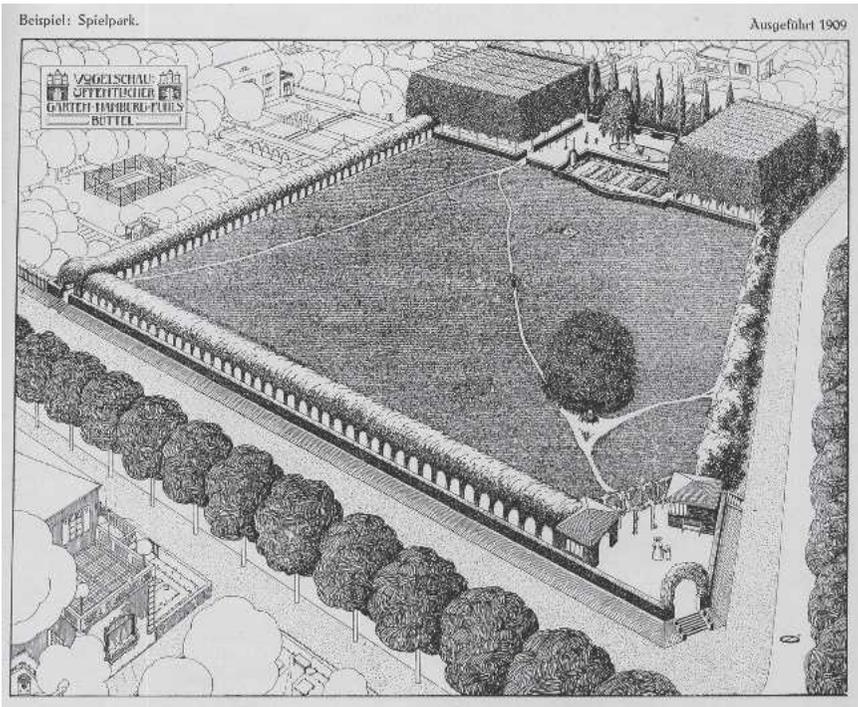


Figure 1: Aerial Drawing of Fuhlsbüttel Park by Migge, 1909. From: Jakob Ochs, “Deutsche Neuzeitliche Gärten” in Werner Hegemann, *Ein Parkbuch* (1911), facing page 12.

Sitte. Hegemann had already made the acquaintance of the influential architect Hermann Muthesius, who in turn may have connected him with Leberecht Migge.<sup>3</sup>

The well-attended Berlin exhibition focused upon a range of cities around the world, and was to have wide-reaching influence. A second exhibition on urban design organized by Hegemann in 1912 in Düsseldorf included additional material, such as the original color renderings of Daniel Burnham’s Chicago Plan and drawings of the first public park designed by Leberecht Migge, for Hamburg-Fuhlsbüttel (Figure 1). In the years 1911 and 1912, Hegemann published two volumes, also entitled *Der Städtebau*, documenting the contents and focal points of the two exhibitions.<sup>4</sup> Because of his training, he understood the contemporary city as the product of quantifiable economic and social forces that had resulted in densification and over-population in the nineteenth century, thus negatively impacting the quality of life for all. In these volumes, Hegemann presented urban planning as a new science dedicated to remedying these societal problems.

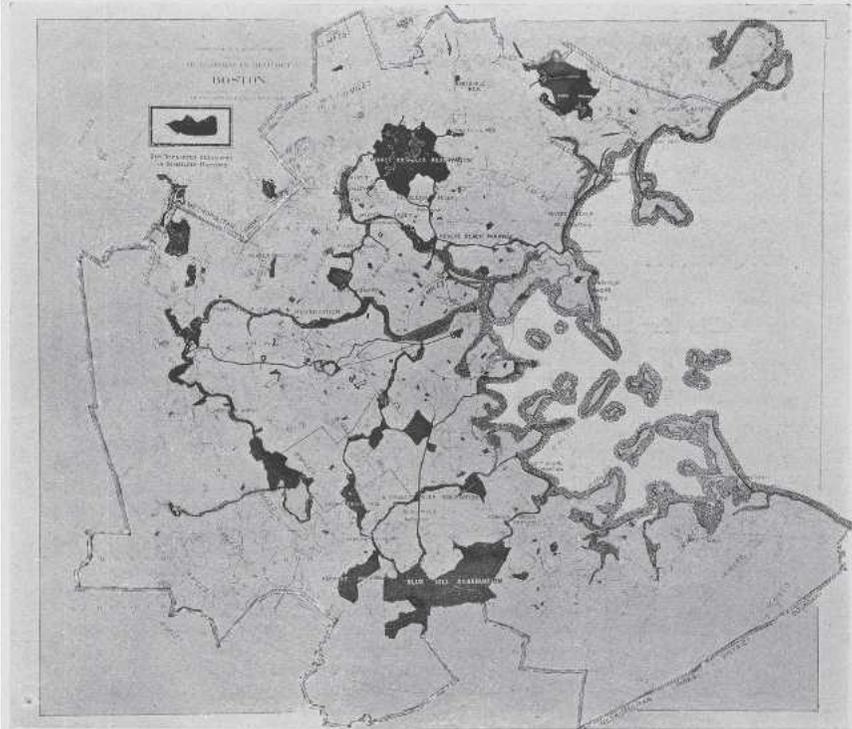
The second volume of *Der Städtebau* was devoted to landscape planning and prominently featured the work of Charles Eliot and the Olmsted Brothers firm in the United States. Hegemann focused exclusively on Eliot's metropolitan park system for Boston (completely ignoring his other landscape work), which he interpreted from his planner's perspective. An official plan of the Boston park system, which had probably hung in the exhibitions, was included in the volume, but in one corner of the drawing Hegemann added a plan of Berlin's Tiergarten at the same scale, intended as a polemic to show how much greater in size the Boston parks actually were (Figure 2). He obviously hoped this would goad German authorities to take action. Eliot had conceived the metropolitan park system in the 1890's as a large-scale park system at the bounds of the metropolitan area, his thinking influenced by Prince Pückler's writings and his Muskau estate.<sup>5</sup> The connection between Pückler and Eliot was a point not lost on the German observer Hegemann, who emphasized this transatlantic cultural translation in the second volume of *Der Städtebau*:

[T]he older Olmsted was open to these ideas, and the good old families of New England sent Charles Eliot as an understanding representative to Germany. The works of Pückler-Muskau affected Eliot like an epiphany; he carried the precious seed that would have dried up in Germany back to his homeland and brought it to an unexpected flowering in the park systems of Boston. From there, these ideas should return to Germany.<sup>6</sup>

With this somewhat dramatic narrative of events that had indeed taken place, Hegemann succeeded in making Eliot's ideas seem less foreign to his German audience, thus rendering the Boston metropolitan park system an acceptable prototype for park planning in German cities.

The projects of Eliot and the Olmsted Brothers were not presented by Hegemann as patterns to be copied but as general models to guide and inform German park planning. Hegemann did not simply reproduce the American park materials but transformed them for his own purposes, via the media of exhibition and publication. In 1911, Hegemann also wrote a smaller booklet titled simply *Ein Parkbuch* (A Park Book), which focused exclusively upon American parks and landscape planning.<sup>7</sup> Another booklet by him introducing the Chicago Plan to a German audience was also published that year, and the two were sometimes bound together. *Ein Parkbuch* accompanied a small traveling exhibition on American parks that toured various German cities; together, the book and exhibition raised consciousness on the topic among the lay public and professionals alike. *Ein Parkbuch* was financed in part by the garden design firm of Jakob Ochs in Hamburg, where Migge worked, and it may be assumed that the latter brokered this arrangement.<sup>8</sup> This connection was not inci-

DER PARKZWECKVERBAND GROSS-BOSTON  
(Metropolitan Parks Distrikt).



Zweckverbandsgrenze: grau schraffiert. — Parks und Parkstraßen: schwarz.

Das Parksystem Groß-Boston umfasst das Gebiet von 39 Gemeinden mit einer Bevölkerung von zusammen 1,6 Millionen Menschen. Innerhalb eines Radius von 20 km um das Rathaus von Boston liegen 6116 ha öffentlicher Parkanlagen. Die Länge der Parkstraßen beträgt 119 km. Der schwarze Fleck links oben (außerhalb der Verbandsgrenze) ist der Berliner Tiergarten im selben Maßstabe.

Figure 2: Plan of Boston Metropolitan Park System with scale plan of the Tiergarten, probably added by Hegemann. From: Werner Hegemann, *Ein Parkbuch* (1911), facing page 5.

dental: The Ochs firm was known throughout the German-speaking world as one of the most progressive representatives of garden reform, primarily because of Migge's work.

Although Hegemann was concerned with the entire range of urban planning and design issues, he considered the creation of public parks and urban landscapes to be among the most important tasks of the new

discipline of planning. He and others saw themselves as members of a new generation, responding to new urban conditions, as he explained:

In this era of urban expansion, a mission of the highest cultural significance emerges for the park architect. Today his work must employ a scale that we have never known before, indeed even scarcely could imagine. For whom did the garden architects of yesterday work? For a few privileged.<sup>9</sup>

Cities had indeed expanded to a scale greater than had been known even in the mid-nineteenth century, during the era when park designers such as the senior Olmsted and Gustav Meyer were creating urban parks in New York City and Berlin, respectively. Fifty years before that, Pückler and his fellow aristocrats had designed park landscapes for the elite. Now these ideas had to be translated to a broader public, Hegemann believed, and on a greater scale. With that change in scale came a change in spatial sensibility; the transformation from city to metropolis required new park types, which is the reason why Hegemann embraced Eliot's metropolitan park concepts. In *Ein Parkbuch*, Hegemann only presented the overall plan of Eliot's metropolitan park system. He did not include any images of the actual parks, nor did he discuss Eliot's design strategies in any detail. He also did not mention the conceptual debt to Pückler (the comments cited above were published a year later). Rather, Hegemann devoted more space to the description of actual parks designed by Olmsted (then deceased) and his sons, who operated the Olmsted Brothers firm. Yet Hegemann's own reading of the comparatively smaller spaces in Franklin Park in Boston designed by the senior Olmsted in the late nineteenth century suggests some reasons for his appreciation of the extensive scale of the metropolitan parks:

In [the senior Olmsted's] works, one finds everywhere attention to generous perspectives and their magnificent framing through the passionate care and exact understanding of the placing of selected trees; there are perspectives that are nearly closed-off in the distance, yet still allow a view towards forms further away, thus awakening a satisfying feeling of *the endless* . . . providing the city dweller with a welcome contrast to the daily experience of the walls of the dwelling. This precious distant view is almost entirely lacking in the Berlin Tiergarten, for example [emphasis added].<sup>10</sup>

The older Olmsted belonged to a nineteenth-century generation of designers who adapted principles inherited from the English picturesque to the needs of an urban public. Hegemann recognized the importance of framing the view, a central principle of the picturesque, but at the same

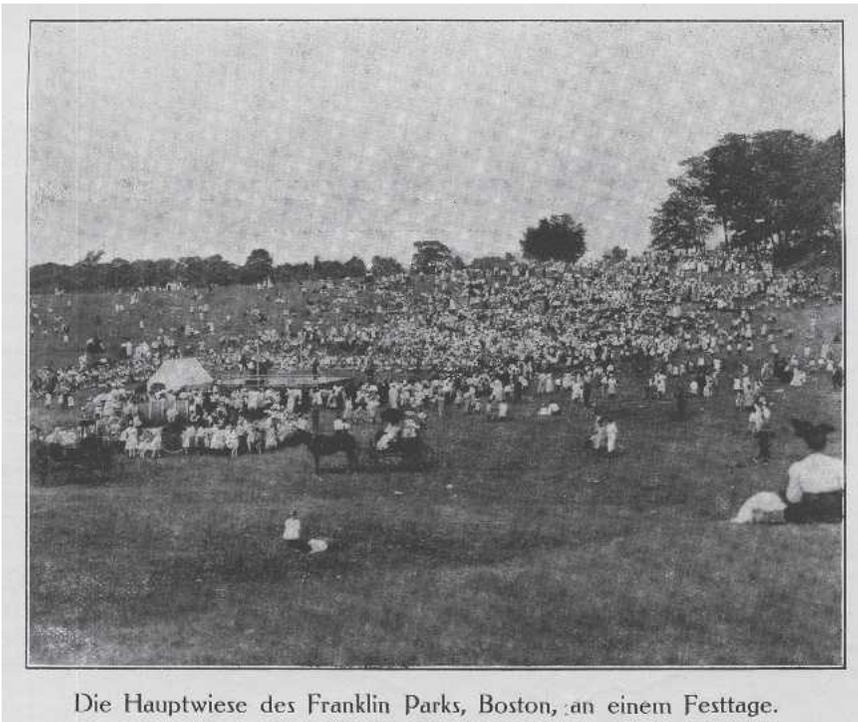


Figure 3: Photograph of Franklin Park, possibly supplied by the Olmsted Bros. Office. From: Werner Hegemann, *Ein Parkbuch* (1911), facing page 4.

time he emphasized the desire to experience depth as a move towards sublime expansiveness; the preciousness of the picturesque tableaux was of less importance to him. As he mentions, the Berlin Tiergarten, designed in the early nineteenth-century in the picturesque or even gardenesque mode, was unsatisfactory to him because it lacked this sense of great depth. A photograph of Franklin Park chosen for *Ein Parkbuch* showed a crowd gathered near a temporary stage in an open field. What is particularly noticeable about the image is the complete lack of information about the landscape design; the primary focus is instead upon the open space of the field, and the human activities within it (Figure 3).

Hegemann consciously formulated his understanding of space in the context of the new metropolitan scale, as did Charles Eliot. In retrospect, Eliot's writing and park work may also be interpreted in the context of Hegemann's comments. Although Eliot in fact completely transformed Pückler's ideas, the means by which he did so reveal the beginnings of a process of transition from the older picturesque park to modernist open

space in the urban landscape. As Keith Morgan shows, the two most important concepts that Eliot took from Pückler in this context were the vision of comprehensive landscape planning at the scale of entire districts and the conviction that only minimal intervention was required to bring existing landscapes to reflect an aesthetic ideal, necessary to meet human cultural needs.<sup>11</sup> Pückler had applied his ideas to his own large rural estate. Eliot, on the other hand, used these same principles to address the problems brought about by the new metropolitan scale. Eliot, who grew up in Cambridge and Boston, was a child of the city and had personally witnessed its rapid growth in the last decades of the nineteenth century. Together with his father, Harvard University president Charles W. Eliot, he had passed his childhood summers on the island of Mount Desert off the coast of Maine, a landscape known for dramatic, semi-barren mountain scenery. It could be said that for Eliot, the Boston metropolitan region extended to Mount Desert Island, which for him and others represented as much of a “wild” landscape as could be easily reached from the city. At the other end of the scale were the Boston Common and Public Garden, clearly delimited green spaces surrounded by the dense central city. In the older suburbs, the chain of parks designed by the senior Olmsted, referred to by Bostonians as the “Emerald Necklace,” possessed a more picturesque landscape character. Probably drawing upon Olmsted’s park ring concept, Eliot formulated his own plan for a series of parks, or “reservations,” to be located even farther out from the city center and created from existing landscapes situated both geographically and conceptually between wilder areas far from the city and the more refined parks of the urban center.

At the level of detail as well, Eliot’s discussion of the physical transformation of unimproved landscapes into functional public parks again suggests a new aesthetic preference for the sublimity of extensive open space. For Eliot, the primary purpose of the metropolitan parks was to provide the public with “the sight of something very different from public garden, square, or ball-field.”<sup>12</sup> These reservations would provide the public who traveled to the outskirts of the metropolis via new electric street cars with, “scenery which possesses uncommon beauty and more than usual refreshing power.”<sup>13</sup> From his mentor Olmsted, Eliot inherited the belief that the viewing of scenery provided positive psychological and therefore hygienic effects for urban dwellers. However, the character of Eliot’s metropolitan parks was to be entirely different from those created by Olmsted. For Eliot, the primary task necessary for transforming these areas into parks was the cutting away of not only undergrowth but whole stands of trees in order to open up the expansive views he deemed an essential park function. One of the pairs of illustrations by Arthur Shurcliff showing before and projected after images of tree-cutting efforts in

the metropolitan parks was intended to prove the importance of opening up distant views (see Figures 7 and 8 in Keith Morgan's contribution, pages X and Y above).<sup>14</sup> The composition of the vegetation was of little importance by comparison; depth rather than framing was emphasized. Further evidence of this intention is found in the photographs of newly cutover areas exhibiting an almost barren quality, uncannily reminiscent of the landscapes of Mount Desert Island, suggesting another possible biographical influence on Eliot's thinking.

In his discussions of practical matters of landscape improvement, Eliot was less inclined to mention Pückler's influence, but a comparison of Eliot's written guidelines with the prince's 1834 book *Andeutungen über Landschaftsgärtnerei* (*Hints on Landscape Gardening*) provides further evidence as to how Eliot put principles learned from Pückler into practice.<sup>15</sup> Cutting away trees and vegetation was carried out through the use of the axe, which, Eliot noted, "must be used with discretion."<sup>16</sup> He apparently encountered some resistance to this strategy: "We are well aware that the axe is regarded with a sort of horror by many excellent people at this time," he observed, but he then went on to insist that this was the only way to "rescue" scenery.<sup>17</sup> Here, he was clearly influenced by Pückler, who had referred to the axe and the spade as the "brush and chisel" of park-making.<sup>18</sup> Pückler further noted that without the axe, trees would grow over the head, out of control; the axe should thus not be allowed to rest in winter.<sup>19</sup> Pückler discussed the axe in terms of maintenance and the opening up of views; for Eliot, however, it was the primary tool for the overall creation of the metropolitan park spaces. Eliot, unlike Pückler, distinguished his metropolitan parks from "landscapes" that were designed by a "landscape gardener," believing instead that the metropolitan parks should be created and maintained by a "landscape forester."<sup>20</sup> In formulating the specific character of the metropolitan parks and the way it should be achieved, Eliot was reacting to a specific set of conditions, but he intrinsically conceived the new park type in the context of the new metropolitan scale.

Hegemann, and later Migge, derived two primary principles from Eliot's metropolitan parks. First, the character of parks on the edge of the metropolis should be determined by the provision of extensive open space, not intensive landscape design. Secondly, park character and scale should be defined by the relative position in the metropolitan area and region, meaning that a range of park types should be implemented through coordinated systems managed by public agencies. Hegemann was not interested in the specific character of the Boston metropolitan parks, however, and along with his analysis of Franklin Park, he also presented the work of the Olmsted Brothers, particularly the series of small parks intended primarily for sporting use that they designed for

inner Chicago. Hegemann emphasized the functional, geometric planning of these small Chicago parks, in which all spaces were designated for specific purposes. Photographs of the Chicago parks showing children running races, swimming, or playing were intended to support the argument for active physical recreation. Park reform movements aimed at making parks more suitable for active physical use were then taking place internationally; everywhere, there was a new emphasis on health and exercise, particularly for children and youth.

Hegemann introduced the idea of American parks designed for physical culture into a cultural context dominated by the popular reception of Friedrich Nietzsche's "life philosophy." Nietzsche believed that it was through the body that humans encountered and understood the world, the body was the location of human life forces and should be celebrated as such.<sup>21</sup> In terms of the experience of the landscape, this meant a shift away from passive aesthetic contemplation by the eye alone, as represented by the landscape park, towards the active use of outdoor space, in open air under the sun, as represented by the sports park. "Life reform," a collection of popular movements beginning in the 1890s inspired by Nietzsche's life philosophy, resulted in a widespread embrace of practices such as vegetarianism, physical culture, and even nude sunbathing. The new reform park as espoused by Hegemann and others would provide an ideal public location for such activities.

Park reform as a movement grew out of garden reform in the early years of the twentieth century. Both landscape reform movements aimed at reviving geometric modes of planning in order to create functional outdoor room-like spaces in complete opposition to the comparatively amorphous scenery of the picturesque. Hegemann's *Parkbuch* of 1911 was highly effective in promoting new park reform ideas within a professional environment clouded by the protests of an older generation of garden designers who actively resisted. The reform of garden design was more acceptable to many, for it was thought that the traditional "German farmer's garden" had been geometrically planned. This change was thus in keeping with German tradition and identity.<sup>22</sup> Yet with the increase of scale in the public garden and park, geometric planning took on a different character that was immediately associated with the French Baroque, especially the work of Le Notre. For many Germans, such designs were associated with the hereditary enemy, France, and symbolized despotic power over humans and nature, rather than democratic or liberal rule.<sup>23</sup> Hegemann would certainly not have been unaware of this problem, and his decision to include only parks from America was probably deliberately made to counter this tendency. *Das Parkbuch* was published by Wasmuth in Berlin, the publisher who brought out the widely acclaimed monograph on the American architect Frank Lloyd Wright that

same year. Although the Wright book had greater international circulation among architects, Hegemann's *Parkbuch* had a similar revolutionary effect within the smaller field of landscape architecture in Germany. After *Das Parkbuch* and its accompanying exhibition on American parks, conservative resistance to geometric park planning as being "too French" virtually disappeared.

In an eloquent article on the "cultural meaning of open space" published in 1912, the architectural critic Gustav Platz cited the importance of Hegemann's *Parkbuch* and Eliot's work to German park reform and the new "people's park" concept.<sup>24</sup> Platz observed that, "On a small scale the concept of the people's park idea is realized in the Fuhlsbüttel Garden (perhaps for the first time in Germany)"; that "garden" was Migge's first public park design.<sup>25</sup> Platz further called for an end to debates over garden and park design in order to "free garden design from the fetters of the schematic." He concluded, "In this sense, the thinking and work of Leberecht Migge deserves appreciation."<sup>26</sup> Migge, who was instrumental in organizing and conceiving the park exhibition, and who undoubtedly convinced his employer Jakob Ochs to finance the book, was at this time gaining recognition as one of the most important designers in the field. An illustration of Migge's 1909 Fuhlsbüttel park was included in *Ein Parkbuch* as an important new example of German reform design. While it was Hegemann who initially brought American planning ideas over to Germany and Europe, Migge as a designer translated them in more detail to suit the German situation and strove to put these principles into practice through his own work.

Leberecht Migge, who like Hegemann was born in 1881, trained as a gardener first in a commercial nursery in Danzig and then in a government-run school for gardeners in Oranienburg in Berlin during the years 1899–1901.<sup>27</sup> He was indelibly impressed by his experience in the commercial nursery; his ideal world was a world of gardens, but gardens that embraced technological advance and functionalism, not picturesque aestheticism. After Hegemann, Migge was the most important writer to bring Eliot's work, and thus by implication the "Americanized" version of Pückler's ideas, to Germany and continental Europe. In addition to his role in this particular story, Migge was one of the most recognized garden and park designers of his generation. The German historian Marie Luise Gothein presented him as an important young talent, concluding her 1914 international survey of garden history with an illustration of a private water park he designed in Hamburg.<sup>28</sup> The critic Robert Breuer even went so far as to consider Migge on the same level of international importance for public park design as the senior Olmsted.<sup>29</sup> After World War I, Migge was one of the few landscape designers to collaborate with modernist architects on the planning of vast housing estates. His writings

and design work are important to an understanding of modernist planning, not least because of the connection to Hegemann and Eliot and, by extension, Pückler.

During his training years at the gardeners' school in Oranienburg, Migge would have been introduced to Pückler's *Andeutungen* along with other gardening classics such as the Englishman Humphry Repton's *Theory and Practice of Landscape-Gardening*.<sup>30</sup> However, Migge almost never cited Pückler's influence directly, possibly because the landscape park of the nineteenth century was unpopular in reform circles. On one occasion in 1915, Migge wrote a short commentary in the leading design journal *Die Gartenkunst* criticizing an article in a previous issue by another writer, whom he believed would have offended even Pückler with his nationalistic observation that Pückler's work offered an authentically German mode, as opposed to "foreign" importations.<sup>31</sup> In his piece, Migge also referred to Pückler as a "technician" rather than as an "artist," a title that Migge himself wholly rejected. Aside from this, one can only infer Pückler's possible influence on Migge. Eliot's work as presented by Hegemann, on the other hand, was certainly a great catalyst to Migge's thinking, and his work after 1911 cannot be understood without it.

In 1913, Migge published his first important book, *Gartenkultur des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Garden Culture of the Twentieth Century), in which he presented his concept of an urban "culture" based on gardens and gardening.<sup>32</sup> One of the most significant features of the book is Migge's systematic discussion of garden types in relation to the metropolis, a synthesis of his understanding of the Boston metropolitan park system and the German Werkbund discussion of good design types. The metropolis was to be understood as "the mother of all gardens," not merely a necessary evil to be tolerated.<sup>33</sup> Instead, Migge believed, the metropolis embodied the spatial and cultural matrix within which all types of gardens, including parks, would be created. He proposed that the metropolis must be understood as a whole in order to develop a "comprehensive general plan," for green space.<sup>34</sup> Once established, "open spaces, parks, promenades, and plazas in great numbers, very quickly lead from technical-managerial grounds alone to a park system."<sup>35</sup> Again in direct reference to Hegemann and Eliot, Migge put forth the categories of "inner park" and "outer park," the former being more urban and constructed, and the latter freer and less articulated.<sup>36</sup> One of the most important features of the outer park, he wrote, was:

OPEN SPACES. This is a term that we in Germany still scarcely know. With this one refers to large-scale areas of cultivated land, meadows, or woods owned by the city, that for the long term are

kept free from building, or within which only limited settlement is allowed.<sup>37</sup>

The term “open space” for Migge did not mean simply large-scale public space, but more specifically the kind of areas that were included in the outer parks. The necessity of open space was implied in Eliot’s writing, but Migge made it the primary focus. However, unlike Eliot, Migge was concerned not only with forests but also, more in keeping with Pückler’s own landscape planning, with a range of fringe landscapes including cultivated fields. The incorporation of existing landscapes was not to involve extensive reshaping of the land, but only minimal improvements: “Open spaces should not be a prohibitively expensive burden on the city budget, but in complete contrast—a relief valve.”<sup>38</sup> This view was in keeping with the discussions of both Pückler and Eliot on creating park spaces from existing landscape. Migge added the dimension of social and fiscal responsibility.

Migge’s outer park concept was not simply a literal imitation of the Boston Metropolitan Parks, but more of a synthesis of the ideas and projects presented in *Ein Parkbuch* and the accompanying exhibition. Migge combined Eliot’s vision of an outer park band of relatively unimproved areas with the lessons of the functional planning of the Olmsted Brothers’ small sports parks. In *Gartenkultur*, Migge presents outer parks as a kind of neutral field for the insertion of more specialized spaces, which could include open air museums, race tracks, and even air-sports fields.<sup>39</sup> This was obviously a more complex definition of the outer park than Eliot’s single-purpose vision of providing outstanding scenery for mental refreshment. Migge’s understanding of the outer park concept, and open space, was shaped by Eliot at the planning level, but it was also the product of a more comprehensive, international outlook. Among his park illustrations, Migge included the same photograph of Franklin Park that Hegemann had used. He also added others, such as one of Hyde Park in London showing only masses of children playing in a pond, that gave no suggestion as to the actual landscape design. Hegemann had introduced Eliot in Germany as the American heir to Pückler in order to render his work appropriate for Germany, and Migge further considered the problem of how a specifically German park expression would evolve:

If the spirit of the contemporary (on the whole even formless) English people’s parks are to be labeled *naive*, and if we term the sober and fantasy-less park architecture of the Americans simply *rational*, so may our later social park period be conceived to promise the highest here: it should be *monumental*. I hope that with us, the descendants of Goethe, the new and original that lie

hidden in great richness within modern park design will emerge in new, unusual rhythms.<sup>40</sup>

The obvious nationalism aside, Migge implied that a kind of artistic transformation of the landscape was necessary to make the park a true cultural product. Park and garden reform had been based on the idea that landscape spaces should be architectural, geometric, or, in this case, "monumental." How the open spaces of meadows and cultivated fields could be given monumental character he did not say, but he would soon approach this problem in his own work.

