2015-2017

国際学会発表についての覚書

次ページ以下に掲載しているものは、2015年から 2017年までの間に、基盤研究B「イギリス近代文学にお ける植物表象の史的発展—資源と欲望をめぐって」に より国際発表した際の原稿である。これらの内容の一 部は、『ガーデン研究会ジャーナル』の論文に取り入れ られたものもあるが、それぞれが一つのまとまりのある 論考として読むことが出来るものであり、全体として本 研究の展開を示すものともなっている。

ロマン派の詩人たちの詩は古く日本では「星菫派」と 呼ばれた。しかし花の詩が多く書かれたのは、植物学 が大衆化した時代の空気が大いに影響していることを 忘れてはならない。ワーズワスと植物辞典については、 "Why Daffodils? Wordsworthian Flowers and the British Botanical Readership"に概略があるが、彼の花の 描写と植物書に見られる記述との相互関係につい ては、さらに考察を深めることが出来るだろう。

コールリッジの当時の植物学に対する科学的批 判については、これまで余り掘り下げられてはいな い。リンネ分類学が19世紀への変わり目に徐々に破 綻していく中での、生命の科学の一つとしてのコー ルリッジの植物への視線と、それに関連したエラズ マス・ダーウィンへの批判は"Coleridge, Sir Joseph Banks, and Discontent Botanists in the Romantic Age" に考察がある。

19世紀初頭の園芸家として重要なJ. C.ラウドン については、文学との関係で論じられることは非常 に少ない。彼の『園芸百科』は、増大するミドル・ クラス層によく利用されたものであるが、グラン ド・デザインとしての都市計画を持たず、拡大し続 けるロンドンを緑の都市とする改革者として、園芸 家や庭師を位置づける姿勢は、ロマン派の革命思想 とも共鳴するものがあるだろう。そうしたラウドン についての概略は、"J. C. Loudon, Green Spaces, and Social Improvement"にある。

都市に緑を囲い込むことは、アメリカでは都市と 荒野の間にある何ものかを現出させることになる ようである。"Death in the Garden: Landscape Gardening in Edgar Allan Poe's Tales"にある、ポーの短 編小説に繰り返し現れる緑の庭の生と死の様相は それと関係した一つである。ラウドンが晩年デザイ ンした庭園墓地のコンセプトが、海を越えた同時代 のアメリカでは囲い込まれた緑の中の人間の実存 をさえ問うものになるとすれば、トランスアトラン ティックなテーマの鉱脈がそこにあるとはいえな いだろうか。

本研究テーマが提示する更なる研究の方向性に は様々なものがある。植物表象は庭園や園芸だけで はなく、出版物や絵画、科学研究からもアプローチ しうるものである。このテーマの多様性については、 今後も検討しうる価値のあるものであろう。

国際学会と発表日の詳細は以下の通りである。 ○BARS 2015: Romantic Imprints, British Association for Romantic Studies 14th International Conference, Cardiff University, 16-19, July 2015 (Fri, 17th July) ○NASSR 2016: Romanticism and Its Discontents, The 24th Annual Conference of the North American Society for the Study of Romanticism, Berkeley, California August 11-14, 2016, (14th August)

○BARS 2017: Romantic Improvement, The 15th International Conference of the British Association for Romantic Studies, University of York, 27-30 July 2017 (Saturday 29th, July)

BARS2015

Why Daffodils? Wordsworthian Flowers and the British Botanical Readership Waka Ishikura

In 1800, while living in Dove Cottage, Dorothy Wordsworth walked out into mild May weather, writing in her journal-"I carried a basket for mosses, & gathered some wild plants-Oh! that we had a book of botany-all flowers now are gay & deliciously sweet." ¹ Less than one year later, "we," which included William, Dorothy, Coleridge, and Sara Hutchinson, became involved with botanical studies, consulting William Withering's An Arrangement of British Plants, which would eventually become the standard botanical text. Coleridge let Sara Hutchinson transcribe the flower names it contains, and he became interested in the particular name, "forget-me-not," which appeared in his "Keepsake," as "That blue and bright-eyed floweret of the brook/ Hope's gentle gem..."(ll.12-13).² Dorothy had sharpened her eyes for plants more and more, and in 1802 when visiting Ullswater, wrote in her journal as follows: "The hawthorns are black& green, the birches here & there greenish but there is yet more of purple to be seen on the Twigs (85)." It was the middle of April, and she saw "a few primroses by the road side, woodsorrel flowers, the

anemone, scentless violets, strawberries, & that starry yellow flower which Mrs C[larkson] calls pile wort"(85). She was so observant that she could remember seeing six different kinds of plants, mostly with flowers, just prior on the same day, having encountered the daffodils blossoming along the water.

Dorothy Wordsworth, her brother William, and their friend Coleridge were all readers of botanical books. While Pliny, John Ray, and contemporary naturalists such as William Bartram might be among their authors, their reading of botanical books such as Withering's shows their absorption in the botanical culture that had developed so much, especially since the middle of the eighteenth century.

