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THE LANDSCAPE GARDENING OF JOHN NOTMAN,
1810-1865.

University of Delaware (Winterthur Program),
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History, general

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THE LANDSCAPE GARDENING OF
JOHN NOTMAN, 1810-1865

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A thesis submitted to the Faculty of the University of Delaware
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the degree of Master of Arts in Early American Culture.

May, 1973

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THE LANDSCAPE GARDENING OF
JOHN NOTMAN, 1810-1865

BY
Keith N. Morgan

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Coordinator of the Winterthur Program

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Dean of the College of Graduate Study
PREFACE

The year 1972 marked the 150th anniversary of the birth of Frederick Law Olmsted, Sr. (1822-1903), often called the father of the profession of landscape architecture in America. Scholars have traditionally seen Olmsted as representing the emergence of a fully-grown American style of landscape architecture, without native precedents or predecessors. Little attention is given to practicing landscape gardeners who, through their work, prepared the way for Olmsted's expansive urban designs. One such man was John Notman (1810-1865) whose career summarizes the state of American landscape design in the decades before Olmsted's appearance on the scene. The purpose of this thesis is to explore Notman's contributions, placing them within the context of the evolution of American landscape architecture.

Several architectural historians have discussed Notman's position as an important Philadelphia architect between 1836 and 1865, but most of these writers have given only passing attention to Notman's work as a landscape gardener. Robert C. Smith was the first person to recognize Notman's importance as an architect in the address, "John Notman and the Atheneum Building," which he delivered in 1951 at the Philadelphia Atheneum, and in the article, "John Notman's Nassau Hall," published two years later in The Princeton University Library Chronicle. The most complete discussion of Notman's career, "John Notman,
"Architect," was published in 1959 by Francis James Dallett, also in The Princeton University Library Chronicle. In this article, Dallett briefly mentions the landscape aspect of Notman's career. Jonathan Fairbanks investigated Notman's Gothic revival church architecture in his 1961 University of Delaware Master's thesis. The most recent study has been "The Architecture of John Notman," an undergraduate thesis at Princeton University in 1966 written by William B. Rhoads, who devoted one chapter to a discussion of Notman's landscape designs. Two points emerge from this quick review of the literature on Notman--the need for study of Notman's landscape gardening, and the lack of a major monograph on this important architect.

Among the many persons who have assisted me in the researching and writing of this thesis, I wish first to thank Dr. George B. Tatum, my thesis advisor. Dr. Tatum initially suggested the topic and has continued to provide criticism and support of my work. I should also like to acknowledge: Miss Stefanie Munsing, the Library Company of Philadelphia; Mr. Peter Parker, the Historical Society of Pennsylvania; Mrs. Robert V. Anderson, the Valentine Museum Library; Mrs. Davis Abbott; Mr. and Mrs. Kenneth Higgins; Mrs. Constance Greiff; and Mr. William B. Rhoads. I owe a special debt of thanks to Doreen Bolger, Lois Olcott, and Betty Kaplan for reading and criticizing the manuscript.
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JOHN NOTMAN AND THE ART OF LANDSCAPE GARDENING

America in the 1830s was an artistically awkward nation. Having outgrown colonial subordination, she was acutely sensitive of her cultural relationship to England and Europe in general. Her writers were anxiously searching for their position in world literature. Her painters were trapped between their European training and their American patrons. All her artists were looking for that quality which made America different. One outgrowth of this cultural search was the glorification and celebration of America's untamed landscape; another was the rise of American landscape design.

John Notman (1810-1865) was a leading Philadelphia architect who also became one of America's first landscape gardeners, the contemporary name for a landscape architect. Typical of the decades before the Civil War, Notman's commissions included rural cemeteries, country residences, and public pleasure grounds. Before turning to his landscape projects, however, it is important to discuss briefly his life, the state of landscape design in Philadelphia in the 1830s, and the major writers on gardening who influenced Notman's landscape designs.

1

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The son of four generations of lowland gardeners, John Notman was born on July 22, 1810, at Canongate, Edinburgh, Scotland, where his parents, David and Mary Christie Notman, had been married on June 19, 1807. 1 John's youth was spent in Lasswade, a village located six miles south of Edinburgh, where his father worked in a stone quarry adjoining the estate Fernieside. John's sister, Margaret Notman, married Archibald Catanach whose father, Adam, was the gardener at Fernieside and Arith Castle. Thus, John may have learned about gardening informally from various relatives.

The details of Notman's education are not firmly established. According to an anonymous biography, once in the collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, he attended the Edinburgh School of Arts, which was commonly known as the "Royal Institute on the Mound." 2 Following his training there, he was apprenticed to a builder for four years, and then became the architect for two castles, one in the Scottish highlands and the other in northern Ireland. Another Notman family tradition, however, holds that John attended the school of Michael Angelo Nicolson, possibly a relative, at Melton Place, Euston Square, London. 3 If true, Notman would have served an apprenticeship under Nicolson in architecture and perspective. Any training in architecture would have included an exposure to landscape design, so Notman's understanding of garden planning probably stemmed from this period of his apprenticeship. 4
Sometime during 1831, Notman immigrated to Philadelphia at the age of 21, but little is known of his activities before 1836, when he began his work on Laurel Hill Cemetery. In 1833, he returned briefly to Edinburgh to bring his mother, his sisters, and his brother Peter to Philadelphia, where they arrived on board the Susquehanna from Liverpool on April 1, 1834. During this trip, Notman may have seen Kensal Green Cemetery, near London, which influenced his work in Philadelphia. In 1836, he began his career as an architect and landscape gardener by supplying the plans for the entrance gate and grounds at Laurel Hill Cemetery, near Philadelphia. This project gave Notman the opportunity to demonstrate his previous knowledge of landscape gardening and brought him into contact with others proficient in this art.

Notman's work at Laurel Hill Cemetery established his reputation and evidently brought him a degree of prosperity. In 1837, he was elected to membership in the St. Andrew's Society, an organization founded by Philadelphians of Scottish descent. On May 11, 1841, he married Martha Pullen Anners (1804-1870) in St. Luke's Church, Philadelphia. By this time, he had completed several important commissions and was a well-established architect and landscape gardener. Like many of his own patrons, Notman became a minor collector of paintings and a member of several cultural organizations in the city. In 1848, he was one of the managers of the Art-Union of Philadelphia, and he exhibited four paintings from his collection at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts in 1848 and 1855. His own portrait (Figure 1), now in the

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collection of one of his descendants, Mrs. Davis Abbott, was painted by Samuel Bell Waugh. In addition, he was a member of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania and the Musical Fund of Philadelphia.

Because his gardening activities were often connected to his architectural projects, it is impossible to discuss his life without mentioning his achievements as an architect. In his obituaries, he was remembered as primarily a church architect and master of the Gothic revival style. Among the Philadelphia churches usually cited as his finest work were St. Clement's, Holy Trinity, and St. Mark's, the last of which was considered by his contemporaries as "ranking with the most elegant and tasteful edifices of its class in the country." These Gothic structures were only the best of a great number of churches designed by Notman. More directly related to his work as a landscape gardener were several estates for which he designed both the house and the grounds. In these large country residences and suburban houses, Notman proved himself to be the first master of the Italianate style in America. Notman also executed commissions for important public structures, such as the Athenaeum of Philadelphia, the New Jersey State Capitol, and the Academy of Natural Sciences in Philadelphia. In 1847, he was called to Richmond, Virginia, where he received the commissions for three major landscape projects, showing how quickly and how widely his reputation had spread.

In the 1850s, the Notmans apparently began to lead a more leisurely existence. During 1853, they made a tour of the European Continent, including his second return visit to Scotland. His most
important commission during this period was probably a new building for the Pennsylvania Railroad at South Third Street and Willings Alley, which he designed in 1857. That same year, Notman was a member of a group of men who banded together to found the American Institute of Architects. He was probably also a member of a local architects' organization that was founded in Philadelphia as early as 1837. After completing the supervision of the grounds of the Virginia State Capitol, probably in 1852, he was not responsible for further landscape plans, and on March 3, 1865, he died at his Spruce Street home in Philadelphia. Perhaps because of the Civil War, his death received only passing attention. In his Will, he left all his possessions to his wife, who sold his library at auction on November 10, 1865. Despite the recognition of his contemporaries, Notman's importance as a landscape gardener has gone largely unnoticed to this day.

II

When John Notman arrived in Philadelphia in 1831, he found a city and a region that was uncommonly interested in horticulture and gardening; this was not a recent development. As one modern writer explains:

This horticultural preeminence is not due to a sudden discovery of the suitability of the climate to gardening, but it was revealed to the colonists, who recognized the possibilities of the country at an early date.

From its inception, Philadelphia had been planned by Penn to be a "greene country towne" where each house was surrounded by a small garden. The original plan, comprising a central square and four
equidistant outlying squares, was unfortunately never fully executed. In 1801, the city waterworks in Center Square was completed and the grounds landscaped according to the designs of Benjamin Henry Latrobe (1756-1833). Carved wood figures of Nymph and Bittern by William Rush (1756-1833) decorated the fountain in front of the pump house. In 1812, the city purchased five acres at the base of Fairmount along the Schuylkill River, and the waterworks and Rush's statue were moved to this new site. Franklin Square (Figure 2), the north-east one of the four peripheral squares, was laid out in 1824 with a fountain, gravel walks, and various plantings, as designed by Rush. This square was maintained until 1883 when direct cement walks replaced the more intricate pattern devised by Rush. Examples such as these show that there was some interest in landscape planning on the part of the City of Philadelphia.

The private sector shared official Philadelphia's enthusiasm for landscape planning. Several men had demonstrated an interest in horticulture and gardening as early as the 1730s. Probably the first important colonial American horticulturalist was John Bartram who began to collect American plants and seeds around 1730. Bartram sent many of these specimens from his farm on the eastern bank of the Schuylkill River below Philadelphia to his friend and fellow botanist, Peter Collinson, in England. As described in 1849, Bartram ... was, perhaps, the first Anglo-American who conceived the idea of establishing a BOTANIC GARDEN for the reception and cultivation of various vegetables, natives of the country, as well as exotics, and for travelling for the discovery and acquisition of them.
Both John Bartram and James Logan, Secretary of the Province, did experimental planting at the request of European scientists. Bartram's garden remained the only major horticultural garden in Philadelphia until the time of John Notman. Other fine gardens in the Philadelphia area included those built by Henry Pratt at the head of Fairmount Bay and by William Hamilton at the Woodlands, also along the banks of the Schuylkill River. A contemporary of Bartram, Henry Pratt developed a fine garden with the aid of his gardener, Robert Buist. Known as "Pratt's garden" or Lemon Hill, the name of the house, the grounds were considered the finest example of a formal or "geometric" style in America. A greenhouse was also located on the grounds. The gardens around the Woodlands, the estate of William Hamilton, were begun in 1786 and improved in 1802-1805 when the botanist, Frederick Pursh, lived there briefly and introduced many forms of American plants. These three gardens and several others in the vicinity were still maintained and open to the public when Notman arrived in Philadelphia in 1831.

In the area of Pennsylvania near Philadelphia, several other important examples of horticulture and gardening were in existence in the 1830s. John Bartram's cousin, Humphry Marshall, established in 1773 an arboretum on his farm near Marshalltown, Pennsylvania. In 1785 Marshall published in Philadelphia his Arbustrum Americanum--the American Grove, or an Alphabetical Catalogue of Forest Trees and Shrubs, native to the American United States. Influenced by their distant relative Marshall, Samuel and Joshua Pierce established Longwood Arboretum in 1800 at Longwood, Pennsylvania. Finally, in 1832, a
group of contributors met to discuss the planting of the grounds of Haverford College, which was opened the following year. Under the direction of William Carvill, an English gardener, 495 trees were planted on the grounds in the form of an orchard and ornamental plantings for the college buildings. Thus, when John Notman arrived in Philadelphia, he found an enthusiasm for gardening and horticulture and many citizens eager to employ his talents as a landscape gardener.

III

John Notman's work as a landscape gardener was influenced by more than a century of landscape design in England. Before the eighteenth century, the English garden had been formally laid out in the French or geometric manner so that the hand of man was always obvious. This artificial style, of which the gardens at Versailles were the most grandiose example, continued to influence American garden design throughout the eighteenth century, as shown by Lemon Hill. In England, however, a new interest in natural landscape was sparked by the writings of Joseph Addison in the Spectator (1712) and Alexander Pope in the Guardian (1713), both of whom "lifted the veil between the garden and natural charms." The first major landscape gardener in the modern style is considered to have been William Kent (1685-1748), painter, architect, and friend of Lord Burlington. By replacing the wall with a ha-ha, Kent was able to achieve a visual integration of the garden and the natural landscape beyond. By mid-century, Kent was replaced by "Capability" Brown (1715-1783) who attempted to improve nature without showing the
hand of man. Brown's devices—a round lake, a clump of trees, and a
gently curving drive—never varied, and he was soon the target of
strong criticism. In the second half of the eighteenth century,
Richard Payne Knight and Sir Uvedale Price proposed a more picturesque
style characterized by irregularity, quick changes, and uneven forms.\(^{28}\)
Basing their ideas on a comparison of landscape gardening and landscape
painting, Knight and Price created a controversy out of which emerged
England's next great landscape gardener, Humphry Repton.

As the self-appointed successor to Brown, Humphry Repton (1752-
1818) modified the latter's strict vocabulary of forms and encouraged
the growing interest in horticulture. Unlike his predecessors, Repton
was not only a practicing landscape gardener but also a prolific writer
on gardening.\(^{29}\) In his 1806 *Enquiry into Changes of Taste in Landscape
Gardening*, Repton summarized the four major principles of the art: to
display natural beauties and hide natural defects, to give the feeling
of extent or freedom by hiding the boundaries, to conceal all artistic
interference, and to make ornamental or conceal all necessary comforts
and conveniences.\(^{30}\) After Repton's death in 1818, his disciple, John
Claudius Loudon (1783-1843), increased Repton's influence through a
popular edition of his writings. Loudon took Repton's statements about
horticulture and used these ideas to establish a new style of landscape
gardening. Loudon explained:

\[
\text{The change [to an interest in horticulture] has}
\text{given rise to a school which we call the Garden-
esque; the characteristics of which, is the}
\text{display of the beauty of trees, and other plants,}
\text{individually.}^{31}\]

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Although he died in 1843, Loudon had a strong influence on the course of landscape gardening in America and the career of John Notman.

In America, Andrew Jackson Downing (1815-1852) was the foremost landscape theorist during Notman's career and an advocate and friend of Loudon. Using a comparison drawn by Price, Downing attempted to explain the different schools of landscape design to his fellow Americans by discussing the relationship between landscape gardening and landscape painting:

To the lover of the fine arts, the name of Claude Lorraine cannot fail to suggest examples of beauty in some of its purest forms... On the other hand, where shall we find all the elements of the picturesque more graphically combined than in the vigorous landscapes of Salvator Rosa.

Like the painter, the landscape gardener tried to execute ideas using nature as his canvas. Although Downing did not discuss the Gardenesque, the horticultural approach of the Gardenesque influenced the two schools of landscape gardening that he recognized. Downing continued:

There are the beautiful and the picturesque; or, to speak more definitely, the beauty characterized by simple and flowing forms, and that expressed by striking, irregular, spirited forms.

Thus, Downing espoused one style, the Beautiful, based mainly on the ideas of Brown and a second style, the Picturesque, established originally in the writings of Knight and Payne.

Notman was a friend of Downing and aided him with several publications, but he developed a personal landscape style that was not dependent on Downing's writings. John Jay Smith, with whom Notman
worked closely in the creation of Laurel Hill Cemetery, was a close friend of Downing and, when Downing died in 1852, assumed responsibility for the publication of The Horticulturalist, the magazine for which Downing had been editor since 1846. Although Downing was also a practitioner of his ideas on landscape gardening, he was mainly a theorist and a writer. Notman, on the other hand, never published a discussion of landscape design, but he was continually involved with the practice of this art.

The reason for the rapid development of landscape gardening in America in the 1830s was not simply the result of a new interest in horticulture on the part of the rich nor the need of additional breathing space on the part of the city dweller. Rather, on a more philosophical level, the rise of landscape gardening and planning was encouraged by the writings of the English reformer, Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832). Underlying all of Bentham's ideas was his belief in the need for recreation and for fresh air by all people within the urban environment. To a great extent, the writings of Humphry Repton were a restatement of the Benthamite approach to rational urban planning. These ideas were, of course, carried through in the writings of Loudon and Downing. The strong relationship of the English Benthamites to the American Quaker Meetings, and consequently to other liberal Protestant groups, meant that this approach to urban design was undoubtedly known in Philadelphia during Notman's career.