Although well received within the landscape profession in the German-speaking countries, *Gartenkultur des 20. Jahrhunderts* did not achieve the international recognition of Hegemann's *Städtebau* volumes. It was, however, significant for bringing the fields of urban planning and garden and park design together in a comprehensive, cohesive system. It was one of the few works in the period to do so. Unlike Hegemann, Migge was a designer, and he put his park planning principles into effect through his own design work, first in the small park in Hamburg-Fuhlsbüttel, and then in larger parks for Oldenburg (1911) and Leipzig (1913). In these latter two "people's parks," Migge employed strict geometric planning to create a series of large open spaces of turf or water surrounded by simple bands of trees and border plantings. Any historical association was avoided; instead the emphasis was asserted to be upon function and objectivity. Using the rhetoric of Nietzsche's life philosophy, Migge wrote that in the large open spaces of the Leipzig park, the "reality of the soul" could be experienced by families and groups at play, for these spaces were intended to be charged with meaning.<sup>41</sup> These were large-scale but nevertheless "inner" urban parks. The first "outer" park that Migge designed was for the new city of Rüstingen, for which he won the design competition in 1913 (Figures 4–6 and Plates 8–9, pages 186–87).

At Rüstingen, Migge combined the principles of functional planning with his understanding of the character of open space, which he had written could include cultivated fields and meadows. The park site was located at a considerable distance from the city center in an agricultural landscape of low, marshy land. The city architect for Rüstingen, Martin Wagner, explained Migge's basic strategy:

The project by Migge used the characteristic marsh landscape as the starting point, to introduce a system of canals of modern intent, that has an extraordinarily practical worth. The extent of the city park areas was bounded by the strong broken outline of property ownership. The land lacked a natural orientation, a directive, fixed spine. This was created through a canal system that clearly traverses the entire extent of the park, and with stringent,



Figure 4: “Before” photograph of Rüstingen Park site, 1914. From: *Die Gartenkunst* 12: 184.

marked form connects the two primary entries for separate districts.<sup>42</sup>

The park for Rüstingen was created by incorporating the surrounding cultural landscape as simply and economically as possible. The leitmotif of the composition, the canal system, was taken from the surrounding landscape. The Swiss garden architect Gustav Amman also praised Migge’s design for his studied respect for the existing “earth-form” (*Bodenplastik*):

Small folds in the land, lower-water areas, the form and situation of gravel pits, etc., give suggestions for further development, for small terraces, canals, little valleys, and embankments. A study of the plan shown here shows the caring attention to all of these small, incidental implications.<sup>43</sup>

Amman’s article was accompanied by a set of dreary “before” photographs of soggy fields and muddy cows juxtaposed with Migge’s “after” sketches of joyfully tumbling children and elegantly promenading adults. It was a brilliant graphic polemic, showing how Migge transformed the empty fields into modern open space while maintaining the existing forms of hedgerows and tree-lined paths. Echoing Migge, Amman



Figure 5: “After” sketch of Rüstringen Park by Migge, 1914. From: *Die Gartenkunst* 12: 185.



Figure 6: Photograph of Rüstringen Park, c. 1918. Courtesy Wilhelmshaven Stadtarchiv.

claimed that new German parks as exemplified by Rüstingen aimed at “monumental design” through their great simplicity, in this instance by using architectural elements such as the terraces, small buildings, extensive pergolas, and the regular figures of the basin and canals.<sup>44</sup> The embrace of the existing agricultural landscape had cultural significance as well, reinforced by the inclusion of an existing dairy made into an “open-air museum” (*Freiluftmuseum*) of traditional rural life. One of Migge’s sketches showed children playing among the dairy cattle, giving young city dwellers an experience they were thought to have otherwise lacked.

A comparison of this park design with the earlier work of Eliot and even Pückler shows that despite the new emphasis on functional and geometric planning, a line of continuity may be discerned. The principle of minimal intervention in the existing landscape espoused by Pückler and later taken up by Eliot was not used to create “natural” but rather cultural landscapes, recalling Pückler’s inclusion of “economic” elements of the working estate in his park. At Rüstingen, a new type of park and open space planning emerged. The relatively irregular land forms and spatial divisions were brought into a cohesive whole through the insertion of a few geometric elements and minimal movement of the land. Whether or not Migge was consciously influenced by Pückler’s thinking in this case, a similar impulse to respect the existing cultural landscape is evident. However, Migge made the park landscape “monumental” not through an image of perfection, *la belle nature*, but through the almost architectural use of pyramidal poplar allées, an approach that in Pückler’s day would have seemed old-fashioned.

Following World War I, Werner Hegemann continued to write about urban design, but his interest in park design was increasingly dominated by his overwhelming preference for architectural open space planning. During the 1920s, Hegemann was not really among the “modernists” in a formalistic sense. He turned, instead, to the urban spatial compositions of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as concrete examples to be used to inform the shaping of the modern city. Migge, on the other hand, continued to develop his thinking on the fringe landscape around the city. In the 1920s, Eliot’s name disappeared from Migge’s writings, but the discussion of open space planning and outer parks remained. The understanding of a system of outer parks was solidified into a “greenbelt” idea, or a continuous landscape zone of open spaces, in which not only sport parks and other facilities would be located, but also small garden colonies and even limited housing areas. The greenbelt idea was derived in part from the metropolitan park system, but was conceived within Migge’s new urban organic agricultural system, which he referred to as “city-land-culture” (*Stadtlandkultur*).<sup>45</sup> Green open space was now to

be utilized for both agricultural as well as recreational activity. Street and household waste from the city center would be brought to this outer zone for processing as organic fertilizer for use in the small garden colonies of the greenbelt.<sup>46</sup>

The line of development from Eliot to Migge shows how the concept of modernist open space evolved during the transitional period following the picturesque park era. Moreover, Migge's own work of the 1920s challenges the commonly held perception that modernist planners only thought of green space as a content-less void, a neutral background to their dramatic buildings. Before the war, Hegemann and Migge had already associated open space with the freedom of the body. Initially in response to the food shortages of the early postwar years, Migge added the connection of the body to the soil through small-scale, intensive urban agriculture.

The first fully developed greenbelt was proposed for the city of Kiel in 1922, but it was in Frankfurt in the late 1920s within the architect Ernst May's "New Frankfurt" program that Migge's planning ideas finally would be executed, at least in part.<sup>47</sup> In 1926 Migge, along with Frankfurt's municipal garden office, planned a landscape combining park land, small garden colonies, and two housing settlements in the narrow Nidda river valley on what was then the northwestern edge of the city (Figure 7).<sup>48</sup> The overall composition of the area was similar to Migge's greenbelt proposals, except that the project concerned only one district, not an entire band around the city. This project is noteworthy for the subtle accommodation of the existing topographical features of the valley and the graduated passage from one landscape area to the next, all designed to reinforce the sense of a continuous flow of space. The long rows of two-story housing units that were perched atop a low bluff on one side of the valley defined the space architecturally and also provided residents with views outwards over the valley. Behind the housing was located the first row of small utility gardens that ended with the terrace wall, also overlooking the valley. The housing blocks were interrupted by small park-like spaces atop apsidal retaining structures that jutted out further into the valley, with stairs allowing passage to the level below. A gridded band of garden colonies continued along the line of the housing terrace above. Beyond the garden colonies, open parkland on either side of the Nidda River stretched uninterrupted among shade trees. On a smaller scale, Migge realized the range of spaces in the greenbelt concept, and though the valley park may not have satisfied a longing for the "endless," a sense of openness and freedom were provided for the residents of the district. Although this planning concept had come a long way from Eliot's metropolitan park system, and even farther from Pückler's plans for his estate, the series of transformations that led up to this project were not



Figure 7: Aerial Photograph of the Nidda Valley with Praunheim and Römerstadt Siedlungen, 1929. Courtesy Frankfurt am Main Institut für Stadtgeschichte.

necessarily the product of an abrupt cultural break, as has often been assumed of modernist design.

As a footnote to this story, Migge's overall plan for the city of Frankfurt, prepared in 1928 for Ernst May in the form of a bound report, demonstrates the extremes to which modernist planners could carry their idealized rationalizations.<sup>49</sup> In his report, Migge presented a diagrammatic plan for the future development of Frankfurt that could also be understood as a general paradigm for universal application. Titled, "The Communal Colonial Park" (*Der Kommunalen Kolonial-Park*), Migge's plan diagram completely inverted the relationship between dense urban core and outer park system that he had initially grasped from Eliot's analyses (Figure 8). An enormous new city was to be built to the north of the existing city of Frankfurt. It would consist of a vast open park area at the core and be surrounded by a ring of low-rise housing and small garden colonies. The extensive inner park area would contain two large spaces within it, labeled simply "intensive agriculture": one of the central concepts of the scheme was that the city should be able to grow the majority of its own food, and thus be relatively self-sufficient as a community. This scheme was obviously the product of a set of more complex assumptions taken from the garden city movement, from the anarchist belief in self-sufficiency, and even from the principles of organic gardening. However,

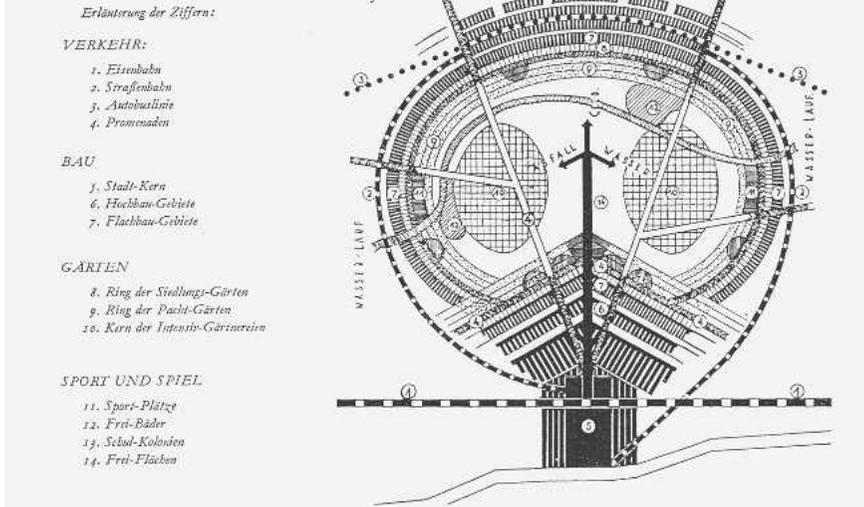


Figure 8: Diagram of the “Communal Colonial Park” by Migge, based on his plan for Frankfurt Main. From: Migge, “Grünpolitik der Stadt Frankfurt am Main,” *Städtebau 2* (1929): 43.

in comparison to Eliot’s metropolitan park system, here the desire for open space would no longer necessitate a flight from the city core, but in fact meant traveling inwards, reducing the distance and also making open space itself the main civic focus. The whole would remain a kind of metropolitan aggregate, but Migge ignored the reality that cities tend to grow outward in ring-like extensions. Migge’s city-as-park represents the kind of extreme rationalization of the desire for the good life, approaching a denial of reality, for which the modernists have been so heavily criticized since.

In retrospect, this series of transformations can be read as the use of the landscape as an ameliorating device in the face of increasing metropolitan and regional growth. Eliot adapted Pückler’s principle of minimal intervention not to reach the state of *la belle nature*, but to achieve the illusion of an authentic natural landscape that was both a retreat from the metropolis and an integral part of it. Migge first understood this fringe landscape as offering a kind of spatial relief, but also as a place where the freedom of open space allowed for free movement of the body in sports and other activities. Migge later went beyond Eliot and Hegemann in proclaiming this zone the “greenbelt,” adding to the earlier formula a new kind of urban settlement pattern which would reconnect the people

to the land. Finally, Migge turned the outer fringe landscape inside out, making it the basis of the new city as a whole. If anything, this may be seen as a progression in which the relationship first between culture and nature, and then between city and landscape, was increasingly blurred, ending with a state in which the city core itself was to be replaced by a landscape of open space.

<sup>1</sup> The research in this paper is based upon my PhD dissertation, "Leberecht Migge (1881–1935) and the Modern Garden in Germany," (University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 2005); as well as my Master's thesis: "Scenic Illusions: A History of the Nature Pursuit at Mount Desert Island Maine," (Yale University, 1995), which includes material on Charles Eliot and the Metropolitan Parks.

<sup>2</sup> Biographical information on Hegemann taken from Christiane Crasemann Collins, "Hegemann and Peets: Cartographers of an Imaginary Atlas," in Werner Hegemann, *American Vitruvius: An Architects' Handbook of Civic Art* (New York, 1988) [Reprint: New York, 1922].

<sup>3</sup> Introductory letter from Hegemann to Muthesius, September 9, 1901, Muthesius Papers, Werkbund Archive, Berlin. Migge introduced himself to Muthesius in 1909, and closely collaborated with him before World War I.

<sup>4</sup> Werner Hegemann, *Der Städtebau*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1911–12).

<sup>5</sup> Charles W. Eliot, *Charles Eliot Landscape Architect* (Amherst, MA, 1999). [reprint: Boston, 1902]. Section on Pückler and his estate: 358–363.

<sup>6</sup> Hegemann, *Städtebau*, 360.

<sup>7</sup> Werner Hegemann, *Ein Parkbuch: Amerikanische Parkanlagen* (Berlin, 1911).

<sup>8</sup> My dissertation research has shown that it was Migge rather than Ochs who instigated connections to important figures such as Hermann Muthesius and Alfred Lichtwark, and who promoted the traveling exhibition.

<sup>9</sup> Hegemann, *Ein Parkbuch*, 3.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 7.

<sup>11</sup> See Keith N. Morgan, "Pückler's Influence on Charles Eliot and Regional Landscape Planning in the United States" in this collection.

<sup>12</sup> Eliot, *Charles Eliot*, 317, and introductory biographical essay on Eliot by Morgan in the reprint.

<sup>13</sup> Eliot, *Charles Eliot*, 317.

<sup>14</sup> Eliot, *Charles Eliot*, 732, en face: "Tree-Clogged Notch, Near the Southeastern Escarpment of the Fells. Which might command the Maiden-Melrose valley and the Saugus hills."

<sup>15</sup> Hermann Fürst von Pückler Muskau, *Andeutungen über Landschaftsgärtnerei* (1816: reprint, Frankfurt Main, 1996), Günter J. Vaupel, ed.

<sup>16</sup> Eliot, *Charles Eliot*, 710.

<sup>17</sup> Eliot, *Charles Eliot*, 711.

<sup>18</sup> Pückler, *Andeutungen*, 140.

<sup>19</sup> Pückler, *Andeutungen*, 140.

<sup>20</sup> Eliot, *Charles Eliot*, 712–713.

<sup>21</sup> On life reform, see: Kai Buchholz, Rita Latocha, Hilke Peckmann, Klaus Wolbert, eds., *Die Lebensreform*, 2 vols. (Darmstadt, 2001). On the relationship to Nietzsche, see particularly Bernd Wedemeyer, "Der Körper des Reformers: Zwischen Leibesübung, Lebensstil und

Religion," 1:399–402, and, Giseler Spitzer, "Lebensreform und Sport, Naturismus und Bewegungskultur," 1:391–98.

<sup>22</sup> Alfred Lichtwark could be called the "father" of German garden reform; he presented the "German Farmer's Garden" as an historical prototype for new gardens: Alfred Lichtwark, *Makartbouquet und Blumenstrauß* (Berlin, 1905), 38–39. First published in abbreviated form as an article in *Hamburger Weihnachtsbuch* (Hamburg, 1892), 202–12; first published as a book: (München, 1894).

<sup>23</sup> For a consideration of how French garden tradition was associated with royalty and the English mode with democracy, see the important case study: Gert Gröning, Karl Thomanek, Edith Klink, *Untersuchung der Gestalt und des Gebrauchswert des Viktoriaparks in Berlin Kreuzberg*, (Berlin, 1989). See also Heinz Wiegand, *Entwicklung des Stadtgrüns in Deutschland zwischen 1890 und 1925 am Beispiel der Arbeiten Fritz Enckes* (Berlin, 1975) 31–32.

<sup>24</sup> Gustav Platz, "Die kulturelle Bedeutung von Freiflächen," *Baurundschau* 27 (1912): 261–68.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 268.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>27</sup> See Haney, "Migge," Chapter One.

<sup>28</sup> Marie Luise Gothein, *Geschichte der Gartenkunst* (Jena, 1914) 462.

<sup>29</sup> Robert Breuer, "Der Städtebau als architektonisches Problem," *Kunstgewerbeblatt* 11 (1911): 210.

<sup>30</sup> Theodor Lange, "Die Klassiker der Gartenkunst," *Landschaftsgärtnerei und Gartentechnik* 9 (1903): 97–99. Theodor Lange was Migge's instructor.

<sup>31</sup> Migge's review: "Kleine Mitteilungen," *Die Gartenkunst* 7 (1915): 100. Article being criticized: F. Zahn, "Fürst Pücklers gartenkünstlerisches Wirken. Gedenkblatt zum 100 jährigen Bestehen des Muskauer Parks," *Die Gartenkunst* 28 (1915): 61–71.

<sup>32</sup> Migge, *Gartenkultur des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Jena, 1913).

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 28.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 36.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 36.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 35.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 35.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 35.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 35.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 28.

<sup>41</sup> Migge, "Die Gartenmissionen der Städte," *Die Gartenkunst* 12 (1914): 192.

<sup>42</sup> Martin Wagner, "Rüstringer Parkpolitik," *Gesundheit* 7 (1914): 204.

<sup>43</sup> Gustav Amman, "Neuerungen bei öffentlichen Parkanlagen," *Die Gartenkunst* 12 (1914): 187.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 185.

<sup>45</sup> Migge, "Die Stadtland Kultur der Stadt Grünberg," *Siedlungswirtschaft* 10 (1924): 63. See also articles in: *Haus Wohnung Garten*, January 10, May 20 and 22, October 9, 1920.

<sup>46</sup> See the discussion of the greenbelt and organic agriculture in: Willy Hahn and Leberecht Migge, *Der Ausbau eines Grüngürtels der Stadt Kiel* (Printed as manuscript: Kiel, 1922).

<sup>47</sup> For the most complete study (in English) of May's work in Germany before World War II, see Susan Rose Henderson, "The Work of Ernst May, 1919–1930," (PhD dissertation, Columbia University, 1990). Migge's contribution is discussed here as well.

<sup>48</sup> Color presentation plans for Praunheim and Römerstadt were published in: Leberecht Migge, "Die Grossiedlung," *Gartenschönheit* (1928): 48–51; a detail showed the overall valley plan. An earlier version of the valley plan was shown in the unsigned article "Die Bebauung der Nidda-Niederung, Das Projekt des Siedlungsamtes für die Stadterweiterung zwischen Rödelheim und Heddernheim längs der Nidda," *Frankfurter Nachrichten*, November 24, 1927. Note that Boehm is also credited with these plans, but Migge published them as his own.

<sup>49</sup> Leberecht Migge, "Grünpolitik der Stadt Frankfurt a. M.: Gutachten für die grüne kolonialisatorische Entwicklung der neuen Grossgemeinde," July 10, 1928, May Papers, IB, 48 + 49, Germanisches National Museum, Nürnberg.

## PÜCKLER AT HARVARD UNIVERSITY

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Hermann von Pückler-Muskau has enjoyed a lasting reception among landscape architects at Harvard University, one far greater in its variety and longevity than perhaps should have been the case for a nineteenth-century German prince. Yet within a school that over the years has embraced forms of practice as disparate as country estates for the elite, park systems for city and regional planning, architectural modernism, and ecology-based design, Pückler has somehow been present at every turn. Maintaining a remarkably high profile, he has held a certain allure for almost every major figure who has shaped the pedagogy of the program.

The material traces of this legacy are to be found primarily in the archives of the Department of Landscape Architecture, and these records necessarily form the basis of any critical analysis of Pückler's influence. As preliminary entry points, however, two titles held in multiple copies by the Graduate School of Design's Loeb Library are particularly emblematic: the English translation of Pückler's *Hints on Landscape Gardening* (1917) and Norman T. Newton's *Design on the Land* (1971). Until recently, the library owned five copies of *Hints*. The pages were well worn, many passages had been underlined, notes had been scribbled in the margins, and most of the folded plans of Muskau Park had suffered rough handling. Clearly, these volumes had been used for many years, probably decades, as textbooks. The second title, Newton's *Design on the Land*, had been throughout the 1970s and 1980s the most commonly prescribed text for history courses in American schools of landscape architecture. Pückler figures prominently in Newton's rather idiosyncratic narrative of the nineteenth century, and unlike other advocates of "landscape gardening" he is singled out for high praise. In fact, if one were to read Newton without consulting other sources, one might easily conclude that Pückler had been the *only* German designer of merit working during that century. When one considers that Newton had been a professor at Harvard from 1949 until his retirement in 1966, the marked-up copies of *Hints on Landscape Gardening* take on added significance. One begins to wonder at what point Pückler had come to receive such extensive, perhaps even inordinate, attention in Harvard's curriculum.

The answer to this question bears upon more than the insular history of one institution. For due to Harvard's influential position within land-

scape architectural education in America throughout the twentieth century, understanding Pückler's place in that tradition is one of the best avenues for understanding his reception by American landscape architects and scholars in general. Toward that end, this study of Pückler at Harvard focuses first on two principal areas of inquiry: (1) the ways in which Pückler's landscape designs and writings have been taught over the years in the Harvard curriculum, and (2) the reasons why his work has remained of perennial interest to faculty and students even as design fashions and ideologies changed over time. On the basis of this documentation, I then offer some observations on the effects that this pedagogical history has had on American historiography of the German landscape tradition, especially in its impact on the reception of other German designers and theorists of the nineteenth century.

### **The Early Years (1900–28); Frederick Law Olmsted Jr. and James Sturgis Pray**

The idea of creating a school of landscape architecture at Harvard originated with Nathaniel S. Shaler, professor of geography and dean of the college's Lawrence Scientific School. A program in architecture had been established there in 1895, and a year later Shaler proposed that a companion program in landscape architecture be developed with Charles Eliot Jr. as its first head. Eliot never had the opportunity to serve in this role, for he died of meningitis the following year in 1897. But his father, Charles W. Eliot, exercised his considerable influence as the president of Harvard College to make Shaler's proposal a reality in 1900. Harvard thus became the first American college to have a program in landscape architecture, which was led by Frederick Law Olmsted Jr. and housed in the newly constructed Robinson Hall.<sup>1</sup> During that first academic year, 1900–01, Olmsted taught the introductory course "Landscape Architecture 1," and his approach to organizing this material served as a template for many decades. The goal of the course was to introduce students to the history of landscape architecture and to equip them with a basic vocabulary of its first principles. Sessions ran for the entire academic year, with an emphasis on garden history during the first semester and a broader discussion of environmental history, cultural geography, and landscape aesthetics during the second. The March 1900 *Announcement* describes the course as follows: "The types of landscape and garden design are taken up in the historical order of their highest development, but in addition to the critical description of historical examples with the aid of plans, drawings and photographs, reference is made whenever possible to actual examples, illustrative of the same principles, to be found in the vicinity of Boston."<sup>2</sup>

We are fortunate to have a detailed knowledge of the contents of the lectures because the extensive notes taken by Olmsted's teaching assistant, Arthur A. Shurcliff, have survived. Olmsted began the course with a survey of ancient gardens and devoted the remainder of the history sequence primarily to Renaissance Italy, seventeenth-century France, and the estates and parks of eighteenth-century Britain. Shurcliff's notes do not indicate that Olmsted discussed any German gardens during that year, but the lecture of January 11, 1901, includes a brief reference to Christian C. L. Hirschfeld. It occurs in the context of a discussion of eighteenth-century British theorists, and Olmsted opines that although Hirschfeld's garden typologies are somewhat arbitrary and not very useful, he did propound "a good many excellent ideas." In parentheses, Shurcliff notes that Hirschfeld's text was looked upon as "advanced reading."<sup>3</sup>

Even though Pückler does not appear in Shurcliff's notebook, when one considers the importance of Muskau Park to Charles Eliot, the degree to which Eliot's life and work were intertwined with the Olmsted family, and the extent to which Eliot's spirit animated the new landscape program, it is difficult to believe that Pückler was entirely absent from classroom discussions during these years. In fact, evidence for this supposition can be found by looking at one of the school's earliest teaching tools, its lantern slide collection. The logbooks of the collection record that two slides of Muskau Park were accessioned on March 10, 1904. The first, which shows a small woodland pond, is not attributed. However, the source of the second slide, a long meadow vista framed by trees, is clearly stated to be Olmsted himself (Figure 1).

Olmsted continued to teach the introductory course until he left the department in 1907. James Sturgis Pray, who had joined the faculty in 1902 and served as his teaching assistant during that time, took over responsibility for the course upon Olmsted's departure. Additional staffing changes included the departure of Shurcliff, who returned occasionally as a visitor, and the arrival of new faculty member Henry Vincent Hubbard. That same year saw two other changes in the program that would prove critical for developments in the coming decades. The Lawrence School was dismantled in 1906, with architecture and landscape architecture becoming departments in the new Graduate School of Applied Sciences. And landscape architecture, which had previously awarded only a baccalaureate degree, was reorganized into a graduate program. It is also worth noting that the founding in 1901 of Harvard's Germanic Museum, now the Busch-Reisinger Museum, strongly elevated the profile of German art and culture within the Harvard community during these years. There appears to be no evidence that members of the school of landscape architecture were directly involved in the museum's



Figure 1: View of Muskau Park submitted to the Harvard slide collection by Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr. Courtesy of the Frances Loeb Library, Harvard Graduate School of Design.

programs or collections. But it is reasonable to assume that with the construction of the museum's Adolphus Busch Hall, begun with much fanfare just prior to the outbreak of World War I, interest in German studies among faculty and students would have been higher than usual.<sup>4</sup>

Following Olmsted's departure, Professor Pray assumed the chairmanship of the landscape program, a position he held until 1928. During these two decades he continued to teach the introductory course, and it is in his written assignments that we find the first textual evidence of Pückler in the classroom. Pray's teaching style relied heavily on having students prepare written reports. In the assignment of the "Third and Fourth Reports" of the spring term 1913, Pray lists the "grounds of Püeckler-Muskau" as a possible topic for "some example of informal landscape architecture." The report was to be both "descriptive and critical" and be accompanied by original illustrations. Pray also states that the listed topics "are among those chosen in previous years." Because the 1912-13 document is the earliest to have survived, we may conclude on the basis of this notation that versions of the assignment from previous years would also have listed Muskau Park, perhaps going back all the way to Olmsted's tenure.<sup>5</sup>

During Pray's chairmanship, several important books were published that would change the way landscape history was taught at Har-

vard. The first of these was *The Art of Landscape Architecture* by Samuel Parsons, which became required reading for Harvard students immediately after it was published in 1915.<sup>6</sup> Parsons was a great admirer of Pückler and of German landscape design in general. In one typical passage Parsons states: "Germany, the home of landscaping in its fully developed form, presents the estate of Prince Pückler and the park of Babelsberg near Potsdam, as well as other parks in the empire, as good examples of the art and its proper practice."<sup>7</sup> This praise may have been based on less than extensive knowledge, however, for nowhere in the book does he mention such major figures as Ludwig von Sckell or Peter Joseph Lenné, and Gustav Meyer is present only in the bibliography. In the preface to this work, Parsons laments the fact that Pückler's 1834 treatise had not yet been translated into English. The reader quickly realizes that he could not have meant this literally, for beginning on page two and running throughout the entire book one finds that Pückler has been liberally quoted in English translation.<sup>8</sup> In fact, a full 58 of Parson's 335 pages—comprising seventeen percent of the book—are taken directly from Pückler.<sup>9</sup> So to read Parsons in 1915 was also to receive an extensive preview of Pückler's *Hints* in English for the first time (Figure 2).