It is interesting to examine the historical and cultural background of the figuration of the plant images in the Romantics, including Wordsworth's poems featuring native flowers. In 1629, John Parkinson's Paradisi in Sole Paradisus Terrestris (Park-in-Sun's Terrestrial Paradise) was published, and became the leading botany book in English. In the first half of the eighteenth century, Philip Miller, the chief gardener at Chelsea Physic Garden, following John Ray and other great naturalists, and accepting the French naturalist, Tournefort's nomenclature, compiled a comprehensive dictionary of botany and agriculture as the Gardener's Dictionary. The first edition of this book was published in 1732, and underwent revisions until 1768. By this time, Linnaean botany had gradually become dominant in Britain, and a kind of sea-change happened in the early 1770s: Joseph Banks, together

¹ Dorothy Wordsworth, *The Grasmere and Alfoxden Journals*, ed. Pamela Woof, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 2. Hereafter cited the pages in the text.

² Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Poetical Works, ed. Earnest Hartley Coleridge, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1912), pp.344-345.

with Carl Von Linnaeus's pupil Daniel Solander, returned to London from traveling around the globe on the ship, *Endeavour*. This was a turning point for botanical taste in Britain, from the traditional European naturalism to the British with Linnaean botany, which enhanced the appreciation of plants native to Britain or discovered by Brits.

Banks became a celebrity of the time, and had personal relationship with various Linnaean scholars, furthering the botanical interests of various social classes-William Curtis, a Hampshire born Quaker apothecary, in the early 1770s, became obsessed with a venture to publish a colored botanical book, which was to be titled, Flora Londinensis. This publication surprised Banks with its high quality. Curtis was meanwhile running a botanical garden in Lambeth, and then in Brompton, whose subscribers included not only Banks, but also part of the rising number of gentlemen practicing botany in London. During the same period, Erasmus Darwin, a provincial Lichfield physician, vehemently devoted to studies of Linnaean botany, was translating Linnaeus's Systema vegetabilium (A System of Vegetables) -eventually published in 1783-which was, as a result of Darwin's soliciting for inclusion of the name of the young president of the Royal Society, dedicated to Joseph Banks. It is well known that Darwin's botanical publications contributed to spreading ideas of Linnaean botany as an educational tool for women, and a new mode of literature 'under the banner of science.'

Joseph Banks elevated Kew Gardens to the status of botanical research centre; and in 1799, William Aiton, director of Kew Gardens, published Hortus Kewensis, a catalogue of the plants cultivated there. This is one of those scientifically specialized books. Unlike these specialized ones, Withering's Botanical Arrangement, first published in 1776, was intended for general readers, containing local names of flowers, together with Latin names according to Linnaean classification. Withering's such editorial policy for the book was to retain as many local plant names as possible as an alleviation of the general readers' sense of difficulty approaching numerous Latin or specialized names. Withering was a physician, a member of the Lunar Society, an abolitionist, a friend of many innovative people including Dr. Beddoes to whom Withering sent some prescriptions for those who suffer consumption on behalf of Dr. Beddoes's Pneumatic Institution.³

William Curtis's *Flora Londinensis*, whose publication began in 1775, also contains academic names as well as local names in parallel, whose pattern in describing plants was succeeded by Curtis's *Botanical Magazine*, which was first published in 1787 and sold well, featuring more exotic flowers, becoming the first successful magazine of botanical illustrations for general readers; William Sowerby and Sir Joseph Edward Smith's *English Botany* soon followed in 1790. Smith acquired all of the Linnaean herbarium from Carl Linnaeus the younger, and then founded the Linnaean Society in 1788. Although the French Revolution in 1789

³ Withering's letter, written in 1793, to Dr. Beddoes and his prescriptions for lung diseases are in William Withering, *The Miscellaneous Tracts of the Late William Withering, M.D. F.R.S.*, vol.1 (London, 1822), 345-349.

broke up the botanical communication between Britain and the Continent, British botanical enthusiasm did not cease, and native plants and domestic names were all the more appreciated. In the 1790s, given less expensive botanical books or magazines



Ranunculus auricomus. Wood Crowfoot. *Flora Londinensis*, vol.1. plate41.

of botany, together with a combination of the still unweaving authority of Linnaean classification and local names for flowers, the botanical readership in Britain was widened, allowing Withering's *Botanical Arrangement* to be revised, and again expanded in 1796, so as to reach the poets who published the second edition of the *Lyrical Ballads*.

By the time Wordsworth began writing poems, thus botanical information had permeated everything. Keen observers of nature like him would not have been completely self-made, but rather made by training in consultation with the literal indexes of plants, animals, or other natural objects, given that such books lead to further knowledge of nature. His poems featuring native flowers can be read, it seems, as having been made by a conversation, though literary, between what he saw and what he read. Although, in this case, identifying specific literary sources is by no means easy. It seems, however at least evident that the botanical fever boosted by the rising middle class and bourgeois people was not alien to the Lake poets, but rather close to their circle of friends through, for example, the Clarksons, ⁴ or the people in industrial cities like Bristol and Birmingham. Moreover, Wordsworth's familiarity with contemporary botany presumably supported his intensity of description of the natural scene, especially of the vegetation, organization of plants, and visual impression.