The regenerative quality of recreation and fresh air was certainly emphasized by Downing who felt that contact with nature maintained
the moral fiber of man:

There is, perhaps, something exclusive in the taste for some of the fine arts. A collection of pictures, for example, is comparatively shut up from the world, in the private gallery. But the sylvan and floral collections--the groves and gardens that surround the country residence of the man of taste--are confined by no barriers narrower than the blue heaven above and around them.36

The positive and reforming value of nature was not seen by only the landscape gardener, it was shared by his fellow artists, especially the painters and the poets. Washington Irving stated well the effect of natural landscape for his generation when he wrote: "There is a serene and settled majesty in Woodland scenery, that enters into the soul, dilates and elevates it, and fills it with noble inclinations."37

When John Notman came to Philadelphia in the early 1830s, he entered an environment where an interest in nature and landscape planning was quickly developing. His career as a landscape gardener represents the adolescent phase of the history of landscape architecture in America. Although Notman was definitely not the driving force behind the landscape movement, he was certainly one of America's main contributors to the development of landscape design and urban planning in the decades before the Civil War.
JOHN NOTMAN AT LAUREL HILL

John Notman's first American commission as a landscape gardener and architect came in 1836 when he won the competition for the design of the grounds and entrance gate at Laurel Hill Cemetery near Philadelphia. While Notman was the first professional architect in America to design a rural cemetery, his work at Laurel Hill was influenced by both European developments, particularly in England, and by amateur American efforts. The rural cemetery, which was of paramount importance to the nineteenth century, represents the introduction of public landscape design on a large scale to the United States. Notman's work at Laurel Hill established his reputation as a landscape gardener and brought him commissions for rural cemeteries in other American cities.

The concept of the "rural" cemetery as a public suburban burial ground serving an urban area is European in origin. In 1756, the Parliament of Paris ordered the closing of all the intramural churchyards and the creation of four suburban cemeteries around the city of Paris.1 Père-la-Chaise Cemetery, the most innovative of these four, was considered a model necropolis, although only its use of numerous paths and initially uncrowded conditions had any influence on subsequent cemetery design. In England, a movement for the creation of rural cemeteries near London and other metropolitan centers did not develop until the
second quarter of the nineteenth century. A letter urging the creation of rural cemeteries that appeared in London's Morning Advertiser for May 14, 1830, was written by England's foremost living landscape gardener and theorist, John Claudius Loudon:

... there should be several burial-grounds all as far as practicable, equi-distant from each other, and from what may be considered the center of the metropolis;... they \( [\text{should}] \) be regularly laid out and planted with every kind of hardy trees and shrubs; and ... in interring the ground \( [\text{should}] \) be used on a plan similar to that of the burial-ground of Munich, and not left to chance like Père la Chaise... 

Loudon's last comment shows that by 1830 Père-la-Chaise was no longer considered a good example of cemetery design because that necropolis had been allowed to develop without any general plan. In this same letter, he stressed how easily these burial grounds might be made into botanic gardens which could serve as "breathing places" for the increasing urban population. Loudon further recommended that "there ought to be a standing commission for the purpose of taking into consideration whatever might be suggested for the general improvements, not only of London, but of the environs." For Loudon, the establishment of rural cemeteries was, thus, simply the starting point for general metropolitan and regional planning.

When Loudon wrote this letter, burial in most English cities was under the authority of the churches and took place in church graveyards that were badly overcrowded. Liverpool was among the first English cities to establish a public burial ground when St. James' Cemetery was laid out in an abandoned stone quarry in 1825. Glasgow was also a
leader with the establishment of the Glasgow Necropolis, modeled still on Père-la-Chaise and located on a rocky eminence near the Cathedral. Both of these important public graveyards, however, were located within the city limits and, therefore, cannot be considered as part of the rural cemetery movement.

Loudon's 1830 letter anticipated the founding of Kensal Green Cemetery near London, England's first rural cemetery and her most important contribution to cemetery design in relation to Notman's work at Laurel Hill. Constantly hampered by petty rivalries in the choice of architects, the directors of Kensal Green invited a Mr. Liddell to lay out the grounds in September 1831. One month later, Liddell withdrew the plans, but the grounds were laid out eventually following his design (Figure 3). On November 1, 1831, the cemetery company announced an architectural competition for a chapel with receiving vaults and an entrance with lodges. Henry E. Kendall won the premium, but his Gothic designs were replaced by the competition drawings submitted by Sir John D. Paul, the chairman of the cemetery directors. Paul's designs were drawn up by John William Griffith and included two chapels--Anglican and non-conformist--an entrance gate, catacombs, and Greek colonades. Kendall, however, published his sketches for a chapel, entrance gates, and grounds plan (after Liddell) in 1832. Notman might have seen this publication since his plan for the grounds at Laurel Hill resembles Liddell's plan for Kensal Green. Notman might also have seen the architectural embellishments at Kensal Green during a return visit to England.
in 1833-1834. The similarities between Notman's Doric entrance to Laurel Hill and Griffith's Greek designs, both Doric and Ionic, will be discussed presently.

The first rural cemetery in the English-speaking world, however, was established near Boston, and not in England. As early as 1825, Dr. Jacob Bigelow invited a group of Boston gentlemen to his Summer Street home to discuss the creation of a new burial ground near that city. Problems in land acquisition delayed the formation of the cemetery company until 1830. The following year, a plan for laying out the grounds was drawn up by Henry C. Dearborn, first president of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society, assisted by Jacob Bigelow and Martin Brimmer, who had originally purchased the land for the cemetery company. This plan consisted of "curved or winding courses... generally adopted for picturesque effect, and for easy approach to various lots" (Figure 4). Emphasizing winding drives, naturalistic ponds, and secluded groves, the planners sought to develop the romantic qualities of this irregular site overlooking the Charles River in Cambridge.

Although arranged by skilled amateurs, the grounds of Mount Auburn, as Bigelow and his associates decided to name their rural cemetery, lack any sense of organization or clear direction through the landscape. In addition to the plan for the grounds, Bigelow also designed a handsome Egyptian revival entrance gate, erected in wood in 1832, and a Gothic revival chapel which was added to the grounds in
1844. The laying out of Mount Auburn Cemetery was successful enough, however, to make Boston the envy of all her sister cities. The impetus for the construction of a new public burial ground near Philadelphia was provided by the popularity of this first American rural cemetery which was certainly known to the men who designed Laurel Hill.

The concepts of a public cemetery or an out-of-town graveyard were not unknown in Philadelphia before the establishment of Laurel Hill. Late in the eighteenth century, Christ Church found that its adjacent graveyard was inadequate for its needs and, therefore, created a separate burial ground which is now located at the corner of Arch and Fifth Streets. In 1827, James Ronaldson founded a public cemetery at his own expense. When originally laid out, this cemetery at Ninth and Shippen Streets was located in Moyamensing, outside of the city limits. Established on a small scale, Mr. Ronaldson's public cemetery was not able to meet the need of Philadelphia's overcrowded churchyards. In addition to the simple problem of overcrowding, city churchyards were considered to be breeding grounds for pollution and disease. Coupled with the popular romantic interest in landscape, these conditions created an enthusiasm for the establishment of a rural cemetery in Philadelphia.

The formation of Mount Auburn Cemetery and the death of a favorite daughter spurred John Jay Smith, librarian of the Library Company of Philadelphia, to call a meeting of his fellow Philadelphians on November 14, 1835. The men who attended this meeting were in favor of the formation of a cemetery company and in February, 1836, the grounds
of Laurel Hill, an estate on the eastern bank of the Schuylkill River north of the city, were purchased for the company. During the 1836-1837 session of the Pennsylvania Legislature, an Act of Incorporation was passed, and Nathan Dunn, Benjamin W. Richards, Frederick Brown, and John Jay Smith were appointed managers. The first interment took place in October, 1836, but acceptance of the cemetery was inhibited by the Financial Panic of 1837.

Although architects were involved with the planning of Laurel Hill from its inception, John Jay Smith continued to be the prime mover behind the development of this rural cemetery. An active and accomplished horticulturalist, Smith was probably responsible for the planting scheme at Laurel Hill. He was an advocate of the ideas of J. C. Loudon and a close friend of A. J. Downing, America's foremost writer on landscape gardening. In 1846, Smith was to publish a book explaining the development of Philadelphia's rural cemetery and offering advice to others about to embark upon such a project. Since Smith here carefully outlined the necessary steps in the establishment of a rural cemetery, his discussion deserves attention.

According to Smith, the primary considerations in cemetery planning were the choice of an appropriate site, the examination of the quality of the soil, and the determination of the extent of the cemetery. Laurel Hill was chosen for its proximity to Philadelphia and also its great natural beauty and commanding view of the surrounding countryside. Situated six miles north of the center of Philadelphia, high on the eastern bank of the Schuylkill River, Laurel Hill was named by the
merchant, Joseph Sims, who had chosen the spot for his country estate and planted the grounds in a handsome manner. The nineteenth-century man believed that there were dangerous gases escaping from decomposing bodies buried in damp soil. Therefore, the site of Laurel Hill was also chosen for its dry soil that drained naturally into the river below. The original extent of the cemetery was simply the grounds of Joseph Sims' estate, but the cemetery company was forced to expand before 1852.

Having discussed the site, soil, and size of the cemetery, Smith stated:

... the next consideration is the boundary fence, which ought to be such as to insure security from theft, and favor solemnity by excluding the bustle of everyday life, while a view of distant scenery is admitted to produce a certain degree of cheerfulness, and dissipate absolute gloom...

For a cemetery in the country, Smith felt an iron railing would suffice, but he recommended a ten to twelve-foot wall for cemeteries nearer or in the city. An integral part of the wall was an entrance gate of suitable form and important enough for the Laurel Hill Cemetery Company to announce a competition which attracted several of the major architects of Philadelphia. The competition also involved plans for the laying out of the grounds, the next step in Smith's description of the creation of a rural cemetery. Smith recommended a "double-bed" plan which had proven successful in the laying out of Laurel Hill. Under this plan, lots were laid out end-to-end in rows which were slightly raised at the center. The graves were approached by grass paths of four feet in width, necessary to accommodate the size of a coffin. These paths were
separated from the lots by a variation of three inches, in the manner of a ha-ha--indistinguishable from afar, but different at close range. Finally, there should be no segregation of economic levels in the distribution of the lots although the larger ones should be reserved for families who could build grander monuments.

In addition to the grounds, certain buildings were necessary for the maintenance of a nineteenth-century cemetery. A chapel was the most important structure; Smith felt that it should dominate the grounds.\(^{22}\) If more than one chapel was needed, they should be either grouped together or completely separated so that they created different views. When the cemetery company purchased Laurel Hill from Joseph Sims, the estate included a mansion, several outbuildings such as stables, and a chapel which had been built when the estate was briefly used as a Catholic school. Also, lodges had to be provided for a superintendent, gatekeeper, and gardeners. These lodges were placed on either side of the entrance gate at Laurel Hill. Smith also suggested that other buildings, such as a receiving vault and a retiring house for the family of the deceased, could be added. In 1852, Laurel Hill even included an observation platform or gazebo with a fine view of the river and the other shore.\(^{23}\)

Realizing the value of professional advice, the managers of the cemetery company sought to involve architects in the planning of Laurel Hill from the beginning. According to the Minutes of the cemetery company, William Strickland was one of the six "public spirited gentlemen" who were invited to attend the first meeting on November 14, 1835,
in the offices of the Library Company. At this meeting, "Mr. Strickland introduced John Struthers as a gentlemen having some experience of this nature." John Struthers was a marble carver, so his "experience of this nature" would probably have meant his ability to carve gravestones and tombs. Neither Strickland nor Struthers were eventually given any responsibility for designing the grounds and architectural embellishments at Laurel Hill, although they were both involved with a number of important private monuments. Sometime during the spring of 1836, the company held an architectural competition for the plan of the grounds and the design of the main entrance to the cemetery.

Although the architectural competition for the plan of Laurel Hill was not advertised in the Philadelphia newspapers of the period, five competition drawings by William Strickland (1787-1854) and Thomas U. Walter (1804-1887) for the grounds and the entrance are preserved in the collections of the Library Company of Philadelphia (Figures 5-10). The competition can be approximately dated by one of Walter's drawings for an entrance gate that was labeled May 14, 1836. Following the precedent of Mount Auburn Cemetery, both Strickland and Walter drew entrance gates in the Egyptian style, romantically associated with places of the dead. Strickland's design (Figure 5) consists of a gateway with battered walls flanked by two taller obelisks which are connected to the gateway by curved hyphens (Figure 6). In the center of the cavetto cornice of the gateway, Strickland placed a winged sun disc, and below he used two lotus-bud columns to support the cornice. This entrance also contained two lodges for porters on either side of
the gate. Walter's plan and elevation of the entrance to Laurel Hill (Figure 7) is similar to Strickland's design but more massive and concealing more of the grounds behind. Flanking the main gate, Walter placed a porter's lodge to the left and a retiring room for visitors to the right. Repeating the Egyptian forms of battered walls, cavetto cornice, and winged sun disc, Walter produced an entrance design that betrays the influence of another Philadelphia architect, John Haviland (1792-1852). In fact, along the base of Walter's plan for the grounds, he sketched another gate and wall (Figure 8) that resembles strongly Haviland's design for the Eastern State Penitentiary in Philadelphia, completed in 1829.

The plans for the grounds submitted by both Strickland and Walter appear haphazard and awkward. Strickland's plan (Figure 9) has little of the romantic quality required by contemporary landscape design. He used straight roads and imposed unnatural forms such as the amphitheaters on the steep slope descending to the Schuylkill. In contrast, Walter's plan (Figure 10) appears to be a series of curving lines without direction or purpose. Walter realized that the gently curving drive was one of the primary forms of romantic landscape planning, but he did not delineate a major route of movement through the cemetery. Both architects' plans also include the placement of trees on the right side of the plan, but since the trees drawn in on both plans are almost identical, these trees must have been planted by Joseph Sims, the previous owner of Laurel Hill. In addition, both plans include the same six buildings extant when the estate was purchased by the cemetery company.
Rather than Strickland or Walter, however, it was John Notman who received the commission for the grounds and entrance gate to Laurel Hill Cemetery. Although no plan by Notman's hand definitely exists, the contemporary sources are in total agreement that he supplied the plans for the entrance and grounds. Notman's name is also conspicuously absent from the records of the cemetery company. A list of expenditures for the period from February 1, 1836, to February 1, 1837, includes a small fee paid to John Notman for an unspecified purpose. That Notman's name only appears once in the cemetery company records is puzzling, but it is not surprising that his plans for the grounds and the entrance do not survive because they would have been worn out through use. An unlabeled plan for the grounds (Figure 11) in the Library Company collection is probably by Notman since the plan of the gate at the bottom of the plan (Figure 12) matches the gate at Laurel Hill (Figure 13) which can be definitely documented as Notman's work.

As early as April 9, 1836, the Philadelphia newspapers were reporting the construction of walls, walks, and paths at Laurel Hill Cemetery. Since the only dated entry for the architectural competition was labeled May 14, the construction work at Laurel Hill in April must have been of a preliminary nature. More exact documentation and dating for Notman's entrance design is found in Poulson's Daily Advertiser for June 30, 1836:

There is now to be seen at the Exchange a very beautiful picture drawn by Mr. Walter, and designed by Mr. Notman, the architect, of the entrance adopted by the company to the new Rural Cemetery at Laurel Hill, near Philadelphia.--- The style is Roman Doric
and a magnificent specimen it will be, being 216 feet front, and receding 25 feet from the road. This entrance is to be erected at once.28

This notice not only provides a description of the gate and an approximate date for acceptance of the design, but also indicates a possible collaboration between Notman and Walter. The following day, July 1, a correction of this information appeared in Poulson's Daily Advertiser: "a plan, not entirely correct in its proportions, was handed to Mr. Walter, who, as a friend, politely agreed to remodel it... without giving an opinion of the merit of the plan."29 Since Notman's plan was chosen over that of Walter, the latter wanted full credit for his participation in the winning design.30 More importantly, however, Notman's plan for the grounds greatly surpassed the designs by both Strickland and Walter, even if Notman's entrance was stylistically retardataire. By using what might have been the entrance drive to Joseph Sims' mansion as the main route through the cemetery, Notman offered the managers a faster and less expensive proposal for laying out the grounds. Notman also presented a more detailed plan that included the distribution of lots, the labeling of areas of the cemetery, and the placement of necessary smaller drives and walks. In addition to the buildings that Sims had built, shown in solid squares, and the Doric entrance gate, Notman added the plan for a small cottage intended for the cemetery superintendent. Of the three competing architects, only Notman seems to have completely understood what a grounds plan needed to show.

As already mentioned, the establishment of Mount Auburn Cemetery, near Boston, and Kensal Green, outside of London, had a strong influence
on the development of Laurel Hill. Mount Auburn was mentioned frequently in all contemporary accounts, and the influence of Bigelow's Egyptian gate on Strickland and Walter is obvious. In an even more direct manner, the creation of Kensal Green determined the form of Laurel Hill. As stated in the previous chapter, John Notman made a return visit to England in 1833-1834. Assuming he would have returned to Scotland, Notman would probably have passed through London en route. Kensal Green would have been one of the major attractions of the city at that time, especially for an aspiring young architect. The similarities in both the plan for the grounds and the style of the architectural embellishments of Kensal Green and Laurel Hill suggest that Notman was familiar with this important English necropolis.

A comparison of the plans for the grounds at Kensal Green and Laurel Hill shows the use of a single strict geometric form, a circle symmetrically divided by roads converging on a small circle reserved for the placement of a major monument. Although this similarity may appear tenuous, Kensal Green was the only formally laid out rural cemetery that Notman probably knew. Even if he never visited Kensal Green, Notman could have seen Kendall's 1832 publication of his designs for Kensal Green, including the plan for the grounds by Liddell. The choice of Roman Doric as the architectural style for the entrance to Laurel Hill again suggests Notman's familiarity with Kensal Green. The main entrance to Kensal Green was designed in the Roman Doric style (Figure 14) as was the Anglican chapel constructed on the grounds. To a certain extent, Notman's entrance can be considered a combination of the general
solid form of the Kensal Green gate and a doubling of the prostyle
tetraestyle Doric of the Anglican chapel (Figure 15). Until some
documentary evidence of Notman's visit to Kensal is discovered, the
visual similarities of these two burial grounds can only suggest a
connection.