Parsons's book was quickly followed by another significant text that would soon become a classic in the field, Hubbard and Kimball's *An Introduction to the Study of Landscape Design* (1917). Written by Henry Vincent Hubbard, the Harvard landscape program's first graduate and a member of its faculty since 1906, and Theodora Kimball, the librarian of Harvard's School of Landscape Architecture, the book sought to lay out the first principles of landscape design as it was then practiced and understood. The authors also incorporated many historical examples in the text, less to write a history per se than to illustrate their arguments about first principles. Their comments about German gardens are far more measured than Parsons, but they also exhibit a greater awareness of the breadth of German garden history and current practice. For example, they state: "In larger designs, such recognizable style as there has been in Germany has been first the Dutch, then the style of Le Notre, then that of the '*Englischer Garten*.' In many cases these styles in Germany appeared in ill-considered imitations of their originals; but as disciples of the landscape school, Germany has shown in Hirschfeld, Sckell, and Prince Pückler von Muskau a conception of naturalistic design which worthily matched the work of Repton and Price, and largely inspired the naturalistic ideals of Petzold and of such a present-day writer as Camillo Karl Schneider."<sup>10</sup> Again, there is no mention of Lenné, but Hubbard and Kimball do go on to discuss the work of Hermann Muthesius and Leberecht Migge. It is also worth noting that Pückler's treatise appears in the list of general references, and the illustration plates include one photo-

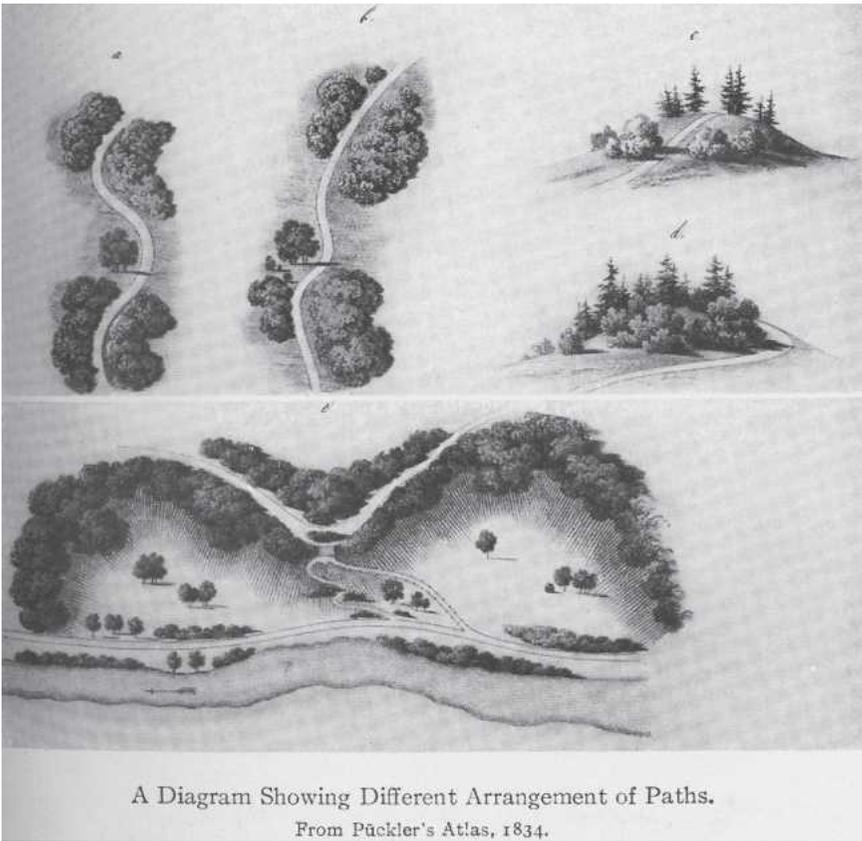


Figure 2: An illustration from Pückler's *Hints on Landscape Gardening* (1834) as reproduced in Samuel Parsons, *The Art of Landscape Architecture, Its Development and Its Application to Modern Landscape Gardening* (1915).

graph of Muskau Park taken by Hubbard, who had traveled with Olmsted to Germany around 1903.<sup>11</sup> In fact, this photograph was the same one that Olmsted had given to Harvard's lantern slide collection in 1904.

The third book of significance to appear at this time was, of course, the English edition of Pückler's *Hints on Landscape Gardening*, which like Hubbard and Kimball's *Introduction* was published in 1917. Coming on the heels of the centennial of Muskau Park in 1915,<sup>12</sup> it was the second volume in a series of "authoritative books"<sup>13</sup> commissioned by the American Society of Landscape Architects and edited by John Nolen. The first had been Humphry Repton, *The Art of Landscape Gardening* (1907). Samuel Parsons wrote the extensive introduction to *Hints*, weaving together Pückler's biography and the history of the park with a critical assessment of its value for early twentieth-century designers. The painter

Bernhard Sickert provided the translation. A close comparison of the English text of *Hints* with the Pückler quotations in Parson's 1915 book reveals an interesting subhistory. If one reads the two side by side, one notices that most of the passages are identical, but that there are significant variations in a number of sentences. Parsons obviously relied on Sickert for his book, but not the exact text that was published two years later. The source of the discrepancies is best explained by a comment in Hubbard and Kimball, where they note that Parsons took his lengthy quotations from an early version of Sickert's translation.<sup>14</sup>

With the publication of these three texts between 1915 and 1917, students at Harvard now had readily available information on Pückler as well as some additional commentary on the broader history of German landscape design. And by 1925 the *Annual Pamphlet* published by the School of Landscape Architecture began listing *Hints* among its suggested readings. The two decades of Professor Pray's chairmanship also saw the expansion of other resources that made Pückler's work more accessible. In 1909 an additional thirty-four lantern slides of Muskau Park were added to the library's collection. One was a plan taken from the book *Charles Eliot, Landscape Architect* (1902); another was a photograph taken by Professor Hubbard. The remaining slides were contributed by the landscape architect Thomas Warren Sears (SB 1906), who even while a student in the Harvard landscape program had garnered attention for his skills in photography. It is not clear whether Sears had been specifically asked by the school to take these photographs or if he had done so on his own initiative, but in either case it is clear that he owed his interest in Muskau Park to his studies at Harvard.

The establishment of the Charles Eliot Traveling Fellowship in 1914 made such documentation of European gardens a regular component of the Harvard curriculum, which not only benefited individual students but also augmented the landscape library's growing collection of visual materials. Students who won the prize were required upon their return to submit measured drawings and other renderings of selected gardens they had visited. Many also purchased illustrated books and postcards for the school (many of which were difficult to obtain in the United States), for which they were later reimbursed. The most popular destinations were Italy, France, England, and, to a certain extent, Spain. However, a few students also chose locations less frequented by Americans, including the Netherlands, Scandinavia, and Germany. A good example of the latter was the winner of the prize for 1920–21, Raymond White Blanchard, who spent an entire month in Germany. While in Berlin in June 1921, he stayed briefly in the home of Adolph Otto, General Secretary of the German Garden City Society, who was a personal friend of both James Sturgis Pray and Theodora Kimball. Otto provided assistance to Blanchard by

- from these foreign parks?
5. Housing for workmen in Germany and Holland.
  6. Program for Paris
  7. " " " England.
  8. Material for the School.
  9. Envoi.

In regard to itinerary, I should like to write it in narrative form and tell many incidents that would occur to me to make it interesting.

Will refrain, however, and give merely a list of places and dates with perhaps a few notes:

- GERMANY
- |             |  |
|-------------|--|
| May 19-23   | Munich                                 |
| " 24        | Nuremberg, Würzburg                    |
| " 25-28     | A roaden - (With one day at Kellersen) |
| " 29-31     | Leipzig                                |
| " 31-June 9 | Berlin - (One day for trip to Muskau). |
| June 10-12  | Hamburg                                |
| " 13-17     | Bremen - (One day to Wilhelmshaven).   |
| " 18        | Essen                                  |
| " 19        | Cologne                                |
- BELGIUM
- |            |  |
|------------|--|
| June 20-22 | Brussels   |
| " 23       | Ghent  |
| " 24       | Bruges (Side trip to Ostend)                               |
| " 25       | Antwerp (Most of day spent travelling to and away from A.) |
- HOLLAND
- |            |                              |
|------------|------------------------------|
| June 26-28 | Rotterdam, The Hague, Delft. |
| 28         | Haarlem.                     |

Figure 3: Raymond White Blanchard's itinerary in Germany as detailed in a letter to James Sturgis Pray. Harvard University Archives: Raymond White Blanchard to James Sturgis Pray, July 8, 1921; UAV 332.148, sub-series 2, box 1, folder "Raymond White Blanchard."

arranging site visits in the area, including the gardens of Sanssouci of which Blanchard gave a glowing report. Not surprisingly, one of the highlights of Blanchard's Berlin itinerary was an entire day spent at Muskau Park (Figure 3).<sup>15</sup>





Figure 5: Photograph of Muskau Park by Bremer Pond. Courtesy of the Frances Loeb Library, Harvard Graduate School of Design.

show that in 1926 he had added a highly evocative lantern slide of the park to the library's collection, a long vista that reaches over a slight crest and then falls away into the distance (Figure 5).<sup>18</sup>

What Pond meant by the term "German Romanticism" can be discerned from his *Outline History of Landscape Architecture*, published in 1936 and again in 1937 as a study guide to his course. The lecture on Germany, part of a series on "The Naturalistic or Informal Style," focuses on the work of Sckell and Pückler, including an image of Sckell's Englischer Garten in Munich as well as a plan of Park Muskau (Figure 6).<sup>19</sup> One curious feature of Pond's outline is that he gives the names Switzer and Salzmann in conjunction with Sanssouci and puts a question mark next to the date of 1830. A comparison with secondary sources shows quite clearly that Pond's information about Sanssouci was taken directly from John Claudius Loudon's *An Encyclopaedia of Gardening* (1822), the earliest editions of which predate most of Lenné's work in Potsdam. In Loudon's entry on Prussian gardens, he states: "*The ancient gardens of Sans Souci, at Potsdam, are in the mixed style of Switzer, with every appendage and ornament of the French, Italian, and Dutch taste. Various artists, but chiefly Manger, a German architect, and Salzmann, the royal gardener (each of whom has published a voluminous description of his works there), were employed in their design and execution.*"<sup>20</sup> In addition to relying on Loudon's account, Pond's understanding of the site would also have been hampered by the limitations of Harvard's lantern slide collection. In contrast to the library's extensive documentation of Muskau Park,

whose photographic images emphasize the vistas and water features of the landscape, the slides of Sanssouci were fabricated primarily from postcards, most of which focus the viewer's attention on architectural features (Figure 7). Not surprisingly then, Pond's examination questions regarding Sanssouci consistently refer to the garden's early developments of the eighteenth century, especially the area around the New Palace that he describes as being in the "German Renaissance" style.<sup>21</sup> While acknowledging the reality of these limitations, the omission of Lenné in Pond's syllabus nevertheless remains perplexing when one considers that Samuel Parsons, in his introduction to Pückler's *Hints*, refers to Lenné's work in Potsdam as "the glory of Germany,"<sup>22</sup> and students such as Blanchard had returned from their travels in Germany with favorable, firsthand descriptions of Sanssouci. As such, these details highlight the fact that knowledge of German gardens, even among leading American scholars at that time, remained at best fragmentary.

Whereas Pray had favored written reports for the history assignments, Pond chose to structure the introductory course around required reading lists and frequent examinations. Pückler figures prominently in these assignments. During the spring term 1930, for example, the required eighth reading includes passages from Pückler's *Hints* (58–99), and the subsequent test requires students to discuss Pückler's recommendations for the grouping of trees, the preparation of soil, the layout of roads and paths, and the design of water features and islands.<sup>23</sup> Similarly, the next reading assignment includes additional passages from *Hints* (13–47), and the students are examined on Pückler's advice on boundary plantations. In the spring term 1931, the eighth reading assignment is identical, but the exam question is slightly different, asking students to describe Pückler's method of laying out a park. Students also had the option of taking a credit examination at the beginning of the academic year, which would allow them to skip this required introductory course if they exhibited a sufficient command of the material already. Pond sometimes included questions about Muskau Park and Pückler's writings in these examinations, such as in the set of questions from Sept. 19, 1933. Extant reading assignments and examinations through 1936 show a similar pattern.<sup>24</sup>

## Modernism and the Creation of the GSD (1936–49)

The year 1936 marked a turning point in the teaching of landscape architecture at Harvard. What had previously been separate Schools of Landscape Architecture, Architecture, and City Planning were consolidated to create the Graduate School of Design, whose basic departmental structure remains intact today. Joseph Hudnut was recruited from Co-

THE NATURALISTIC OR INFORMAL STYLE: (continued)

GERMANY:

Historical background: political, social and economic. Confusion of French and English styles. Influence of literature and philosophy. Goethe.

Romanticism and "rusticity". Influence of climate and topography, and interest in horticulture. Emotionalism.

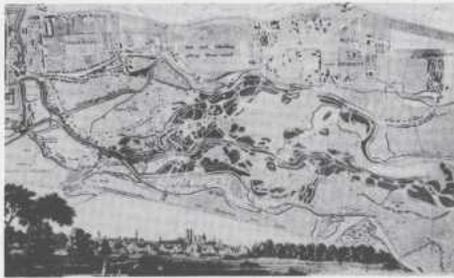
Chief designers:

F. L. von Sckell, 1750-1823.  
Thomas Blaikie, 1750-1838.  
Count Rumford, 1753-1814.  
Prince Pückler Muskau, 1785-1871.

Typical projects:

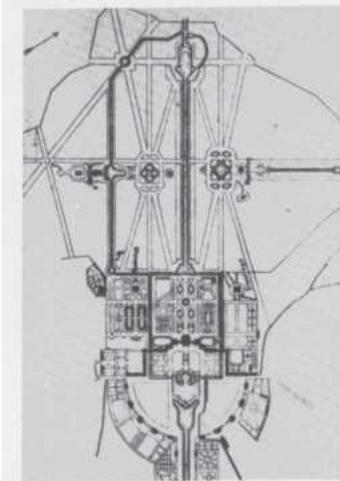
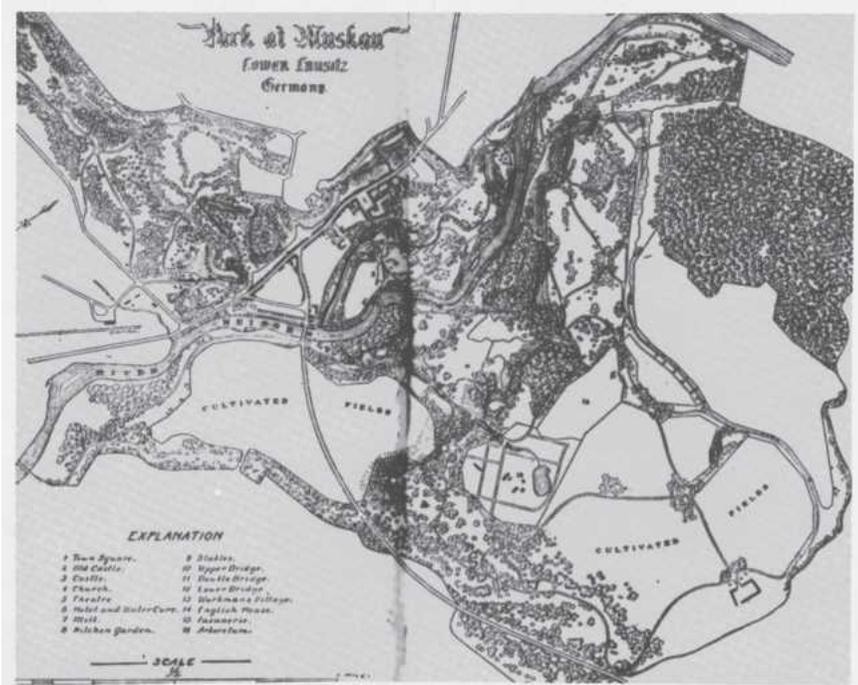
1777-85	Schwetzingen (Von Sckell).
1789-1803	Englischer Garten, Munich (Rumford, Von Sckell).
1804	Nymphenburg, Munich (Von Sckell).
1830?	Sans Souci (Switzer, Salzmann).
1840	Muskau (Pückler Muskau).

Reaction against extremes. Adaptation of informal design to large and small areas. "Carpet bedding".

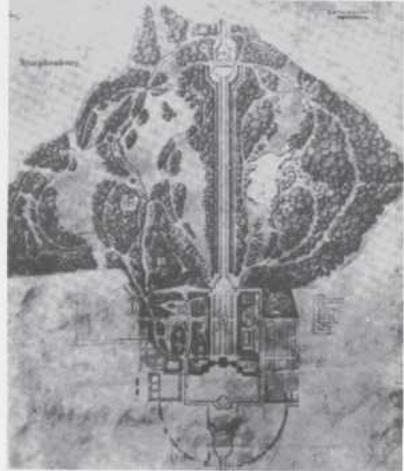


*English Garden von Sckell*

Figure 6: Bremer Pond's entry for German gardens in his *Outline History of Landscape Architecture* (1936), vol. 2, 43.



*Nyco.*



*Thyzo*

44

Figure 6: Continued

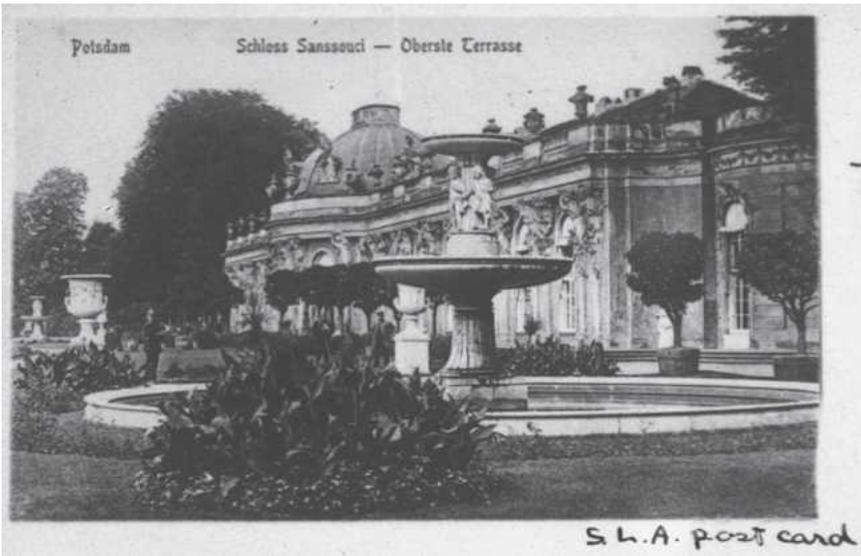


Figure 7: Lantern slide of Sanssouci in the Harvard collection created from a postcard. Courtesy of the Frances Loeb Library, Harvard Graduate School of Design.

lumbia University to serve as dean; Walter Gropius joined the faculty of architecture and was appointed chair the following year, remaining in that position until 1952. Under Hudnut's leadership, the teaching of history was de-emphasized under the banner of modernism, inaugurating what has been described by some as a "purge" of the history books in the school's library.<sup>25</sup> It was also during this time (1936–38) that Garrett Eckbo, Daniel Kiley, and James Rose were students in the landscape architecture program, launching a period of design experimentation and a revolt against history that are now legendary. In 1939, Christopher Tunnard, having just published his *Gardens in the Modern Landscape* (1938), joined the department and began offering a course entitled "European Landscape Development."<sup>26</sup> Emphasizing modern trends in European garden design, especially as they related to innovations in painting and sculpture, his chairmanship from 1939 to 1942 reinforced the general tendency that was sweeping over the restructured School of Design.<sup>27</sup>

So how did the teaching of landscape history, and of Pückler in particular, fare during this period of ideological change? The answer, perhaps surprisingly, is that it managed quite well. Documents from 1942–43, for example, show that the history of landscape architecture continued to be a required course.<sup>28</sup> Even in the midst of "purge" and

“revolt,” or at least the talk of it, Chairman Pond continued to ensure that history received its proper due in the curriculum. One does notice a significant shift, however, in Pond’s reading lists, which begin to de-emphasize primary texts in response to the growth of the secondary literature. It is during this time that Pückler’s *Hints* is dropped from the reading assignments, and one sees the first instance in which students are asked to assess Pückler’s work on the basis of secondary sources. The seventh reading test in 1936, for example, requires students to summarize Marie Luise Gothein’s remarks on Pückler rather than analyze Pückler’s own text.<sup>29</sup> This exam question would not have been possible when Pray was teaching the course because Gothein’s *History of Garden Art*, published in German in 1914, did not appear in its English edition until 1928 and was not acquired by Harvard’s library until 1935. This shift away from primary sources toward secondary literature would continue in Pond’s teaching throughout the 1940s, when Pückler’s *Hints* remained absent from reading lists but his ideas remained fair game for final examination questions.<sup>30</sup>

One might also ask why, then, during this period of emphasis on modernism and the future, that the works of a nineteenth-century German prince continued to be of relevance at all. For much of Pückler’s appeal to Harvard landscape architects during the first three decades of the program had been his usefulness to the two dominant paradigms of landscape practice during those years: (1) the design of country estates, and (2) city planning. The former avenue of work had largely disappeared due to the economic upheavals of the Great Depression. The latter discipline had gradually developed an identity distinct from landscape architecture. After having been introduced into the landscape curriculum by James Sturgis Pray in 1909–10, city planning had become a separate degree program by 1923 and its own school by 1929, with Henry Vincent Hubbard as the first chairman. Pückler’s influence on city planning in early twentieth-century America through Charles Eliot had, of course, been profound. When John Nolen wrote the opening “Note” to Pückler’s *Hints* in 1917, he took great care to highlight this aspect of his legacy: “Fürst von Pückler-Muskau was not only one of the best interpreters of the landscape art of his time, he was also a prophet of city planning. More than a hundred years ago he dwelt upon the necessity for natural and picturesque beauty in great cities, giving as an example the open parks and irregular streets of London.”<sup>31</sup> So with the splintering of what had just a few years prior been a more integrated form of practice and education, one of the most compelling reasons for studying Pückler in Harvard’s landscape program no longer existed.

Pückler’s continued relevance at Harvard during these years can best be explained by a certain shift in thinking about landscape design that

was rooted in modernism itself. A good example of this new conceptualization can be found in Bremer Pond's "Report to the Committee of the GSD regarding the curriculum for instruction in landscape architecture, March 17, 1943." In this report, Pond emphasizes the effect of changing economic conditions and technical innovations on the scope of the profession, which in the years following World War II would have to concern itself primarily with housing, recreation, transportation systems, and large-scale government initiatives rather than projects for private, wealthy individuals. The key to mastering this new situation, Pond believed, was to grasp that the fundamental character of landscape design is "space." He writes: "The men practicing this [traditional] form of [landscape] design primarily handled *Space*, learning to design in Space and Space Relations, and from the nature of its problems this idea has been always the 'basic principle' of landscape architecture. . . . The major function of the landscape architect will remain primarily 'space design' since he deals with the landscape in both its broadest as well as in its more restricted form."<sup>32</sup> The ideas expressed in this quotation bear more than a passing resemblance to an article by Charles Downing Lay in the January 1918 issue of *Landscape Architecture* magazine entitled "Space Composition." In that essay, Lay argues that the fundamental element of landscape design is space—not form, color, or some other attribute—and he claims that an intuitive understanding of this principle by earlier designers such as Humphry Repton and Charles Eliot, among others, was ultimately responsible for the success of their work.<sup>33</sup> (The inclusion of Lay's article among the required readings for the landscape design course L.A. 2.b-c in 1949 attests to postwar interest in this topic.)<sup>34</sup> Whether Pond had Lay's 1918 article in mind when he wrote his curriculum report cannot be determined, but the ascendancy of modernist ideology at the GSD made the times ripe for reassessing some of the classics on the basis of what could now be appreciated as their abstract spatial qualities. It would not be Pond who gave Pückler this contemporary makeover, however, but a professor who had joined the Harvard faculty the same year that the modernist Christopher Tunnard had arrived: Norman T. Newton.

## Norman T. Newton (1950–66) to the Present

Newton began teaching the landscape history course after Pond stepped down from the chairmanship in 1950. Newton's reading assignments from 1952 show that not only was *Hints* back on the required list, but students were expected to read even more of Pückler's text (3–9, 13–30, 39–47, 113–25) than in the early days of Pond.<sup>35</sup> However, it is not just the

number of pages that is of interest here. For if we take a close look at which sections Newton decided were important, we see that his selection is almost the perfect inverse of Pond's. That is, Newton assigned everything that Pond did not, and vice versa.<sup>36</sup> In brief, Pond had made sure that students read every practical suggestion that Pückler had written, from the layout of roads and paths to the physical preparation of soils for planting. And they had been tested on the same. One gets the sense that Pückler, far from being viewed as a historical figure through whom we might better understand nineteenth-century German culture, served more handily as a dispenser of practical how-to advice for the here and now. For Newton, the lessons to be learned from Pückler were somewhat different, and this understanding is reflected in his choice of readings. Instead of the nitty-gritty details of construction, Newton focuses on what Pückler has to say about the grand sweep of things, typified by his remarks on general theory at the beginning of the treatise and by the comprehensive description of the park as viewed by carriage ride in the second half. Newton's concern is with the conception of the whole, not the execution of the parts.

If we look closely at the reading assignment for 1958, we begin to understand better the new perspective he brought to Pückler's work. For listed directly above Pückler's *Hints* is the well-known modernist classic *Space, Time and Architecture* (1941) by Siegfried Giedion.<sup>37</sup> Even more directly than Lay's comments on the spatial basis of landscape design, it is Giedion's language that shows up in Newton's description of Muskau Park. In *Design on the Land*, Newton writes:

The crowning glory of the park . . . is the firm integrity of its magnificent pastoral spaces. Here Pückler seems to have revealed most clearly the innate understanding of spatial structure—the awareness of spaces as components of design—sought in vain among the usual English landscape gardening works. It cannot with any certainty be stated that Pückler was conscious of this; obviously he did not write of space as a working material of design. Yet in this masterful creation of his one sees again and again the handling of spatial sequences on clearly enunciated sight-lines—first a large sunny space, then a shadowy constricted space, next a still larger sunny one again—with a kind of pulsation that imparts a vibrant, living quality to the entire great composition.<sup>38</sup>

This Giedionesque vocabulary is amplified even further in Newton's discussion of Pückler's use of variety, where he states, "It is doubtful that the prince ever thought in such a twentieth-century term as that of space-

time. Yet he seemed to sense intuitively the dynamic quality of the time dimension, whether in recognizing the variation of light at different times of the day or in calling for changes of viewpoint as one progresses along a given travelway.<sup>39</sup> And if on this point we also consult Newton's lecture notes, which formed the basis for *Design on the Land*, we find the following phrases: "Dynamism—conscious use of parallax; variety in changing views with time; space-time sense."<sup>40</sup> If we look at the Thomas Sears photographs in the slide collection, some of which Newton used for his book, we can see examples of what Newton referred to as "parallax" (Figure 8). Newton's desire to communicate Pückler's relevance to his audience of mid-twentieth century design students is quite understandable, so perhaps it should come as no surprise that he would use the language of space-time and parallax to drive home his point. For as Newton reminded his students each year in the course's opening lecture: when practicing history one should, in his opinion, "detach from time and look for present helpfulness."<sup>41</sup>

Pückler remained part of the Harvard curriculum after Newton's retirement in 1966, most notably during the tenure of historian Mirka Benes from 1988 to 2005.<sup>42</sup> Benes's annual lectures on Pückler were part of a more extensive treatment of early nineteenth-century Germany that encompassed the work of Sckell, Lenné, Schinkel, and others. Concerned especially with the rise of the public sphere and the incipient development of regional planning, or "land embellishment" (*Landesverschönerung*), Benes's treatment of the period foreshadowed a different way in which Pückler would be put to pedagogical use at Harvard within just a few years. In the fall term 2002, Carl Steinitz, the Alexander and Victoria Wiley Professor of Landscape Architecture and Planning, organized a studio in collaboration with the Anhalt University of Applied Sciences to envision future scenarios for Bad Muskau and its surrounding cultural landscape.<sup>43</sup> Without delving into the details of this study, it is enough in this context to underscore its significance as the most recent high point in a long chronology. For it illustrates that the landscape architecture department at Harvard, having been drawn to Pückler's work from its very inception, continues to engage with that legacy in creative ways that exceed the bounds of historical study.