So, how about the flowers Wordsworth described in his poems? First, daisies. Curtis writes about the daisy as "a plant common to Europe, [which] in its wild state delights in open situations", and analyses Chaucer's lines citing the flower as "she of the day."⁵ Wordsworth's lines in two poems both entitled "To the Daisy," partially echo traditional discourses concerning daisies. He writes, calling out a daisy, "Bright Flower! whose home is everywhere,/ Bold in maternal Nature's care,

⁴ Thomas Clarkson (1764-1828) and his wife, Catherine (1772-1856).

⁵ "Daisy," Botanical Magazine, vol4. 1794.

(ll.1-2)⁶ and "Thou art indeed by many a claim/ The Poet's darling.(ll.31-32)" Wordsworth's description of daisy seems not to evolve out of its vegetation, but rather to derive from a symbolism going back to Chaucer's lines.

Wordsworth also refers to primroses many times. The primrose has usually been described in botanical books as an embodiment of the coming spring; and as I mentioned before, Dorothy Wordsworth noticed primroses by the lane, or elsewhere, as did William. Yet introducing primroses in a poem seems to have already been a poetic tradition, having been matured by the end of the 18th century, as in *English Botany* in 1790, which describes this flower as follows: "The Primrose pale and Violet blue,' being the chief ornaments of a season which every pastoral poet delights to celebrate, have been more frequently honoured in verse than most other wild flower."7 Wordsworth seems to have been stepping forward, away from this genteel taste for flowers, when he wrote, "Through primrose tufts, in that green bower...(1.9)" in "Lines Written in Early Spring."8 Here he is observant to the nature of primroses, which William Curtis describes as follows: "the Primrose loves shelter, and the light umbrage of deciduous trees, through the leaflets sprays of which it may enjoy the vernal

sun."⁹ It follows that in such a foliage making a shade the primrose likes, "The Periwinkle trailed its wreaths(1.10)." As his poem, "The Primrose of the Rock" shows, Wordsworth also noticed that the primrose's stems are directly connected to the root, of which Curtis writes in details: "The most striking character of the Primrose consists in its mode of flowering, each blossom growing on a single peduncle, which springs from the root."¹⁰ This character is described in his later poem, as "The flowers, still faithful to the stems, their fellowship renew; The stems are faithful to the root,/ That worketh out of view"("The Primrose of the Rock," composed in 1831, Il, 13-16).

The ranunculus genera—mostly yellow flowers—include buttercups, crowfoot, pilewort, and William and Dorothy Wordsworth noticed them elsewhere, from the early spring to summer. For example, on May 14th 1800, Dorothy wrote in her journal: "The wood rich in flowers. A beautiful yellow, palish yellow flower, that looked thick round & double, & smelt very sweet—I suppose it was a ranunculus— Crowfoot"(1). Withering refers to "The beautiful shining yellow blossoms of Crowfoot,"¹¹ which might specifically be "Wood Crowfoot," or Sweet Crowfoot, which grows mostly in woods and blossoms in April and May.

⁶ William Wordsworth, *Poetical Works*, ed. Earnest de Selincourt (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1936), 380. Hereafter cited as *Poetical Works*.

⁷ English Borany: Or, Coloured Figures of British Plants, vol.1 (London, 1790), entry 4.

⁸ Poetical Works, 377.

⁹ William Curtis, *Flora Londinensis*, vol.6, 16.

¹⁰ "Primura Acuaulis. Primrose," in William Curtis, *Flora Londinensis*, vol.6.

¹¹ William Withering, *A Botanical Arrangement of All the Vegetables Naturally Growing in Great Britain*, vol, 1, (London, 1776), xxxviii.

Dorothy wrote about another "Ranunculus" species in her journal in April: "that starry yellow flower which Mrs C,(namely Mrs Clarkson) calls pile wort." Pilewort is actually another name for celandine, which Wordsworth liked. In 1799, English Botany, described pilewort as follows: "In the Spring of the year almost every grove, thicket, and dry hedge-bottom is enameled with the glossy golden flowers of the Pilewort, the petals of which appear actually varnished."¹² The beauty of the flower was thus well recognized, yet pilewort had long been known for its medicinal use. Nicholas Culpepper, in is Family Physician, first published as the English Physitian in 1652, and repeatedly revised until the nineteenth century, one of whose copies Wordsworth used, claims as follows: "I wonder what ailed the ancients to give this name of Celandine, which resembles it neither in nature or form; it required the name of Pilewort from its virtues."¹³ Culpepper continues to explain the medical effect of the plant: "you dig up the root of it, you shall perceive the perfect image of which they commonly call the piles, (44)" or haemorrhoids, so that this plant must be effective at healing the disease. This is of course a superstition, and such a medical effect had already been denied by Curtis. However, "Pile" wort as a name for a flower remains as a problem-the actual name of the flower, for poetry, must not be such, but be something like celandine, whose etymological origin might go back to a Greek word meaning, "swallow," a bird

¹² James Edward Smith (ed.), *English Botany*, vol.9 (London, 1799), 584

¹³ Culpepper's Complete Herbal (London, 1816), 44.

that arrives in spring. Wordsworth then wrote that let these spring flowers should be praised, yet "There is a flower that shall be mine,/ 'Tis the little Celandine." He greatly favors this flower—or the name of the flower.