In addition to the plan for the grounds and the entrance, the
Library Company collection also contains a design for a Gothic revival
chapel at Laurel Hill signed by John Notman (Figure 16). This drawing
was intended for the remodeling of an already existing building. A close
investigation of any of the competition drawings of the grounds will show
a group of four buildings at the right center of the plan. In Strick-
land's plan (Figure 9), the lower left of these four structures was
labeled the chapel. A description in the United States Gazette for the
grounds at the time that the cemetery company purchased Laurel Hill
clarifies this situation:

This superb place [Laurel Hill] has lately been
occupied by a Seminary, and there is on it, close
to the large Mansion House, a handsome stone chapel
which will be converted to the uses of a church for
those who choose so to employ it.\(^3\)

The date of Notman's plan to remodel this earlier chapel can be approxi-
mated by an entry in the records of the cemetery company for August 24,
1838:

On motion of Mr. Smith, Resolved unanimously, that
it is expedient to finish the chapel in a meet and
substantial manner as soon as practicable and that
Mr. Dunn be requested to have the same in as econo-
mical a manner as he may think proper.\(^3\)
Thus, Notman's design probably dates from 1838. Whether Notman had to complete or remodel the earlier structure is uncertain, but it is definite that he did not design the chapel for the Seminary, known as Laurel College, since the drawing was labeled Laurel Hill. Nevertheless, the chapel, which no longer stands, was one of the first structures in Philadelphia designed in the more archaeologically correct Gothic style, then coming into favor.

The planting scheme for the grounds at Laurel Hill was probably developed by John Jay Smith in collaboration with John Notman. Notman's brother-in-law, Archibald Catanach, was the son of an English gardener, but there is no indication that he was involved in the planting of Laurel Hill. Since Smith's knowledge of horticulture greatly exceeded that of Notman, Smith probably selected the plantings at Laurel Hill and instructed Notman in this aspect of landscape gardening. Joseph Sims, the former owner of Laurel Hill, had planted the grounds in part and laid out some paths. The Guide to the cemetery explains:

The upland was planted by him [Sims] with a few fine evergreens, ornamental shrubs etc., and fruit trees; the former have been carefully fostered, while the latter have given way to a variety of indigenous and foreign trees of the most rare and beautiful species. 34

Building on the work of the earlier owner, Smith created a horticultural garden at Laurel Hill. He further stated that the managers of the cemetery sought to include "one specimen at least of every valuable tree and shrub which will bear the climate of this latitude."35 A letter from Smith to Andrew Jackson Downing, dated April 14, 1843, included a list and prices for trees and plants ordered from Downing's "Horticultural
Museum" and destined for Laurel Hill. One of the most spectacular
trees chosen for the rural cemetery was the Cedar of Lebanon, a dark
conifer with horizontal branches often extending twenty to forty feet, of
which twenty species were planted at Laurel Hill. This tree was later
employed by Notman in his plans for the grounds of private estates. In
general, however, Notman's horticultural knowledge was probably the
result of his association with John Jay Smith in the planning of
Laurel Hill.

Another important aspect of cemetery planning was the design of
sepulture monuments. Tomb plans were not beneath the skill of Philadel­
phia's major architects, such as Strickland, Walter, and Notman, who
actively designed these monuments. In 1846, John Jay Smith and Thomas U.
Walter collaborated on the publication of *A Guide to Workers in Metals
and Stone...* which included plans for monuments, railings, benches, and
minor details in cemetery design. A review of the numerous tombs and
monuments designed by Notman for Laurel Hill demonstrates his ability to
handle the Gothic, Egyptian, and Greek styles.

Any discussion of the evolution of Laurel Hill Cemetery would be
incomplete without a description of the work of the sculptor, James Thom.
A Scottish stonemason of humble origin, Thom executed statues of
Sir Walter Scott, Tam O'Shanter, "Old Mortality," and his pony to illustr­
ate a tale from Scott's *The Waverly Novels*. He exhibited these
brownstone statues throughout Scotland and England and then brought them
to America, hoping to make a large profit from their exhibition. After
no financial success in New York City, "... he arrived in Philadelphia
with a letter to his countryman Nottman [sic], the original architect of Laurel Hill. When he saw Laurel Hill, Thom decided that this new rural cemetery was the perfect location for his statues which were purchased by the cemetery company after some delay. These statues were placed within a small Tudor Gothic shelter (Figure 17) which was probably designed by Notman, the architect of the cemetery company at that time. This shelter was erected directly in line with the entrance so that it was the first monument that one saw upon entering the cemetery grounds. Although the importance of these statues may seem questionable, Thom's group of "Old Mortality" excited much attention and helped to popularize this new rural cemetery. Smith explained:

We set the group [Old Mortality] under a suitable canopy. It provided a great attraction. This, with the novelty of a rural cemetery, and a few handsome monuments that began to rise very slowly, became so popular that a long course of years we were obliged to issue tickets of admission, and two men made a good support by watching the numerous horses outside, while two other stalwart men were required to take tickets at the gate... The popularity that eventually greeted Laurel Hill was far greater than its managers had anticipated or desired. In 1847, R. A. Smith published a guide to aide the visitor through this necropolis. A. J. Downing reported that between April and December, 1848, nearly 300,000 persons visited Laurel Hill. As a result of this phenomenal popularity, the cemetery company enacted strict rules that closed the gates at sundown, forbid picnicking, and excluded children unless accompanied by their parents. One contemporary visitor commented on the use of this rural cemetery:
The only drawback to the beautiful and highly kept cemeteries is the gala-day air of recreation they present, people seem to go there to enjoy themselves and not to indulge in any serious recollections or regrets.\textsuperscript{44}

One of the primary purposes in creating a rural cemetery was to provide a solemn spot, isolated from the world, for the contemplation and mourning of the dead. Therefore, the popularity of Laurel Hill, and similar cemeteries, must have been disturbing and disappointing to the men who created these playgrounds.

In 1843, J. C. Loudon published \textit{On the Laying out, planting, and managing of Cemeteries; and on the improvement of Churchyards} in which he stated:

\begin{quote}
The cemeteries according to our ideas, bear too great a resemblance to pleasure grounds. That they are much frequented and admired by the public is no proof that they are inappropriate too, but only that they are at present the best places of the kind to which the public have access.\textsuperscript{43}
\end{quote}

Here, Loudon touched on the great need for pleasure grounds for the city dweller, both in England and America. Although it was a good substitute, the rural cemetery was not designed to fulfill the needs of a public park. Writing in \textit{Loudon's Gardener's Magazine}, A. J. Downing concluded:

\begin{quote}
It is remarkable that these cemeteries are the first really elegant public gardens or promenades formed in this country. In point of design, keeping, and in so far as respects the beauty of rare flowering shrubs and trees introduced, they are much superior to the majority of the country residences here, and may therefore be considered as likely to affect in a very considerable degree, the general taste for laying out and embellishing grounds.\textsuperscript{46}
\end{quote}

Thus, Downing realized the unique and important position that the rural cemetery would play in the development of landscape design in America.
Laurel Hill and Mount Auburn were soon joined by Greenwood Cemetery in
Brooklyn, New York, and by mid century, almost every major American city
had at least one rural cemetery in its environs, including one in
Cincinnati (1845) and one near Richmond (1848) also designed by Notman.

The predictions of both Loudon and Downing proved true in the
landscape career of Notman. Loudon's realization that there was a great
need for public pleasure grounds was fulfilled by Notman in his plans
for Capitol Square Park, Richmond, Virginia (1849-1852). In Philadel-
phia, Notman's landscape planning at Laurel Hill served as one of the
seeds for the development of Fairmount Park, a band of green along the
Schuylkill River that now incorporates the cemetery and is one of the
largest municipal parks in the world. The validity of Downing's pre-
diction concerning the influence of the rural cemeteries on the "laying
out and embellishing" of private estates can be determined by a further
investigation of Notman as a landscape gardener. During his work on
Laurel Hill, John Notman was involved with at least three men who would
be very important in helping to secure future commissions for him. John
Jay Smith, Frederick Brown, and Nathan Dunn were among the original
managers of Laurel Hill and also maintained estates in New Jersey, across
the Delaware River from Philadelphia. It was in these New Jersey towns,
like Princeton and Burlington, that Notman next became a successful
designer of the grounds for private estates.
NOTMAN AND COUNTRY RESIDENCES

By the nineteenth century, American cities reached a level of overcrowding that encouraged the rich to begin an exodus to the country. Even during the eighteenth century, many families had maintained both a townhouse and a country seat. In 1808, Thomas Birch, one of Philadelphia's first important landscape painters, made the following statement in the introduction to a series of engravings of Pennsylvania country estates:

The comforts and advantages of a Country Residence, ...
... consist more in the beauty of the situation, than in the massy magnitude of edifice:...
... The man of taste will select his situation with skill, and add elegance and animation to the best choice. In the United States the face of nature is so variegated ... that labour and expenditure of Art is not great as in Countries less favoured.¹

By the time of John Notman's arrival in America, the owners of many country residences were eager to improve their "situation" by "labour and expenditure of Art." During the late 1830s and 1840s, Notman carried out several commissions for the landscaping of country residences in New Jersey, for which some plans survive.

Before turning to a discussion of Notman's plans for country residences, it would be useful to review the major influences on his landscape designs. He was undoubtedly familiar with the writings of the more recent gardening authors, such as the Englishmen, Humphry Repton
and J. C. Loudon, and the American, A. J. Downing. One strong influence on Notman was Humphry Repton whose suggestions to the designer of the grounds of a country residence included: 1) a reduction in the size of the pleasure garden to one that could be easily maintained; 2) an artificial separation of the pleasure garden from the natural landscape; 3) dressed grounds attached to the house, forming a transition between the architecture and the natural landscape; and 4) a garden that could withstand winter weather.² Repton's first and second recommendations concerning the size and artificial, meaning man-made, separation of the pleasure grounds from the natural landscape were perhaps even more important here than in England because of the comparatively smaller size of American estates. Also, following Repton's recommendation, Notman consistently placed dressed grounds near the house, so that a different view was provided at each window. Finally, one reason for Notman's frequent use of evergreens was the importance of a garden that would retain some of its design throughout the year.

Loudon's formulation of the Gardenesque greatly contributed to the form of Notman's landscape designs. The Gardenesque style stressed that all planting should be conceived to allow trees, shrubbery and flowers to develop to their fullest potential. Responding to the typically Victorian desire to collect--in this case individual specimens and exotics--the Gardenesque encouraged a horticultural approach to the garden. Several of Notman's patrons were as interested in forming a museum of native species and exotics as in creating a proper setting for their houses. Although Notman did not attempt to design strictly in the

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Gardenesque style, Loudon's horticultural approach influenced the form of Notman's landscape designs. If the contents of Notman's personal library were known, it would undoubtedly have contained many of Loudon's works on gardening.3

A. J. Downing was America's foremost gardening author during Notman's career. It is, therefore, important to measure the designs of Notman against the theories of his contemporary. In his writings, Downing espoused two basic styles of landscape gardening, the Beautiful and the Picturesque. The Beautiful was characterized by smooth, rounded tree forms, neatly kept lawns, and classical forms of architectural ornaments. The Picturesque landscape incorporated sharp, uneven shapes in plantings, a negligent approach to garden maintenance, and rustic forms of architecture, typically Gothic. In addition, Downing emphasized three fundamental principles to guide the designer of a country residence: unity, variety, and harmony. To avoid disunity, Downing advised against the combination of natural plantings in groups with the more classical forms of a strictly geometrical garden, the mixing of flower and vegetable gardens, or the juxtaposition of fruit trees and ornamentals.4 However, he recommended variety in the use of different groups or sizes of plantings and in the choice of garden ornaments, placement of walks, and styles of architectural embellishments. Harmony was the most important principle that Downing advanced because it was the moderating factor that prevented violent variations or distasteful combinations.6 In general, Notman followed these gardening rules although neither he nor Downing strictly practiced what the latter preached.
As in all previous centuries, garden design in the period of Notman and Downing consisted of "plantations," ground forms, and water. By "plantations," Downing meant trees and wood, including shrubbery, which he considered more ornamental, more indispensable, and more easily manageable than any other embellishments of a country residence. To facilitate an understanding of plantations for the amateur, Downing divided tree forms into three general types: round-headed, oblong or pyramidal, and spiry-topped. To the Beautiful belonged the first group, deciduous trees such as the oak or walnut. The second type, characterized by the Lombardy poplar, was employed in either a Beautiful or a Picturesque garden, although it was more common for the former. The essence of the Picturesque appeared in the final group, composed of evergreens with horizontal branches. A Beautiful landscape excluded the spiry-topped trees, but all three groups could be used for a garden in the Picturesque style. In addition to the forms of trees, the groupings were changed according to the effect desired. Under the influence of the Gardenesque, trees were not planted in clumps but were allowed to develop as individual forms. In the Beautiful, trees were spaced so that every species grew to maturity unhampered, while in the Picturesque, trees were more closely grouped. Notman generally chose to design in the Picturesque mode, probably because it allowed greater flexibility in the choice of trees and, therefore, greater adaptability to the horticultural interests of his patrons.

In addition to decisions concerning the types and placement of trees, shrubbery, and flowers, the landscape gardener was responsible
for insuring that the architecture and the landscaping conformed to the character of the ground surface. The expression of the Picturesque required the ground to be rough and marked by irregular and rugged surfaces, while the Beautiful demanded land that was gently rolling or almost flat. As Downing explained, however, it was possible to erase irregular forms in the surfaces marked by both smooth and rough terrain:

If too rugged— the sweeps and undulations sometimes easy and beautiful, but at others hard and disconnected— he will endeavour to soften and remove this inequality. This will be easily executed if some of the eminences are broken into too high, sudden, and abrupt hills, by carefully lowering them into more graceful elevations, and placing the superfluous earth into adjacent hollows.

Thus, an appropriate ground surface for the Beautiful could be artificially produced, but a Picturesque garden could only be laid in a naturally picturesque location.

The gardener's responsibility for the ground surface included a concern for siting of the house and the drives and walks related to it. Downing insisted that the drive should not go directly from the entrance gate to the house but should wind through the pleasure park:

The house is generally so approached, that the eye shall first meet it in an angular direction, displaying not only the beauty of the architectural facade but also one of the end elevations, thus giving a more complete idea of the size, character, or elegance of the building.

Downing did agree, however, that the drive leading to the house should not curve without some real or apparent reason. In addition to the main approach, a landscape gardener usually laid out several walks through the pleasure grounds. These were intended to provide a means of exercise.
while offering carefully planned "picturesque" views of the house and grounds. Of course, the size and form of the pleasure garden and the direction of the main approach determined the extent of the walks.

The third major aspect of landscape design, the treatment of water, was of less importance than the grouping of plant materials and the treatment of ground. Generally, water in the landscape was either natural (i.e. a lake of river) or artificial (i.e. a small fountain or pool). The limited scale of American country residences usually precluded any attempt to create large bodies of water. If the land was not blessed with a natural water source, the landscape gardener chose an appropriate fountain with which to embellish the flower garden or pleasure grounds. The information on Notman's landscape designs is too incomplete to know whether he consistently included some water in his gardens.

John Jay Smith, Notman's associate at Laurel Hill Cemetery, was a close friend of Downing, to whom he probably introduced Notman. Two Notman houses--Riverside Villa, Burlington, New Jersey, and Nathan Dunn's semi-oriental cottage, Mount Holly, New Jersey--appeared in the first edition (1841) of Downing's *A Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening*. In the introduction, Downing acknowledged the aid of "J. C. Loudon, the most distinguished gardening author of the age... A. J. Davis, Esq., of New York, and J. Notman, Esq., of Philadelphia, architects, for architectural drawings and description." On November 15, 1841, Downing wrote to Smith asking for advice on houses in the Philadelphia area that could be included in a new edition of
Landscape Gardening. Downing requested fine houses "not in a floral sense, in which you excel, but so far as tasteful design is concerned." Smith must have returned a letter at once because Downing wrote to Smith again on December 3 thanking him for his several recommendations. In this letter, Downing mentioned the coming publication of his volume on "Model Cottages and Gardens," and at this point in the letter Notman's name appears in the margin written in a different hand, presumably Smith's. On December 21, 1842, Downing again wrote to Smith: "I am also in debt to our friend Mr. Notman who wrote me a very kind letter which I will soon answer in extenso." Thus, Notman was associated with Downing during the period of the gardening author's most important publications.