## Conclusion

The significance of this institutional history lies primarily in the effects that the specific approaches to teaching Pückler at Harvard have had on the American reception of his work, as well as on American historiography of nineteenth-century German landscape architecture more broadly. Several of these effects have been noted in passing, but it will be helpful



Figure 8: Two views of a path in Muskau Park taken by Thomas Sears that exemplify Newton's notion of parallax. Courtesy of the Frances Loeb Library, Harvard Graduate School of Design.

to summarize them. Certainly, much of the emphasis on Pückler's work at Harvard can be traced to the influence of Olmsted and Eliot during the early formation of the landscape program. Their appreciation for Pückler was deeply felt, and they imparted their firsthand knowledge of his work

to colleagues and students looking for precedents useful to their own endeavors. With the expansion of historical knowledge during the chairmanships of James Sturgis Pray and Bremer Pond, one might have expected a concurrent broadening of the history curriculum to include more of the German landscape tradition, especially considering Pray's professional connections in Germany and the translation of Gothein's *History of Garden Art* in 1928. The latter contains a rather compressed account of the nineteenth century, to be sure, but it does treat Pückler as one among several roughly equal figures rather than as the main protagonist. It is true that Pond included a number of works by Ludwig von Sckell in his lectures, but one is left to wonder why after having turned to Loudon for information on Prussian gardens, he did not also make use of the *Encyclopaedia's* extensive entry on Lenné's Volkspark in Magdeburg (1824–36). Considering that this essay appears under the heading "Public Parks," a subject of considerable contemporary interest, it would have been a logical choice for inclusion in lectures and assigned readings.<sup>44</sup>

In order to realize just how much was missing from the American version of German landscape history, one need look no further than Hermann Jäger's *Gartenkunst und Gärten, sonst und jetzt* (1888). Devoting approximately eighty pages to the German nineteenth century alone, Jäger's account highlights the contributions of Sckell, Pückler, and Lenné, but also gives considerable space to many others, including Gustav Meyer, Eduard Petzold, Eduard Neide, and Rudolf Siebeck, who according to Jäger "chose their own path."<sup>45</sup> Somewhat surprisingly, Jäger's book was included on Harvard's reading lists from 1904 to 1914, and the copy in the landscape library was part of the collection bequeathed by Charles Eliot.<sup>46</sup> Nevertheless, despite the fact that this more detailed history of the German tradition was not only available but was also required reading during the early years of the program, it never became established within standard narratives of the nineteenth century.

Newton's treatment of Pückler in *Design on the Land* becomes more comprehensible when placed in the context of this institutional history. For his decision to devote an entire half chapter to Pückler—to the exclusion of all other German designers—simply underscores a viewpoint that had been present in Harvard's scholarly tradition all along. This is not to suggest that the attention given to Pückler over the years at Harvard has been unwarranted, but that what has been until recently a very narrow view of German landscape history among American scholars can largely be traced to the influence of historians in this department. As the reception of Pückler's work continues to expand beyond this tradition, it can be hoped that a more comprehensive understanding of its relation to other contemporary developments will gradually emerge.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> For basic elements of the chronology of Harvard's department of landscape architecture, I have relied throughout on Melanie L. Simo, *The Coalescing of Different Forces and Ideas: A History of Landscape Architecture at Harvard, 1900–1999* (Cambridge, Mass., 2000).

<sup>2</sup> Harvard University, School of Landscape Architecture, *Annual Pamphlets 1900–01 to 1923–24*, 2 vols. in 1, Frances Loeb Library Special Collections (abbreviated hereafter as FLL/S) Rare Ref H261d, 1:9.

<sup>3</sup> Arthur A. Shurcliff, "Landscape Architecture: Notes of the lectures given during the year 1900 at Robinson Hall," 2 vols., FLL/S Rare NAB 280 Sh562. Harvard's copy of Hirschfeld's *Theorie der Gartenkunst (1779–85)* is part of the collection bequeathed by Charles Eliot.

<sup>4</sup> The museum was under the leadership of Kuno Francke, professor of German literature. The designer was the Dresden architect German Bestelmeyer.

<sup>5</sup> "Landscape Architecture 1 (Fine Arts 1f.) 1912–1913 (Second Half-year) Third and Fourth Reports," UAV 332.148, subseries 3, box 9, folder "L.A. 1a 1912 to June 1919," Harvard University Archives (abbreviated hereafter as HUA). Extant report assignments from 1917–18 and 1918–19 also list Muskau Park.

<sup>6</sup> Harvard University, School of Landscape Architecture, *Annual Pamphlets 1900–01 to 1923–24*, FLL/S Rare Ref H261d.

<sup>7</sup> Samuel Parsons, *The Art of Landscape Architecture, Its Development and Its Application to Modern Landscape Gardening* (New York, 1915), 60.

<sup>8</sup> Because the translations are not attributed, readers in 1915 might have assumed that Parsons had provided them himself, especially considering that *The Art of Landscape Architecture* includes translated quotations from Leibniz, Kant, Schopenhauer, Goethe, Hegel, and even Hirschfeld, the latter for whom there was no published English edition.

<sup>9</sup> Fifty-one pages are from *Hints*. Seven pages are from *Tour of England*.

<sup>10</sup> Henry Vincent Hubbard and Theodora Kimball, *An Introduction to the Study of Landscape Design* (New York, 1917), 52.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 363, plate 21. For Hubbard's travels with Olmsted, see Simo, *Coalescing*, 16.

<sup>12</sup> For an example of a commemorative essay, see F. Zahn, "Fürst Pücklers gartenkünstlerisches Wirken: ein Gedenkblatt zum 100jährigen Bestehen des Muskauer Parkes," *Gartenkunst* 28, no. 5 (May 1915): 61–71.

<sup>13</sup> John Nolen, introductory note to *Hints on Landscape Gardening*, by Hermann, Fürst von Pückler-Muskau (Boston, 1917).

<sup>14</sup> Hubbard and Kimball, *Introduction*, 364.

<sup>15</sup> Blanchard was in Germany from May 19 to June 19, 1921, where his itinerary included Munich, Nuremberg, Würzburg, Dresden, Leipzig, Berlin, Hamburg, Bremen, Essen, and Cologne. His stay in Bremen included a meeting with Leberecht Migge. Raymond White Blanchard to James Sturgis Pray, June 15, 1921; July 8, 1921; July 13, 1921; Raymond White Blanchard to Theodora Kimball, Sept. 19, 1921; UAV 332.148, subseries 2, box 1, folder "Raymond White Blanchard," HUA. Elbert Peets, the traveling fellowship winner for 1917–18 (postponed to 1920), also spent about a month in central Europe. Between July 23 and August 20 Peets visited Munich, Vienna, Prague, Dresden, Berlin, Potsdam, Hamburg, Bremen, Essen, Düsseldorf, and Cologne. Given his travel route, it is quite possible that he went to Park Muskau as well. UAV 332.148, subseries 2, box 1, folder "Elbert Peets," HUA.

<sup>16</sup> "Distribution of Time, Academic Year 1937–38," UAV 510.20.5, Course data, problems and miscellaneous records of B. W. Pond, 1917–1930, box 1, folder "Miscellany," HUA.

<sup>17</sup> "Landscape Architecture 1a (Fine Arts 1f) Summary, 1935–36," UAV 510.20.5, box 1, folder "Course Material," HUA. "Drawings in the History Courses" and "Course Meetings," UAV 510.20.5, box 2, folder "L.A. 1a (F.A. 1f) Readings, Tests, etc. 1928–32," HUA.

<sup>18</sup> Slide accessions logbook, Frances Loeb Library Visual Resources.

<sup>19</sup> Bremer W. Pond, *Outline History of Landscape Architecture*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, MA, 1936), 2:43.

<sup>20</sup> John Claudius Loudon, *An Encyclopaedia of Gardening* (London, 1860), 120.

<sup>21</sup> "Credit Test, Sept. 20, 1932," UAV 510.20.5, box 2, folder "L.A. 1a (F.A. 1f) Readings, Tests, etc. 1928–32," HUA. It is worth noting that Pond's assistant, Carol Fulkerson, often gave the course lectures on German gardens. During the spring 1932 semester, for example, Fulkerson was responsible for eight of the twenty-seven lectures, including two on "Austro-German Renaissance" gardens and one on "German Romantic" gardens. "Landscape Architecture 1a, (F.A. 1f) Feb. 8, 1932, Second Half Year, 1931–1932," UAV 510.20.5, box 2, folder "Schedule of Lectures 1928–40," HUA.

<sup>22</sup> Samuel Parsons, introduction to *Hints*, xxixn. In another passage of the introduction, however, Parsons disparages Schinkel's influence on Pückler: "It is difficult to understand how Prince Pückler could have been so carried away by his admiration of Schinkel whose fame has not come down to us with any real distinction. Schinkel's undoubted versatility both in architecture and painting and his great learning in Greek art gave him vogue at the time. It is probably that many of the extraordinary conceptions found in Pückler's flower designs, bridges, and temples, fortunately seldom carried out, owe their objectionable features to the influence, if not the pencil, of Schinkel" (*ibid.*, xl).

<sup>23</sup> "Landscape Architecture 1a, Required Eighth Reading, posted March 14, 1930," "Eighth Reading Test, March 28, 1930," UAV 322.148, subseries 3, box 3, folder "L.A. 1a, Sept. 1929–June 1935," HUA.

<sup>24</sup> UAV 322.148, subseries 3, box 3, folder "L.A. 1a, Sept. 1929–June 1935," HUA. For several years beginning in 1937, Pückler is dropped from the reading lists and exams, but during the years 1937–39 students were still asked on the final exam to compare examples of the naturalistic style in England, France, and Germany. UAV 322.148, subseries 3, box 6, folder "L.A. 1 and 2, Sept. 1935–June 1940," HUA.

<sup>25</sup> Simo, *Coalescing*, 30.

<sup>26</sup> UAV 322.148, subseries 3, box 6, folder "L.A. 1 and 2, Sept. 1935–June 1940," HUA.

<sup>27</sup> Of the many ways one can track the rapid rise of modernism at Harvard, one of the most unusual is through the *Minutes of the Toparian Club*. Compiled by members of a social club for landscape architecture students, it includes both typed and handwritten accounts of guest lectures, competitions, field trips, parties, receptions, and other events held from April 7, 1914, to June 9, 1941. The first mention is a lecture delivered by Fletcher Steele on March 22, 1932, entitled "Modern Trends in Landscape Architecture," in which Steele includes his own design at Naumkeag as an example. The next is a lecture given by James Rose (while still a student) on November 5, 1937, entitled "Modern Landscape Architecture," which attempts to draw a distinction between "modern" and "modernistic" design. These lectures on modernism were soon followed by others, including Dean Joseph Hudnut, "The Modern Garden" on May 13, 1938; Christopher Tunnard, "Modern Trends in Landscape Architecture" on February 5, 1940; and Henry Russell Hitchcock, "Modern Garden Design" on May 13, 1940. *Minutes of the Toparian Club* FLL/S SB469.5.H3 T66x, pp. 157, 202, 217, 247, 250.

<sup>28</sup> "Required Courses for B.L.A. 1942–1943," UAV 510.20.5, box 1, folder "Miscellany," HUA. In this document the course is listed as Arch.Sci. 1c, "History of Landscape Architecture."

<sup>29</sup> "L.A. 1a Seventh Reading Test, May 8, 1936," UAV 322.148, subseries 3, box 6, folder "L.A. 1 and 2, Sept. 1935–June 1940," HUA. It appears that Pond made use of Gothein's text immediately after it was acquired by the Harvard library, for selections appear in assigned readings for both March 29, 1935, (2:111–40, 210–30) and May 3, 1935, (2:277–321). The latter page range covers the English landscape garden, including its adaptation in France and Germany. "Syllabi, course outlines and reading lists in Landscape Architecture, 1930–1948," HUC 8548.2.1, HUA.

<sup>30</sup> "Final Exam, June 13, 1949," and "Make-up Final, June 1950," UAV 322.148, subseries 3, box 5, folder "L.A. 1a-b Arch.Sci. 1ca-b 1940–June 1950, 1 of 2," HUA.

<sup>31</sup> Nolen, introductory note to *Hints*.

<sup>32</sup> Bremer Pond, "Report to the Committee of the GSD regarding the curriculum for instruction in landscape architecture, March 17, 1943," UAV 510.120, pp. 4–5, HUA.

<sup>33</sup> Charles Downing Lay, "Space Composition," *Landscape Architecture* 8, no. 2 (Jan. 1918): 77–86.

<sup>34</sup> "Syllabi, course outlines and reading lists in Landscape Architecture, 1930–1948," HUC 8548.2.1, HUA.

<sup>35</sup> "Assigned reading Feb. 25, 1952" and "Assigned reading Oct. 15, 1952," UAV 322.148, subseries 3, box 5, folder "L.A. 10a Arch. 5a 104, 1951–52," HUA. Newton also included a question regarding Pückler-Muskau's "four rules of thumb" on the hour exam for Feb. 25, 1952. The reading assignment for March 23, 1966, includes an even broader page range from *Hints* (xi–xlv, 3–30, 39–47, 113–55). HUGFP 110.65, Papers of Norman T. Newton 1922–1992 (inclusive), course materials 1944–66, box 1, folder "L.A. 1–3a, 1–1b course lists, notes, exams," HUA.

<sup>36</sup> This contrast seems to have been deliberate, for contained within the boxes of Newton's archived course materials is a copy of Bremer's 1936 *Outline History of Landscape Architecture*. HUGFP 110.65, box 1, folder "L.A. 1–3a, 1–1b course lists, notes, exams," HUA.

<sup>37</sup> "Landscape Architecture 1–1b, Architectural Sciences 105, First Assigned Reading, March 12, 1958," UAV 322.148, subseries 3, box 6, folder "L.A. I and II, Sept. 1935–June 1940," HUA. The page ranges for Giedion in this reading are 101–08, 124–28, 184–89, and for the second reading, 190–211, 315–18, 465–501. The "Hour Examination" for the same date includes the following question: "State briefly the differences, if any, that you find between the attitudes of Pückler-Muskau and Downing toward impressing the beholder of a work of 'landscape gardening' with the effort involved in its creation" (ibid.). Note: Given the document's date, it is not clear why it was placed within this folder.

<sup>38</sup> Norman T. Newton, *Design on the Land: The Development of Landscape Architecture* (Cambridge, Mass., 1971), 237.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 239.

<sup>40</sup> "Pückler-Muskau," HUGFP 110.65, box 1, folder "Norman Newton, L.A. 1–Notes on the development of landscape architecture," HUA.

<sup>41</sup> "Introductory," *ibid.*

<sup>42</sup> Mirka Benes, course materials for GSD 4317, "History of Modern Gardens and Public Landscapes, 1800–1950," Fall 1989–Spring 2000. In the author's possession.

<sup>43</sup> Carl Steinitz et al., *Alternative Futures for the Prince Pückler Cultural Landscape* (Cambridge, Mass., 2003). This was not the first time that Steinitz had dealt with planning issues in eastern Germany, having led a similar studio for the Dessau-Wörlitzer Gartenreich in 1997 and another for the Spreewald several years prior to that.

<sup>44</sup> Loudon, *Encyclopaedia*, 1202–08.

<sup>45</sup> Hermann Jäger, *Gartenkunst und Gärten, sonst und jetzt: Handbuch für Gärtner, Architekten und Liebhaber* (Berlin, 1888), 349.

<sup>46</sup> Harvard University, School of Landscape Architecture, *Annual Pamphlets 1900–01 to 1923–24*, FLL/S Rare Ref H261d.

## THE USEFUL AND THE BEAUTIFUL: AN AMERICAN ANALOG TO PÜCKLER'S AESTHETIC

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Yet the beautiful advances it [the welfare of mankind] in a far higher and greater degree; therefore among useful things the beautiful is the most useful of all.

— Prince von Pückler-Muskau

What work of man will compare with the plantation of a park? It dignifies life. . . . I do not wonder that they are the chosen badge and point of pride of the European Nobility. But how much more are they needed by us, anxious, over driven Americans, to stanch and appease that fury of temperament which our climate bestows.

— Ralph Waldo Emerson

Prince Herman von Pückler-Muskau visited several English parks and intently studied the work and philosophy of Humphry Repton. Despite those influences, the prince's design work was fundamentally different from that of the English landscape gardener. Repton had written about the superiority of the park as compared to the farm and suggested that objects of utility and convenience should be hidden from view. In contrast, the "Garden Prince" developed an approach to design that elegantly paired the useful and the beautiful.

For Prince Pückler, farming operations and related facilities were to be integrated with naturalistic design and thus were linked to the park rather than deemed inferior. Objects of utility were often highlighted such as at Branitz, where a long view is terminated by a greenhouse. In some cases, unique aesthetic moves emerged from everyday and practical engagements with the landscape. The multi-stemmed trees at Muskau Park serve as an example. The origin of those forms is likely linked to firewood harvesting techniques of the common people. Pückler also neatly fit design moves with the natural condition of the landscape. Again at Muskau, the lay of the landscape influenced the placement of plants and objects to optimize views and vistas, ravines suggested efficient and aesthetically pleasing paths, and an abrupt change in topography served as an obvious boundary for the park.

While Pückler was closely influenced by the practical necessities of management, maintenance, and economics, his ideas about the useful and the beautiful were also driven by a rich association with some of the

best philosophical and literary ideas in Germany. Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, for example, welcomed and wished to highlight changing technologies. Pückler read and met with Goethe.

A similar pairing of the useful and the beautiful developed in the United States during the mid-nineteenth century. The influences that led to that development were comparable to the German influences—that is, Americans, too, gleaned their ideas from the practical and the poetic. Landscape designers in America looked to lessons found in the practice of scientific farming, but they were also influenced by the work and philosophy of American Transcendentalists. Interestingly, American Transcendentalists, in turn, looked to German Romanticism for inspiration.

## Intellectual Milieu

An eccentric, energetic, and enigmatic cadre of poet philosophers known as the Transcendentalists gathered in Concord, Massachusetts, during the first half of the nineteenth century to re-envision the human relationship to nature and the place of God (the oversoul) in the world. Ralph Waldo Emerson, the leading figure and sometimes figurehead of the group, was joined at various times by Henry David Thoreau, Margaret Fuller, A. Bronson Alcott, Elizabeth Palmer Peabody, and several others. Since the late nineteenth century, sophisticated analyses and studies of the Transcendentalists and Transcendentalism have filled library shelves, and numerous scholars have made the subject their life's work. Despite such voluminous work, American Transcendentalism remains an enigma to all but the most devoted students of the subject. Perplexity grows from the fact that it was both an American development and an international phenomenon. Transcendentalism has also been viewed at various times as an ethereal and nebulous philosophy and as an immensely practical guide to life. Henry Wadsworth Longfellow (1807–82) reflected that befuddlement in a journal entry he made after attending one of Emerson's lectures in 1838. In the entry, Longfellow discussed a friend who after attending the same lecture "said a sharp thing, . . . when asked if he could understand Emerson. His answer was 'No I can't but my daughter can.'"<sup>1</sup>

American Transcendentalism emerged during the first half of the nineteenth century but was in many respects the culmination of a longer period of intellectual awakening in New England and an underlying movement toward Unitarianism. Tied to that awakening was an insatiable thirst for new European concepts and philosophical theories that might be best adapted to conditions in the United States. German Romanticism and idealism seemed particularly germane to this evolution of thought. Edward Everett (1794–1865) and George Ticknor (1791–1871) studied at the University of Göttingen and brought German intellectual

ideas to Harvard and consequently inspired a generation of students and others to travel in Europe, study the German language, and embrace the ideas of various German writers and philosophers, including Goethe and Johann Christoph Friedrich von Schiller.<sup>2</sup>

The Transcendentalists drew specific lessons from that larger body of German literature. Emerson maintained a long friendship and lasting correspondence with the British essayist Thomas Carlyle. Carlyle had introduced American readers to German philosophy and literature and discussed related topics in letters to Emerson. In an 1835 letter to Emerson, Carlyle made mention of Prince von Pückler-Muskau.<sup>3</sup> Further mention of Prince Pückler can be found in Emerson's journals, and Emerson's good friend A. Bronson Alcott quoted passages from Pucklers' published correspondence in his writings.<sup>4</sup> Margaret Fuller, too, intensely studied German literature and was drawn to the feminism she saw inherent in Goethe's writing. Elizabeth Palmer Peabody, in editing and publishing the *Aesthetic Papers* (1849), was impressed by the German approach to aesthetics, which she believed to be focused on the disinterested and universal qualities of art.

## Broad Influences of Transcendentalism

From that milieu and the creative minds of the Transcendentalists themselves came an American philosophy said to have influenced travel writers, nature writers, wilderness advocates, modernist architects, Prairie School designers, and poets.

While many claim an influence in the realms of architecture, landscape architecture, and design aesthetics, the extent and detail of the influence is difficult to evaluate. American modernist and Prairie School architects claimed an affinity for Emerson's work during the twentieth century. Frank Lloyd Wright was particularly enamored with Transcendentalism and included a portion of Emerson's essay "Farming" in the appendix to his book titled *The Living City*. But that application of Emerson's words carries a retrospective, even nostalgic, tone somewhat similar to the "nature love" perspective that inspires the lifting of Thoreau quotations from their context in support of an environmentalist agenda.<sup>5</sup>

American landscape architecture embraced a similar anachronistic vantage during the second half of the twentieth century, when the profession was influenced by the environmental movement.<sup>6</sup> That perspective—the Transcendentalists loved nature and so do we—is shallow when compared to the depth of influence that the philosophical movement had on the emergence and early development of the profession.

Much has been written about the influence of Transcendentalism on the development of a wilderness ethic and its relationship to broad-scale

environmental preservation. John Muir studied Thoreau and was an avid reader of Emerson. Those same perspectives certainly influenced the development of landscape architecture as it advocated for national parks and the protection of valued wilderness landscapes in America during the first decades of the twentieth century.

## Transcendentalism and Landscape Architectural Design

The question of how Transcendentalism might have influenced the development of a useful aesthetic theory and resultant design strategies (specific moves in landscape architecture) is much more complex. Certainly, Andrew Jackson Downing knew of Transcendentalist writing and theories. However, he was more influenced by his reading of the English theory, which he abstracted and simplified for popular consumption.

While Frederick Law Olmsted was influenced by Emerson's writings, pioneer landscape architects Robert Morris Copeland, and Horace William Shaler Cleveland were more directly influenced by the Transcendentalists in their actual design work. As a result of those influences Copeland and Cleveland, more so than Olmsted, developed a philosophy of design that linked the useful and the beautiful in a somewhat similar fashion to Pückler's design work and philosophy.

### Olmsted

As a young man Olmsted attended Emerson's lectures with friends, discussed numerous Transcendentalist perspectives with Elizabeth Baldwin, and was eventually asked to join the Saturday Club (Emerson had been a charter member) in 1883.<sup>7</sup> Emerson's older brother Judge William Emerson was Olmsted's neighbor, friend, and confidant when the two resided on Staten Island. Like Everett and Ticknor, William Emerson had studied at the University of Göttingen, where he developed an appreciation for German Romanticism and the work of Friedrich Schleiermacher, Schiller, and Goethe.

Irving Fisher's *Frederick Law Olmsted and the City Planning Movement in the United States* suggests that German ideas and Emerson's Transcendentalism as filtered through William Emerson clearly influenced Olmsted's intellectual development. Some of the interaction may have been even more direct because the Concord Emersons frequently visited William at his Staten Island home, where Olmsted was a regular guest.<sup>8</sup> Fisher makes a compelling case that Olmsted was influenced by Emerson's writing on the role of the artist in society.<sup>9</sup> In *Nature* and other works, Emerson wrote that the elements of nature communicated to humans at various levels. While the landscape was like a great book to be

read, individuals were equipped to understand the lessons of nature to lesser or greater degrees. The artist according to Emerson was a “seer and sayer.” The artist, he suggested, “must work in the spirit in which we conceive a prophet to speak or an angel of the lord to act.”<sup>10</sup> Olmsted, therefore, saw it as his responsibility to affect the minds and emotions of spectators through the artistic manipulation of nature.

While Fisher covers a great deal of theoretical ground in his discussions of Emerson and German Romanticists, he does not substantiate a cause and effect relationship between those ideas and Olmsted’s actual design work particularly at the site level. In fact, Olmsted may have developed more directly useful design thinking from Ruskin. Fisher correctly asserts that Olmsted’s “copious use of Ruskin” was particularly adapted for “tactical purposes.”<sup>11</sup> For Olmsted, it is likely that Ruskin’s concepts such as repose, unity, and infinity were more easily translated into specific design moves than more ethereal vantages on the human relationship to nature.

## Copeland and Scientific Farming

Copeland and Cleveland established a Massachusetts partnership in “landscape and ornamental gardening” in 1854.<sup>12</sup> Both designers knew Emerson personally. Copeland knew Emerson well enough that years later he listed the Transcendentalist leader as a character reference when he attempted to vindicate himself after receiving a dishonorable discharge as an officer in the Union Army during the Civil War. Cleveland was a lifelong friend of Emerson’s cousin George Barrell Emerson and from childhood knew Elizabeth Palmer Peabody, Emerson’s Transcendentalist compatriot. In 1855, both designers were employed by the Concord Cemetery Committee, which included Emerson as a member.

Like many New England towns, Concord held an annual lyceum lecture series. In 1855, Simon Brown, editor of the *New England Farmer*, managed the series. On January 10, 1855, Copeland delivered a lyceum address titled the “The Usefull [sic] and the Beautiful.” While notes from the lyceum do not exist, the subject matter was likely similar to an article of the same title Copeland had published in the *New England Farmer* in 1854.<sup>13</sup> He had also published an entire series of articles on the subject of landscape design in the same periodical that year as well.

In order to place those articles in context, it is important to understand the relationship of scientific agriculture as it was practiced in the antebellum period in America to the development of landscape architecture. Copeland, Cleveland, and Olmsted were all scientific farmers before becoming landscape architects, who combined practical and aesthetic perspectives in writing for various agricultural and horticultural journals.

All of them also explored and communicated a new perspective on the relationship of the practical arts to beauty. Of the three, Copeland is the most recognized for his writing about scientific agriculture. In 1859, he summarized years of experiment on the subject in his book titled *Country Life*. Emerson, too, had a practical side—he raised pears in his home landscape and traveled in horticultural and scientific farming circles. Emerson commented on the importance of scientific farming in his essay titled the “Young American,” where he praised those individuals who “withdraw from cities . . . [to] cultivate the soil.”<sup>14</sup>

Copeland’s writing as it was influenced by Emerson’s work and the study of scientific farming provides an understanding of the useful and the beautiful American style. For Copeland, the relationship of the useful to the beautiful should be considered at two levels. At a basic level, the argument is much like the opening quotation by Pückler; the beautiful is useful in that it elevates the mind and the spirit. As Copeland wrote in *Country Life*, “the economy which feeds the body well at the expense of starving the mind is wretchedly short-sighted.”<sup>15</sup>

There is also a deeper perspective on the relationship of the useful to the beautiful found in Copeland’s writing with a direct relationship to Transcendentalism. In several short articles published in the *New England Farmer* during 1854, the year that he and Cleveland formed their partnership, Copeland offered both vantages on aesthetics and utility. In the “Useful and the Beautiful,” he commented on English theorists and designers such as William Gilpin, Uvedale Price, Richard Payne Knight, Humphry Repton, and J. C. Loudon.<sup>16</sup> In a series of articles titled “What a Garden Should Be,” he traced the development of landscape design through the ages with mention of the ancient, Renaissance, and nineteenth-century eras.<sup>17</sup>

He suggested that it is important to understand the “mind and spirit” of designers and designed places but that the work should not be blindly applied in America.<sup>18</sup> Because of the newness and unique characteristics of the American landscape, the “home spirit should be clearly carried out” in landscape design and “suited to our circumstances, not theirs.”<sup>19</sup> In America, beauty should arise from a true understanding and clear interpretation of utility. Those ideas as expressed by Copeland are clearly linked to Transcendentalist theory.