Pansies, lillies, kingcups, daisies, Let them live upon their praises; Long as there's a sun that sets, Primroses will have their glory, Long as there are violets, They will have a place in story: There is a flower that shall be mine, 'T is the little Celandine.

Eyes of some men travel far For the finding of a star; Up and down the heavens they go, Men that keep a mighty rout ! I'm as great as they, I trow, Since the day I found thee out, Little Flower ! — I'll make a stir, Like a sage astronomer. ("To the Small Celandine," ll.1-16)¹⁴

Celandine's vegetation was observed well in his poems, such as the speed at which it grows, and its resilient nature. However, these poems seem not to have a central focus. He seems to be trying to make up a story, yet just depicting the moment of discovery, revealing of a precious, spiritual value hidden in the everyday life, such as in "Pleasures newly found are sweet. /When they lie about our feet("To

¹⁴ Poetical Works, 126.

the same flower," ll. 1-2)."¹⁵ It follows that a kind of personification of celandine comes to the surface, suggesting an unknown existence that shall be commended, or a circle of friends with shared same spirits, putting aside a worldly acclaim or ambition:

Thou are not beyond the moon,

But a thing "beneath our shoon:"

Let the bold Discoverer thrid

In his bark the polar sea;

Rear who will a pyramid;

Praise it is enough for me,

If there be but three or four

Who love my little Flower.

("To the Same Flower," 11.49-56)¹⁶

Everyone knows the poem, "I wondered lonely as a cloud." The poem seems to make daffodils a must-have item for a woodland garden nowadays, although Wordsworth himself did not call the flower his favorite. In the seventeenth century, John Parkinson in his Paradisi in Sole distinguished daffodils into two kinds: true daffodils and false ones, and call the latter as bastards, or pseud-narcissus. He gave superiority to the true daffodils with short corollas, mostly native to warmer regions, over the other native to the British Isles. However, by the end of eighteenth century, pseud-narcissus was no longer called "bastard," but "one of the most beautiful of the native plants of this kingdom."¹⁷ Withering recorded the vegetation of daffodils as in "Woods, meadows, and sides of hedges," and

sometimes covering "almost a whole field."¹⁸ Observation of this plant's vegetation was far more accurate in Dorothy's journal than in Wordsworth's famous poem, and this suggests that when Wordsworth began writing "I wondered lonely as a cloud," he stopped botanizing; while his observations of celandine were turned directly into poetry, while in writing daffodils, he grasped his whole vision through the memory and the words Dorothy left for him, and daffodils, —or pseudo-narcissus—, remain only as a vision, or idea of dancing in the breeze. Consider the following famous passage of Dorothy:

When we were in the woods beyond Gowbarrow park we saw a few daffodils close to the water side, we fancied that the lake had floated the seeds ashore & that the little colony had so sprung up—But as we went along there were more & yet more & at last under the boughs of the trees, we saw that there was a long belt of them along the shore, about the breadth of a country turnpike road. I never saw daffodils so beautiful they grew among the mossy stones about & about them, some rested their heads upon these stones as on a pillow for weariness & the rest tossed & reeled & danced & seemed as if they verily laughed with the wind that blew upon them over the Lake, they looked so gay ever glancing ever changing. (The Grasmere and Alfoxden Journals, 85: Underline mine.)

¹⁵ Poetical Works, 127.

¹⁶ Poetical Works, 127.

¹⁷ English Botany (London, 1790), entry 17.

¹⁸ Withering, *A Botanical Arrangement*, vol, 2, (London, 1776), 178.

For William and Dorothy, it was their first time seeing such a large colony of the flowers, but this kind of vegetation is not unique, and was observed in many places, as Withering reported. Interesting is the fact that Dorothy correctly grasped the nature of pseudo-narcissus, which was sometimes called the "dwarf" kind of daffodils. Psude-narcissus's stems are not so strong, so that the flowers tend to easily hang down,—needing a stone willow in this case—, and each stem quickly shakes and rolling by the wind, as Dorothy's verbs suggest—toss, reel, and dance. Moreover, the neck of the flower, since the stem is not so strong, is also susceptible to the wind, waving the flower itself up and down, so that if it raises its face to the sky, it looks like it is laughing.

This is the first version of Wordsworth's "I wandered lonely as a Cloud." In this poem, there are no suggestions of the flower's dwarf-ness, or weakness; instead, the word "dance" is repeated four times, while phrases such as "they outdid" and "they flash upon" impart a slight masculine image to the flower, and the adjective "laughing," which Dorothy used to express the flower neck's being blown up with the wind, turns into the happy mood of the yellow-or golden-flower colony. Wordsworth enhanced the image of daffodils native to the British Isles so as to engage them with the autonomous world of poetry, detached from the earthly spheres of digging up and planting, collecting seeds or fertilizers, or distancing himself from the constant botanical efforts of arranging different species, exercising a seemingly endless expansion of plant classification.