Notman's and Downing's careers were preceded by and based upon the foundations established by earlier nurserymen. André Parmentier of Brooklyn, New York, and Bernard McMahon of Philadelphia facilitated the rise of landscape gardening in America. In 1824, Parmentier immigrated to Brooklyn from Holland and set up a nursery to supply plants and trees for those who wished to lay out a garden or a country residence. He also advised clients on garden design in the "natural" manner. Bernard McMahon was the leading practical nurseryman in Philadelphia when Notman arrived. McMahon's American Gardener's Calendar, an illustrated monthly schedule of gardening suggestions, was already in its ninth edition by 1839. A popular interest in horticulture, which practical nurserymen like Parmentier and McMahon fostered, was one of the origins of the nineteenth-century American practice of landscape gardening.
Notman designed most of his country residences in the decade-and-a-half period between the completion of his work at Laurel Hill, around 1838, and the end of his work in Virginia in 1852. Although Notman received numerous documented commissions for country residences and suburban houses, not all of these projects included plans for the surrounding grounds. All of his landscape work was connected with houses which he designed in the Italianate style, with the exception of one "semi-oriental cottage" that was essentially Italianate in form and "Chinese" in decoration. Since the form of the grounds, according to Downing, determined the style of the house, one might assume that Notman's landscape designs varied little from one commission to another. The information on Notman's career as a designer of country residences demonstrates, however, that, because of the interests of different patrons and the demands of different sites, he did not simply adapt the same form to each new project. Since the Italianate style reflected Notman's garden designs, it would be useful to explore further this architectural mode and its consequent effect upon landscape gardening.

Downing serves as the best source for contemporary comment on the Italianate style. He stated:

The Italian style is, we think, decidedly the most beautiful mode for domestic purposes, that has been the direct offspring of Grecian art. It is a style which has evidently grown up under the eyes of the painters of more modern Italy, as it is admirably adapted to harmonize with general nature, and to produce a pleasing and picturesque effect in the landscape.17

A style that was classical in detail and picturesque in form, the Italianate mode was extended by Notman into the design of the garden.
Although he consistently created forms that exemplified the Picturesque, as discussed by Downing, he often used Beautiful trees, such as oaks. Since an interest in horticulture was not confined to specimens used in just the Picturesque or just the Beautiful, Notman was often forced by the interests of his patrons to combine the even with the irregular. The mixing of deciduous trees and conifers in the screen between the kitchen garden and the pleasure grounds at Riverside Villa could be one example. In general, therefore, Notman created a personal style that combined elements of both the Beautiful and the Picturesque.

John Jay Smith was probably instrumental in securing Notman's first project as the designer of a country estate. A resident of Burlington, New Jersey, Smith could have introduced Notman to another citizen of that town, the Rt. Rev. George Washington Doane, who commissioned the architect to design a house and lay out the surrounding grounds. This house, Riverside Villa, was Notman's first domestic commission and probably the first use of the Italianate style in America. Although the date of construction is uncertain, since Doane occupied it by 1839, Notman probably designed the house in 1837-1838. Downing used the plans for both the house and grounds in his 1841 edition of *Landscape Gardening*, which also included a description by Notman of the grounds. The fact that Downing chose to include this plan proves that Notman was fully familiar with the requirements of designing a country estate. Since Notman designed the grounds before Downing published any of his numerous books on landscape gardening, the latter's influence cannot have been a factor here. In fact, in the first edition of his
Treatise Downing recommends Notman as one of the best practitioners of natural landscape gardening in America. In commenting on Notman's plan for the grounds at Riverside Villa, Downing said that while the grounds "promise a large amount of beauty and enjoyment, scarcely anything which can be supposed necessary for the convenience or wants of the family is lost sight of." Since so few examples of Notman's comments on landscape gardening exist, it is interesting to read his description of his work at Riverside Villa (Figure 18):

The house, a, stands quite near the bank of the [Delaware] river while one front commands fine water views, and the other looks into the lawn or pleasure grounds, b. On one side of the area is the kitchen garden, c, separated and concealed by thick evergreens and deciduous trees. At e, is a picturesque orchard, in which the fruit trees are planted in groups instead of straight lines, for the sake of effect. Directly under the windows of the drawingroom is the flower garden, f; and at g, is a seat. The walk around the lawn is also a carriage road, affording entrance and egress from the rear of the grounds, for garden purposes, as well as from the front of the house. At h, is situated the ice-house; d, hot-beds; j, bleaching green; i, gardener's house, etc. In the rear of the latter are the stables, which are not shown on the plan.

Every sentence of Notman's description of the grounds at Riverside illustrates an important aspect of landscape gardening. As stated, one of the three essential factors of garden design was the treatment of water. If a site was chosen near a lake or river, as at Riverside, the view determined the position of the house. If there had been no river nearby, Notman would probably have added a fountain, pool, or some other water device. On the side of the house opposite the river view, Notman
laid out a large area of open lawn, dotted with a few loosely grouped
trees, which he called the pleasure grounds. Technically, the pleasure
grounds could include any area that was not associated with a specific
domestic function, such as the kitchen garden or the hot-beds. Aesthetic
consideration required the separation of the pleasure grounds from the
work areas. For that reason, Notman used a thick hedge of evergreens to
screen the kitchen garden from the house and the approach. By planting
the orchard in a picturesque manner and by providing only a thin screen
of deciduous trees, Notman doubtless hoped to integrate the pleasure
grounds and this work area.

The house (Figure 19) also influenced the form and style of the
gardens. Just as this Italianate villa was able to include a Gothic
revival library, the grounds were treated with a degree of variety from
one section to another. Although the forms of the architecture were
classical in origin, the massing of an Italianate villa was irregular.
Therefore, Notman designed gardens for these villas in a combination of
styles, but their character was essentially Picturesque. The design of
the grounds provided distinct views on every side of the house and at
every window. Of course, the views toward the river and onto the large
pleasure grounds offered two variations, but Notman further arranged the
grounds so that the side windows afforded a view of a flower garden on
one side and a more thickly wooded area in the opposite direction. In
a similar manner, the trees planted directly around the house frame the
view of the villa. Thus, although the grounds were only six to eight
acres in extent—about an average size for a country residence—Notman created a varied and beautiful environment that also provided all the conveniences and work areas that a family required.

In his first book on landscape gardening, Downing published a second Notman house. Like Riverside, this commission resulted from Notman's work at Laurel Hill, having been designed for Nathan Dunn, one of the original managers of the cemetery company. Referred to as Dunn's semi-oriental cottage at Mount Holly, New Jersey, this house was basically an Italianate form to which questionably oriental detailing was added (Figure 20). Dunn chose this unusual style because of his dealings with the China trade and ownership of the "Chinese Museum" in Philadelphia. The 1844 edition of Landscape Gardening informed the reader that a "considerable extent of pleasure grounds, newly planted after the designs of Mr. Notman," surrounded the house. Unfortunately, Downing chose to use Dunn's cottage as an illustration for his short introduction that included notable examples of landscape gardening in America. Therefore, he employed only a general view of the house rather than a detailed plan of the grounds like the one included for Riverside villa. It should be noted, however, that the appendages of the cottage included a small greenhouse to the left in the illustration. There is no reason to suppose the semi-oriental architecture of the cottage drastically changed Notman's approach in the landscaping.

Although Notman's early commissions in New Jersey resulted from the reputation of his work at Laurel Hill, the publication of Downing's Landscape Gardening (1841) brought Notman's name to the attention of
anyone interested in gardening or in planning a country residence. By the 1840s, Notman became involved with the Stockton family of Princeton, New Jersey, three branches of which commissioned him to design Italianate houses and the adjoining grounds. Commodore Robert F. Stockton, the patriarch of the family, aided Frémont in the opening of California. The Commodore's two cousins, Thomas F. Potter and Judge Richard Stockton Field, commissioned Notman to design the houses and, in part, the grounds of their estates, Prospect and Fieldwood respectively. John Stockton, the Commodore's son, also chose Notman to design an Italianate villa and the surrounding grounds. The Commodore's employment of William Petry—a gardener trained at Chatsworth under Sir Joseph Paxton, a noted English gardener of the first half of the nineteenth century—illuminates the family's enthusiasm for horticulture and landscape gardening. These three houses, and, to a lesser extent their gardens, still exist today in a form not unlike that which Notman envisioned.

Notman's first landscape project in Princeton may have been a garden (Figure 21) for Thomas F. Potter in 1843. This small semi-circular garden was laid out behind an eighteenth-century house that Notman replaced in 1849 with an Italianate villa designed for Potter. Although this garden plan was definitely not drawn by Notman and its present location is unknown, it could be a later copy of a plan by Notman. The person who designed this small semi-circular garden was sympathetic to the relationship between the garden and the eighteenth-century house which it complimented. When Notman replaced the house with one of his finest Italianate villas in 1849, he preserved this

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geometric flower garden. There was no reason to destroy his earlier work, since a geometric garden was an acceptable embellishment for an Italianate villa; both were classical in derivation and closely associated in theory. On the other hand, a comparison of this anonymous plan with the flower garden designed by Notman at Riverside shows that Notman laid out a strongly picturesque garden in close proximity to an Italianate structure, a further proof of the hybrid nature of this architectural style. The form of the original garden at Prospect may have been dictated by Potter, who could have chosen to retain this garden when the original house was replaced. A photograph of Prospect (Figure 22), taken about 1870, shows a garden that exactly matches this anonymous plan. There are no records concerning any remodeling by Notman of the grounds when the later house, Prospect, was built.

Notman's second Princeton commission involved the plan for the grounds of Fieldwood, the home of Judge Richard Stockton Field. A plan (Figure 23), signed by Notman and dated October 19, 1846, is now in the collections of Princeton University Library. In 1842, Judge Field purchased 30 acres of land near Princeton which he planted for ten years before he erected the house designed by Notman in the early 1850s. This ten-year period allowed the many exotics that Field introduced to reach a degree of maturity before raising Notman's Italianate villa, called Fieldwood and later Woodlawn. In the 1859 edition of Downing's *Landscape Gardening*, a description of the grounds included:
... a Cedar of Lebanon... larger than any other in the country, ... a Juniperus squamata, unsurpassed in any collection, and Siberian arbovitae (as they are called) though probably the Thuja Warreana, and many other evergreens of matchless size and beauty.28

Assisted by his cousin, Commodore Stockton, Field in 1846 secured from California the incense cedar, then abundant in Yosemite Valley and the Sierra Nevadas.29 In addition to the cedar of Lebanon, for which the grounds of Fieldwood became famous, Field planted English yews, European larches, and many other exotics from the United States and abroad. Notman's assistance at Fieldwood was definitely not required because of a lack of horticultural knowledge on the part of his patron.

Notman's 1846 plan for the grounds at Fieldwood may simply have been used to determine the location of the major architectural structures on the grounds. Among the labeled buildings are the mansion house, greenhouse, grapery, gardener's cottage, stables, cottage, and lodge. Notman's later architectural additions include not only the mansion house, but also the lodge remodeled from an eighteenth-century farmhouse into a picturesque structure (Figure 24). Both buildings still stand today. Although the 1846 plan was signed "John Notman Archet Deltre," there is no other landscape plan in Notman's hand with which it can be compared for authenticity. The design for the pleasure grounds here represent a level of sophistication equal to Notman's work at Riverside, but there are fewer requirements placed on the gardener here since kitchen gardens, etc., are excluded. The grounds could be entered through five different gates although the entrances near the cottage and the gardener's house were obviously not intended to afford a proper
approach to the mansion. The main entrance was probably at the lodge, since it was closest to the town, and allowed the longest viewing of the grounds before reaching the house. The diamond-shaped plan can be visually divided into four quarters that allow the area around the mansion and below the lodge to be considered pleasure grounds. The other two quarters include natural woodlands and the more domestic area of the stables and possibly an orchard at the far left corner. Assuming the route from the lodge through the thickly wooded quarter to have been the main drive, Notman placed screens of trees to hide the grapery and greenhouse from the view of the approaching visitor. Immediately to the left of the mansion, Notman placed a series of flower beds in irregular forms, similar to his plan for Riverside. A comparison of the design of the mansion house in this plan and the house (Figure 25) actually built by Notman in the early 1850s shows that Notman was not specifically concerned with architectural considerations in this plan of the grounds.

In 1848, Notman began his final project in Princeton, the house and grounds for John Potter Stockton at 83 Stockton Street. The documentary source for Notman's involvement in the design of this estate is a diary kept by John's wife, Sarah Marks Stockton. On February 1, 1848, she noted that Commodore Stockton arrived with Notman, who brought plans for the house. The following day she recorded: "Arose early to Com [Commodore Stockton] -- Notman came, saw plans and spoke of house. Gave John Plan of McCall's house (Trenton). Liked very much-- Talked all day of building." The next morning, Notman and the Stocktons traveled to Trenton, New Jersey, to see the McCall house, designed by Notman.
around 1846.\textsuperscript{32} Plans for the Stockton house arrived on February 21, 1848, and the new house was ready for occupancy by June 5, 1849.\textsuperscript{33} On August 26, 1849, the Stocktons received Notman's plans for the grounds, but these no longer exist. Today, the Stockton house serves as the home for the president of Princeton University and is surrounded by lushly planted grounds, perhaps originally of Notman's design.

In addition to this limited number of landscape projects, all of Notman's drawings show a sympathy for, and interest in, the relationship between architecture and landscape gardening. One example (Figure 26) was probably intended for use in a publication such as the numerous volumes produced by Downing. In this illustration, Notman suggested the importance of landscaping by the inclusion of circular paths near the house and indication of a possible garden behind the Italianate structure. An even closer integration of landscape and architecture can be seen in the unidentified Notman plan for a house (Figure 27) with a conservatory comprising one of the main wings of the building. There is a strong similarity between this design and the illustration of the J. W. Perry House (Figure 28) in Brooklyn, New York, that appeared in the 1841 edition of Downing's \textit{Landscape Gardening}.\textsuperscript{34} At Fieldwood, Notman's plan included a greenhouse near the mansion. For Nathan Dunn, however, Notman designed a house that included a conservatory. A greenhouse was usually separate from the main house and the plants were kept in pots. A conservatory, however, was commonly connected to the house and the exotics were planted in beds that allowed them room to develop more fully.\textsuperscript{35} This anonymous design, perhaps the Perry house, also shows

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particular concern for the relationship of the garden and the house. Thus, for Notman, the designer was responsible for a total integration of the structure and its natural environment.

Neil Harris in *The Artist in American Society* touches on the underlying significance of many of the projects with which Notman was concerned as a landscape gardener:

Immensely popular campaigns for patriotic monuments, rural cemeteries and landscaped homes augmented the American commitment to manipulating the physical environment. The arguments evolved showed how art and beauty were merged with reform ideals—conservative or progressive—and transformed into an aesthetic ideology.36

Notman's plans for country residences were commissioned in response to a new awareness of the socially reforming values of nature. Harris suggests that rural cemeteries and patriotic monuments were a more public extension of this same spirit. Between 1848 and 1852, Notman was involved with both these last two forms of urban beautification. Another similar public manifestation of the physically and emotionally healing effect of nature was the mineral spring resort, to which Notman next turned.
JOHN NOTMAN IN VIRGINIA

I

Edyth, a beautiful retiring Boston maiden and the heroine of Collinson Burgwyn's *The Huguenot Lovers*, made a grand tour of the east coast with her cousin Maude. In Washington, Edyth fell hopelessly in love with the best of Southern manhood, Randolph Carter, Esq. Continuing to Richmond, she decided to visit the recently re-opened mineral spa, Huguenot Springs, hoping her new-found beau would follow her to this most romantic place:

> On the other side of the river stages awaited them, and they were soon on the way to the hotel. The climb was gradual, so that they did not notice their elevation until, coming upon the long boulevard, the unobstructed view was before them. The time-honored oaks, with their spreading branches, the rolling landscape, and the hills across the river formed a picture which was itself a dream. \(^1\)

Huguenot Springs, the water resort which provided the setting for this 1889 romance, was the first landscape commission for John Notman in Virginia.

From the 1820s onward, wealthy Virginians sought health and relaxation at mountain mineral springs. In order to escape the disease and heat of the summer months, they patronized such well-known resorts as White Sulphur, Warm Springs, or Sweet Springs. \(^2\) Seen as a substitute for alcohol as well as a remarkable cure for disease, taking the waters

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was such a popular national pastime that the *Water Cure Journal* and the American Hydropathic Institute were established by the 1840s.\(^3\) For the gentry of Richmond, one of the most popular resorts at mid-century was Huguenot Springs in Powhatan County. In the 1854 edition of *The Virginia Springs*, Dr. John J. Moorman generalized on the need for mineral resorts in a chapter devoted to Huguenot Springs:

> Pleasant public retreats near large towns are always a blessing to the community. During the hot summer months, the system debilitated by a city residence, often gives easy access to the dangerous diseases by which human life is perpetually assailed.... The benefit is still greater if to these ordinary advantages is added a mineral water which, as such waters usually are, is mildly medicinal in its effects.\(^4\)

The grounds of Huguenot Springs provided a unique and interesting episode in the career of John Notman as a landscape gardener.