## Transcendentalism and Aesthetic Theory

Emerson developed a sophisticated Transcendentalist theory of aesthetics in concert with Horatio Greenough, an American sculptor. Horace Cleveland also knew Greenough, who had been a classmate of his older brother Henry Cleveland. Greenough developed his aesthetic thinking in tandem

and sometimes ahead of Emerson. While the two aesthetic theories are slightly different, they are similar enough that no distinction will be made here. Both theorists began to develop their ideas in the 1830s. Greenough and Emerson likely first met during the mid-1830s, and Emerson read Greenough's first article on aesthetics titled "American Architecture" published in the *United States Magazine and Democratic Review* a few years later.<sup>20</sup> The evolution of Emerson's aesthetic thinking can be traced in a series of lectures and essays including one titled "Beauty" and two titled "Art."<sup>21</sup> A few years after those initial forays into aesthetic theory, Emerson and Greenough shared their ideas in a correspondence. In 1852, a few months before Greenough published *The Travels, Observations, and Experiences of a Yankee Stonecutter*—the most detailed discussion of his aesthetic concepts—he and Emerson met in Concord.

There were numerous facets to the Transcendentalist aesthetic theory developed by Emerson and Greenough. They both saw the ability and responsibility of the artist in similar fashion to Olmsted. Emerson likened the artist to a lightning rod: as the lightning rod linked to the heavens to then transfer the force of the lightning along the ground, the artist was to translate an ethereal understanding of the world to the mass of society. Other parts of the theory include the need for a truly American art, the organic aesthetic, and a general disapproval of artificial embellishment.

## An American Aesthetic

Because the American landscape was being made anew, Emerson thought deeply about the development of the nation. In the "Young American," he commented on the unique qualities of America: the fact that change was inevitable, and that in time we would make the entire "face of the nation" a garden. In considering the formal structure of that which we were about to build, he critiqued the blind acceptance of European art forms and aesthetic theories. Also in the "Young American," he suggested that the neoclassical forms in Europe were likely born of the natural world at one time but that those forms had been altered over time with unnecessary artistic layers in a way that had nothing to do with America. He was critical, too, of the mercenary focus of commerce in the United States, suggesting that the drive toward profits was often linked to the timeworn forms of old Europe specifically as a symbol of wealth and power.

For both Emerson and Greenough, a new American aesthetic would be one clearly tied to the new land. They both articulated the need to find inspiration on the western side of the Atlantic. Already in 1836, Emerson had laid out the basic tenets of the appropriate human relationship to nature in his essay titled "Nature." He wrote, "why should we not also

enjoy an original relation to the universe." At one level, that relationship to nature was spiritual while at another level it involved study and observation of its physicality. Both Emerson and Greenough argued that beauty and pleasure could be found arising from America's natural forms.

## Organic Aesthetic

The need was for something uniquely American and the source of that aesthetic was America itself. The organic aesthetic conceived by Emerson and Greenough provided the substance for how that need would be fulfilled. To Emerson, beauty was not fixed or static but rather dynamic and flowing like the numberless phenomena of nature itself.<sup>22</sup> The artist's task was to interpret those phenomena through art undeniably true to that which was observed. It is in this context that Emerson's continuous linking of beauty and truth can best be understood. True beauty in any work of art was about the honest fulfillment of purpose.<sup>23</sup>

Greenough developed strikingly similar ideas through a critical analysis of architecture and other arts. He used the words form and function in his writing foreshadowing the use of those words by Chicago School and modernist architects several years later. For Greenough, function and form were concepts analogous to the useful and the beautiful. He described the design of a ship to serve as an illustration: "Mark the majestic form" as it "rushes through the water, observe the graceful bend" of the "body, the gentle transition from round to flat, the grasp . . . [of the] keel, the leap of . . . [the] bows, the symmetry and rich tracery of [the] . . . spars and rigging, [and] those grand wind muscles . . . [the] sails."<sup>24</sup> For Greenough, the ship depicted the appropriate relationship of the useful to the beautiful, the best design arising from a rich understanding of the environment—wind and water. For Emerson and Greenough, the organic aesthetic must emerge and be nurtured in the deepest understanding of the natural world.

## The Disapproval of Artificial Embellishment

Following the logic underlying that parsimonious aesthetic could only lead to the conclusion that unnecessary decoration would detract from the purity of form that the artist sought. Emerson wrote "forsaking the design to produce effect by showy details is the ruin of any work."<sup>25</sup> And echoing Emerson's maxim, Greenough wrote, "these extraneous and irrelevant forms invade the silence which alone is worthy."<sup>26</sup> Just as nothing in nature is superfluous, decoration should not come from an external source but rather should emerge directly from the place or object under

observation. Emerson and Greenough used words such as “fitness” and “appropriateness” to describe that design imperative. Here, Emerson and Greenough’s arguments once again returned to the neoclassical forms of Europe as the most egregious example of superfluous decoration. They believed that the application of such forms in America would only reveal the attempt of an infant civilization to inaptly claim an inappropriate level of maturity. The theorists were convinced that only elegant economy grounded in nature could benefit America.

## Theory to Form

Emerson as a poet and philosopher probably did not fully understand what his Transcendentalist aesthetic concepts might mean to actual works of art. Even Greenough, who was an artist, struggled when it came to application, such as with his famous George Washington in a toga sculpture, originally commissioned to be placed in the rotunda of the United States Capitol. In *English Traits*, Emerson wrote that Greenough’s “tongue was far cunninger [sic] to talk than his chisel was to carve.”

With Emerson, it seems likely given his close observations and contemplations of nature as well as his association with early landscape architects (Copeland and Cleveland) that he might have had a better idea of how his aesthetic concepts could be incorporated in landscape art than in other arts. In the “Young American,” he wrote that landscape design is the “fine art which is left for us now that sculpture, painting, religious and civil architecture have become effete and have passed into second childhood.”<sup>27</sup>

## Proof in Design

Evidence for Cleveland and Copeland’s close affinity for Emerson’s aesthetic concepts is found in the design of Sleepy Hollow Cemetery. In 1855, the two landscape architects designed the cemetery, which today serves as the final resting place for a number of the Concord Transcendentalists as well as other well-known writers and artists. On September 29, as work in the cemetery was nearing completion, Emerson delivered “An Address to the Inhabitants of Concord at the Consecration of Sleepy Hollow.” There, Cleveland and Copeland had fulfilled the role of Transcendentalist artists as they offered spiritual and moral lessons to the community through their design. In his “Address,” Emerson called the cemetery a “garden for the living,” suggesting that the meaning of the landscape was intended for the generations of living people who would come to quietly contemplate the juxtaposition of the ephemeral and the perpetual.<sup>28</sup>

Emerson told the audience that they could not “jealously guard a few atoms under immense marbles, selfishly and impossibly sequestering [them from the] . . . vast circulations of nature, . . . [which] recomposes for new life [each] decomposing particle.”<sup>29</sup> Emerson further commented on the fleeting nature of human life by comparing humans to trees: “The life of a tree is a hundred and a thousand years; its repairs self-made: they grow when we sleep, they grew when we were unborn. Man is a moth among these longevities.”<sup>30</sup>

But in keeping with Emerson’s Transcendentalism, there was also an optimistic undercurrent offered in the landscape of *Sleepy Hollow*. That optimism would come from the visitors’ realization that they were part of the dynamic flux and perpetual forces of nature. Emerson said, the being that “can share thought and feelings so sublime is no mushroom.”<sup>31</sup> The story of perpetuity would also be offered through the generations. Again, Emerson spoke to the Concord community: “When these acorns, that are falling at our feet, are oaks overshadowing our children in a remote century, this mute green bank will be full of history; the good, the wise, and the great will have left their names and virtues on the trees, . . . will have made the air tunable and articulate.”<sup>32</sup> While each individual life is finite, humanity as a part of nature would endure.

Emerson’s address reveals a great deal about the design and design intent at *Sleepy Hollow*. In the landscape, the designers worked true to place in keeping with the organic aesthetic established by Emerson and Greenough. They also carefully avoided artificial embellishment. Emerson said the cemetery only brought out the “natural advantages” of the site and that “the lay and look of the land” informed the design.<sup>33</sup> The cemetery was carefully set into a natural amphitheater and Cleveland and Copeland used native and familiar plants. As a consequence of that sensitivity to place, Emerson was pleased that *Sleepy Hollow* had not been “deformed by bad art.”<sup>34</sup> Emerson went on to comment on the close integration of human use and natural condition:

The beautiful night and the beautiful day will come in turn to sit upon the grass. Our use will not displace the old tenants. The well-beloved birds will not sing one song the less, . . . [They will] find out the hospitality . . . of this asylum, and will seek the waters of the meadow, and in the grass, and by the pond, the locust, the cricket, and the hyla, shall shrilly play.<sup>35</sup>

## Cleveland’s Career

Horace Cleveland more fully developed and promoted this Transcendentalist view of aesthetics throughout a career that extended to the end of

the nineteenth century. He and Copeland amicably severed their partnership prior to the Civil War, and Copeland died in 1874. Cleveland moved west in 1869, settling first in Chicago and later in Minneapolis. During those years, he continued to write about the importance of landscape design appropriately connected to place to the development of American civilization. In *Landscape Architecture as Applied to the Wants of the West* (1873), he critically commented on the problems of “mere extraneous ornament.”<sup>36</sup> In 1888, he wrote the *Aesthetic Development of the United Cities of St. Paul and Minneapolis*, where he contrasted a fitting design informed by place to a design of “pretentious appearance, with elaborate and costly display of artificial decoration and with corresponding ostentatious effort in ornamentation.”<sup>37</sup>

The most striking evidence of Cleveland’s affinity for the Transcendentalist aesthetic can be found in his many built landscapes at various scales. In 1872, he worked with his son Ralph to design Eastwood Cemetery for his hometown of Lancaster, Massachusetts. There he envisioned burial sites set amid natural vegetation far away from the more formal entry area. During the same period, he worked with his new partner William Merchant Richardson French on a community design for Highland Park, Illinois, where lots and roads were designed to incorporate the drama of existing ravines on the edge of Lake Michigan. In the mid-1880s, he designed a system of paths and roads for Natural Bridge, Virginia, and, concerned with a need for forest regeneration, suggested the development of a forestry school nearly a decade earlier than Olmsted’s vision for a great forest at Biltmore in North Carolina. In 1883, Cleveland began work on the crowning achievement of his long career, the Minneapolis Park System. And in the late 1880s, he worked to preserve and then design a park for the landscape surrounding Minnehaha Falls. Cleveland designed that landscape made famous by Longfellow’s book-length poem *The Song of Hiawatha* with a light hand. The falls, he felt, should be viewed in a landscape clearly reflecting the existing conditions of the site.

Cleveland moved back to Chicago in the 1890s and died there in 1900. But his legacy lived on. Osian C. Simonds following in that wake incorporated many of Cleveland’s principles in the early development of the Prairie School style. Noteworthy were Simonds’s use of native and common plants and the inspiration found in the direct observation of the landscape.

Cleveland’s life spanned most of the nineteenth century, and his ideas certainly evolved over time. In the Midwest, many of his decisions were driven as much by the rapid pace of technological and industrial change as by any philosophical considerations. Nevertheless, his work and career is arguably the clearest and most direct appropriation of Tran-

scendentalist aesthetic thought in landscape design that can be found during the second half of the nineteenth century.

Emerson, too, had desired practical application of his theories. Why else did he hope that the American landscape might be designed to “stanch and appease that fury of temperament which our [Americans] climate bestows?” For Emerson, the beautiful was indeed useful.

## Coda

The aesthetic principles developed by pioneer American landscape architects during the nineteenth century were remarkably similar to many of the ideas expressed in Pückler’s writings and design work. By and large, the similarities cannot be traced to any direct influence but rather were related to analogous circumstances and a shared Romanticism that led to an aesthetic approach that melded utility and beauty. In both cases, practical realities underlain with sophisticated philosophical explorations led to a design aesthetic wonderfully connected to place.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Samuel Longfellow, *Life of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow* (Boston, 1886), I, 288–89.

<sup>2</sup> Works by German authors were translated and disseminated to the American public in the *North American Review* edited by Alexander Hill Everett, Edward’s younger brother. For a discussion of Ticknor’s influence on Emerson, see Sigrid Bauschinger, *The Trumpet of Reform: German Literature Nineteenth-Century New England*, Thomas S. Hansen, trans. (Columbia, SC., 1998), 12.

<sup>3</sup> Thomas Carlyle to Ralph Waldo Emerson, February 3, 1835, *Correspondence of Emerson and Carlyle*, Joseph Slater, ed. (New York, 1964), 118.

<sup>4</sup> Bauschinger, *Trumpet of Reform*, 158.

<sup>5</sup> There are numerous books of this genre published by the Sierra Club and other organizations.

<sup>6</sup> Daniel Joseph Nadenicek and Catherine Hastings, “Environmental Rhetoric, Environmental Sophism: The Words and Work of Landscape Architecture,” *Environmentalism in Landscape Architecture*, Michel Conan, ed. (Washington, DC., 2000), 141–46.

<sup>7</sup> Emerson had passed away by the time Olmsted joined the Saturday Club, but his legacy most certainly lived on. Laura Wood Roper, *FLO: A Biography of Frederick Law Olmsted* (Baltimore, 1973), 11, 37, 40, 392.

<sup>8</sup> Irving D. Fisher, *Frederick Law Olmsted and the City Planning Movement in the United States* (Ann Arbor, 1976), 22–24.

<sup>9</sup> Fisher, *Olmsted and City Planning*, 60–73.

<sup>10</sup> Ralph Waldo Emerson, *The Complete Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, ed. Edward W. Emerson (Boston, 1904), vol. 7, 48.

<sup>11</sup> Fisher, *Olmsted and City Planning*, 77.

<sup>12</sup> Among the list of references found on an early advertisement were George B. Emerson, Emerson’s cousin, and Simon Brown, Emerson’s friend and Concord neighbor.

- <sup>13</sup> Robert Morris Copeland, "The Useful and the Beautiful," *New England Farmer*, 6, 10, (October 1854), 475–76.
- <sup>14</sup> Ralph Waldo Emerson, "Young American," *Nature, Addresses, and Lectures* (Boston, 1893), 354.
- <sup>15</sup> R. Morris Copeland, *Country Life; A Handbook of Agriculture, Horticulture, and Landscape Gardening* (Boston, 1859), 273
- <sup>16</sup> R. Morris Copeland, "Useful and Beautiful," 475–76.
- <sup>17</sup> R. Morris Copeland, "What a Garden Should Be," *New England Farmer*, 1854.
- <sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>20</sup> Horatio Greenough, "American Architecture," *United States Magazine and Democratic Review*, 1843.
- <sup>21</sup> His first essay "Art" can be found in Emerson, *Complete Works*, vol. 2, and another essay titled "Art" was first published in the *Dial* and was later included in *Complete Works*, vol. 7.
- <sup>22</sup> Charles Metzger, *Emerson and Greenough: Transcendental Pioneers of an American Aesthetic* (Los Angeles, 1954), 33.
- <sup>23</sup> Vivian Hopkins, *Spires of Form: A Study of Emerson's Aesthetic Theory*, (Cambridge, MA, 1951), 67–70, 91.
- <sup>24</sup> Metzger, *Emerson and Greenough*, 127.
- <sup>25</sup> Emerson, *Complete Works*, 290.
- <sup>26</sup> Horatio Greenough, *Form and Function: Remarks on Art, Design, and Architecture*, Harold A. Small ed. (Berkeley, CA., 1947), 99.
- <sup>27</sup> Emerson, "Young American," 345–46.
- <sup>28</sup> Ralph Waldo Emerson, "Address to the Inhabitants of Concord at the Consecration of Sleepy Hollow," *Emerson Papers*, Houghton Library, Harvard.
- <sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>36</sup> H. W. S. Cleveland, *Landscape Architecture as Applied to the Wants of the West; with an Essay on Forest Planting on the Great Plains* (Chicago, 1873), 16–17.
- <sup>37</sup> H. W. S. Cleveland, *Aesthetic Development of the United Cities of St. Paul and Minneapolis* (Minneapolis, 1888), 12.

# HIRSCHFELD, PÜCKLER, POE: THE LITERARY MODELING OF NATURE

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In February of 1828, writing from Brighton to his former wife Lucie, Hermann Ludwig Heinrich, Prince von Pückler-Muskau, related the case of the English merchant and financier Peter Thellusson who, when he died in 1797, left a will posing huge difficulties for his family.<sup>1</sup> Rather than allowing his considerable fortune to go to any of his living heirs, Thellusson ordered that his estate remain untouched for decades until a later generation could inherit, at a time when its value should have vastly increased. Pückler is intrigued by the story and comments on the potential of great wealth for doing good works: "What marvelous objects might be attained by such a fortune well applied."<sup>2</sup>

Peter Thellusson's will was infamous; immediately challenged by his family as a form of "posthumous avarice," it provided long-term grist for the British legal system.<sup>3</sup> Just as in the fictional case it eventually inspired—Jarndyce v. Jarndyce in Charles Dickens' *Bleak House* (1852–53)—for sixty years the lawyers made a good living from the otherwise inaccessible fortune; the family did not.<sup>4</sup> When the inheritance finally came due in 1856, the anticipated gains had all but vanished.

Pückler's letter, written almost thirty years before that unhappy dénouement, was prompted by his encounter with two members of the Thellusson family during a stay in Brighton. He was much taken with the prospect of coming into enormous wealth, which in his own case would have allowed his dreams for Muskau to be realized. But rather than expound on his personal ambitions, he goes on to relate the story of someone else he met in Brighton, an elegant middle-aged man, once "one of the most admired beaux of the metropolis" ("einer der erfolgreichsten Stutzer der Hauptstadt"), who had, unhappily, run through his fortune too quickly. One day this man happened on a map of America and made up his mind to emigrate, choosing as his new abode the primeval forests on the shores of Lake Erie. There, Pückler tells us, he became "ein Ansiedler," a "backwoodsman" in Sarah Austin's inspired turn of phrase.

The prince, himself an admired beau of the metropolis who found himself fortuneless, had also planned a trip to America, although he never realized that desire. Hence the anecdote resonates with Pückler's life, although imagining him as an isolated settler in the American *Urwald*, hewing down firs to keep his log cabin warm, doesn't come readily

into focus. The letter goes on to relate how the exiled *Weltmann* made a success of his Eden-like surroundings: increasing his family and expanding his influence and his property until he possessed the equivalent of a small principality—"ein kleines Fürstentum"—with an income that allowed him to return regularly to England for the season, where he lived, to quote Pückler "with all the *aisance* [ease, affluence] of a fashionable man of the world." We cannot but recognize here a fantasy Pückler might have conjured up for himself.

Pückler's account of the Thellusson will intrigue the American writer Edgar Allan Poe, who cites this letter in a tale published in 1842 as "The Landscape Garden" and in an expanded version under the title "The Domain of Arnheim" (1846).<sup>5</sup> It is assumed that Poe read Pückler's letters in Austin's translation, since his German was weak or non-existent.<sup>6</sup> It is intriguing, however, that in alluding to the above passage, he nonetheless managed to get closer to Pückler's meaning than did Austin, for he renders—in quotation marks—Pückler's comment as: "in contemplation of so vast a sum, and of the services to which it might be applied, there is something even of the sublime." Is it possible that Poe got this from the *French* translation?<sup>7</sup>

In any case, in "The Domain of Arnheim" Poe's narrator expands on the notion of beautifying the landscape, which becomes the climax of his story. The protagonist, a certain Ellison (surely an abbreviated Thellusson), having unexpectedly inherited a fortune of \$450 million, determines to spend his windfall in the creation of a landscape garden, the art form he reveres as the ultimate expression of man's poetic gifts. In a turn on the *paragone* debate over the correct ranking of the fine arts, Ellison dismisses poetry, painting, music, and sculpture in favor of landscape design, as his friend the narrator explains:

But Ellison maintained that the richest, the truest, and most natural, if not altogether the most extensive province, had been unaccountably neglected. No definition had spoken of the landscape-gardener as of the poet; yet it seemed to my friend that the creation of the landscape-garden offered to the proper Muse the most magnificent of opportunities. Here, indeed, was the fairest field for the display of imagination in the endless combining of forms of novel beauty; the elements to enter into combination being, by a vast superiority, the most glorious which the earth could afford. In the multiform and multicolor of the flowers and the trees, he recognised the most direct and energetic efforts of Nature at physical loveliness. And in the direction or concentration of this effort—or, more properly, in its adaptation to the eyes which were to behold it on earth—he perceived that he should be

employing the best means—laboring to the greatest advantage—in the fulfilment, not only of his own destiny as poet, but of the august purposes for which the Deity had implanted the poetic sentiment in man.<sup>8</sup>

The high regard for the art of landscape gardening is certainly in keeping with the prince's views. But Pückler offered further inspiration to Poe: another of his letters provided the locus behind Ellison's ideal landscape garden, namely the "Arnheim" of the title.<sup>9</sup> Pückler's evocative description of an extensive garden that he came upon during a trip from Wesel to Arnheim in Holland ("Arnheim" in German) is reborn as the setting of otherworldly perfection culminating Ellison's four-year quest for the ideal site. For Poe's narrative concludes with a remarkable description of Ellison's ultimate journey to his perfect landscape garden. Although the account begins, as Pückler's does, with plodding matter-of-factness ("The usual approach to Arnheim was by the river"), it closes in a wild turbulence of synesthesia and magic. We float in ivory canoes, pass through gates of burnished gold, and are regaled with a list of intense sense impressions.<sup>10</sup> The way appears barred at various points, yet we always manage to proceed further into the garden. Elaborate gates open just for us; waters seem to part, until the tale ends in a sensual rush:

There is a gush of entrancing melody; there is an oppressive sense of strange sweet odor,—there is a dream-like intermingling to the eye of tall slender Eastern trees—bosky shrubberies—flocks of golden and crimson birds—lily-fringed lakes—meadows of violets, tulips, poppies, hyacinths, and tuberose—long intertangled lines of silver streamlets—and, upspringing confusedly from amid all, a mass of semi-Gothic, semi-Saracenic architecture sustaining itself by miracle in mid-air, glittering in the red sunlight with a hundred oriels, minarets, and pinnacles; and seeming [to be] the phantom handiwork, conjointly, of the Sylphs, of the Fairies, of the Genii and of the Gnomes.<sup>11</sup>

This is a landscape garden extraordinaire! But, of course, it is not a real place or, indeed, any place designed by man. It is as if Ellison, having conceived the idea of the Perfect Landscape Garden, has achieved his goal by entering another dimension.<sup>12</sup> The space we enter is not a garden or even a landscape but a realm where we are fully enveloped in an otherworldly nature, where there is no shepherd, no wildman, no farmer, and from which there may well be no return, the final and radical end of the pastoral ideal.

What is the relationship between this kind of visionary description and Pückler's aspirations for an ideal park? What role does the evocative

image play in Pückler's own *literary* creations of gardens? As part of an answer, I propose to chart the tradition of the literary garden from its rationalist, Enlightenment roots to the eccentric, late Romantic point of view exemplified by Poe.

## Popular Literature, Travel, Gardens, Landscape

The evocative landscape journey in Poe's narrative participates in a long literary tradition that melded the popular genres of travel account and memoir, and it is a descendant of the pastoral idealization of primitive life invested in an emotionally charged natural world. By the late eighteenth century, a growing reading public was eager to pursue literary works of particular genres. The market for cookbooks and travel literature as well as for periodicals and tabloids, for instance, was much larger than for "high" literature, just as the audience for the stormy tale of Werther outstripped that for Faust.<sup>13</sup> By then, it had become possible for a writer to make a modest living from the trade, although writing was a less affluent profession in Germany than in England; it has been pointed out that Sir Walter Scott earned more from his writings in three years than Goethe did in his lifetime.<sup>14</sup> Nevertheless, these decades witnessed the introduction of reading groups, and there were complaints of an epidemic of "reading madness"; the German public was overcome in a *Briefwut*, a craze both for writing and reading letters. Accordingly, travel literature also developed a cultic following.<sup>15</sup>

The German publishing industry was not only prolific in its own right but very efficient in translating contemporary works from other languages; many books appeared in German within one year of their initial publication, and these translations were generally of high quality.<sup>16</sup> Goethe and others of his generation were rightly proud. In fact, in the *Briefe*, Pückler reports a conversation with Goethe, the "spiritual king" (*Geister-König*) of the German language, who speculated that the quantity and excellence of German translations would soon make it unnecessary for an educated person to know any other language.<sup>17</sup> It is our loss, at least in Pückler's view, that he himself was not active as a translator, since he had the highest regard for his own skills in this arena. As he wrote to Lucie: "There are few translations that please me more than my own."<sup>18</sup>

The reading fad became especially intense around 1800 when, it has been said, the British were undergoing an industrial revolution, the French a political revolution, and the Germans a "reading revolution."<sup>19</sup> There may have been more skimming and citing than in-depth perusal. In the "Vorspiel auf dem Theater" in *Faust*, the director bemoans the deplorable literary taste of his own audience members, complaining vehemently about their indiscriminate fondness for lightweight tabloids and

indicting them as appallingly widely read.<sup>20</sup> All of which is to say that the audience for the works we are considering here was anything but esoteric or specialized. It was enthusiastic and often quite informed. In the nineteenth century, much reading material was acquired through subscription, and the building of vast private libraries was no longer the sole province of princes: for example, a master tailor in Hanau owned over 3,600 volumes.<sup>21</sup> Gardening, too, was a hot topic. In 1861, Friedrich Dochnahl, a natural scientist and pomologist, published an alphabetical catalog of all the garden-related books and periodicals that had appeared in Germany from 1750 to 1860.<sup>22</sup> Amazingly, the list is nearly two hundred printed pages long and includes over three thousand titles.

### Hirschfeld's Garden Landscapes and the Pastoral

The author of numerous publications named in Dochnahl's *Bibliotheca Hortensis* is Christian Cay Lorenz Hirschfeld, dubbed by Michael Niedermeier "the Kiel pope of recent garden art."<sup>23</sup> It was Hirschfeld who introduced the German reading public to the history and theory of gardens and garden design through a number of books and periodical publications focused on gardens and the natural landscape. He achieved a large following throughout Europe, for if actual travel was impossible for most, *virtual* travel was quite affordable for the eager audience described above. Several of Hirschfeld's tomes were quickly translated, paraphrased, and pirated in a number of languages, especially the work for which he is best known, the *Theorie der Gartenkunst* (*Theory of Garden Art*), which first appeared as a single volume and was later expanded into five volumes published simultaneously in German and French between 1779 and 1785, the year of Pückler's birth.<sup>24</sup>

In the preface to his bibliography Dochnahl quotes two sentences encapsulating the profound importance of the "art and science of gardening." They are taken from the *Kleine Gartenbibliothek* of 1790, a journal edited by Hirschfeld.