I wandered lonely as a Cloud That floats on high o'er Vales and Hills, When all at once I saw a crowd A host of <u>dancing</u> Daffodils; Along the Lake, beneath the trees, Ten thousand <u>dancing</u> in the breeze.

The waves beside them <u>danced</u>, but they Outdid the sparkling waves in glee: — A poet could not but be gay In such a laughing company: I gazed — and gazed — but little thought What wealth the show to me had brought:

For oft when on my couch I lie In vacant or in pensive mood, They flash upon that inward eye Which is the bliss of solitude, And then my heart with pleasure fills, And <u>dances</u> with the Daffodils. (1804 version: Underline mine.)¹⁹

No matter whether Wordsworth was fond of daffodils or not, his poems featuring flowers became famous, so that everyone knew his poem on daffodils. Almost a hundred years after Wordsworth wrote the poem, Alan Alexander Milne wrote in his 1920 book as follows: "Wordsworth wrote a poem about daffodils. He wrote poems about most flowers. If a plant would be unique it must be one which had never inspired him to song."²⁰ Yes, or no. The flowers he wrote about were ones that are hardy and

¹⁹ Poetical Works, 149.

²⁰ Alan Alexander Milne, *Not That It Matters* (1920; Midwest Journal Press, 2016), 53.

mostly perennial, which had been appreciated in natural and less-formal garden-making, or the practice of gardening a wild-garden, which flourished in the late nineteenth century. Moreover, probably by the time of Milne, daffodils, daisies, roses, or whatever flower was popular in horticulture, had been hybridised in order to make them more gorgeous, easy to grow, varied in colour and so on. When we see daffodils, planted everywhere in parks and woodlands, it seems that these flowers are rather masculine, tall and strong, showy rather than modest, not, as John Parkinson called them, "bastards" or "dwarf." What Wordsworth wrote-or probably idealized-was realized in a later age in the field of horticulture. Let there be daffodils, so they are. Wordsworth turned what he saw or thought into the cultural assets of flowery images for decades to come; then, it seems, those cultural assets were turned into actual plants, enhanced ones-as a leading voice of a capitalist venture, Wordsworth's is indeed successful.



Pilewort, English Botany, 1799,584

NASSR 2016

Coleridge, Sir Joseph Banks, and Discontent Botanists in the Romantic Age Waka ISHIKURA

Botanical studies date back to ancient times, yet it was not until the 17th century that botany became a branch of natural sciences equipped with certain taxonomical systems of classification. Scientific efforts had been made in the field of botany; by the early 18th century, categorical concepts of plants, such as genera and species, had been considerably refined, and the English naturalist John Ray and French botanist Joseph Pitton de Tournefort both contributed to cultivating scientific views of plants. They offered new sets of taxonomic classification that supported botanical observations and discourses, and without which plants could not be considered in any relational order. Although John Ray's writings of natural history were outstanding as early systematic accomplishments, Tournefort's botanical classification in his *Elements of Botany* (Éléments de botanique, 1694), became popular as it was easy to understand and useful in practice; it mostly based on a few floral characters; it was therefore considered an artificial classification, compared with natural classification that considers almost all of characteristics of plants. Until the middle of 18th century Tounefort's classification was well accepted, leading to the establishment of a modern taxonomical system. Even in England, there were a number of botanists, such as John Martin in London, who were enthusiastic about Tournefort's writings. His travel to the Levant, which contains

his observation of plants, and had been published posthumously in 1717, was immediately translated and published in England in the following year, maintaining its popularity until the middle of the 18th century.

When Joseph Banks was a young amateur naturalist, and began developing his interest in botany in the 1750s, most English botanists, like Philip Miller in the Chelsea Physic Garden, followed Tournefort or others dating back to the previous centuries. A Swedish botanist, Carl Linnaeus had already introduced his new classification system, in his Genera Plantarum in 1737, then Species Plantarum in 1753, and in other books, published in 1737, and the 5th edition (1754) served as a complementary volume to Species Plantarum, which comprised 24 classes of plants, and classified plants according to the arrangement of the stamens and the pistils. At this time, Linnaean classification based on sexual characters began to be accepted, though not universally advocated by English naturalists. In the 1760s, Banks met Daniel Solander, one of the disciples of Linnaeus, at the newly founded British Museum; they formed a friendship, and Banks studied Linnaean botany through Solander. In 1769, Banks embarked on a marine expedition on Captain Cook's Endeavour, with Solander and other naturalists and painters, and when the ship came back to England in 1771, Banks became a celebrity; he regularly talked to George III, and was placed in charge of royal gardens of Kew, where he and Solander established botanic gardens based on Linnaean taxonomy. He was elected president of the Royal Society in 1778. By the end of the 1770s,

everything seemed to be changing. Linnaeus's sexual system of classification now became a central scheme for botanical studies and related enterprises. From that time on botanical publications appeared one after another, almost all of which were based on Linnaean taxonomy, including William Withering's *Botanical Arrangement of All the Vegetables Naturally Growing in Great Britain*, first published in 1776. This publication became a household book of botany, featuring the domestic names of plants along with their Latin names, and Wordsworth and Coleridge favoured this botanical dictionary very much.