Situated sixteen miles above Richmond at the Manakin Town Ferry on the James River, Huguenot Springs was the center of a grant originally made by the English crown to a group of French Protestants after the Repeal of the Edict of Nantes in 1685.\(^5\) In June, 1846, the 95-acre tract, formerly known as Howard's Spring, was purchased by Abraham S. Wooldridge, Archibald Wooldridge, and Wyndham Robertson--three Virginians--who immediately began to develop the property as a mineral spa.\(^6\) One year later, the owners announced in the *Richmond Enquirer* that the resort would be open for business on the first day of July 1847, "in a style well calculated for the comfortable accommodation of visitors."\(^7\)

> Among the advantages of the spa, "the beautiful location--the great extent of shady promenading grounds now under improvement" was
emphasized by the owners. This statement in the newspaper advertisement suggests an awareness of and interest in landscape design on the part of the proprietors and the patrons. During this first year of development at Huguenot Springs, John Notman had not been called from Philadelphia. His advice, however, was being sought. On August 16, 1847, Thomas T. Giles received a letter from Notman in response to one written by Giles on behalf of Major Woldridge and R. Royster of the Huguenot Springs Company:

As to the Springs, I could visit them this fall. The plan of proceeding is, for the Company to have prepared, if they have not one already, a Surveyor’s plot or map of the ground to be laid out, with position of the buildings at present on it marked. This ready I will come on and take a view of the place, noting on the map the general features. This may occupy there a couple of days or so. I return and make the plan to a large scale, with directions to staking it out; or will return with it and stake out walks drives etc., with proper places for planting. The gardener can carry out the work after this. He should be experienced in removing and planting trees and shrubs, with method and practice in carrying on work. I take care to explain thoroughly to him the plan and effect to be produced, and the most reasonable way of doing it. Such a person I might find here for the Company.

Regrettably, this letter is the only specific document directly related to Notman’s work at Huguenot Springs.

Although Notman was not certain in the letter as to whether he could return to lay out the grounds himself, he soon became involved with other projects in Richmond which made further visits possible. He also mentioned in the letter his fee of fifteen dollars a day, plus traveling expenses, but assured the Company that the project would not require many days of work. It is important to note here that landscape
gardening was both a positive and a negative process by which certain trees were planted and others were removed according to the inherent qualities of the site. In addition, Notman emphasized in the letter the absolute necessity of a qualified and experienced gardener to bring his plan to fruition.

Surprisingly little notice was taken of the work of Notman when R. W. Royster, President of the Huguenot Springs Company, submitted the following newspaper advertisement in June 1848: "Since last season, important improvements have been made--smooth and shady walks and level roads through the ample forest grounds attached to the springs, invite the romantic and the lover of rural exercise." Royster was more concerned with the health benefits of the three mineral springs and the gamut of recreational and social conveniences provided for the guests. Instead of being aware of Notman's landscape design, the Virginians appear to have been concerned rather with the romantic effects which he created.

Prior to the execution of Notman's plan, Huguenot Springs was mainly "the hotel situated in the center of about forty acres of forest land, on a high eminence, with the ground falling beautifully and regularly, to the right and left and rear." Gently curving walks connected the mineral springs to the hotel, but the landscape design was rather simple in comparison to the plan devised by Notman in 1847. Dr. John J. Moorman's 1854 description of the approach to the hotel details much of the work probably carried out in 1847-1848 according to Notman's plan:
On approaching the place from the north, along a broad and level road, the hotel emerges to view across a smooth green lawn, bounded on each side by a graveled avenue which is used as a carriage way. On both sides of this lawn, beyond the avenues are rows of cabins, placed a little irregularly and at varying distances, but which, partly seen and partly concealed among the scattered trees, contribute to a picturesque effect.  

Notman's plan, as seen through this description, was a systematic manipulation of nature to achieve the desired romantic setting.

Evidently, Notman's original plan for Huguenot Springs no longer exists, but a visit to the site suggests the general design intended for the spa. The approach that was described in 1854 is still intact, but only a few of the original cottages remain standing and the hotel has been replaced by a large house. Starting with an ordered feeling of symmetry in the oblong carriage drive (Figure 29), Notman used groups of trees to divide the space and direct the eye in a picturesque manner. By placing groups of oaks or elms, interspersed with sugar maples, he screened the lines of cottages (Figure 30) in order to provide an uninterrupted view of the hotel. The staggered cottages were blended into the design through a scaled use of smaller conifers—mainly pines and cypresses. These trees were all native to Virginia, but exotics might have been used in the Notman plan as well.

Moorman again provides the only description of the grounds lying between the hotel and the mineral springs, the area on the opposite side of the hotel from the carriage approach:
On the southern side (of the hotel) the ground is level for only fifty feet, after which it descends rapidly, though not abruptly, to an extensive valley, open in general, but interspersed with trees, and marked in various directions by intersecting roads.

Fortunately, Moorman also published a lithograph of the land side of the hotel (Figure 31). This view shows a large lawn, similar to the river approach to the hotel which is divided by three carriage drives. Some cabins also flanked this lawn (Figure 32) and the octagonal pavilion over one of the mineral springs can be seen at the far right. The two other springs were located further from the hotel. Since Notman had to plan paths and drives to connect these springs to the hotel, his plan was certainly more extensive than the area shown in the lithograph. Notman graded the bank on which the hotel and cottages are located in order to integrate this small plateau with the more gently rolling land beyond. It is interesting that Moorman chose to compare the commanding position of the hotel from the south with the placement of the Capitol in Richmond, a later Notman landscape project. Seemingly, however, Moorman was unaware that these two similar environments had been created by the same person.

Huguenot Springs was a late-comer to the mineral springs of Virginia. It followed the traditions of both a large hotel in the "springs style" of colonaded porches, established by the Warm Springs Hotel, and the flanking rows of cottages, originated by James Calwell at White Sulphur Springs. In general layout, Huguenot Springs copied the examples of White Sulphur Springs and Fauquier White Sulphur Springs in the form of the carriage approach and the positioning of the cottages in
relation to the hotel. Thus, Notman's plan was influenced as much by
tradition as by the physical setting. Although Notman was undoubtedly
able to draw from his experience in designing estates, the mineral spa
had different requirements and did not allow him much freedom of expres­
sion or of originality. He was simply called upon to embellish grounds
that had, to a great extent, been established by the positions of the
buildings and the springs.16

The life of Huguenot Springs as a watering spot was rather short.
On July 26, 1856, Abraham S. Wooldridge sold Huguenot Springs to William
B. Phillips, who established a coal mining operation there while main­
taining the resort as well.17 During the Civil War, the hotel and
cottages were turned into a convalescent hospital for wounded Confederate
soldiers.18 It is difficult to know whether the author of The Huguenot
Lovers, the romance of Edyth and Randolph, was serious in his remarks
about the Springs being re-opened in 1889 after a period of thirty years.
Since J. P. Morgan decided to invest in mineral springs at that time and
built the Hotel Virginia at the Hot Springs in 1893, it is extremely
likely that Huguenot Springs took part in this renewed interest in taking
the waters.19 In 1918 Huguenot Springs passed into private hands and has
since been used as a summer house.20

Notman's first commission in the Richmond area was a success in
itself and also helped to generate other important projects. If the
landscaping of a mineral spring represented a unique episode in his
career, the next commission dealt with problems of design with which
Notman was already familiar.
In the spring of 1847, Joshua J. Fry and William H. Maxall, two prominent citizens of Richmond, were visiting the city of Boston. Among the sites of interest they were encouraged to investigate was Mount Auburn, America’s first rural cemetery. Greatly impressed by the grandeur and solemnity of this necropolis, they returned to their native city determined to establish a comparable rural cemetery in Richmond. Although their idea was not enthusiastically greeted, they convinced fellow citizens William Mitchell, Jr., and Isaac Davenport, Sr., to join them in this venture.21

On June 3, 1847, these four men purchased 42 acres and three rods of land located in the town of Sidney, not far from the city limits of Richmond at that time.22 In August, William A. Pratt, who had formerly served as the architect and supervisor of Green Mount Cemetery (1838) in Baltimore, made a topographical study and drew up a plan for the cemetery gratis.23 Undoubtedly, the trustees were grateful for this assistance, but changes in the position of the gates and some dissatisfaction with Pratt’s plan stopped execution before much of the plan was carried out.24 The next plan was supplied by John Notman.

An extract of the August 26, 1847, letter written by Notman to Thomas T. Giles of the Huguenot Springs Company was given by Giles to Thomas H. Ellis, the chairman of the board of trustees of the new cemetery company. At a meeting of the cemetery company board on August 30, Ellis read the instructions which Notman had given to the Huguenot Springs Company (page 52) and a portion of this letter was recorded in the
cemetery company minutes. On learning from this letter that Notman would visit Richmond during the fall of 1847, the trustees planned to avail themselves of his visit "to engage him to prepare a more complete and precise plan than that which had been furnished by Mr. Pratt." The next entry after Notman's letter in the minutes of the cemetery company is an undated letter from Ellis to his fellow trustee, Isaac Davenport: "Respectfully referred to Mr. Davenport, with the request that he see Mr. Notman in Philadelphia, and contract with him, or not, as he may think best, in behalf of the cemetery company." It would appear from this letter that Davenport's trip to Philadelphia preceded Notman's visit to Richmond. On November 20, Ellis wrote to Notman that the cemetery company's engineer, a Mr. Pleasants, "has today reported to me the completion of his parallels in the plan of the Richmond cemetery." If the cemetery company followed the same procedures which Notman had outlined for the Huguenot Springs Company, the completion of these parallels would have been a necessary prerequisite to Notman's visit. In the same letter, Ellis indicated that the cemetery company wanted Notman to visit Richmond at his earliest convenience. Thus, unless he made two visits to Richmond during the fall of 1847, Notman came to view Huguenot Springs and the cemetery company land after November 20 and then returned to Philadelphia to prepare the plans.

In February, 1848, Notman submitted to the cemetery company his plan (Figure 33) which he described as "having been executed in the most skillful and satisfactory manner, after great pains taken to bring out all the beauties of which the site of the cemetery was capable." He
also submitted with the plan a report in which he explained in detail
his aesthetic and practical objectives in the design of Hollywood Ceme­
tery, a name which he proposed. These ideas were based upon the require­
ments of the Richmond site, as well as the experience he had gained from
his previous projects, Laurel Hill in Philadelphia and Spring Grove in
Cincinnati. 30

Since the aesthetic enrichment of the grounds of Hollywood would
have been the most difficult idea to interpret from the plan, Notman con­
centrated on this aspect in a large section of the accompanying report:

The whole of the valley or main run of water being
from north to south is unavailable for the purposes
of burial, but may be rendered highly ornamental to
the main design by judicious planting. I have, there­
fore, marked it as decorative ground; the run of
water I have marked as it may be carried, and has
been naturally, so as to form an island. This may
be planted in magnolias and other flowering shrubs
of damp and watery natures and growth, so as to be
a beautiful feature in the landscape, and indeed
the entire of the main valley may be used, as it
is entirely unavailable for burial purposes. In
some parts it is well grown in poplars, elms, &c.,
but is wanting in trees and bushes of lower growth.
In order to form groups of these, I have desired
the gardener employed (Mr. Graeme) to procure all
he could from the natural woods, the trees that are
indigenous, being invariably the best to thrive,
and be ornamental in the places desired. By this
means and the proper guidance of the water, the
main valley of Holly-wood may be of the most beauti­
ful description, varied and pleasing. 31

This discussion of Notman's plan for the main valley of the cemetery
reveals much of the manner in which a landscape gardener worked at this
period. Allowing that "beauty must be secondary to use," Notman concen­
trated the artistic development of the cemetery in that area where
burials were not possible. He chose to create an island in the river
that would be accentuated by planting flowering trees and shrubs. For the purposes of ornamental plantations, he suggested native trees that could be easily obtained and that would readily grow. Another consideration was the scale of the trees and shrubbery, a variety of heights and types being desired.

Throughout this report, Notman was at pains to explain his methods for creating a picturesque environment. He chose the location of the entrance because it was both convenient to the city and "the most desirable point to get the first glance of the beautiful variety of hill and valley." Composed of three valleys opening into a larger one, Hollywood was considered by Notman to be more naturally beautiful than any other cemetery he had ever seen. An interesting example of the Picturesque appeared in Notman's suggestions for the form of the five bridges in the cemetery: "These may be readily and simply constructed of the trunks of white oaks that have been cut down, laid on abutments of dry stone walling... built without mortar." He further proposed a rustic form for the railings that should be the branches of trees with the bark left on them. Logs and branches with their bark were often recommended to create a picturesque effect in rural architecture.

A comparison of Notman's plans for Laurel Hill and Hollywood cemeteries shows a development in the direction of greater facility in landscape gardening. Based on the plan of Kensal Green Cemetery, London, Laurel Hill embodied a combination of geometric forms imposed upon the landscape for monumentality and of planning based on the natural qualities of the site. Regrettably, since we do not have plans for
Spring Grove Cemetery in Cincinnati (1845), they cannot be used to illustrate his stylistic development. The plan for Hollywood, however, demonstrates Notman's ability to design in relation to the topography and the "genius of the place." In Richmond, Notman achieved a successful integration of the natural demands of the landscape with the aesthetic and practical purposes of the rural cemetery.

From a practical point of view, Notman emphasized in his report that the plan for the gatehouses involved simply the remodeling and moving of existing structures (Figures 34 and 35). "To the brick house I have added a room with bow windows on the line of the street, so as to command the approach to the gate from it by the porter or gate keeper, thus preventing delay of entrance." Notman also planned to remodel this house by adding a bell tower and a veranda, thus making it into an Italianate structure. To complete the entrance, he proposed moving a frame house on the property into place opposite the brick structure. Both of these buildings were positioned at the corner of the cemetery closest to the approach from Richmond.

In addition to Notman's work at Laurel Hill, he had also gained experience in cemetery design from his plan for Spring Grove Cemetery in Cincinnati, Ohio. On April 13, 1844, Robert Buchanan, Esq., of Cincinnati, called a meeting of fellow citizens at his house to discuss the establishment of a rural cemetery in that city. Since Buchanan had been greatly impressed by Laurel Hill, Notman was asked to draw up a plan for this necropolis which he submitted in 1845. Although his plan was accepted and partially executed, the Spring Grove Cemetery Company had
some objections to his design: "It may be useful to others engaged in
similar undertakings here to remark, that a large outlay might have been
saved, with a reduction of the roads and gravel walks to about one half
of the number proposed." In 1855, Spring Grove Cemetery was completely
redesigned, including those areas laid out according to Notman's plan,
by Adolph Strauch, a Prussian-born landscape gardener and follower of the
ideas of J. C. Loudon. Probably in reaction to this criticism of his
designs for Spring Grove Cemetery, Notman was careful to explain his
reasons for the large number of roads and paths in the plan for Holly-
wood. Among the advantages of many roads, he listed the commercial value
of corner lots as prime locations for monuments and large tombs. He also
pointed out that these roads would expose more of the grounds and attract
the casual visitor.

Thomas H. Ellis, president of the Hollywood Cemetery Company,
wrote to Superintendent David Graeme on July 11, 1848, ordering him to
"begin to lay off, cut and grade the principal road in the cemetery
commencing at the entrance as laid down in Mr. Notman's plan." Three
wheelbarrows were sent the next day. Work must have proceeded quickly,
because the first interment, that of Fred W. Enrich, took place the same
month. In August, Joseph J. Pleasants, who had drawn the parallels,
was engaged as the engineer for the company and was given the responsi-
bility for making Notman's plan a reality.

By May of the following year, the cemetery had been sufficiently
laid out that the board advertised the first sale of lots, and on
June 25, 1849, the cemetery was dedicated with appropriate ceremony:
Mine be the breezy hill that skirts the down,
Where a green grassy turf is all I crave,
With here and there a violet bestrown,
Fast by a brook, or fountains murmuring wave,
And many an evening sun shine sweetly on my grave. 42

Thus the poet summarized Richmond's devotion to the ideals of her new rural cemetery.

On Saturday, October 6, 1860, the Prince of Wales, later to become King Edward VII of England, arrived in Richmond on a train decorated with British and American flags. His agenda for the day was climaxed by a banquet at the Exchange Hotel and accommodation at "Ballard House." Sunday's schedule included hearing Dr. Minigerode preach at St. Paul's Church and afternoon visits to historic St. John's and Hollywood before departing. 43 Hollywood's selection for the Prince's itinerary emphasizes the importance of this cemetery for the city of Richmond and the central position of rural cemeteries for the nineteenth century in general. The Prince's visit symbolized the end of an era of generalized romantic associations for Hollywood Cemetery. Within a month of Prince George's departure, the election of 1860 set the stage for a tragedy which changed the importance of Hollywood Cemetery for Richmond (Figure 36). Before the outbreak of the Civil War, however, Notman would plan the beautification of the grounds that surrounded the Capitol of Virginia, later the Capitol of the Confederacy.

III

As a result of his successful projects at Huguenot Springs and Hollywood Cemetery, John Notman received his final and most important
landscape commission in Richmond, the grounds of Capitol Square. Notman was the logical choice for this commission, not only because of his well-established professional reputation, but also because of the numerous contacts he had made in Richmond. All three members of City Council's Committee on Capitol Square had been involved with previous Notman commissions: Thomas T. Giles had been instrumental in bringing Notman to Huguenot Springs; William H. Haxall was one of the two original founders of Hollywood Cemetery; and Gustavus A. Myers had given Notman his only strictly architectural commission in Richmond, Myers' own house which Notman designed in 1849. After Notman's plan was accepted, this committee of Giles, Haxall, and Myers was given the responsibility of supervising its execution.

When Notman received the commission for Capitol Square, he was presented with a project that embodied certain limitations. When the Capitol of Virginia was removed from Williamsburg to Richmond, the legislature determined the position and size of Capitol Square. Of course, the topography of the site strongly influenced Notman's proposals for the Square. In addition, the positions of the buildings on the Square and the monument to Washington that was then being erected restricted his possible landscape design. Finally, the previous landscape plan exerted the greatest influence on Notman's design. All of these preceding developments must be discussed in order to understand the situation Notman faced and the solution he proposed.