The garden's influence on human beings is endlessly beneficial as long as they know to honor it with taste, diligence, and attentiveness. Within its bounds they find things that can lift high their spirits, instill goodness in their hearts, invigorate, nourish, and strengthen their bodies; yes, at every time of the year or day, in all circumstances, in every situation, joys without number.<sup>25</sup>

Clearly the idealized view of the garden proposed in the late eighteenth century proved tenacious, and Dochnahl's use of this quotation more than seventy years later nicely epitomizes the longevity of the pastoral

tradition running from antiquity through Hirschfeld and up to Dochnahl's own time.

The *Theorie* is the most impressive of Hirschfeld's works; on the model of encyclopedic histories, its chronological and geographical sweep is huge, from Babylon to remote Pacific islands, from mankind's first designs upon the land to the present. Along the way the author expounds upon theories of nature and the natural landscape, analyzes debates over the art of garden-making, and offers models discussing these topics in prose and poetry. He gives few practical hints, however—his book is entitled *Theory of Garden Art*, after all, and he was trained in philosophy. Hirschfeld does touch on the economic aspects of garden-making, such as suggesting gardens for different incomes,<sup>26</sup> but there is little pragmatic advice. He saw the garden as a paradigm for the organization of society, where the owner/ruler is attentive to his subjects' rights and welfare just as he is to maintaining the natural beauty of his estates. The enlightened prince or landowner benefits from these practices as well; by wisely improving his property, he will benefit the peasant farmer as well as his own family and heirs. This sounds like a prescription for the fulfillment of Pückler's dreams.

Hirschfeld importantly offered his readers inspiration—not only by reaffirming the universal benefit of gardens, but by proffering a literary plan for our emotional response to the beauty of the world, both natural and artificial. His speculations on the nature of beauty and on man's relationship to the landscape are augmented by a great many descriptions of places—mainly of expansive gardens and princely estates done in the "natural" style. Since his personal travel was restricted to northern Europe, the descriptions by his pen are limited to those areas—the rest are taken from the reports of others. If we look not at his philosophical arguments but at a few of his own descriptions, we can observe how he structures the literary *experience* of the landscape and garden for his readers, and we can then follow this kind of evocation as it evolves in the writings of Pückler and then Poe.

Descriptions of rural delights hark back to classical pastoral poetry. Indeed, these lines from Theocritus could well pass for an eighteenth- or nineteenth-century pean:

High above our heads waved many a poplar, many an elm tree,  
while close at hand the sacred water from the nymphs' own cave  
welled forth with murmurs musical . . . On shadowy boughs the  
burnt cicalas kept their chattering toil, far off the little owl cried  
in the thick thorn brake, the larks and finches were singing . . . the  
yellow bees were flitting about the springs.<sup>27</sup>

As Ernst Robert Curtius points out in his comparison of this passage with a well-known bucolic scene from *Faust*, the lines are “saturated with actual observation.”<sup>28</sup> Thus the tradition lived on in the late pastoral in Germany, most prominently in the works of Hirschfeld’s slightly older contemporary, Salomon Gessner; both writers lead their readers to the sweet, clean breezes of the mountains, the fragrance of lovely bowers, and the splendor of a sunset over distant hills; both present a rural setting as the ideal locus for a happy and virtuous life. Horace’s *beatus ille* lived on.<sup>29</sup> Hirschfeld’s prose does not aspire to the sentimental heights of Gessner’s religious idylls, however. As an enlightened thinker, he valued moderation, and this is reflected as much in his views on garden design as it is in his rhetoric. He had also absorbed the theory of associationism—an Enlightenment proposition about the linking of particular feelings to particular sights. Indeed, emotional response was a central tenet in Hirschfeld’s view of landscape, and his descriptions of gardens are typically replete with references to the experience of the viewer. Yet his narrative voice maintains a certain objectivity; he names, describes, and analyzes subjective responses but does not recreate them. Rational distance prevails.

Certainly the image of a shepherd’s bucolic life had a special appeal to a literate public trapped in putrid cities, and Hirschfeld touches repeatedly on this theme. Whatever the reality of his readers’ daily trials, his word pictures offered an attractive escape.<sup>30</sup> In a long description of the gardens at Marienwerder, we watch with him as the dawn casts long shadows over the grass and water, as a rich green emerges on all sides, and rustic paths wind through a stand of birches or beside hermitages and artificial ruins.<sup>31</sup> In a particularly programmatic finale, Hirschfeld outlines the panoply of feelings that this place arouses, essentially a list of the most desirable emotions a garden can elicit: “Cheerfulness, joy, gentle and sweet melancholy, love of quiet and solitude, of friendship and virtue, sorrows forgotten, the rising above life’s folly, and even a presentiment of the scenes from a yet more lovely world.”<sup>32</sup>

The rhetorical commonplaces of ancient descriptions of grove and pleasure, mixed forest or *locus amoenus*, were no longer strictly observed in the eighteenth century. Nonetheless, the elements are still clearly recognizable: the soft meadow, the sun-drenched field, the wild forest. Hirschfeld acts as our guide through these places. And even when the images pile up in considerable quantity, we follow along. Here is an example describing a simple country cottage:

We are touched still more, especially after the noise of the city and open thoroughfares, to discover a lovely rural dwelling in an unexpected valley, standing there in quiet charm next to a small

rill that has strayed from a passing stream; the clear waters are happy to reflect the image of this delightfully pastoral hut; at its windows lilacs and grapevines grow companionably; nearby fruit trees spread a sweet twilight, and before the entrance, towering above everything, stands a tall linden tree whose shade already provided refreshment to our forefathers; in the forecourt are various kinds of poultry, all making up one harmonious family, some hiding quietly in the shadows, some splashing in the water, some in a gay throng flying past the full hand of the owner as he steps outside, their different voices and movements thanking him for his generosity. Joyful abode of peace and simplicity! Touching picture of innocence, all that is left us of Eden's bliss!<sup>33</sup>

Hirschfeld invites his readers to share his reactions. He begins by reminding us of the emotional impact of the scene, contrasts its peace and quiet with the bustle and noise of the city; the hand of the gardener—nature's keeper—is present in the lilacs and grapevines; we are led to think of our own history (our forefathers); we sense a whole array of feelings, nearly all of those enumerated in the passage quoted above: even gentle melancholy is here in "all that is left us of Eden's bliss!" This is not a scene we can visualize in any specific way, but we have a clear sense of its various components and the proper response is specified for us: delight mixed with "melancholic longing" (*wehmütige Sehnsucht*). It is pastoral, but without nymphs, references to Apollo or Pan, without lyrical outpouring. It is sentimental but imbued with a certain analytical remove.

In Hirschfeld's judgment one of the principle qualities of a proper garden is its ability to elicit emotion, and *movement* (*Bewegung*) is a central tenet whereby this is accomplished. Hirschfeld abhors stasis, one reason for his rejection of the "formal" garden. Instead it is movement that is essential, with its dual constituents of motion and e-motion.<sup>34</sup> A garden visitor moves through a scene, the landscape elements move as well, and the result is emotionally moving. We see this in the description of Marienwerder where Hirschfeld acts as the reader's surrogate in a series of strolls through the park as each vista opens up, each tree or statue comes into view, each new feeling is evoked. Hirschfeld strikes many of his major chords here: a unity between truth and art; the role of subjectivity; the spirit of variety. We are on a voyage, travelers led by a persuasive guide whose measured responses are intended to become our own.

Although Hirschfeld predates the Romantic movement in German literature—officially inaugurated in 1797—there are a number of qualities in his writing that seem to anticipate its preoccupations. By this I do not mean his repeated use of the term "*romantisch*," which would have been

judged too superficial and sentimental to have passed muster with the movement's founders. Rather, it is his emphasis on the centrality of engagement with nature and his appreciation of transitoriness that reappear in amplified form in the writings of the Romantics.

## Pückler's Idylls

The subtitle "Pückler's Idylls" may appear unduly anachronistic, since it has been argued that the pastoral, however venerable its tradition might have been, is a literary form that disappeared in the nineteenth century at the first breath of ridicule, and that neither Gessner nor any of his followers managed to "survive the laughter of Herder."<sup>35</sup> Still, when pastoral elements were integrated into other genres, they did survive. And even though we might expect the worldly Pückler to laugh along with Herder, we in fact find him interspersing idyllic descriptions in his own narrations. Indeed, we might decide that "romantic idylls" is a perfect fit.

All of Pückler's characterizations of gardens and landscapes are his own accounts. They do not encompass the broad chronology of Hirschfeld's survey, but they offer the armchair traveler the chance to accompany a single, spirited guide to a wide range of spots on the globe, many exotic and vividly experienced. Although contemporary critical response to Pückler's writings varied from rave reviews (Goethe, for instance) to polemical attacks,<sup>36</sup> he was extremely popular with the general reading public—in England as well as in Germany. Today he is valued for his entertaining wit and astute social and political commentary. Yet his accomplishment as a literary portrayer of gardens and landscapes has been undervalued, and mostly ignored.<sup>37</sup>

I propose to look closely at a few passages from the *Briefe* and the *Hints* in the hope of locating Pückler within the evolving tradition we have seen reaching from antiquity to Hirschfeld's Enlightenment pastorals. We will see that some of Pückler's descriptions adhere more closely than others to conventions like the *locus amoenus* and *beatus ille*, and we will also find Hirschfeldian themes such as the importance of movement for animating landscape and eliciting emotion, or the benefit of paths, "the walker's silent guides that must serve to lead him, without force, to discover every pleasure the area has to offer."<sup>38</sup> Sometimes Pückler incorporates these tropes in ways that would have left Hirschfeld quite content. In the second part of the *Hints*, for instance, as in Hirschfeld's tour of Marienwerder, Pückler uses paths as a narrative strategy, accompanying the reader through a series of walking tours of Muskau, turning our gaze to the changing views of the landscape as we move along, and insisting that we judge an object, and a garden, as it *appears* to us, not as it *is*. Our subjectivity is what counts. Or in the *Tour* he includes a kind of

inventory of all the elements contributing to the harmonious beauty of Kenmare<sup>39</sup> and ends with a comparison emphasizing experience and emotion that would also have been much to Hirschfeld's taste: "a perfect park,—in other words, a tract of country idealized *by art*,—should be like a good book, which suggests *at least* as many new thoughts and feelings as it expresses."<sup>40</sup> Pückler extols this garden's many virtues, where every shrub and tree is planted with a sense for moderation and appropriateness, certainly desirable Hirschfeldian assets. Yet the tone is intensified by Romantic tropes—views into the "darkening wood" (*Walddunkel*) that leave some things disguised, a "veiled loveliness" (*verschleierte Schönheit*) that imparts an air of mystery, engaging the imagination of each visitor in a different way.

We can find other descriptions in which this romantic aura is amplified, not just in vocabulary but rhetorically, for example, in Pückler's account of the trip to Arnheim—the one mentioned above as a springboard for Poe. His narrative, like Poe's, starts out objectively, with no hint of what is to come: "My journey from Wesel to Arnheim was tedious enough. The horses toiled slowly on, through a dull country, amid endless sand."<sup>41</sup> However, his words soon begin to soar as he is relieved to find a dull journey transformed by the "magical" effect of "an endless park" through which his carriage rolls softly, its spinning wheels "so inviting to the play of the fancy." This account and its transformative sweep from the mundane to the sublime was clearly a source for Poe's description of Ellison's otherworldly "Arnheim":

Although there are neither cliffs nor mountains in the endless park I was traveling through, nonetheless the high embankments up which the road sometimes climbs, the number of substantial country houses. . . . the numerous colossal groups of trees rising from meadows and plains or above clear lakes, grant the landscape just as much variation between height and depth as painterly views of the most picturesque type; yes, its greatest quality consisted in just this unbelievable movement and diversity of objects . . . cities, villages, palaces with their rich environs, villas of every architectural style with the most charming flower gardens, boundless stretches of grass with thousands of cattle grazing, lakes . . . innumerable islands . . . myriads of waterfowl . . .—everything joins hands in *one* continual joyous dance into which one is transported, as in a dream, by winged horses, while ever new palaces, still other cities appear on the horizon, their high Gothic towers melting into the clouds in the crepuscular distance . . .<sup>42</sup>

Pückler's descriptive technique is itself inherently emotive. The vocabulary and sentence structure, like the landscape, are filled with "unbelievable movement and diversity," carrying us along without pause. The words and images mount up, many romantically charged, building to a joyous, dreamlike dance. Even the conventional imagery is prodigious—myriads of birds, immeasurable grasslands, villas of every conceivable style. The distance is crepuscular, the park endless, the groups of trees colossal; we are awed by innumerable cities and palaces. This is not a picture we could draw—it is an experience to be re-imagined. There are similarities with Hirschfeld's pastoral scenes, but with an increased expressive charge; Pückler does not describe feelings, or list them, he elicits them through words and rhetorical devices. His literary park has achieved his goal for a real park, both awakening emotions as well as expressing them.

The effect on the reader is also reminiscent of some of the great writing of the German Romantics. Indeed, in the powerful language, the rich imagery, even in some of the specific vocabulary, we can hear echoes of German Romanticism, for example certain passages from Novalis's "Story of Hyacinth and Roseblossom":

Now the countryside grew richer and more varied again, the air soft and blue, the path more level; green groves lured him with lovely shade, but he did not understand their language, in fact, they did not seem to speak, and yet they filled his heart with green colors and a sense of cool stillness. That sweet yearning rose higher and higher in him, and the leaves became broader and juicy, the birds and animals noisier and jollier, the fruits more like balsam, the sky darker, the air warmer, and his love ever more ardent, and time passed more and more quickly, as if it sensed it was near its goal.<sup>43</sup>

Talking shrubbery is, of course, common enough in Romantic imagery—on occasion we find Pückler himself being greeted by a personified world.<sup>44</sup> And his Arnheim description recalls the Novalis passage in the gradual acceleration of sentences, the multiplying of comparatives and images, the sense of being engulfed by nature. Yet for Novalis, as for Poe, the external landscape is illusory; the green shrubbery, gentle air, rustling leaves are atmospheric signs of a state of mind. In Pückler's descriptions, the Romantic tropes compel us, but we remain cognizant of the existence of an outside world as the source of imagery. Behind the scenes we sense what Curtius termed "actual observation."

The *Hints* too, which was intended as a practical guide and which Pückler himself worries may be judged tedious,<sup>45</sup> contains the occasional evocative description imbuing the pastoral with the Romantic:

Imagine, for instance, among the precipices and waterfalls, the dark pine woods and blue glaciers of mountainous Switzerland, a classical, antique building, a palace from the Strada Balbi, sumptuous in its decorative flourishes, surrounded with high terraces, with rich multi-colored parterres of flowers . . . alive with the movement of waters . . . A few steps aside in the woods, and palace and gardens would have vanished from view, as by magic, to make room again for the undisturbed loveliness and majestic wilderness of Nature. Farther on, perhaps, a bend in the road would open up an unexpected vista, where, in the [remote] distance, the work of art, like a realized fairy dream, would show through the dark firs, glowing in the light of the setting sun, or rising over the mysterious darkness of the valley where, here and there, the tiny sparkles of lighted candles would glow.<sup>46</sup>

Again a cascade of impressions engulfs us; we recognize the admixture of identifiably Romantic language: remote distance, the glow of a setting sun, dusky valleys, even fairies. Pückler shows that he can transport his readers “as if by magic.” And yet, even though this is an imaginary site imbued with emotion, the outside world has not been entirely left behind.

Thus, we see how Pückler’s descriptions of landscape combine the pastoral and the romantic, Hirschfeld transformed by way of Novalis. I am not aware of his admitting to these influences, but this is not to say they were not in play. Indeed, “playful” is an adjective appropriate to much of Pückler’s *Weltanschauung* and occasionally to his inventive use of literary convention. In a sober discussion of the advantages of a visible boundary between a garden and park, for instance, he leads our eye from the nearby colors of lawn and flowers to the distant landscape

. . . with its broad sweeps of grass, tall, dark, and interwoven by nothing but simple wildflowers—so lovely, when the wind caresses it sensually, like a young man running his fingers through the flowing tresses of his beloved, or when merry reapers dally there amidst the fragrant mounds of hay, while the smiling sun sends down its flashes of light.<sup>47</sup>

This is genuine Pückler—a ravishing combination of pastoral with a frisson of sexuality and a little light-hearted frivolity.

## Paragone

As we have seen, the language of garden description practiced by Hirschfeld and Pückler attempts a poetic re-creation of experience. The in-

adequacy of words to fully evoke such feelings is a recurrent lament and part of a tradition reaching back to Homer, a method of exalting the subject of a panegyric dubbed by Curtius the “inexpressibility topos.”<sup>48</sup> Pückler plays on this trope, at one point confessing—with a hint of melancholy—that reality, compared to art, is at best slightly disappointing, that only art can capture our fantasies and make us truly happy.<sup>49</sup> Elsewhere, however, he bemoans the inadequacy of “poor language, condemned to eternal repetition” to capture the glories of a natural scene.<sup>50</sup> Which does he believe? Can art—a garden or garden writing—trump, or at least match, the power of nature itself? And can nature be challenged by the actual creation of a landscape garden?

The traditional debate of the *paragone* was initially cast as an allegorical competition between poetry and painting, later sometimes encompassing sculpture and architecture. Garden art was not included.<sup>51</sup> Indeed, “landscape” was a relatively new genre within the visual arts and had only slowly risen in esteem until by Hirschfeld’s time it was not only much admired, but actual gardens were praised for their “picturesqueness,” their resemblance to painting. Garden art became a credible rival to the sister arts by its association with painting.<sup>52</sup> Hirschfeld returns to this topic several times, at one point judging gardening against architecture and, in a section entitled “On Garden Art as a Fine Art,” against painting, where he concludes that “at base the art of gardening is as superior to landscape painting as nature is to a copy. None of the mimetic arts is more entwined with nature herself, which is to say more natural, than the art of gardens. Here the portrayal is merged with the actual.”<sup>53</sup>

In the *Hints*, Pückler expands on this trope, indulging in a kind of capriccio on the *paragone*. Since for him the art of landscape gardening, which he calls “nature painting” (*Naturmalerei*), achieves its epitome where it appears as “unbounded nature, yet in her most noble form” (*freie Natur, jedoch in ihrer edelsten Form*). He compares it with drama as well, since these are the only arts to choose nature itself as their material and as the true object of representation. He sees both as precarious, but gives the advantage to garden art, which he goes on to consider in relation to music. With coy wit he proposes that if architecture can be called “frozen music,” then garden art could be dubbed “vegetating music” boasting its own symphonies, adagios, and allegros. The truly gifted designer of gardens can create a perfect unity, but this only reaches its fullest potential and gives it fullest pleasure when harmony has given it life.<sup>54</sup> Here we see Pückler once again reinventing conventional imagery.

In “The Domain of Arnheim,” before recounting Ellison’s final journey, Poe’s narrator takes on the *paragone* debate and reaches a decisive conclusion:

In the most enchanting of natural landscapes, there will always be found a defect or an excess—many excesses and defects. While the component parts may defy, individually, the highest skill of the artist, the arrangement of these parts will always be susceptible of improvement. In short, no position can be attained on the wide surface of the natural earth, from which an artistical eye, looking steadily, will not find matter of offence in what is termed the “composition” of the landscape. And yet how unintelligible is this! In all other matters we are justly instructed to regard nature as supreme. With her details we shrink from competition. Who shall presume to imitate the colors of the tulip, or to improve the proportions of the lily of the valley? The criticism which says, of sculpture or portraiture, that here nature is to be exalted or idealized rather than imitated, is in error. No pictorial or sculptural combinations of points of human liveliness do more than approach the living and breathing beauty. In landscape alone is the principle of the critic true; and, having felt its truth here, it is but the headlong spirit of generalization which has led him to pronounce it true throughout all the domains of art.<sup>55</sup>

Ellison’s speculations on the conditions of bliss, on art, and on how to spend his money to create beauty lead him to conclude, in concert with Novalis, Schlegel, and other Romantics, that his objectives would be best expressed through “poetic sentiment.” But which art can best achieve this ideal? Ellison, who also includes music in his pantheon, deems the art of making a landscape to be triumphant. Thus his conclusion is the same as Hirschfeld’s and Pückler’s. Yet Poe is not, as we have seen, describing an actual garden. Ellison may choose landscape gardening as the greatest art, but the winner in Poe’s *paragone* is poetic language itself. He demonstrates the power of his vision by taking the reader on a voyage where nature is omnipresent, overpowering, of an unworldly, almost mystical power. We, like Ellison, are “enwrapt in an exquisite sense of the strange. The thought of nature still remained, but her character seemed to have undergone modification, there was a weird symmetry, a thrilling uniformity, a wizard propriety in these her works.” In effect, Poe’s description has lost all ties to the real world; it sweeps us along with romantic fervor into a realm where even the sun no longer follows its accustomed path.

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One could make the case that, although Pückler never fully realized his “garden dreams,”<sup>56</sup> he managed to create enduring gardens and word pictures of gardens that remain, like all landscapes, in a state of becom-

ing. Indeed, he turns to this central trope of the Romantics, the idea of *das Immer-Werdende*, in discussing the difficulties of maintaining Muskau Park, a living work of art. Although he ascribes the image to a comment by Fichte on a quality of language,<sup>57</sup> its use in Friedrich Schlegel's famous definition of Romanticism is fully apt:

Romantic poetry is a progressive universal poetry. Its destiny is not merely to reunite all of the different genres and to put poetry in touch with philosophy and rhetoric. Romantic poetry wants to and should combine and fuse poetry and prose, genius and criticism, art poetry and nature poetry. It should make poetry lively and sociable, and make life and society poetic. It should poeticize wit . . . The Romantic form of poetry is still in the process of becoming. Indeed, that is its true essence, that it is always in the process of becoming and can never be completed.<sup>58</sup>

How reminiscent of the last of Ellison's four basic principles or "conditions of bliss": the need to have "an object of unceasing pursuit."

Like Romantic poetry, a garden can never be complete. As a mutable, living creation it is changeable in its essence. Pückler calls this "die Schattenseite unserer Kunst" (the dark side of our art) and sees it as both an advantage and a disadvantage. Additionally, however, a garden is a work of art and, like a text whose meaning can never be entirely pinned down, always open to re-interpretation. Pückler believed that an ideal garden should evoke a powerful emotional impact, and he aimed for a similar effect in his romantically charged descriptions. Accordingly, he engages us, his readers, in pathetic fallacies reminiscent of Novalis, in order that we experience the power of nature through words, images, and rhetorical structure. This is the quality that attracted Poe, whose vision of Arnheim fully dissolves the boundary between nature and artifice.

At the end of the *Hints*, Pückler takes his departure from the reader with Horatian melancholy, musing on how one might best contribute to the world. He concludes that whereas politics cannot be for everyone, a still greater good can be achieved by a landowner who valiantly strives to improve Mother Earth. For Pückler, *das Immer-Werdende* is at once a literary trope and an allusion to the obstacles inherent in any attempt to manipulate nature. Perhaps what we glimpse in his verbal renderings of landscape is a yearning for expectations that he recognizes can be fulfilled only on the page.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Letter XXII in *Briefe eines Verstorbenen* (published anonymously), 4 vols. (Munich/Stuttgart, 1830–31); new edition by Heinz Ohff (Berlin, 1986), 813–16. All German references

are to the modern edition (hereafter *Briefe*). This letter appears as Letter VIII in vol. 4 of the English translation by an unnamed Sarah Austin: *Tour in England, Ireland, and France in the Years 1828 & 1829*, vols. 1 & 2, and *Tour in Germany, Holland and England in the years 1826, 1827, & 1828, In a series of letters by a German Prince*, vols. 3 & 4 (London, 1832). Austin's translation appeared quickly in America in a number of editions—as two volumes in one and at least twice as a single volume but with slightly differing titles and pages—all published in 1833 by Carey, Lea & Blanchard in Philadelphia. References to Austin's translation (hereafter *Tour*) are to the one-volume, 499-page Philadelphia edition entitled *Tour in England, Ireland, and France, in the Years 1826, 1827, 1828, and 1829*. For an abridged edition of the Austin translation, see E. M. Butler, ed., *A Regency Visitor. The English Tour of Prince Pückler-Muskau Described in his Letters, 1826–1828* (New York, 1958). Additional English translations of some letters (including occasional overlaps with Austin) appear in Flora Brennan, ed., *Pückler's Progress: The Adventures of Prince Pückler-Muskau in England, Wales and Ireland as Told in Letters to his Former Wife, 1826–9* (London, 1987).

<sup>2</sup> Pückler guesses that this process will take 150 years and reckons that the value of the estate will have reached ninety-four million talers—an amazing amount, considering that Pückler at one point figured his own lifetime earnings at 30,000 to 40,000 talers. Other contemporary estimates were higher; one well-known example proposed that the fortune would reach between 19 and 38.4 million pounds.

<sup>3</sup> For an overview of this and related cases, see Robert H. Sitkoff, "The Lurking Rule Against Accumulations of Income," *Northwestern University Law Review* 100 (2006): 501–16.

<sup>4</sup> After sixty years, when the inheritance was paid out, the fortune had been eaten away, although it had not vanished completely, as in Dickens's tale. Thellusson's will had more than just literary repercussions: already in 1805, the House of Lords passed the "Rule Against Accumulations of Income" which would apply to any similar case in the future, although this one was unstoppable; and in another limitation of potentially huge posthumous accruals, the "Thellusson Act," which still holds today, was enacted by Parliament at about the same time.

<sup>5</sup> Edgar Allan Poe, "The Domain of Arnheim," *The Complete Tales and Poems of Edgar Allan Poe* (Vintage Books edition: New York, 1975), 604–15. There are biographical similarities between the two writers, for Poe, profoundly indulged as he was growing up, was led to believe he would inherit his stepfather's fortune but was disappointed. Pückler's hopes for a generous legacy from his father-in-law were similarly dashed.

<sup>6</sup> Although some scholars have still recently claimed that Poe had at least some command of German, this seems unconvincing. Indeed, he relied heavily on a number of Austin's translations of German works and published a brief but rave review of one of her volumes, *Fragments from German Prose Writers* (1841), in *Graham's Magazine* (19, no. 6, 1841). In fact, he mined this book repeatedly for quotations and observations. Poe's *modus operandi* is laid out in a delightful but hard-to-find article by Carl F. Schreiber, "Mr. Poe at his Conjurations Again," *The Colophon: A Book Collector's Quarterly*, Part 2 (1930): 11 pages (unpaginated). Schreiber claims that Poe not only knew the "pirated edition" of the *Tour* that was published in Philadelphia in 1833, but "He reviewed it and quoted from it. There is much evidence to strengthen the assertion that it was one of the books which Poe read cover to cover." I have not been able to find any review by Poe of the *Tour*. See also Thomas S. Hansen with Burton R. Pollin, *The German Face of Edgar Allan Poe: A Study of Literary References in His Works* (Columbia, SC, 1995), with further evidence of how Poe conjured his supposed knowledge of German by borrowing not only from Austin but also from other translators.

<sup>7</sup> Even if we read Austin's "objects" as "objectives," the likely nineteenth-century connotation, the idea of benefiting all mankind is not explicit, whereas in the French translation it is: "Que de bienfaits ne pourrait-on pas répandre sur les hommes en employant avec sagesse une pareille fortune!" *Mémoires et voyages du prince Pückler-Muskau. Lettres posthumes*, trans. J. Cohen (Brussels, 1833–34), vol. 3, 31. Poe's French was very good, and he could have known the French translation.

<sup>8</sup> Poe, "The Domain of Arnheim," 607.

<sup>9</sup> Letter II, "Rotterdam, the 25<sup>th</sup> of September 1826," *Tour*, 10–12; *Briefe*, 423. See discussion below.