Although there were botanists who preferred natural classification to that of Linnaeus, or wished to modify Linnaean classification to provide more accurate explanations for the classification of some plants, this was a time when the Linnaean system of botanical classification was so predominant and influential in Britain that it created a cultural phenomenon, inspiring botanical publications and educational information on botany for women, developing domestic horticultural networks, and so on. In the later 18th century, Linnaeus enjoyed its academic ascendancy in Britain, thanks to Sir Joseph Banks and his botanical enterprises building up a network of naturalists worldwide.

The late 18th century saw an enthusiasm for botany in Britain, and one of the strong advocates of Linnaean botany was Erasmus Darwin; he translated Linnaean *Families of Plants* into English in 1783, and composed a set of poems entitled the *Botanic Garden (The Loves of the Plants, and The Economy of Vegetation)* in1791, which popularized the world of plants using Linnaean sexual classification, and developed it to a scientific discourse in the form of poetry. Darwin's works and influence were sustained by growing industrial powers, economic and political, especially in the Midlands, which spurred scientific interests among the bourgeois. Darwin's contribution to popularizing botany could be explained in terms of its social importance in a historical age featuring the industrial revolution and related expansion of industrial cities, and it seems that for Darwin the forefront of botanical discoveries was rather a secondary concern. Linnaeus died in 1778, and after his death his classification was not updated or amended, while Darwin just kept Linnaeus system as his botanical bible, speculating about various views of plants and animals hinted by other philosophers. His works were, even in his own days, likely to be considered not a scientific work, but something different or unique. Already in 1800, Thomas Andrew Knight, a horticulturalist, and the younger brother of Richard Payne Knight said that the works of Darwin had much information "mixed with a very large portion of ingenious nonsense."21

Coleridge, especially in his early days, was influenced by Darwin's poems and philosophy, but he did not cease to be critical of him. Coleridge claimed that "I absolutely nauseate Darwin's poem,"²² and he saw that it suffered some "abject

²¹ The Banks Letters. A calendar of the manuscript correspondence of Sir Joseph Banks preserved in the British Museum, the British Museum, Natural History, and other collections in Great Britain, ed. Warren R. Dawson (London: British Library, 1958), 497.

²² In Coleridge's letter to John Thelwall in 1796. Samuel Tay-

deadness of all that sense of Obscure & Indefinite," or "superstitious Fetisch[sic] Worship of lazy or fascinated Fancy!²³" Finally Coleridge conclusively wrote in his *Biographia Literaria* in 1818 that Darwin, together with Cowley and Marini (1569-1625), had "the seductive faults," being "capable of corrupting the public judgement for half a century, and require a twenty years war, campaign after campaign, in order to dethrone the usurper and re-establish the legitimate taste."²⁴

This remark seems to be relevant to the timeline of the influence of Linnaeus in Britain substantiated by Darwin's enterprise of publication. Towards the end of Banks' presidency of the Royal Society, Linnaean sexual classification had nearly become inefficient, as it was incapable of ordering plants from newly explored areas, such as New Zealand and Australia. Meanwhile, the botanical research conducted by Banks was necessarily confined within the scope of Kew, as *Hortus Kewensis*, which listed plants cultivated in Kew, with almost all plants listed therein growing in Kew, and later in England, except exotic ones which did not fully grow in England.

Gradually, botanical taxonomy shifted from artificial towards natural systems. Robert Brown, one of Banks's librarians, who explored Austrasia and published Prodromus Florae Novae Hollandiae in 1810, wrote in its Latin preface that he now followed Antoine-Laurent de Jussieu's natural classification. Brown was not the only person who considered that the system of botanical classification should be modified and developed in order to reflect a more realistic view. John Lindley, who was one of the assistants working at Banks' library in the 1810s, and who later became professor of University of London, followed Brown, in advocating Jussieu, declared in 1829 as follows: "The merit of the Linnaean system was its simplicity...," but " It was found...that characters derived from the number of the sexual organs alone, were less certain than was in the beginning believed...," "And finally, it was discovered that the principles of Linnaean classification produced the mischief of rendering Botany a mere science of names."²⁵ Concluding that the Linnaean system of classification was superficial and useless, Lindley strongly advocated the natural classification proposed by Jussieu, which had been improved by succeeding eminent botanists including Robert Brown.

More than a decade before John Lindley's lecture, Coleridge, in his *Friend*, in 1818, proclaimed as follows: "what is BOTANY at this present hour? Little more an enormous nomenclature; a huge catalogue, *bien arrangè*, yearly and monthly aug-

lor Coleridge, *Collected Letters of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, ed. Earl Leslie Griggs, 6 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956-71), I, 216.