The development of Capitol Square represents an interesting and perhaps unique example of American public planning and landscaping before
1850. The sites of both Richmond and Petersburg were chosen by William Byrd II, who instructed his surveyor, William Mayo, to draw the original plan for Richmond in 1737. Byrd chose the confluence of the James River and Schokoe Creek as the location for this new city; the plateau that overlooked the valleys created by these two waterways was a natural position for the eventual Capitol.

In 1779, when the Capitol of the Commonwealth was removed from Williamsburg to Richmond, the legislature planned to purchase six squares where different public buildings would be located. Under the influence of Thomas Jefferson, the number of squares was cut in half with one square intended for each of the three branches of government. After Jefferson was sent to France to replace Benjamin Franklin as ambassador, the plan was again reduced to one square that would contain the buildings for the different branches of government. In 1798, Benjamin Henry Latrobe, who was in Richmond to supervise the construction of his penitentiary, drew up a plan of the city in order to show the position of a theater he proposed to build. This plan (Figure 37) shows that the basic shape of the square with which Notman would deal had already been established.

Following a pattern similar to the plan for public squares, the number of governmental buildings was reduced from six to one. In 1785, Thomas Jefferson supplied a model and plan for the Capitol that was based on the Maison Carrée, a Roman temple in Nîmes, France. Other buildings that effected the design of Notman's plan included the governor's mansion, designed by Alexander Parris in 1811, which was located in the
northeast corner of the Square. The Capitol served all three branches of government until 1816-1817 when the French architect, Maximillian Godefroy, designed a courthouse that was also located on the Square, southeast of the Capitol. In addition to these buildings, two monuments—a bell tower built in 1824 and the equestrian monument to General Washington commissioned in 1849—had to be taken into account by Notman in his plan.

The first major landscape plan for Capitol Square was authorized by the Virginia Assembly on February 28, 1816. In June, the governor was instructed to employ Maximillian Godefroy (fl. 1805-1827), who also designed the courthouse, to draw up a plan for the grounds that would not cost more than $300.00 to execute (Figure 38). Godefroy prepared plans for remodeling the Capitol building and the grounds. Among the elements of the Capitol that were to be removed were the "gothic" steps and the "paltry moldings in the moorish style" of the interior of the cupola. The replacements were to be modeled on the Pantheon at Rome which would be better suited to a building inspired by classical antiquity.

The change towards greater classicism was felt even more strongly in the plan for the grounds. First, the Capitol was set apart by a large terrace which was 50 feet from the building along the portico front and the two sides. Before Godefroy's plan was executed, Capitol Square was a steep incline with deep ravines on both sides of the Capitol. Godefroy graded the land to a gentle slope and surrounded the ravines with flights of steps and terraces:
The two lateral ravines will be made to assume a symmetric form by means of terraces which on each side of their cavities, will insensibly lead to two long avenues, shaded with spreading trees, and adorned with three marble basins, destined to receive the water afforded by the springs which the respective situations of the ravines present.

Godefroy designed crescent-shaped terraces above each ravine that were connected to the "avenues" that extended down the hill to the base of the Square. It was hoped that a sufficient supply of water would eventually be collected to enable three cascades in each of the avenues and another directly in front of the Capitol. These three garden areas were divided by two curving paths from the Capitol that met at the gate on Bank Street, the southern boundary of the Square. One other gate, on Capitol Street, provided a carriageway and courtyard north of the Capitol and connected to the governor's mansion. Thus, most of the Square was free of carriages and provided a tranquil, convenient, and safe place for a promenade:

Grove nods at grove, each ally has its brother,
And half the terrace just reflects the other.

Although Godefroy's plan was heavily criticized by some for its lack of "practicality... and economy," he was able to create order out of chaos and give the Capitol an environment that reflected the classical ideals of its origin.

For more than forty years, Godefroy's plan remained virtually unaltered. When the Virginia Assembly authorized on February 22, 1849, the erection of the long-debated monument to Washington, the landscaping of the Square had to be altered. Notman submitted a plan that expressed the ideas of natural landscape design within the limitations
imposed by previous developments in the Square. Although he erased much of the strict geometry of Godefroy's plan, Notman was forced to retain a degree of the symmetry that the 1816 plan had given to the Square.

Between February 22, 1849, when the monument of Washington was authorized, and January 15, 1851, when the Committee on Capitol Square was appointed by the Richmond City Council, Notman submitted his plan for the redevelopment of the Square (Figure 39). The Committee, composed of Giles, Haxall, and Myers, was responsible for the competition for the monument to the memory of George Washington. Since Hollywood Cemetery proposed that the monument be located on their grounds, Notman was possibly involved with the monument even before he began to work on Capitol Square. In 1849, Thomas Crawford (1813?-1857) won the competition with the design for an equestrian monument, and Robert Mills (1781-1855), who had also entered the competition, was placed in charge of the construction of the base and pedestals (Figure 40). Mills may also have submitted a plan for Capitol Square (Figure 41) which is now among his papers in the collections of the Library of Congress. The straight lines and simple terraces of this plan, however, indicate Mills' ignorance of contemporary landscape practices. In addition, Notman was also involved in the competition for the design of the Washington monument in Richmond. His drawing (Figure 42), labeled "Philad... Jan. 4th 1850," was obviously not completed in time for the competition. That Crawford was awarded $53,000.00 for his monument design while Notman only received $200.00 for his park plan indicates the comparative importance of landscape gardening in relation to sculpture in America at mid-century.
Thomas T. Giles, one of the members of the City Council Committee on Capitol Square, stated in a letter to General William H. Richardson:

The erection of this monument necessarily required some alterations in the form of the surface of the square on the western side of it and in the arrangement of the walks on that side. As this alteration had to be made, the Council of the city considered the propriety of improving, at the same time, the residue of the square and with this view employed the services of John Notman, Esq., a celebrated architect and landscape gardener of Philadelphia, who after a careful inspection and survey of the grounds, accompanied by a report explaining the same; for which the City Council paid to him, I believe, the sum of $200.63

Notman submitted two copies of the plan, one of which was presented to Governor Floyd and the other one held by the Council. Both the Governor and the Council approved the plan, and the work was begun in January, 1851, by the convicts of the State Penitentiary.

As stated, the position of the monument to Washington, to a great extent, determined the form of Notman's plan. Originally, only the western side of the Square was to be remodeled to accommodate the equestrian statue: "The grounds on that side formed into gentle natural undulations rising gradually to the base of the Capitol and to the monument, thus opening a view of the Square and the public buildings."64 The Committee soon realized, however, that the eastern side would also have to be redeveloped in a similar manner. A combination of the strict rectangular plan that reflected Godefroy's French training and Notman's conception of a romantic park in the English natural tradition would have been an awkward juxtaposition. Notman's plan retained Godefroy's basic sense of bisymmetry in the two long avenues descending to the basins of
water, but otherwise Notman's artistic vocabulary was quite different. The romantic effect was achieved primarily, in plan, by the winding paths that connected these two main promenades with the rest of the Square. An article in the Richmond Daily News emphasized that the most beautiful feature of the alterations would be the positioning of trees: "Instead of planting these in parallel rows, like an ordinary orchard, some attention will be paid to landscape gardening." Thus, Notman's creation of a natural park depended on both the design of the walks and the placement of the trees and shrubbery.

Across the "gentle natural undulations" of the grounds, Notman laid out drives and walks "leading every direction where they may be useful and agreeable." Godefroy's plan had only included two entrances to the Square. Notman's plan required many new entrances connected to the wandering paths that allowed one to ascend the hill to the Capitol or to the monument without the necessity of climbing steps. Samuel Mordecai, a Richmond historian, recorded that "some dozen steps are dispensed with; the straight lines of trees are gradually being thrown into disorder." These meandering paths divided the Square into irregular areas of lawn and permitted changing views of the monument and the public buildings.

Of equal importance were the considerations of proper plantations of trees and shrubbery:

After the walks are laid out it is proposed to move such trees as may obstruct favorite views and introduce our native forest trees in other places so as to form the plantings into agreeable groups with occasional standard trees presenting variety in the
foliage, concealing such disagreeable objects beyond
as might offend the sight, and displaying every
desireable view.\

According to another source, every tree on the Square was planted at the
time of Notman's alterations, "nor [was]... there a single primeval oak
on the grounds." It would appear, therefore, that Notman changed the
form of Capitol Square more through his scheme of planting than by the
design of gently curving walks.

Following common practices of landscape gardening, the Square
was varied by areas of lawn, groves of trees, open vistas, parterres,
and fountains. The walks that surrounded the perimeter of the Square
were planted first with native forest trees and surrounded by boxes for
protection. Four species of forest trees were chosen: maples, willow
oaks, tulip poplars, and ashes. These were chosen because they would
thrive best and were planted in straight rows along the perimeter
streets. Along Capitol Street, maples were planted; along Bank Street,
willow oaks; on Ninth Street, poplars; and Governor Street was planted
with ashes. It was hoped that private citizens would plant trees of
the same species in front of their residences or business offices facing
onto the Square, and thus forming avenues of the same trees.

In general, plantings throughout the Square were trees and
shrubbery indigenous to the area, replacing the exotics that had been
used under Godefroy's supervision. In addition to the species used along
the perimeter streets, elms, sycamores, walnuts, and hickories were also
introduced by Notman. These trees were placed along the walks and in
groups of varying sizes. Under the drip of these larger trees, flowering
shrubs--mainly dogwood and redbud, both native to Virginia--were planted to form borders for groups of trees and to vary the heights of plantings. Similarly, local evergreens such as the cedar, "the holly and the numerous varieties of the fir" were used to "supply evergreens in abundance," while the forests provided "ornamental trees suitable for the embellishment of the grounds." Notman chose native forest trees for all his landscape projects in Richmond. They were the least expensive to obtain, could be easily and quickly moved, and were almost guaranteed to thrive.

In addition to the plantings and the design for the walks, Notman was responsible for several other aspects of the landscape design. When the western part of the Square was graded to the level of Ninth Street, it was necessary to fill in the beautiful ravine and vale south of the monument location. In compensation, Notman placed a fountain at the base of the hill which also served to complement the position of the monument (Figure 43). The fountain basin and the monument were connected by a long avenue that provided an uninterrupted view of the equestrian statue of Washington. From this circular fountain basin a jet d'eau was intended to rise 30 feet into the air. To balance this fountain in the southwest corner, another was placed in the same position on the opposite side of the Square (Figure 44). Notman was responsible for the design of these fountains down to the detail of the iron railing. In addition, Notman's plan included parterres of flowers that were in place and in bloom by 1852. Lacking the original plan and report, at a certain point it becomes impossible to know what further elements of the Square were definitely envisioned by Notman and what additions might have been
made by the gardener or the Keeper of the Square. Judging from his statements in the letter to Thomas T. Giles concerning the project for Huguenot Springs (page ), Notman may have only supplied a very basic plan and allowed the gardener to develop it according to accepted practices.

By 1856, Samuel Mordecai recorded that the western side of the Square had been "modernized" following Notman's plan. A footnote in the 1860 edition of Mordecai's Richmond in By-Gone Days states that the eastern section had been remodeled, the equestrian statue of Washington having been unveiled finally on February 22, 1858. Although the western portion of the Square was finished well before 1856, many people, including Governor Johnson, were opposed to the changes on the eastern side, which may have not been completed until nearly 1860. A photograph (Figure 45) of the Capitol Square in April, 1865, after the Evacuation Fire of the Siege of Richmond, shows the Square soon after Notman's plan had been completed.

John Notman transformed Capitol Square from an "unmeaning rectangular block of earth" into a park that was the delight of the city. Children came to play and feed the squirrels and English sparrows, and even goats were allowed unrestricted liberty in the Square every Sunday. Lovers sought its quiet harbors at twilight to exchange those vows which are "easily made, but easier."

Certain it is that the Square is now admired of all beholders; and especially in the warmer months, when animate with little children feeding the
squirrels, the grass all as green as an emerald, it
is refreshing to the visitor as is 'the shadow of a
great rock in a weary land.'

The park that Notman created around the Capitol was so well loved that
it has remained virtually as he planned it to this day.

Through Huguenot Springs, Hollywood Cemetery, and Capitol Square,
John Notman fostered in Richmond an appreciation of the pleasures of a
"rural" setting near or within the urban environment. Although these
parks were neither unique nor unprecedented, Notman's work in Virginia
represents an important early example of American landscape planning and
urban design. Notman's plan for Capitol Square was the first executed
plan for a public park in a natural landscape style. Soon other men
would create much more elaborate schemes to allow the city dweller some
of the pleasure of the country.
CONCLUSION

John Notman's development as a landscape designer and his position in the history of American landscape architecture can be summarized in a brief review of his career. Although his work as a landscape designer was an integral part of his career as an architect, his landscape gardening can be seen as a separate entity with its own development. Notman was active as a landscape planner for only a decade and a half and probably executed fewer than twenty major projects. The commissions he completed, however, reflected clearly American interests at the same time that they demonstrated his increasing ability to manipulate the physical environment.

In one sense, the route of the development of landscape planning in America was from the necropolis to the metropolis, from cities for the dead to cities for the living. The "rural" cemetery that was a supreme object of civic pride for nineteenth-century America was also perhaps the most important aspect of Notman's landscape career. Beginning with his first Philadelphia commission, the plans for Laurel Hill (1836), through his designs for Spring Grove (1845) in Cincinnati and Hollywood (1848) in Richmond, Notman proved his talents as an organizer of a complex landscape project and as a designer in the English "natural" or "landscape" style. The changes from Laurel Hill to
Hollywood in his handling of a rural cemetery show a development from reliance on the work of his predecessors to an ability to respond to the "genius" of the site.

Notman's designs for Riverside Villa (1837-1838) in Burlington, New Jersey, represent the introduction to America of the Italianate style in architecture and an early example of a large estate professionally laid out in the English landscape style. A. J. Downing's inclusion of Notman's landscape plan for Riverside Villa in the first edition of *Landscape Gardening* (1841) and his printed recommendation of Notman to anyone interested in laying out a country residence demonstrate the respect of contemporaries for Notman's ability as a landscape gardener. Although Downing was more influential through his writing, Notman was more active as a practicing landscape gardener. In his designs for the grounds of country residences, Notman developed a successful landscape style, generally based on Loudon's theory of the Gardenesque.

The commissions that Notman received in Richmond, Virginia, served as a challenging culmination to his landscape career. Huguenot Springs (1847), the mineral spa, presented Notman with a project for what was essentially a large country estate, without many of the requirements of a private residence and with certain new demands for design on a large scale. His previous experience in cemetery design and the natural beauty of the site combined to make Hollywood Cemetery (1848) perhaps his most successful landscape commission. Capitol Square, however, was certainly his most important accomplishment in this area, if...
only because it represented a direct link to the subsequent development of America landscape architecture and city planning--the urban park.

Between 1852, when Notman executed his last landscape project, and his death in 1865, landscape architecture may be said to have emerged as a profession in America. In 1851, while work was progressing on Notman's plan for Capitol Square, A. J. Downing submitted to President Fillmore a plan for the redevelopment of the Public Grounds (now the Mall) in Washington as a public park. Although Downing did not live to see its completion, this project was an application on a larger scale of many of the same ideas that Notman was developing in Richmond. As early as 1844, William Cullen Bryant wrote an article for the New York Evening Post urging that additional park land be set aside in New York City. Before he died in 1852, Downing also advanced the development of a large metropolitan park for New York City. This he did directly through articles in The Horticulturalist and indirectly by bringing to America the English architect Calvert Vaux. In 1857, Vaux collaborated with Frederick Law Olmsted on the winning design for Central Park, usually considered the most important single event in the emergence of a distinctive American school of landscape architecture. Thus, during his lifetime, Notman saw the rise of a new profession that had its beginnings in designs like his own for Laurel Hill and reached its maturity in Vaux and Olmsted's plan for Central Park.
NOTES

JOHN NOTMAN AND THE ART OF LANDSCAPE GARDENING


3During Notman's lifetime, architecture and landscape gardening were not thought of as separate careers. The major English landscape gardeners of the previous century, such as Capability Brown, Humphry Repton, and J. C. Loudon, all felt the importance of being designers of the total environment. A. J. Downing, Notman's American contemporary, referred to himself as a rural architect. Thus, Notman's career as a landscape gardener should not be considered separate from his work as an architect.

4Dallett, "John Notman, Architect," p. 129. Michael Angelo Nicolson may have married John Notman's aunt, and Nicolson's son and Peter Notman, John's brother, married sisters.

5Ibid., p. 130. Documentation for Notman's return can be found in: R. G. 36, Bureau of Customs, Collector of Customs, Port of Philadelphia, April 1, 1834, National Archives, Washington, D. C. Notman was listed as a carpenter in the ship's passenger roster.

6Martha Pullen Anners was married briefly and unhappily to Robert M. Anners, a jeweler.


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Dallett, "John Notman, Architect," p. 139. The list of original members of the American Institute of Architects is now in the possession of Alan Burnham, Greenwich, Connecticut.


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24 Ibid., p. 292.