<sup>10</sup> For example, a string of nouns: "richness, warmth, color, quietude, uniformity, softness, delicacy, daintiness, voluptuousness, and a miraculous extremeness of culture that suggested dreams of a new race of fairies . . .": "The Domain of Arnheim," 613. A "pendant" to this tale, "Landor's Cottage" (*Complete Tales*, 616–25) is made up almost entirely of a landscape description, also of a semi-magical realm, yet it never achieves the romantic flair of the Arnheim piece. For some recent articles, see Catherine Rainwater, "Poe's Landscape Tales and the 'Picturesque' Tradition," *Southern Literary Journal* 16 (1984): 30–41; Jochen Achilles, "Edgar Allan Poe's Dreamscapes and the Transcendentalist View of Nature," *Amerikastudien/American Studies*, 40 (1995): 553–73; Marina Warner, "Spirit Visions," The Tanner Lectures on Human Values, Yale University, Oct. 20 and 21, 1999, 94–98, available online. The scholarship on Poe's "Domain of Arnheim" tends to ignore Pückler altogether, and if he is mentioned, he is given credit only for the reference to Thellusson.

<sup>11</sup> Poe, "The Domain of Arnheim," 615.

<sup>12</sup> The French artist René Magritte was quite taken with Poe's story (in Charles Baudelaire's translation, no doubt) and produced a number of works entitled "Le domaine d'Arnheim," which Magritte explicitly made "in memory of the story by Poe, a man who, in my view, can give rise to thoughts such as the following: we move mountains so that the sun appears according to a specific wish." See *René Magritte, catalogue raisonné*, ed. David Sylvester (London, 1992), 143, 262, 371–72.

<sup>13</sup> Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Die Leiden des jungen Werther* (1774); *Faust I* (1808).

<sup>14</sup> On the poor remuneration of German authors compared to English, see W. H. Bruford, *Germany in the Eighteenth Century: The Social Background of the Literary Revival*, part 4, chapter 1, "The Profession of Letters" (Cambridge, 1995), 271–90. Pückler's 30–40,000 talers also put him ahead of Friedrich Schiller, Johann Gottfried Herder, and Jean Paul.

<sup>15</sup> See David Blackbourne, *The Long Nineteenth Century: A History of Germany, 1780–1918*, (New York, 1998), 35–37. At one point, Pückler feels himself in danger of writing nothing better than travel literature: "My journal will soon be like Bernouilly's Travels, which mainly treat of invitations, dinners, and evening parties" (*Tour*, 141; *Briefe*, 654). "Bernouilly" is Johann Bernoulli (1744–1807), who published many volumes of travel descriptions and is quoted favorably several times by Christian Hirschfeld, *Theorie der Gartenkunst*, 5 vols. (Leipzig, 1779–85; reprinted Hildesheim, Zurich, and New York, 1973 and 1985) (hereafter *Theorie*), vol. 4, 94; vol. 5, 292, 314, 359, 363; English edition and translation by Linda B. Parshall, *Theory of Garden Art* (Philadelphia, 2001) (hereafter *Theory*). As we have seen, English and French translations of the *Briefe* appeared almost immediately. Pückler's book about his park at Muskau, *Andeutungen über Landschaftsgärtnerei* (Stuttgart, 1834) appeared in English translation in 1917: *Hints on Landscape Gardening*, trans. Bernhard Sickert, ed. Samuel Parson (Boston/New York); two early translations into French are reported by Steffen Krestin and Beate Schneider in *Parkraum—Traumpark. A.W. Schirmer. Aquarelle und Zeichnungen zu Pücklers "Andeutungen über Landschaftsgärtnerei"* (Cottbus, 1993), 35. There is a recent French translation, *Aperçus sur l'art du jardin paysager*, ed., intro. and trans. Eryck de Rubercy (Klincksieck, 1998).

<sup>16</sup> See Hirschfeld, *Theory*, 42, concerning the speed with which translations from English and French sources appeared in Hirschfeld's volumes.

<sup>17</sup> *Tour*, 6: "Certainly," he answered . . . "setting aside all our original productions, we now stand on a very high step of culture, by the adoption and complete appropriation of those of foreign growth. Other nations will soon learn German, from the conviction that they may thus, to a certain extent, dispense with the learning of all other languages; for of which do we not possess all the most valuable works in admirable translations?—The ancient classics, the master-works of modern Europe, the literature of India and other eastern lands,—have not the richness and the many-sidedness of the German tongue, the sincere, faithful German industry, and the deep-searching German genius, reproduced them all more perfectly than

is the case in any other language?" (*Briefe*, 416: "Gewiß," erwiderte er . . . "ganz abgesehen von unseren eignen Produktionen stehen wir schon durch das Aufnehmen und völlige Aneignen des Fremden auf einer sehr hohen Stufe der Bildung. Die anderen Nationen werden bald schon deshalb Deutsch lernen, weil sie innerwerden müssen, daß sie sich damit das Lernen fast aller anderen Sprachen gewissermaßen ersparen können. Denn von welcher besitzen wir nicht die gediegensten Werke in vortrefflichen deutschen Übersetzungen? Die alten Klassiker, die Meisterwerke des neueren Europas, indische und morgenländische Literatur, hat sie nicht alle der Reichtum und die Vielseitigkeit der deutschen Sprache wie der treue deutsche Fleiss und tief in sie eindringende Genius besser wiedergegeben, als es in anderen Sprachen der Fall ist?")

<sup>18</sup> Letter XVI, *Tour*, 174; *Briefe*, 708.

<sup>19</sup> Rolf Engelsing, quoted by Blackbourn, *The Long Nineteenth Century*, 40.

<sup>20</sup> Lines 45–46 and 115–116.

<sup>21</sup> Bruford, *Germany in the Eighteenth Century*, 283.

<sup>22</sup> Friedrich Jakob Dochnahl, *Bibliotheca Hortensis. Vollständige Garten-Bibliothek. . . von 1750 bis 1860* (Nuremberg, 1861).

<sup>23</sup> "Germanen in den Gärten," in *Revolutio germanica: die Sehnsucht nach der "alten Freiheit" der Germanen, 1750–1820*, eds. Jost Hermand and Michael Niedermeier (Frankfurt, 2002), 50.

<sup>24</sup> See note 14 above. The French translation was prepared in Berlin by Friedrich de Castillon, *Théorie de l'Art des Jardins. Traduit de l'Allemand*, 5 vols. (Leipzig, 1779–85; reprint, Geneva, 1973). Short and long sections were borrowed and regularly translated into other languages, often without citation. For examples, see Linda Parshall, "Hirschfeld's Concept of the Garden in the German Enlightenment," *Journal of Garden History* 13 (1993): 125.

<sup>25</sup> "Mannigfaltig wohlthätig ist des Gartens Einfluss auf die Menschen, wenn sie ihn mit Geschmack, Fleiss und Aufmerksamkeit zu ehren wissen. Sie finden in seinen Bezirken, was ihren Geist erheben, erheitern, was ihr Herz zum Guten stimmen, ihren Körper erquicken, erhalten, stärken kann; ja, in allen Zeiten des Jahres und des Tages, in allen Verhältnissen, in jeder Lage, Freuden ohne Zahl." All English translations are mine unless otherwise noted.

<sup>26</sup> "According to the Character of Their Owners," vol. 5., whereby the "largest and most magnificent parks" were only available to the select few—an Ellison or a Pückler, for instance, and entailed a commitment to the public good as well as to the creation of beauty that he regarded as a duty of any enlightened landowner (see, for instance, vol. 5, 130). That the owner himself should design his own garden (vol. 4, 15) would have appealed to Pückler. Hirschfeld wrote of the landowner's responsibility to beautify his property and to do this for the benefit of all: see *Theorie*, vol. 4, 15, and *Theory* 130f, 164, 211, and 246. In the *Hints*, Pückler claims that his own subjects' aesthetic sense is thus improved, though he pokes fun at the local Wends for their backwardness (*Andeutungen*, 79).

<sup>27</sup> "Harvest Home," *Idyll VII*, 135ff.

<sup>28</sup> Ernst Robert Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages* (New York, 1953), 188–89. See Goethe, *Faust*, Part II, Act 3.

<sup>29</sup> Horace, *Epodes*, Book 2.

<sup>30</sup> Themes of urban decay versus the inherent moral purity of nature, the uplifting power of landscape are likewise descendents of other classical texts such as Virgil's *Georgics*. Most eighteenth- and nineteenth-century cities and towns were far from models of cleanliness and comfort. Bruford cites a British traveler of the mid-nineteenth century who found Coleridge's celebration of the thirty-six stench of Cologne—and the invention of Cologne water to cover them—not particularly special, since in his experience of most German towns "every street, almost every house, and every hour, has its own appropriate, peculiar, and by no means enviable smell": *Germany in the Eighteenth Century*, 211–12. London had its own major problems, with its infamous air pollution from a concoction of the coal smoke and

raw sewage discharged into the Thames. No Cologne Water could have covered up “the Great Stink” of 1858 when “the drapes of the new Houses of Parliament were doused in chlorine to mask the smell, and MPs debated with handkerchiefs over their noses.” See Rose George, *London Review of Books*, May 11, 2006, 36.

<sup>31</sup> Hirschfeld, *Theorie*, vol. 5, 204–31.

<sup>32</sup> “Heiterkeit, Freude, sanfte Melancholie, süße Schwermuth, Liebe der Ruhe und der Einsamkeit, der Freundschaft und der Tugend, Vergessenheit der Sorgen, Erhebung über die Thorheiten des Lebens, und selbst ein Vorgefühl von den Scenen einer noch schönern Welt” Hirschfeld, *Theorie*, vol. 5, 231.

<sup>33</sup> Hirschfeld, *Theorie*, 281. “Noch mehr rührt uns, zumal nach dem Geräusch der Städte und offenen Landstraßen, in einem unerwartet sich senkenden Thale der Anblick einer artig gebauten Landwohnung, die in stiller Anmuth da liegt, an einem kleinen Wasser, das sich von einem vorüberfließenden Bache gesammelt hat; die klare Fluth freuet sich, das Bild der ländlichreizenden Hütte zu tragen; an den Fenstern zieht sich vertraut der spanische Hollunder mit dem Weinstock hinan; nahe Fruchtbäume verbreiten eine liebliche Dämmerung, und vor dem Eingange eine hohe über alle hervorragende Linde, deren Schatten schon die Urväter erfrischte; im Vorhofe verschiedene Geschlechter des Federviehes, die alle in ruhiger Eintracht eine Familie ausmachen, bald im Schatten sich ruhig verbergen, bald im Wasser plätschern, bald im fröhlichen Gewimmel an die volle Hand des hervortretenden Hausherrn herbeyfliegen, und mit ihren mannigfaltigen Stimmen und Bewegungen seiner Güte danken. Beglückte Aufenthalt des Friedens und der Einfalt! Rührendes Bild der Unschuld, das uns von Edens Seligkeit allein übrig blieb!” Hirschfeld, *Theorie*, vol. 3, 49.

<sup>34</sup> He praises Thomas Whately, his most important English model, for being more comprehensive and insightful than any of his peers, yet criticizes him for what he calls his “pure metaphysics,” for not giving adequate attention to feeling”; see Hirschfeld, *Theorie*, 125. Hirschfeld and Pückler were following in the wake of many earlier thinkers, particularly from eighteenth-century England. For a detailed comparison of Hirschfeld with these sources, see Wolfgang Schepers, *Hirschfelds Theorie der Gartenkunst, 1779–1785* (Worms, 1980).

<sup>35</sup> See “pastoral” in *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 11<sup>th</sup> ed.

<sup>36</sup> On Pückler’s reception, see Brigitte Bender, *Ästhetische Strukturen der literarischen Landschaftsbeschreibung in den Reisedenken des Fürsten Pückler-Muskau* (Frankfurt, 1982), 7ff.

<sup>37</sup> The chief exception is Bender, *Ästhetische Strukturen*, which offers a detailed analysis of the aesthetics of landscape description in Pückler’s travel writings and argues (62ff) that although his early works adhered closely and conventionally to the poetic tradition of the *locus amoenus*, he developed more sophistication and independence as time went on. More recently, see Hubertus Fischer, “The Art of Description—Park and Landscape in Pückler’s ‘Briefe eines Verstorbenen,’” in *Historic Gardens Today*, eds. Michael Rohde and Rainer Schomann (Leipzig, 2004), 140–45.

<sup>38</sup> Pückler, *Andeutungen*, 56. “Wege sind die stummen Führer des Spaziergehenden und müssen selbst dazu dienen, ihn ohne Zwang jeden Genuss auffinden zu lassen, den die Gegend darbieten kann.”

<sup>39</sup> Letter XXXIII, Sept. 27, 1828. *Tour*, 377; *Briefe*, 174. A note (888) in the 1986 edition of the *Briefe* proposes that this single sentence contains most of Pückler’s knowledge of English gardens, interpreting its extraordinary length as a sign of parody. Given Pückler’s repeated indulgence in such passages, this argument is not convincing.

<sup>40</sup> “. . . ein vollkommener Park, oder mit anderen Worten: eine durch Kunst idealisierte Gegend soll gleich einem guten Buch wenigstens ebensoviel neue Gedanken und Gefühle erwecken, als es ausspricht.” This adds another level to Hirschfeld’s famous adage: “A garden can move the imagination and senses powerfully, more powerfully than can an area whose beauty comes from nature alone.” Hirschfeld, *Theorie*, 148.

<sup>41</sup> Pückler, *Tour*, 10. “Meine Reise von Wesel bis Arnheim war ziemlich langweilig. Langsam

schlichen die Pferde durch eine wenig ansprechende Gegend im endlosen Sand hin": Pückler, *Briefe*, 423.

<sup>42</sup> My own translation; see Pückler, *Tour*, 10 for Austin's version.

<sup>43</sup> "Die Geschichte von Hyazinth und Rosenblütchen." Published posthumously in 1802 in *Die Lehrlinge zu Sais*, in *Die deutschen Romantiker*, ed. Gerhard Stenzel, II, Salzburg, 1954, 112–13: "Nun wurde die Gegend auch wieder reicher und mannigfaltiger, die Luft lau und blau, der Weg ebener, grüne Büsche lockten ihn mit anmutigen Schatten, aber er verstand ihre Sprache nicht, sie schienen auch nicht zu sprechen, und doch erfüllten sie auch sein Herz mit grünen Farben und kühlem, stillem Wesen. Immer höher wuchs jene süße Sehnsucht in ihm, und immer breiter und saftiger wurden die Blätter, immer lauter und lustiger die Vögel und Tiere, balsamischer die Früchte, dunkler der Himmel, wärmer die Luft und heißer seine Liebe, die Zeit ging immer schneller, als sähe sie sich nahe am Ziele."

<sup>44</sup> See Bender, *Ästhetische Strukturen*, 65.

<sup>45</sup> Pückler, *Hints*, 113; *Andeutungen*, 74.

<sup>46</sup> Pückler, *Hints*, 22; *Andeutungen*, 22.

<sup>47</sup> Pückler, *Andeutungen*, 32–33: "mit . . . ihrem hohen, dunklen, nur von wilden Blumen einfach durchwirkten, weit hinfluthenden Grase—so schön, wenn der Wind wollüstig darin wühlt, wie der Jüngling in den wallenden Haarlocken seiner Geliebten, oder wenn lustige Mäher dort unter duftenden Heuhaufen scherzen, zwischen welche die Sonne lächeln ihre blinkenden Streiflichter sendet." Curiously, the 1917 translation of the *Hints* (32f) greatly shortens this passage and excises the sensual content: ". . . and beyond, upon the open landscape with its imposing trees or the waving grasses sown with wild flowers, where the mowers swing their glittering scythes in the sun or repose at noon in the fragrant hay."

<sup>48</sup> Curtius, *European Literature*, 159–62. Elsewhere, Pückler's qualms about verbal inadequacy segue into amusing thoughts on the role of language in making the man: see *Tour*, 98; *Briefe*, 574–75. He praises the French for their inimitable flair for storytelling and turns of phrase, yet then comments that for all its brilliance such "agreeable chatter" has no staying power and makes "the pedantic German" regret the waste of his time. Pückler's ideal would be a blend of the two, the "lightness, roundness, agreeable equivocalness, precision and definiteness" ("Leichtigkeit, Rundung, angenehme Zweideutigkeit und zugleich Präzision und Abgeschlossenheit") with the German talent for including the useful along with the agreeable ("dem Angenehmen auch das Nützliche beizufügen.") As it is, the Germans are left only with the talent for "l'esprit des escaliers."

<sup>49</sup> Pückler, *Tour*, 127; *Briefe*, 629f.

<sup>50</sup> ". . . die arme, zu ewigen Wiederholungen gezwungene Sprache," *Südöstlicher Bildersaal* III, 271, quoted by Bender, 48.

<sup>51</sup> An early example of garden art being included in a *paragone* is in La Fontaine's "Le Songe de Vaux" of the late seventeenth century. Here, garden art is not the winner, yet in a *paragone*-like discussion in Hirschfeld's *Theory*, the personification of the landscape garden wins the competition for qualities seen as negative in the formal garden of Vaux, namely her mutability, naturalness, her oneness with nature. See Hirschfeld, *Theory*, 18–19. Herder also judged garden art to be the second liberal art after architecture. See Dorothee Nehring, *Stadtplananlagen in der Ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Hannover, 1981), 131–33.

<sup>52</sup> John Dixon Hunt, *Gardens and the Picturesque: Studies in the History of Landscape Architecture* (Cambridge, Mass., 1992), chapter 4.

<sup>53</sup> Hirschfeld, *Theory*, 145; *Theorie*, vol. 1, 152: ". . . im Grunde [übertrifft] die Gartenkunst die Landschaftmalerey so weit, als die Natur die Copie. Keine der nachahmenden Künste ist in die Natur selbst mehr verwebt, oder gleichsam mehr Natur als die Kunst der Gärten. Alles geht hier in eine wirkliche Darstellung über." This is in keeping with the picturesque argument. See also Linda Parshall, "Motion and Emotion in C. C. L. Hirschfeld's *Theory of*

Garden Art," in *Landscape Design and the Experience of Motion*, ed. Michel Conan (Washington, 2003), 45.

<sup>54</sup> Pückler, *Hints*, 118; *Andeutungen*, 76f.

<sup>55</sup> Poe, "The Domain of Arnheim," 607–08.

<sup>56</sup> Pückler, *Tour*, 188; *Briefe*, 727.

<sup>57</sup> Pückler, *Hints*, 105; *Andeutungen*, 70. I cannot otherwise find this trope ascribed to Fichte.

<sup>58</sup> Friedrich Schlegel, *Athenaeum*, fragment 116. Trans. Jonathan Skolnik, from "Romanticism: Friedrich Karl Wilhelm von Schlegel: Excerpts from Selected Works," *German History in Documents and Images*, [http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub\\_document.ctm?document\\_id=368](http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub_document.ctm?document_id=368).

## PÜCKLER AND GERMAN TRAVEL LITERATURE

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*Reiseziel England*—Destination England—is the title Tilman Fischer gave his large-scale survey of the “poetics of travel description” and modernism.<sup>1</sup> In that study, Pückler<sup>2</sup> takes his place alongside Heinrich Heine and Theodor Fontane, but he also finds himself in close company with Fanny Lewald, Ida Gräfin Hahn-Hahn, and Georg Weerth as well as numerous authors unknown today who provided the German reading public with reports on England between 1830 and 1870. The reason for this grouping is Fischer’s interest in assessing individual works for their contribution to the genre of travel literature.<sup>3</sup> This approach has certain advantages: it provides the first comprehensive, textually based analysis of the constituents of travel description and shows the restricted range of subjects and modes of presentation that form the topical resources of this genre. However, it also has disadvantages: it necessarily qualifies the often very different status of the texts—travel handbooks are considered alongside literary descriptions, for example—and thus marginalizes the obvious special qualities of many works.

That holds in particular for Pückler’s *Briefe eines Verstorbenen* (“letters of a dead man”) since they are not simply a “contribution to the genre” but were rather epoch-making for the genre in Germany.<sup>4</sup> Pückler’s *Briefe* had a tremendous influence on the development of travel description in Germany during the first half of the nineteenth-century, as the large number of reviews proves.<sup>5</sup>

What the *Briefe* do not provide and are not meant to provide is a comprehensive account of the process of industrial and political modernization, which England was seen as exemplifying in both a positive and a negative sense. Like politics,<sup>6</sup> industrialization, as Pückler tells his readers “*ce n’est pas mon métier*.”<sup>7</sup> It is certain, though, that he visited modern factories during his travels in Britain.<sup>8</sup> When Pückler deigns to discuss industry in the *Briefe*, he takes the term “industrial landscape” seriously and incorporates industry into the picturesque genre:

The area remains the same; rich, darkly wooded and meadow-green, here enlivened in many places by blast furnaces, tin and ironworks whose fires play in yellow, red, blue and greenish colours, and blaze from tower-high chimneys, where they sometimes assume the shape of large glowing flowers when the flames and smoke, forced down by the atmosphere, rest for a long time in a dense, unmoving mass.<sup>9</sup>

Pückler's England, which included Wales and Ireland, is less the England of "mechanical than [of] poetic time," as he explains. It is Walter Scott's England, not James Watt's. "With Walter Scott's attractive book in hand, I entered the ruins which conjure up so many different feelings,"<sup>10</sup> he writes of the remains of Kenilworth Castle, the setting for Scott's novel *Kenilworth*. And only a few pages later, Pückler invokes Scott in describing a famous garden:

As is known, Blenheim was laid out largely in the same location as the ancient royal park of Woodstock stood (you will remember it from Walter Scott's latest novel [*Woodstock, or the Cavalier*]), and a large part of the oak forest still exists from the days of the unhappy Rosamond, always turning green, dying only slowly in an agony lasting a hundred years.<sup>11</sup>

The situation is much the same for Pückler in Ireland: "The 'Rock of Cashel' with its famous and magnificent ruins is one of the greatest 'lions' of Ireland, and together with Holycross [*sic*] Abbey it was recommended to me by Walter Scott himself as being the most worthwhile seeing in Ireland."<sup>12</sup>

No artist is mentioned more frequently in the *Briefe* than Scott,<sup>13</sup> not even Shakespeare. Scott is Pückler's English Cicerone; his works are the vade mecum that guides Pückler's art of description.<sup>14</sup> The model for Pückler's *manner* of writing, as he himself admitted, was Heine's *Reisebilder* (*Travel Pictures*).<sup>15</sup> What he did not want to be, as he makes clear through his masterly imitation of a *different* manner of writing, was a "professional describer of journeys" (*Reisebeschreiber von Profession*). Re-counting his visit to Caernarfon, the birthplace of the first prince of Wales and "one of the most beautiful ruins in England," Pückler writes:

The tower in which the prince was born is called the Eagle Tower . . . however, this name is not associated with him but with the four colossal eagles enthroned on the spire, of which only one still exists today. He is considered to be a Roman, for Caernarfon stands on the site of the ancient Segontium, which . . . but I am going too far and was well on the way to falling into the language of the professional describer of journeys who believes he is allowed to bore when he instructs—although he has usually found the material for his instruction himself through the laborious reading of local books. *Je n'ai pas cette prétention, vous le savez, je laisse errer ma plume*, in a carefree manner, wherever it leads me.<sup>16</sup>

Of course, the "freely wandering pen" also describes a manner of writing, a poetic manner of writing living on the individual or surprising idea that

contrasts with the pretension of merely borrowed knowledge. But it was, rather, Pückler's tone that made his *Briefe* a success with those who had an ear for such things. In May 1870, Fontane wrote to his wife, who was staying in London: "Your last, detailed letter was a great joy to me and I thank you most gratefully for it. The greatest praise I can give you is that I read it like Pückler's letters . . ." <sup>17</sup> Almost two decades later, in 1888, Fontane commented on another princely writer, Wilhelm Malte Prince of Putbus, and his account of Queen Victoria's coronation in 1838. The prince's reports, Fontane wrote, were "'extremely finely' and in a tone of an aristocratic lack of inhibition which reminds one everywhere of Prince Pückler and not infrequently achieves this same tone. Everything is written freely, boldly, stylishly and bursting with anecdotal experiences." <sup>18</sup>

It was precisely Pückler's aristocratic tone that Ludwig Börne strongly criticized immediately after the publication of the first two parts of the *Briefe*. Börne regarded travel literature as a middle-class preserve and claimed it for himself and his writer colleagues as a "medium of sharp social criticism and political education." <sup>19</sup> To Börne, the prince must have seemed a snobbish interloper who had to be forced out of the broad cultural sphere appropriated by the middle class:

But we must keep a watchful eye on him as on all aristocratic writers. Not so that they do not take anything with them that does not belong to them (what is there to take from us anyway?), but so that they don't leave anything there that doesn't belong to us—no arrogance, no aristocratic pride. . . . Remove him from the catalogue! Arrogance must remain in manuscript and must not be printed. <sup>20</sup>

Willibald Alexis also regarded the prince as an exceptional case—"a noble man in literature" (*ein vornehmer Mann in der Literatur*) <sup>21</sup>—and distinguishes clearly between "him" and "us":

Not everyone who, coming from the *bonne société* <sup>22</sup> of high life, makes an excursion into literature, consequently also finds that he is in our 'good society'. We are well-behaved in the face of such condescension, but only in the way that in the old salons one is polite to the *novus homo*. He is not one of us, people quietly say. . . . We literary people simply also have our own good society; but since our salons have a much larger public we have to be careful. <sup>23</sup>

Pückler's special place is once again confirmed in this reproach of the aristocracy. In 1838, looking back at the debate over the *Briefe*, Karl Au-

gust Varnhagen von Ense wrote: "one believed that one had to save literature from a dangerous aristocratic invasion and supremacy."<sup>24</sup> Even Pückler's manner of his traveling, with his own coach and sometimes accompanied by his servants, set him apart from most other travelers. That made Theodor Mundt see him as a "born travel genius" who

hides in the coach, where hills and valleys and human life flit by in objective window images and from a comfortable perspective. . . . In the coach he is comfortably ensconced, and has developed the coziness of the to-ing and fro-ing in the world, the poetry of the life on the road and at the inns into the highest system of wisdom and beauty.<sup>25</sup>

It is clear that this pleasant and comfortable perception in motion<sup>26</sup>—which, by the way, was originated by William Gilpin<sup>27</sup>—created different images and pictures of the landscape than the bumping and jolting common travelers usually had to endure.

Many reviewers recognized the individuality in Pückler's travel accounts, the versatile, sophisticated spirit at work in his observations, judgments, and descriptions. They admired his talent and intellectual disposition, which rested on self-knowledge and knowledge of others.<sup>28</sup> It is part of the "subjective" gesture of this individuality that it claims in advance the right to offend consciously against the genre's convention that obliges an author to be truthful and objective.<sup>29</sup> In the *Briefe*, Pückler announces that "here and there" he mixes "poetry (more modestly: fiction) with truth."<sup>30</sup> And, again running counter to the conventions of the genre, he fights to exercise his right of detailed psychological self-reflection. He directs the reader's attention to his "character," which, as he permits the fictitious editor to note, will arouse the reader's interest because he expresses "unbiased judgements about himself."<sup>31</sup>

The epistolary form common in travel literature suited Pückler very well, but here, too, he departs from usual practice. His travel letters are based on actual correspondence; in the case of many other authors, it is open to doubt whether their "letters" had ever been sent.<sup>32</sup> The dialogue between the writer and recipient of the letters permits a form of self-discussion, as does Pückler's habit of addressing the reader, which permits the latter to participate directly in what the author has experienced. This acts, in turn, as a guarantee of authenticity even though some of what Pückler recounts, as noted above, is invention.<sup>33</sup> Authenticity is reinforced by subjectivity: Pückler says he restricts himself to writing about "what interests me most" ("was mich am meisten anspricht")<sup>34</sup> and thereby largely excludes what he has not seen or observed or experienced himself. As a result, the reader should not expect "a statistical handbook,

a topography, a regular listing of all the so-called sites of London, or a systematic paper on England."<sup>35</sup>

What distinguishes Pückler's *Briefe* more decisively from the mass of travel literature, however, is the art of realization, the creation of an illusion of immediacy. In his review of the *Briefe*, Goethe had high praise for this aspect of Pückler's writing:

One cannot but think that he had the objects immediately in front of his eyes, that he interpreted them with his pen; and, however carefully he may have kept his diary in letter form each evening, such clear, detailed description is nonetheless rare.<sup>36</sup>

Achieving this directness required clever guidance of the reader's imagination. That is why Pückler made himself a "tireless guide in the realm of the imagination" ("unermüdlischen Führer im Reich der Einbildungskraft")<sup>37</sup> for the recipient of his letters (and, indirectly, the reader of the published correspondence).