²³ This is written in December 1804. Samuel Taylor Coleridge, *The Notebooks of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, ed. Kathleen Coburn, 5vols. (London: Routledge, 1957-2002), II, entry number 2325.

²⁴ Samuel Taylor Coleridge, *Biographia Literaria*. Ed. James Engell and W. Jackson Bate. 2 vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), I, 74-75.

²⁵ John Lindley, An Introductory Lecture Delivered in the University of London, on Thursday, April 30, 1829 (London, 1829), 9-10.

mented, in various editions, each with its own scheme of technical memory and its own conveniences of reference!" ²⁶ For Coleridge, European botanical investigations were cases where "the master-light is missing," and that they remained "the gigantic, but blind and guideless industry of ages." ²⁷ Coleridge claimed that all the plants should be investigated not only by collecting and classifying them, but also by observing their relation to light, heat, earth, air, and water or "all that chemical agents and re-agent can disclose or adduce."²⁸

Chemical aspects of vegetation had been widely noticed since when Joseph Priestley's experiment on common air in a sealed jar with a mouse, conducted in the early 1770s; it was revealed that a mouse continued to live if the jar contained a pot of mint. Meanwhile, chemical relations between the common air and plants became a topic for contemporary chemistry. Humphry Davy, who became a lecturer at the Royal Institution in 1801, delivered a series of lectures on agriculture from 1802 to 1812, responding to the demand of one of the founding societies, the Board of Agriculture. In one of his lectures on agricultural chemistry, Davy summarized the phenomenon that occurred between a plant and the surrounding air as follows:

When a growing plant, the roots of which are supplied with proper nourishment, is exposed in the presence of solar light to a given quantity of atmospherical air, containing its due proportion of carbonic acid, the carbonic acid after a certain time is destroyed, and a certain quantity of oxygen is found in its place. If new quantities of carbonic acid gas be supplied, the same result occurs; so that carbon is added to plants from the air by the process of vegetation in sunshine; and oxygen is added to the atmosphere. ²⁹

Davy also notified that, without sunshine, plants did not produce oxygen gas. Davy's remark was one of the earliest to point to a basic scheme of photosynthesis, one of the fundamental principles of plant life. Such principles would finally reveal, as Coleridge hoped, "the collateral relations of the vegetable to the inorganic and to the animal world."³⁰ The focus of the chemical interest in plant's physiology was to discover what makes a plant alive, by clarifying how its mechanisms work. This is a question of life, or in a broader Coleridgean sense, an inquiry into the theory of life.

Viewed in this way, in the Romantic age, botanical interests seem to be split between the taxonomic and the chemical, and these two fields of study did not integrate into each other—the former dealt with herbal traditions, related to medical or horticultural concerns, investigating various uses of plants, whereas the latter was pursued by chemists, trying to reveal principles of plant life through

²⁶ Samuel Taylor Coleridge, *The Friend*, ed. Barbara E. Rooke, 2vols.(Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969), I, 469.

²⁷ Coleridge, *The Friend*, I, 468, 470.

²⁸ Coleridge, *The Friend*, I, 468.

²⁹ From "Agricultural Chemistry." Davy, Humphry, *Collected Works of Sir Humphry Davy*, ed. John Davy. 9 vols. (1839-40. Bristol: Thoemmes Press, 2001), 7, 356.

³⁰ Coleridge, *The Friend*, I, 467.

studies of exchanges of particles which generate oxygen or other substances.

Romantic botany, if such a thing exists, cannot be a unified body of intellectual explorations, but is a set of dissociated, discontent, disconnected knowledge, which nevertheless seemed to expand its intellectual targets in many directions. Among various aspects, national and geographical interests especially characterized botany in the Romantic age. Although the Linnaean system had been taken over by other ones, various kinds of botanical books continued to be produced. Most of these, especially dictionaries, contained both common and binominal Latin names, and their genera and species, their native origins, characteristics of vegetation, their suitable climate for their growth, and others. Classifying plants based on taxonomy thus necessitated the interests of geography, as it maps each plant on one place or another; and this geographical awareness would promote territorial assessment of a certain area of vegetation if something growing there was worthy of consideration. Viewed in this way, Banks's lifelong adherence to Linnaean botany seems to be highly political in that he was able to establish his botanical networks apart from French botanical authority; he then could financially and politically support marine expeditions involving researches in the field of natural history, such as McCartney's China embassy and Matthew Flinders's Australian exploration. Thus, in those ages botanical research was related to the actuality of land in various areas, and the act of collecting plants, that is, specimens, dried or living ones in

uncivilized areas, was an act of seizure, or of taking over some kind of control.