26 A History of Haverford College for the First Sixty Years of Its Existence (Philadelphia: Porter & Coates, 1892), p. 93. Even before the May, 1832, meeting, an orchard had been planted on the college grounds. Of the 495 trees originally planted, 146 of them died in the hard winter of 1835-1836. William Carvill, with the assistance of Isaac Collins, planted three parallel avenues of rare trees in front of the main building where "...handsome shrubbery and choice plants grew luxuriantly" (p. 141).


32 Downing, Treatise, p. 34.

33 Ibid.


NOTES

JOHN NOTMAN AT LAUREL HILL

1Ross R. P. Williamson, "Victorian Necropolis; the Cemeteries of London," The Architectural Review, October, 1942, p. 88. The other three Parisian suburban cemeteries were Montparnasse, Montmartre, and Vaugivard. Père-la-Chaise, named for the confessor of Louis XIV, was consecrated on May 21, 1804. See also: J. A. Walker, Gatherings from Grave Yards particularly those of London (London: Messrs. Longman & Co., 1839), pp. 87-88.

2James Steven Curl, The Victorian Celebration of Death (Newton Abbot, England: David & Charles, 1972), pp. 55-56. This early statement by Loudon was made in response to what appeared to be impending legislation before Commons. Loudon did not publish his classic work on cemeteries until 1843, just before his death. Curl's book is the best discussion of the rural cemetery movement in England. He briefly covers the American developments too.

3Ibid., p. 56.

4Ibid., p. 45.

5Ibid., p. 58. The land for Kensal Green was purchased in July, 1831, and the company secured an Act of Parliament for incorporation the following year.

6Ibid., p. 60.

7Ibid., p. 64. Griffith was the surveyor for the company, but the Minutes of the cemetery company state that his plans were accepted. To a great extent, Griffith probably drew up Paul's designs.

8Williamson, "Victorian Necropolis," pp. 87-88. Kensal Green was joined by Norwood (1838), and Abney Park, Nunhead, and Brompton (all 1840).

9Jacob Bigelow, A History of the Cemetery of Mount Auburn (Boston and Cambridge: James Munroe and Co., 1860), p. 2. Present at this meeting were John Lowell, Thomas W. Ward, John Tappan, Samuel P. Gardiner, and Nathan Hale. In 1829 the Massachusetts Horticultural Society was incorporated and took an active part in the formation of Mount Auburn.
The Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities owns the drawings from the architectural competition for the chapel at Mount Auburn. Included are designs by Bigelow, Ammi B. Young, and unidentified architects. The Society received the plans from the estate of Dr. William Sturgis Bigelow in 1927.


R. A. Smith, Guide to Laurel Hill, p. 72. "Mr. Dunn, from the Committee on Location, reported that with the advice of the gentlemen concerned, he had purchased Laurel Hill on the Schuylkill River for ($15,200.00) which he considered a suitable location for a Rural Cemetery..."


Hollywood Cemetery, Richmond, Virginia, which Notman designed in 1848, had more problems with complaints of water and air pollution. A letter by Jonathan A. Cunningham was published stating that there would be only one person per grave and that a distance of 700 feet to the James River and a substratum of granite would prevent water pollution (Valentine Museum, Vertical File: Cemeteries: Richmond, Virginia).

23 R. A. Smith, Philadelphia As It Is in 1852: Being a correct guide to all public buildings; literary, scientific, and benevolent institutions; and Places of Amusement (Philadelphia: Lindsay and Blakestone, 1852), p. 333.


25 Ibid.

26 Ibid., Expenditures, Feb. 1, 1836, to Feb. 1, 1837.

27 Poulson's American Daily Advertiser, Apr. 9, 1836.

28 Ibid., June 30, 1836.

29 Ibid., July 1, 1836. "...our paper yesterday respecting the entrance to Laurel Hill Cemetery, contained an inadvertence, which we the more regret because it may appear to artists to convey a wrong impression of the part which Mr. Walter had in making the drawing now exhibited at the Exchange." This statement shows that Walter was sensitive about appearing to be Notman's draughtsman.

30 "The Minutes of the Laurel Hill Cemetery Company," Nov. 14, 1836. At the meeting of June 13, 1836, Mr. Strickland declined membership in the Company, probably resulting from the rejection of his designs for the grounds and entrance gate.

31 Joseph Jackson in Early Philadelphia Architects and Engineers (Philadelphia, 1923) suggests that Notman introduced the brownstone material to Philadelphia with the entrance to Laurel Hill, or at least popularized this material in his work during the 1840s (pp. 214-219).

32 The United States Gazette, Mar. 12, 1836.


34 Smith, Guide to Laurel Hill, p. 15. A list of the trees and shrubs planted at Laurel Hill can be found on pages 115-125.

35 Ibid., p. 115. The managers hoped to make the grounds into a type of arboretum.


38 Monuments by John Notman at Laurel Hill include: 1) Edward William Robinson (Doric), 2) Joseph Saunders Lewis (Egyptian), 3) John A. Brown's daughters (Decorated Gothic), 4) Mr. & Mrs. Charles Graff.


41 Ibid. The figure of Tam O'Shanter, also cut by Thom, was purchased by the Franklin Institute. A bust portrait of Thom was also placed at Laurel Hill with the figures from Scott's novel. Thom used the money from the sale to purchase a stone quarry which he used to execute carved decoration for Trinity Church in New York City.

42 Ibid.


NOTES

NOTMAN AND COUNTRY RESIDENCES


3. Since Loudon's book on Repton did not appear until 1840, Notman would have known of Repton's work through earlier books published by Repton himself, such as: Observations on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening... (London, 1803); An Inquiry into the Changes of Taste in Landscape Gardening (London, 1806); Designs for the Pavilion at Brighton... (London, 1808); or Fragments on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening (London, 1816). Notman's personal library was sold for his wife on November 10, 1865, by Messrs. Thomas Sons of Philadelphia. The sale netted $827.13 for the widow, but the catalogue that was printed for the sale is no longer extant. "The Will of John Notman, dec'd, March 20, 1865," Office of the Register of Wills, County of Philadelphia, Book 55, pp. 18-20.

4. Andrew Jackson Downing, A Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening, adapted to North America; with a view to the Improvement of Country Residences. comprising historical notices and general principles of the art, directions for laying out grounds and arranging plantations, the description and cultivation of hardy trees, decorative accompaniments to the house and grounds, the formation of pieces of artificial water, flower gardens etc. with remarks on Rural Architecture, 5th ed. (New York: Thorne & Co., 1854), pp. 80-81. Although Notman had established a reputation as a landscape gardener before the publication of the first edition of this book in 1841, Downing offers the best contemporary statement on landscape design in America.

5. Ibid., p. 82.

6. Ibid.
8

10

Ibid., pp. 336-337.

Downing, A Treatise on ... Landscape Gardening... (New York: Wiley and Putnam, 1841), p. iv. In the late 1840s, Downing was called to the Philadelphia area to advise several gentlemen in the laying out of their country residences. Harry Ingersoll in 1847 and Joshua Francis Fisher in 1849 asked Downing's advice on landscaping and then turned to Notman for the design of their houses. The Diaries of Sydney George Fisher, 1843-1857, Society Collection, the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. See also: Francis James Dallett, "John Notman, Architect," Princeton University Library Chronicle (Spring, 1959), p. 134.


Downing, Treatise, 1854, pp. 40-41.


Downing, Treatise, 1854, p. 385.


Downing, Treatise, 1841, p. 347. "The most successful American architects in this branch of the art [rural architecture], with whom we are acquainted, are Alexander J. Davis, Esq., of New York, and John Notman, Esq., of Philadelphia.

Ibid., p. 74.

Ibid.

In addition to the country residences, Notman served as the architect for several important New Jersey projects during the 1840s and 1850s. Other Princeton commissions included: the construction of Ivy Hall, the building for a short-lived law school, in 1846; and a remodeling of Nassau Hall, Princeton University's main academic building, after a fire in 1855. Notman also designed the New Jersey State Capitol in 1845 and the New Jersey Lunatic Asylum in 1849, both in Trenton.


The name Fieldwood was changed by Field later to Woodlawn. When the estate was acquired by the Marquand family in 1877, it was renamed Guernsey Hall, by which it was known until the early 1950s when it was given by the Marquand family to the Borough of Princeton.

Henry Winthrop Sargent, A Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening, adapted to North America; with a view to the Improvement of Country Residences, comprising historical notices and general principles of the art, directions for laying out grounds and arranging plantations, the description and cultivation of hardy trees, decorative accompaniments of the house and grounds, the formation of pieces of artificial water, flower gardens, etc., with Remarks on Rural Architecture. By the late A. J. Downing, Esq. Sixth Edition, enlarged, revised, and newly illustrated. With a Supplement, containing some remarks about country places, and the best methods of making them; also, an account of the newer deciduous and evergreen plants, lately introduced into cultivation, both hardy and half-hardy (New York: A. O. Moore & Co., 1859), p. 556.


The Diary of Mrs. Sarah Marks Stockton, 1848-1854, Feb. 1, 1848, Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library.

Diary of Mrs. Stockton, Feb. 2, 1848.

In the 1840s, Notman was involved with two commissions for private residences in Trenton—"Ellarslie" (c. 1846), the summer home of Henry McCall, and "Glencairn" (1849), the residence of Isaac Pearson.
"Ellarslie" is still standing and, hopefully, will soon be restored as a city museum. "Glencairn" was torn down in the early twentieth century, but the plans and specification for the house are still in the possession of the family.

33 Diary of Mrs. Stockton, Aug. 26, 1849.

34 Downing, Treatise, 1841, p. 382.

35 Downing, Treatise, 1854, p. 449.

36 Neil Harris, The Artist in American Society, the Formative Years, 1790-1860 (New York: George Braziller, 1966), p. 188.
NOTES

JOHN NOTMAN IN VIRGINIA

1Collinson Pierrepont Edward Burgwyn, The Huguenot Lovers A Tale of the Old Dominion (Richmond: by the author, 1889), p. 157. Burgwyn also mentioned (p.155) that the resort was being re-opened after an eclipse of thirty years. No other evidence has been found to accept or reject this statement.

2John D. Davies, Phrenology--Fad and Science--A 19th Century American Crusade (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1955), pp. 112-113. The discovery of the moral agent of water was made in 1829 by the Silesian peasant, Vincent Priesnitz, whose ideas began to influence America in the 1840s. This cause was soon espoused by Orson Squire Fowler and Samuel R. Wells, the leaders of the phrenology movement in America.

3Perceval Reniers, "Taking the Waters in Style," Arts in Virginia, Winter, 1963, p. 15. This article summarizes the most important architectural developments of the Virginia springs.

4John J. Moorman, The Virginia Springs (Richmond: J. W. Randolph, 1856), p. 288. Dr. Moorman was the physician at the White Sulphur Springs, and his chapter on Huguenot Springs reflects his primary interest in the health value of the springs. His description, however, represents the most complete contemporary account of this spa.

5Ibid., p. 285.


7Richmond Enquirer, June 18, 1847.

8Ibid.

9"Records of the Hollywood Cemetery Company, Richmond, Virginia," Book I, 1847-1868, p. 18. This statement of John Notman's plans for Huguenot Springs was written into the Cemetery Company records, thus providing a very obvious link between his first two Richmond commissions. The original letter from Notman to Giles is no longer extant.
While working at Huguenot Springs, John Notman was contacted by the Hollywood Cemetery Company. He submitted the original plan for the cemetery, an early copy of which still hangs in the cemetery office, in February of 1848 and could have visited Huguenot Springs again at that time. Further commissions in Richmond included the landscaping of the Capitol Square and plans for the Gustavus A. Myers house. These projects kept Notman in touch with Richmond probably as late as 1852.

It is interesting to compare Notman's salary of $15 per day with that of A. J. Downing. More widely known as a landscape gardener, Downing was asking $20 per day for advice given to wealthy Philadelphians in 1849. Entry for November 5, 1849, The Diaries of Sydney George Fisher, 1843-1857, Society Collections, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Richmond Enquirer, June 13, 1848.

Ibid., June 18, 1847.


Ibid., p. 186.

When Moorman wrote this edition of The Virginia Springs in 1856, the Capitol in Richmond would have been recently landscaped. Since he never mentions Notman in the chapter on Huguenot Springs, it is doubtful that he knew of the connection with Capitol Square. He was, thus, reacting to the same achieved aesthetic.


Weaver, "Powhatan County's Forgotten Spa," p. 15.

Reniers, "Taking the Waters," p. 16.

Letter from Mrs. Ralph Catterall to Mr. Francis James Dallett, Jr., January 16, 1958, John Notman File, Valentine Museum, Richmond, Virginia. The hotel burned in the early twentieth century and was replaced by a frame house.

An Historical Sketch of Hollywood Cemetery from the 3d June, 1847, to 1st November, 1875 (Richmond: Baugham Brothers, Printers, 1875), pp. 5-6.

Ibid.

Ibid., p. 7. Green Mount Cemetery, Baltimore, was laid out by William A. Pratt in 1838, on the former estate of Robert Oliver. The Gothic revival gate and chapel were added during the following two
decades. Writers Program of the Works Project Administration, American
Guide Series, A Guide to the Old Line State (New York: Oxford Univer-
sity Press, 1940), p. 245.

24 "Records of the Hollywood Cemetery Company, Richmond,

25 On April 3, 1865, the Evacuation Fire of the Siege of Rich-
mond destroyed all the records of the Hollywood Cemetery Company. Two
years later, the board of trustees prevailed upon Colonel Thomas H.
Ellis, the president of the company, "to record in a suitable book from
the originals in his possession" the records of the company. An Histori-
cal Sketch, p. 35.

26 An Historical Sketch, p. 7.


28 Ibid., p. 19.

29 An Historical Sketch, p. 7. See Appendix I for the report
that accompanied Notman's plan for Hollywood Cemetery.

30 In 1845, Notman designed the grounds of Spring Grove Cemetery
in Cincinnati, Ohio. Since no documentary evidence nor plans survive and
since Notman's design was changed within a decade of being laid out,
there has been no attempt made to discuss Notman's involvement with
Spring Grove Cemetery.

31 An Historical Sketch, p. 24. Notman may have returned to
Richmond in February, 1848, to present this report and his plan, and to
lay out the grounds at Huguenot Springs.

32 Ibid., p. 19.

33 Ibid., p. 20.

34 Ibid., p. 23. Evidently, the bell tower which Notman planned
to add to the brick house was never constructed. The frame house was
definitely moved into place and can be seen on the right side of
Figure 35. The romantic Gothic revival entrance gate shown in this
drawing was added in 1877 and remodeled and enlarged to provide a chapel
in 1897-1898.

35 The Cemetery of Spring Grove. Historical Sketch (Cincinnati:
The Cincinnati Cemetery of Spring Grove. Report of 1857 (Cincinnati: C. F. Bradley & Co., Printers, 1857), pp. 6-7. Since this criticism of too many roads was not published until 1857, Notman's explanation of this feature of his plan for the Richmond cemetery may not have been a reaction to the criticism of the Cincinnati plan.

Spring Grove Cemetery: Its History and Improvements with Observations on Ancient and Modern Places of Sepulture (Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Company, 1869), p. 28. Adolph Strauch, born August 30, 1822, in Silesia, was educated in Germany, the Netherlands, and France. While working at the World's Fair of 1851, he met the Cincinnati merchant, Robert B. Bowler, whose interest eventually brought Strauch to Cincinnati. In 1855, Strauch drew a new plan for Spring Grove Cemetery which converted this necropolis into one of the most sophisticated examples of landscape gardening in America at the time. H. A. Ratterman, "Spring Grove Cemetery and Its Creator," a paper read before the Cincinnati Literary Club, March 4, 1905, typewritten manuscript, the Cincinnati Historical Society.

An Historical Sketch, p. 21.


W. Asbury Christian, Richmond--Her Past and Present (Richmond: L. H. Jenkins, 1912), p. 163.

An Historical Sketch, p. 27.


Gustavus A. Myers, an important leader of the local intelligentsia, was closely involved with three Notman projects in Richmond. Myers, a lawyer and bibliophile, hosted Thackeray and Dickens during their Richmond visits, and was one of the original investors in Hollywood Cemetery ("Statement" of January 10, 1850, by Thomas H. Ellis, Vertical File, Valentine Museum, Richmond, Virginia). The Italianate house that Notman designed for Myers in 1849 was located at 227 Governor Street, facing the Capitol Square on the east (Mary Wingfield Scott, Old Richmond Neighborhoods, p. 96). Myers was also President of the Richmond City Council while Notman's plan was being laid out (The Richmond Daily Times, Dec. 31, 1851).

46. William B. Henning, ed., The Statutes at Large... of Virginia, 13 vols., (Richmond: Samuel Pleasesants, 1809-1823), v. 10, p. 85. The different squares would be used for the Capitol (with two rooms each for the Senate and House of Delegates), the Halls of Justice, a jail, and an office building to be erected at a future date. The two remaining squares were undesignated.

47. Reps, Tidewater Towns, p. 273.


49. Mary Wingfield Scott, Houses of Old Richmond (New York: Bonanza Books, 1941), p. 96. The Virginia State Archives contain a receipt to Alexander Parris for the plan of the governor's mansion, a drawing of which is in the collection of the American Antiquarian Society. William McElm was paid $300.00 for supervising the construction of the mansion that was finished by January, 1814.