Reading creates the illusion of traveling: the reader participates in the traveler's experiences and sees the same images the traveler saw. One of the most effective descriptive techniques, which Pückler uses masterfully, is the imaginative placing of the reader within a particular sphere of experience. The author addresses the reader as if he were present and opens his eyes by guiding his attention. Step by step, the author gives a series of visual signals that close the distance separating the reader from the scene and leads the reader to the object under observation. To create an impression of the whole, he offers the reader an array of images and comparisons and then walks him through the circle of visual impressions surrounding him.<sup>38</sup>

How Pückler uses and modifies this technique when describing parks and landscapes is the subject of an article I recently wrote on his "art of description." As an exception, I would like to quote myself:

If Pückler has called Capability Brown the 'Garden Shakespeare of England,' . . . then he himself may be seen as Germany's 'Garden Scott'. It is time to discover the 'Master of Description' so that the criticism of garden art may again attain the highest standing and public impact through model and example. A first step might already be taken, if in the study of landscape architecture one only heeded more the old concept: 'Words, when well chosen, have so great a Force in them, that a Description often gives us more lively Ideas than the Sight of Things themselves.'<sup>39</sup>

Journey's like Pückler's were still the privilege of the happy few, and we must bear in mind that travel accounts like the *Briefe* served most mem-

bers of the reading public not as guides but as a substitute for travel.<sup>40</sup> Authors who took account of this fact had to try to turn the reader into a traveling companion—to turn the non-traveler into a participating observer. That was achieved by what could be called the literary art of illusion, an art that in many ways overlapped with the art of illusion in optical media such as the panorama and the diorama.<sup>41</sup> Pückler himself had seen panoramas portraying Rio de Janeiro, Madrid, and Geneva in the course of his travels,<sup>42</sup> and he also reported his pleasure in seeing “the view of a very beautiful panorama of London.”<sup>43</sup>

I hope this sketch has made clear how and why Pückler’s *Briefe* were “epoch-making” in the history of German travel literature. I use the word “epoch” because the tremendous success of the *Briefe* might have encouraged other authors to imitate him or to undertake critical journeys in his footsteps. Pückler’s claim that he had earned more with his *Briefe* than Goethe had from all his works may have been an exaggeration. Still, the *Briefe* were a best seller, and Pückler clearly earned several tens of thousands of thalers with them.<sup>44</sup> Leaving the example of Pückler’s commercial success aside, the importance of Pückler’s travels as a source of stimuli for his theory and practice of landscape gardening cannot be overstated. Moreover, in contrast to the mass of German travel literature on England, the *Briefe* provide a veritable gallery of views of parks, gardens, and landscapes. Given the lack of professional criticism of garden art and landscape architecture today, we can still learn from Pückler’s *Briefe*.

America, to turn in closing to the subject of this collection, has a marginal but not unimportant position in Pückler’s *Briefe*.<sup>45</sup> After reading Washington Irving’s *The Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus*, Pückler writes in his forty-third letter:

We are extremely grateful to this intellectually stimulating American . . . for this story. It is a beautiful tribute paid to the great seafarer from *the* country which he gave to the civilized world and which certainly appears to be the last stage which the cycle of human perfectibility passes through.<sup>46</sup>

Sentences like this remind us that, for all his Romantic posturing, Pückler does not reject the idea of progress.<sup>47</sup> He assumed, by the way, that England would in the near future pass the zenith of its development.<sup>48</sup>

More remarkably, Pückler relates an American success story that reads like his own personal vision of utopia. The story of a “famous queer bird” (*berühmter Sonderling*), an unnamed Colonel C., was told to Pückler by the writer Lady Sidney Morgan, who became known above all for her

novel *The Wild Irish Girl*. One should therefore not take every word too seriously. As Pückler relays the story:

‘The elegant, elderly man you see over there,’ she said, ‘was one of the most successful dandies of the capital even during my youth. However, after he had wasted his fortune in this way until only a few thousand pounds remained, one day his fate guided him so that he was standing in front of a map of America, and suddenly he had the thought of becoming a settler there.’

Didn’t Pückler also have this idea? His account continues:

‘On the map he immediately chooses a spot on Lake Erie, sells his remaining possessions in the same week, has his servant marry a pretty young girl, sets sail with the two of them and arrives happily at the chosen spot in the middle of the primeval forest, lives for a few days by hunting, sleeps in the open, within a few days and with the help of some other settlers constructs a log cabin in which he still lives, soon achieves a significant influence on the other adventurers round about, which he uses in order to encourage them to carry out work together, and to whom he proves very useful by cooking and roasting for them. This replaces the semi-raw food which they otherwise had to enjoy.’

Pückler would certainly have agreed with this division of labor. Finally, there is even mention of a “small principality” (“kleines Fürstentum”), which provides support for an existence in the forest, and sometimes for the existence of a man of the world:

[He] loves and is fruitful, finally sees a new generation develop there which is entirely dependent on him. He now possesses a small principality by extending his lands, calculates his revenues as being 10,000 pounds sterling annually, and regularly every ten years comes to England for *one* season, where he, as previously, lives fashionably with the ease of a man of the world, and then returns to the woods again for another ten years, once again exchanging the modern tailcoat for the sheepskin.<sup>49</sup>

A life that was a cross between Fenimore Cooper<sup>50</sup> and Beau Brummel<sup>51</sup>—that might have been Pückler’s ideal. And perhaps that is why he tells this story from America.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Tilman Fischer, *Reiseziel England: Ein Beitrag zur Poetik der Reisebeschreibung und zur Topik der Moderne (1830–1870)* (Berlin, 2004).

<sup>2</sup> Heinz Ohff, *Der grüne Fürst: Das abenteuerliche Leben des Hermann Pückler-Muskau* (Munich, 1993); Heinz Ohff, *Fürst Hermann Pückler* (Berlin, 1982); Klaus Günther Just, *Fürst Hermann von Pückler-Muskau: Leben und Werk: Mit einer Auswahl aus Pücklers Nachlass* (Würzburg, 1962).

<sup>3</sup> T. Fischer, *Reiseziel*, 16.

<sup>4</sup> Hermann Fürst von Pückler-Muskau, *Briefe eines Verstorbenen*, complete edition, ed. Heinz Ohff (Berlin, 1986); the English translations that appeared shortly after the publication of the *Briefe* were entitled *Tour in England, Ireland, and France in the Years 1828 & 1829* and *Tour in Germany, Holland and England in the years 1826, 1827, & 1828, In a series of letters by a German Prince* (London, 1832). On the *Briefe*, see: Helene Bonnländer, "The Fictional Tourist: The Limits of the Picturesque in the Travel Writings of Prince Hermann Pückler-Muskau," in J. Morrison and F. Krobb, eds., *Text to Image—Image to Text: Proceedings of the Interdisciplinary Bicentenary Conference held at St. Patrick's College Maymooth (The National University of Ireland) in September 1995* (Amsterdam, 1997), 175–81; Gérard Krebs, "'Der Lebendigste aller Verstorbenen'—Zum wiedererwachten Interesse an Fürst von Pückler-Muskau," *Jahrbuch für finnisch-deutsche Literaturbeziehungen* 27 (1995): 193–202; Inge Rippmann, "Fürst Pückler, ein Physiognomist zwischen Ancien régime und Jungem Deutschland," in W. Groddeck and U. Stadler, eds., *Physiognomie und Pathognomie: Zur literarischen Darstellung von Individualität: Festschrift für Karl Pestalozzi zum 65. Geburtstag* (Berlin, 1994), 265–82; Reiner Marx, "Ein liberaler deutscher Adliger sieht Englands Metropole," in Conrad Wiedemann, ed., *Rom—Paris—London: Erfahrung und Selbsterfahrung deutscher Schriftsteller und Künstler in der fremden Metropole: Ein Symposium* (Stuttgart, 1988), 595–610; Rainer Gruenter, "Der reisende Fürst: Fürst Hermann Pückler-Muskau in England," in "Der curieuse Passagier": *Deutsche Engländerreisende des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts als Vermittler kultureller und technologischer Anregungen: Colloquium der Arbeitsstelle 18. Jahrhundert Gesamthochschule Wuppertal/Universität Münster, Münster vom 11.–12. Dezember 1980*, M.-L. Spieckermann, ed., (Heidelberg, 1983), 119–37; Brigitte Bender, *Ästhetische Strukturen der literarischen Landschaftsbeschreibung in den Reisewerken des Fürsten Pückler-Muskau* (Frankfurt/Main, 1982); Jost Hermand, "Einleitung," in *Hermann Fürst von Pückler-Muskau: Briefe eines Verstorbenen* [reprint], ed. W. F. Taraba, vol. 1 (New York, 1968), iii–lxxiv.

<sup>5</sup> See Ekhard Haack and Heinz Ohff, eds., "Pückler-Konzert. Stimmen der Zeitgenossen," in *Fürst Hermann von Pückler-Muskau. Ausgewählte Werke in zwei Bänden* (Frankfurt/Main, 1985), vol. 2, 359–381.

<sup>6</sup> Pückler, *Briefe*, 508–09, 651, 656, 706.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 540; see also 539, 550, 577–78, 760–62, 764.

<sup>8</sup> See Inge Rippmann, "Tradition und Fortschritt: Das frühindustrielle England aus der Perspektive eines aristokratischen Individualisten: Fürst Pückler-Muskau," *Recherches germaniques* 25 (1995): 159–79.

<sup>9</sup> Pückler, *Briefe*, 320; see also 759.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 538.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 554.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 227.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 13, 23, 45, 107, 137, 227, 283, 416, 496, 508, 530, 538, 554, 600, 601, 656, 695, 739, 776, 782, 801, 831.

<sup>14</sup> Hubertus Fischer, "Kunst der Beschreibung—Park und Landschaft in Pücklers 'Briefen eines Verstorbenen'," in Michael Rohde and Rainer Schomann, eds., *Historische Gärten heute. Zum 80. Geburtstag von Professor Dr. Dieter Hennebo*, 2d ed. (Leipzig, 2004), 140–45 [English version under the title *Historic Garden Today* (Leipzig, 2004)]; for Scott's detailed description and the equivalent in travel literature, see T. Fischer, *Reiseziel*, 240.

<sup>15</sup> Pückler, *Briefe*, xiii (introduction); see Hartmut Steinecke, "'Reisende waren wir beide': Pückler-Muskau und Heine: Aspekte der Reiseliteratur vor der Julirevolution," in H. Stei-

necke, ed., *Unterhaltsamkeit und Artistik: Neue Schreibarten in der deutschen Literatur von Hoffmann bis Heine* (Berlin, 1998), 101–15 [also in L. Ehrlich, H. Steinecke, and M. Vogt, eds., *Vormärz und Klassik* (Bielefeld, 1999), 163–180].

<sup>16</sup> Pückler, *Briefe*, 44–45.

<sup>17</sup> Theodor Fontane to Emilie Fontane, Berlin, May 6, 1870, in *Emilie und Theodor Fontane: Der Ehebriefwechsel 1857–1871*, 3 vols., ed. Gotthard Erler (Berlin, 1998), vol. 2, 463.

<sup>18</sup> Theodor Fontane to Friedrich Stephany, Berlin, April 1, 1888 in *Theodor Fontane: Briefe*, 4 vols., ed. Otto Drude, Manfred Hellge, and Helmuth Nürnberger (Munich, 1980), vol. 3, 595.

<sup>19</sup> T. Fischer, *Reiseziel*, 90.

<sup>20</sup> Ludwig Börne, *Sämtliche Schriften*, vol. 3, ed. I. and R. Rippmann (Düsseldorf, 1964), 166–67; see Tilman Fischer, “Literatur und Aristokratie: Zur Debatte um Fürst Hermann von Pückler-Muskau,” *Jahrbuch der Charles-Sealsfield-Gesellschaft* 14 (2002): 181–224.

<sup>21</sup> Willibald Alexis, “Ein vornehmer Mann in der Literatur,” *Der Freimüthige oder Berlinisches Unterhaltungsblatt für gebildete und einflußreiche Leser*, Oct. 30, 1830, no. 216: 849–52; see also Willibald Alexis, “Der erlauchte Verstorbene. Als Briefsteller aus England,” *Der Freimüthige oder Berlinisches Unterhaltungsblatt für gebildete und einflußreiche Leser*, May 5, 1830, no. 32: 353–55.

<sup>22</sup> See Pückler, *Briefe*, 19.

<sup>23</sup> Alexis, “Ein vornehmer Mann,” 849.

<sup>24</sup> Karl August Varnhagen von Ense, *Denkwürdigkeiten und vermischte Schriften*, vol. 4 (Mannheim, 1838), 429.

<sup>25</sup> Theodor Mundt, “Fürst Pückler,” *Deutsches Taschenbuch auf das Jahr 1837*, ed. K. Bücher (Berlin, 1837), 10.

<sup>26</sup> For example, see Pückler, *Briefe*, 11.

<sup>27</sup> See Raymond Immerwahr, *Romantisch: Genese und Tradition einer Denkform* (Frankfurt/Main 1972), 33–34.

<sup>28</sup> See Johann Wolfgang Goethe, “Briefe eines Verstorbenen,” [Review] *Jahrbücher für wissenschaftliche Kritik* 1830, no. 59: 468–72.

<sup>29</sup> See T. Fischer, *Reiseziel*, 204–06.

<sup>30</sup> “. . . hier und da Dichtung (bescheidener: Fiktion) mit Wahrheit zu vermischen”: Pückler, *Briefe*, 405.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 273 annotation.

<sup>32</sup> See T. Fischer, *Reiseziel*, 299–300.

<sup>33</sup> “Poetry and truth is my motto (Dichtung und Wahrheit ist meine Devise)”: Pückler, *Briefe*, 179.

<sup>34</sup> See T. Fischer, *Reiseziel*, 246; Pückler, *Briefe*, 145, 466.

<sup>35</sup> Pückler, *Briefe*, 505.

<sup>36</sup> Goethe, “Briefe,” 469.

<sup>37</sup> Pückler, *Briefe*, 547.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 527–29; see also *ibid.*, 545–49.

<sup>39</sup> Hubertus Fischer, “The Art of Description—Park and Landscape in Pückler’s ‘Briefe eines Verstorbenen’,” in Michael Rohde and Rainer Schomann, eds., *Historic Gardens Today: To commemorate the 80th birthday of Professor Dr. Dieter Hennebo* (Leipzig, 2004), 45.

<sup>40</sup> See T. Fischer, *Reiseziel*, 233.

<sup>41</sup> In general, see *Sehsucht: Das Panorama als Massenunterhaltung des 19. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Kunst- und Ausstellungshalle der Bundesrepublik Deutschland GmbH (Basel and Frank-

furt/Main, 1993); Stephan Oettermann, *Das Panorama: Die Geschichte eines Massenmediums* (Frankfurt/Main, 1980).

<sup>42</sup> Pückler, *Briefe*, 90–91 (Dublin), 395–96 (Paris), 525 (London, Regent's Park), 584 (London), 705 (London: panoramas of Rio de Janeiro, Madrid, Geneva).

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 699; see also 604.

<sup>44</sup> See T. Fischer, *Reiseziel*, 63.

<sup>45</sup> He identifies, however, America with freedom and the American with the free man; see Pückler, *Briefe*, 391, 414.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, 302.

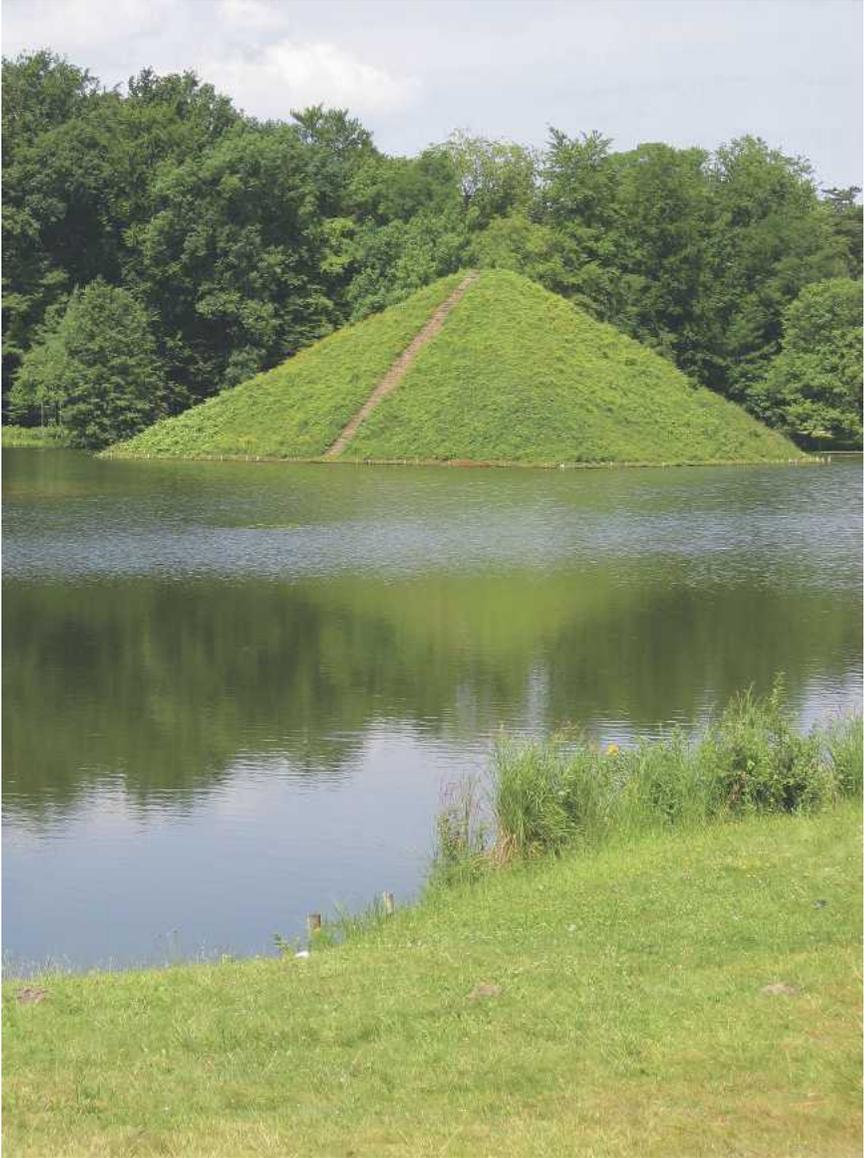
<sup>47</sup> See *ibid.*, 59, 297.

<sup>48</sup> See *ibid.*, 219, 550.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, 813–14.

<sup>50</sup> See his novel *The Pioneers* (1823).

<sup>51</sup> Pückler, *Briefe*, 353–57.



1: The Tumulus, Pückler's burial place in his park in Branitz. Photo: Sonja Duempelmann.



2: The Long Meadow in Prospect Park, Brooklyn. Photo: Sonja Duempelmann.



3: A meadow in Muskau Park. Photo: Elizabeth Barlow Rogers.



4: Richmond Hill. Photo: Cord Panning, Stiftung Fürst-Pückler-Park Bad Muskau.



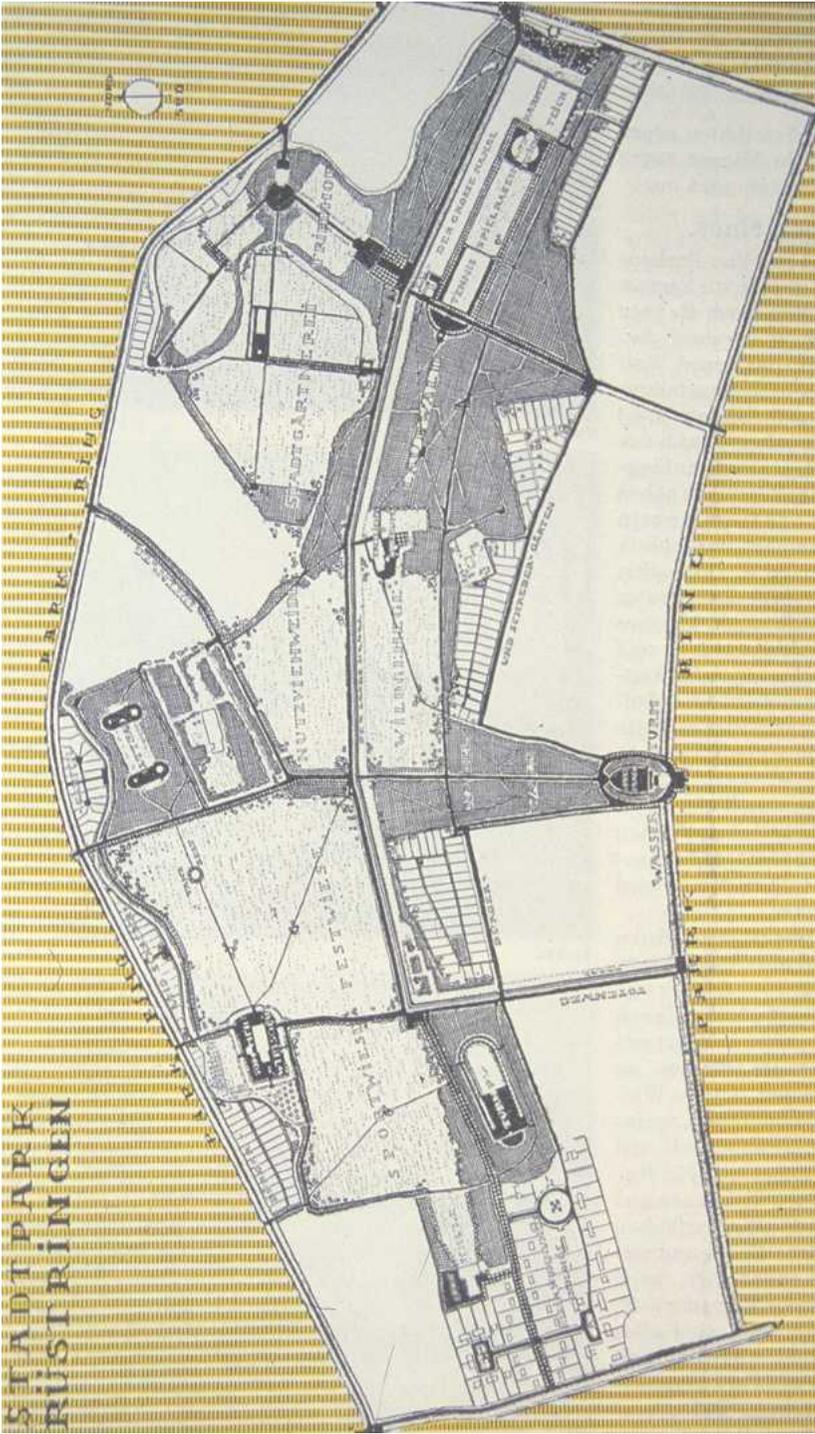
5: Design for a castle by Karl Friedrich Schinkel. Courtesy town of Bad Muskau.



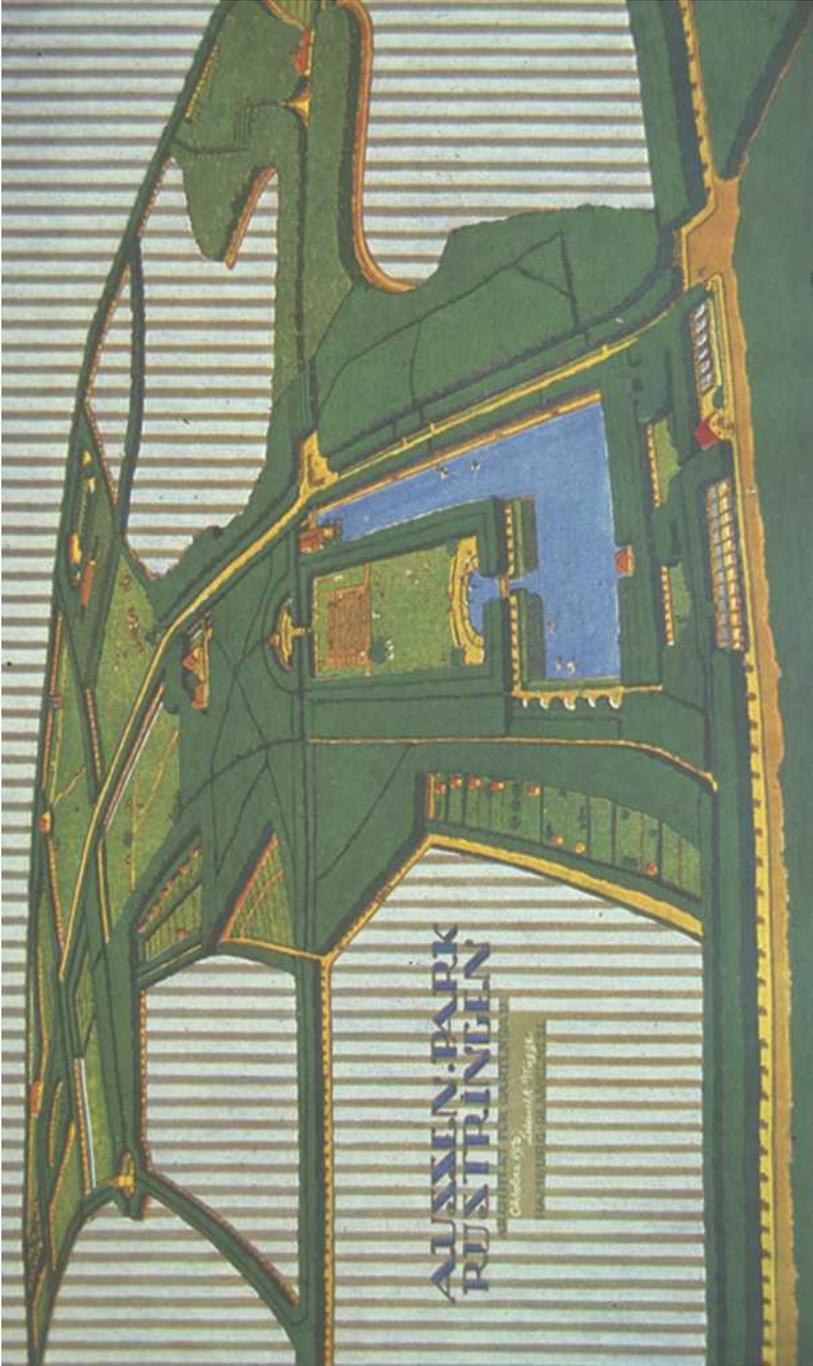
6: View from the eastern side of the park toward the park: (a) as envisioned in 1834 (Collection of the town of Bad Muskau); (b) in 1989 (photo: Ekkehard Brucksch, Stiftung Fürst-Pückler-Park Bad Muskau); (c) in 2005 (photo: Astrid Roscher, Stiftung Fürst-Pückler-Park Bad Muskau).



7: Flower garden in Muskau Park. Photo: Astrid Roscher, Stiftung Fürst-Pückler-Park Bad Muskau.



8: Plan of Rüstingen Park by Mies van der Rohe, 1913. *Die Gartenkunst* 12: 183.



9: Aerial perspective of Rüstringen Park by Migge, 1914. *Die Gartenkunst* 12: frontispiece.



10: "Graves are the mountain tops of a remote new world," inscription in the railing atop the land pyramid in Pückler's park at Branitz. Photo: Gert Groening.