50. The Journal of the House of Delegates, Richmond, Virginia, February 28, 1816. The Capitol Square is 12 acres in area, running 650 feet along Capitol and Bank Streets, and 950 feet along Ninth and Governor Streets.


52. Virginia Argus, July 27, 1816.

53. The discussion of the Godefroy plan in the Virginia Argus, July 27, 1816, also proposed the erection of a statue to the memory of General Washington: "Some steps will adorn part of this the Capitol front, in the foreground of which a monument to the illustrious Washington may, at no distant day, be erected." The statue was not, in fact, erected until much later when Notman became involved with the Square.

54. Ibid.


57. Between the times that Godefroy and Notman worked on the Square, only minor changes or additions were made. In 1825, 64 trees were obtained from the Linnean Botanic Garden, Flushing, New York, at an expense of $798.45 and planted on the Square (Edward V. Valentine's
notes, February 22, 1825, Valentine Museum, Richmond, Virginia). In general, however, the city was not able to allocate much money to the maintenance of Capitol Square which, consequently, deteriorated.

Robert Mills also drew up a plan to redesign the Square when he was working on his competition drawing for the monument to Washington. Robert Mills letters, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

According to the Richmond Daily Times for July 24, 1851, the plans for "the altering and improving" of Capitol Square "had been previously procured by the Council" and a copy had been delivered to Governor Floyd. Thus, Notman drew the plans during 1849 or 1850, after the design for the monument had been established.

The Richmond Enquirer, June 9, 1849. This article mentions a letter from Thomas H. Ellis, President of the Hollywood Cemetery Company, to Governor Floyd offering Hollywood Hill in the cemetery as a possible and most appropriate location for the statue to the memory of Washington. An article in the same newspaper for June 29, 1849, states that the Hollywood site would be preferable because of "architectural considerations--questions as to the size, distance and effect." The Governor and City Council, however, unanimously decided upon locating the monument in Capitol Square.

Crawford was the last contestant of sixty to enter the competition. Robert Mills also submitted a design and attempted to undermine Crawford's design by building the pedestals too short, hoping to force his plan for a tower. He was dismissed when these changes in the monument were discovered. Wayne Craven, Sculpture in America (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1968), p. 130.

Notman's competition drawing (Figure 41) is remarkably similar to both the Washington Monument built by Mills in Baltimore (1815-1829) and Lord Melville's Monument in St. Andrew's Square, Edinburgh, Scotland, Notman's birthplace. Thomas Hosmer Shepherd, Modern Athens, Edinburgh in a Series of Views, or Edinburgh exhibiting the whole of the new buildings, modern improvements, Antiquities, and picturesque scenery of the Scottish Metropolis and Its Environs From Original Drawings (London: Jones & Co., 1829).

The Journal of the Senate of the Commonwealth of Virginia, 1852-1853 (Richmond: John Warrocks, 1852), Document 26, p. 12. The report that accompanied Notman's plan is unfortunately no longer among the State papers.

Richmond Daily Times, Dec. 31, 1851.

Ibid., July 26, 1851.

Ibid., Dec. 31, 1851.
96

67 Mordecai, Richmond in By-Gone Days, p. 76.

68 Richmond Daily Times, Dec. 31, 1851.


70 Richmond Daily Times, Dec. 31, 1851. The plantings of the perimeter streets were really the only way in which the plan for the Square incorporated the area around it. There is no indication as to whether this planting plan was ever carried out by those who lived around the Square.

71 Ibid., July 26, 1851.

72 Ibid. These fountains are still in place and functioning today although the jet d'eau do not approach more than a few feet in height.

73 Richmond Dispatch, Sept. 22, 1852.

74 Mordecai, Richmond in By-Gone Days, p. 76.

75 Richmond Dispatch, Feb. 24, 1853, recorded that Governor Johnson did not approve of the improvements that had been made on the eastern side of the Square during his absence from Richmond. His objections were based in economics, however, rather than aesthetics.

76 Scott and Stanard, The Capitol of Virginia, p. 7.
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**B. NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS**


*Richmond Dispatch* (Richmond, Virginia). September 22, 1851, and February 24, 1853.

*Richmond Daily Times* (Richmond, Virginia). July 24, 1851, and December 31, 1851.
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A P P E N D I X

R E P O R T

A C C O M P A N Y I N G  P L A N  O F  H O L L Y - W O O D  C E M E T E R Y ,
R I C H M O N D ,  V A .

To the Board of Directors of Holly-wood Cemetery, Richmond:

GENTLEMEN--In arranging the plan of the Cemetery I have adopted the position of the entrance, on the north-east corner, as most convenient to the city, and as very favorable to an extensive view of the grounds on entering; an impression of extent being highly desirable, where the surface comes to be so much subdivided as in a public cemetery.

That is also the most desirable point to get the first glance of the beautiful variety of hill and valley, which distinguishes Holly-Wood above any cemetery I have seen. No other one has, as this has, three or four valleys opening into a greater one--and that capable of great beauty by being properly planted and laid out.

But beauty must be secondary to use, if circumstances will not admit of their being united. This I have endeavored to do in laying out my plan. How far I have succeeded you will judge on comparing the plan with the grounds.

You may be surprised, taking the first view of the plan, at the number of roads on it; but the absolute necessity of the carriages getting near the lot at a funeral is so apparent in practice, as to make it imperative, that the roads should not be farther apart than the length or breadth, as it may happen, of five or six lots, with foot-paths between parallels of double lots, and occasional grass-path crossings.

On this rule the roads are laid out, at the same time leading them by such routes as best to display and view all the beauty of the grounds, and that little or no cutting or grading will be required; on this plan deep excavation will be necessary only at two places, one rising the hill by section A, going towards where the first entrance was proposed, the other on the road under or east of Harvie's lot. Some trimming of the bank will be needful to a good road on the east side of the principal run of water in the main valley. The roads are made as direct as the shape of the ground will admit to every part of the Cemetery, leaving no point unvisited favorable for views, or useful for lots, or prominent as a site for monuments. Making roads will not be expensive in Holly-Wood, for there is plenty of gravel; in many places, say two-thirds of the route of road, by removing the surface soil, the road is made. The roads necessarily wind and turn to avoid acclivities; this is
an advantage, as it produces many angles and corner lots, which are sought for, as you will find; they will be first bought up, being desirable for the display of a monument or tomb. The roads I have made twenty feet wide; it is unnecessary to cut them more than fourteen or fifteen feet wide, thus leaving a grass broader on each side, of two and a half or three feet, in the power and control of the Cemetery Company, for the purpose of planting or other decorative occupation, and prevents the appearance of the railings and enclosures of lots crowding on the drives.

Five bridges are necessary on the whole route. These may be readily and simply constructed of the trunks of the white oaks that have been cut down, laid on abutments of dry stone walling on each side of the runs or brooks, built without mortar; the granite on the ground might be easily quarried to serve the purpose; a simple rustic railing made of the branches of the trees cut down (with the bark on) placed on each side, will be in better keeping with the place and purpose than the most expensive railing planed and painted. Surface gutters will be necessary in some parts of the road to carry across surface water from the declivities,—they can be provided at the points where necessary, when the work of making the roads is in progress.

I have not named on the plan the roads or avenues, as it is common to do, after trees and plants, such as Elm Avenue, Magnolia Avenue and so on; this has been done at Mount Auburn, and I think in Greenwood and also Greenmount Cemeteries; but would suggest that they be called after the name of the first person who shall erect a handsome monument or family tomb, or to whom such shall be erected; for instance, if you have the tomb or monument of Chief Justice Marshall on a section of road, what more appropriate name than Marshall Avenue? And should the Washington monument of Virginia be erected on the circular lot, shown on the south-west end of the grounds, the road leading to it would be Washington or Monument Avenue. Again, the main road in the greater valley might be Valley Avenue, or East Avenue; that leading by Harvie's lot, might be Harvie's Avenue. I suggest these, as I wish the Holly-Wood Cemetery to be "sui generis," original in everything, as it has a distinctive and superior character of ground, which, with the splendid panoramic views from it of the city and river, makes it equal to the best in the country. My aim in the plan is to enhance these advantages and show the excellent taste which directed its choice and appropriation to this purpose. The naming of the roads, then, I will leave to your judgment, as it might seem presumption in me to do it on the permanent plan, without consulting your Board of Directors. Inserting the names is easily done on the map at any time as you may decide.

Objections may be made to the great number and length of roads. In reference to these, I would say, they combine the uses shown above, together with the perfect opening up on exposing the whole of the grounds to the casual visitor. The pleasure of a drive over a variety of surface with such charming views, will induce visitors. Of easy access, a drive through them will indeed be delightful. Many are interested by the novelty and beauty and become purchasers of lots—thus one class of the public are with you.
Again; the thinking part of the community, the grave and the sad, seeing the last resting-place of their friends and family so well cared for, so decorated by your efforts, will readily join you. Their best feelings are with you; they will feel that their own ashes are never to be disturbed in Holly-Wood,—that it is sacred forever.

The foot-paths are six feet wide and are generally parallel to the main lines of roads and avenues. These footpaths it is not requisite to cut out and prepare at this time; they may be done, as is rendered necessary by the lots being taken up; they are made for the easy access to the lots, as each lot should have one open front at least. On the declivities the paths are of course carried athwart, to render them easy to the pedestrian. Like the roads, the naming of them follows their purpose and occupation; but with these may be used the names of plants and trees, as it better suits a path to be so named than an avenue. What more pleasing in a cemetery, for instance, than the "Willow-path," or the "Cypress-path?" Many other names of trees assimilate as euphoniously with path. As these roads and paths may appear, and indeed prove to many, a labyrinth, they should be designated on direction boards, occasionally.

The sections of the grounds made by the roads and paths I have marked on the plan as A, B, C, and so on alphabetically. These embrace large parts of the grounds and are circumscribed by the roads—hence, when the nominal letter is found, it includes all the part within the broad road; this makes the sections of easy reference, as each section commences and ends its own numbers. The lots are marked on the plan in faint black lines, varying in size from two hundred feet to eight hundred feet,—thus suitable to all demands and requisitions as to space, and of varied surface. The smaller of the lots in size, from 200 to 350 feet; are invariably on level ground or nearly. The larger sizes are on the hill-sides, declivitous ground, as best suited for vaults or mausoleums, built with vertical, finished front instead of monument. Lots of this character are of great variety and position and aspect and suitable for every taste. The divisions of the lots on the plan are not arbitrary, nor need they be binding, as they are very faintly drawn,—that a line may not be a barrier to any purchaser having two lots, if so desired; and as the lots are sold the lines on this plan can be made stronger and deeper, thus marking the lots sold, showing at a glance which are to be sold and where choice may be made by intending purchasers; as the superintendent will mark off each lot as sold. I have not numbered the lots either, for the same reason, that two or three may be taken by one person. These two or three thus incorporated, should carry one number only, which will prevent confusion in the books and map. Again, it may be desired to divide some of the lots. I have spaced into three or four, lots for poorer persons, or those having small families; this is easily regulated on books of the Cemetery and on the record, if not numbered on the map, and there the division may be numbered as done without disturbing the chronicling of sales.

The fences being already completed, the next useful things are the buildings required. In these I have confined the design to the lodge, or superintendent's house at the gate, merely adding to and altering the brick house now near the proposed entrance, which is the
best, as being nearest the city, and may be rendered otherwise
unobjectionable by the proper cutting down of the street laid out on
the east side of the Cemetery, making an easy access, but which appears
dangerous at present, as the descent is quick and steep from the street
to the grounds of the Cemetery north of the south house (brick house).
After the grounds are entered the road will be easy if well done, and
to this plan. To the brick house, I have added a room with bow window
on the line of the street, so as to command the approach to the gate
from it by the porter or gate keeper, thus preventing delay of entrance.
I have also added a bell tower, of simple form; in the upper part, a
bell should be placed accessible by visitors to notice a desire of
entrance, and also of size sufficient to be tolled on funeral occasions.
The lower part of this tower would be a covered porch with a verandah to
the road front, and another at right angles to the entrance; the house
would have three rooms on each floor, thus making it a comfortable
residence for the superintendent of the Cemetery. Another house of
frame is on the property, which may be moved to the other side of the
entrance gate, easily making it a residence for the assistant sexton.
Beyond this, on the north, I have marked stables and sheds for the
vehicles and horses of lot-holders and visitors. This is a temporary
gateway till farther improvement is desirable. It is not, therefore,
such an entrance or gateway as I would design, had it to be made anew,
but the easiest and most economical use of the house not there.

Having gone over the useful and necessary work of the Cemetery,
I will now describe what may be called the artistic, which pertains to
the planting of trees and other ornamental work necessary by the Company.
The whole of the valley or main run of water being from north to south
is unavailable for the purposes of burial, but may be rendered highly
ornamental to the main design by judicious planting. I have, therefore,
marked it as decorative ground; the run of water I have marked as it may
be carried, and has been naturally, so as to form an island. This may
be planted in magnolias and other flowering shrubs of damp and watery
natures and growth, so as to be a beautiful feature in the landscape,
and indeed the whole of the main valley may be so used as it is entirely
unavailable for burial purposes. In some parts it is well grown in
poplars, elm, &c., but is wanting in trees and bushes of lower growth.
In order to form groups of these, I have desired the gardener employed
(Mr. Graeme,) to procure all he could from the natural woods, the trees
that are indigenous being invariably the best to thrive, and be orna­
mental in the place desired. By this means and the proper guidance of
the water, the main valley of Holly-Wood may be of the most beautiful
description, varied and pleasing. The east hill should be planted
densely, the plants may be of any kinds--better it should be overgrown
with the common pine than remain in its present state; anything growing
on that side would make the Cemetery seem more private, which is very
desirable, as all who feel must know--and indeed it may be laid down as
a rule, that all the exterior fences of a rural cemetery ought to be
enveloped in shade of trees or young plantings of trees, else why do we
fence our lots, or shut out the world otherwise, if not in grief--
therefore, all along the east and west fences should be thickly planted,

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occasionally spreading out wide as I have marked upon the plan on these two lines. Beyond these the planting of the grounds by the Cemetery Company is confined to the borders of principal roads and angles thereof, as it will be found that planting of ornamental trees and shrubs will be done extensively by lot-holders; still a row or rows of tall tapering evergreens should be planted by the Company on the leading thorough-fares after entering the gate, as it renders solemn the whole grounds afterwards seen. There are many points and angles formed by the roads that should be also planted by the Company, but all these "time will show." The only piece of water I have considered desirable, is at the debouch of the water into the culvert at the canal; this would be easily dammed by a retaining wall (some twenty or thirty feet from the canal as the line may be) built of sufficient height to dam the water to the desired breadth of pond--this is to be recommended also as a regulator to the emission of the waters of the main run, rendering it placid in its bed, which once cut to the desired size and shape, will be without the trouble and expense of alteration.

Thus, gentlemen, I have endeavored to explain my plan for Holly-Wood Cemetery; should my services be further desired, please inform me at your earliest decision that I may regulate my time so as to visit and stake out the roads, &c. The plan on yellow paper is the key to the principal plan. In trust, gentlemen, that the design may please, I have the honor to be

Your most obd't serv't,

JOHN NOTMAN.
Figure 1
Samuel Bell Waugh, portrait of John Notman.
Collection of Mrs. Davis Abbott, Williamsburg, Massachusetts.
Author's photograph.

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Figure 2
William Rush, plan of Franklin Square, Philadelphia. 1824.
From Pictures of Old Philadelphia.
Figure 3
From Kendall, Plans.

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Figure 4
Henry C. Dearborn, plan for Mount Auburn Cemetery, Boston. 1831.
From Reps, Urban America.
Figure 5
Figure 6
William Strickland, competition drawing, entrance gate plan, Laurel Hill Cemetery, Philadelphia. 1836.
Courtesy of the Library Company of Philadelphia.
Figure 7
Thomas U. Walter, competition drawing, entrance gate elevation, Laurel Hill Cemetery, Philadelphia. 1836.
Courtesy of the Library Company of Philadelphia.
Figure 8
Figure 9
William Strickland, competition drawing, grounds plan, Laurel Hill Cemetery, Philadelphia. 1836.
Courtesy of the Library Company of Philadelphia.
Figure 10
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John Notman, grounds plan, Laurel Hill Cemetery, Philadelphia. 1836.
Courtesy of the Library Company of Philadelphia.
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John Notman, entrance gate plan,
Laurel Hill Cemetery, Philadelphia. 1836.
Courtesy of the Library Company of Philadelphia.
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John Notman, entrance gate,
Laurel Hill Cemetery, Philadelphia. Author's photograph.
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John W. Griffith, entrance gate, Kensal Green Cemetery, London.
From Curl, Victorian Celebration of Death.
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John W. Griffith, Anglican chapel,
From Curl, Victorian Celebration of Death.
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John Notman, chapel, Laurel Hill Cemetery, Philadelphia. 1838.
Courtesy of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
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From Downing, Landscape Gardening.
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From Downing, Landscape Gardening.
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Photograph c. 1870, from Greiff, Princeton Architecture.
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John Notman (?), anonymous house.
Courtesy of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
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From Downing, Landscape Gardening.
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John Notman, grounds plan, Hollywood Cemetery, Richmond. 1848.
Lithograph c. 1852.

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1848. Lithograph c. 1852.
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Courtesy of the Hollywood Cemetery Company.
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Courtesy of the Library of Congress.
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Capitol Square, Richmond. 1865. From Scott, 
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