Considering such implications of botanical studies in the Romantic age, Coleridge's attack on contemporary botany seems to be his criticism of Britain's marine expansion involving territorial concerns. The Ancient Mariner said, "Merrily did we drop," into the seas, and then the strong wind came, and the ship went close to the south pole, then went up; however, the ship and the mariners did not reach any foreign harbour, and no one landed anywhere, even on a tiny island; in short, Coleridge's masterpiece rejects any territorial concern. Instead, it depicts various atmospheric phenomena and nightmarish inner pains-where humans are in passiveness. This makes a sharp contrast with the descriptions in Banks' Endeavour journal, in which he wrote about "a piece of wood," which floated to the ship, saying that "we now have in our possession a part of the product of our Land of Promise."³¹ It was New Zealand, and while being there, Banks observed anything he met, and recorded New Zealand's animals, birds, plants, whatever he saw, and the New Zealander's (i. e. Maori) customs and how they worked, and speculated about the second voyage to this land.

Banks' writing shows a typical aspect of travel writings up until the 18th century, which depicts what they observed only within their own scope of understanding. What cannot be observed by human eyes is, it seems, left to a poet like Coleridge, and

 ³¹ The Endeavour Journal of Sir Joseph Banks, October 1st,
1769. From Wikisource 20180220

his claim for the chemical botany is indeed to disclose the secret of life. This might be one of Coleridge's idealistic claims, yet we can also think that in this case his objective is to subvert the territorial into the terrestrial, if not reconciling opposite yet insisting on the contrary.

BARS2017 J. C. Loudon, Green Spaces, and Social Improvement Waka ISHIKURA

On April 12th, 1819, in Hampstead, a suburban area in the north of London, which was experiencing a growing population, John Keats wrote a letter to his sister Fanny, mentioning his backvard garden in which he had planted bulbs. He was probably concerned about his sister's education, and thought that botany would be a good learning experience for a lady. While buying bulbs for her in a neighboring store named "Gardener's," he found that they were too overgrown to send to her. Keats wrote, "There are some beautiful heaths now in bloom in Pots-either heaths or some seasonable plants I will send you instead."32 This anecdote not only shows Keats's brotherly tenderness, but suggests that, in his age, horticultural improvements were in high demand for various reasons, including the necessity of developing green urban areas, the education of women (or other socially peripheral groups of people), and the management of garden plants. These are the social and scientific problems to be discussed, all of which engaged J. C. Loudon. In this paper, I would like to talk about Loudon in the context of the demand for improving public spaces as well as for distributing botanical and horticultural knowledge.

 ³² John Keats, *The Letters of John Keats, 1814-1821*, Vol.2,
(Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958), 51.

In the decades after the Napoleonic Wars, London's population was growing so fast that new residential districts, such as Highgate, Hampstead, and Bayswater, were newly developed to accommodate the mostly middle-class population. Residential plots were eventually filled with gardens having pots, small enclosed flower beds, or shrubs and rows of trees along the streets. Loudon was a leading proponent of this democratic boost to gardening. He published An Encyclopedia of Gardening in 1822 and revised it until 1835. This book sold well and soon became an essential book for domestic gardening. Coleridge was a reader of the first edition, saying that he found in "Louen's[sic] bible thick of Encyclopedia," his "Neptunian Strides of Thought," ³³ referring to Loudon's keen interest in Chinese plants, as Loudon mentioned that British troops needed to put pressure on China to open their ports for the sake of beautiful flowers there. Coleridge probably did not buy this Encvclopedia himself; instead, the book was kept in James Gillman's house in Highgate, where Coleridge was a resident, for the use of Mrs Gillman. Mrs Gillman had gardens around the house, and as a housemate, Coleridge was allowed to ramble in them, which he enjoyed very much. Mrs Gillman was probably a skilled gardener and wanted to improve her horticultural learning. She exchanged potted plants with her neighbors. Coleridge often witnessed such neighborly associations and recorded them in his notebooks. This was in the 1820s, when London's

areas were expanding so much that Highgate, a northern and previously provincial area leading to central London, had developed a growing younger population. As someone calling at Highgate to visit Coleridge recorded, Coleridge was "the terror and amusement of all the little children who bowled their hoops along the popular avenue." Children were curious about this old, slow-walking, yet animated and 'subject-object' talking sage, and "his Cyclopean figure and learned language caused them indescribable alarm."³⁴ As a city with a growing younger population, London came into a new area of urban management. The population doubled, and



Figure 1: The center of this chart is St. Paul, and the colored circle parts are garden areas. *The Gardener's Magazine* (1829), 687

³³ *The Notebooks of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, V, entry number 6569.

³⁴ This anecdote was recorded in Richard Armour and Raymond F. Howes (eds.), *Coleridge the Talker* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1940), 238.

in some areas, tripled in a decade or two.

After the success of the Encyclopedia, Loudon established Gardener's Magazine in 1826, whose subtitle reads "Resister of Rural & Domestic Improvement." In 1829, in that same magazine, he introduced his development plan for London, and titled it "Hints for Breathing Places for the Metropolis, and for Country Towns and Villages." This plan called for the government to take part in city planning by creating green spaces. This plan, though highly ideal, is now considered a forerunner to Ebenezer Howard's proposal for a Garden City surrounded by a green belt. Loudon's plan, as Figure 1 shows, sought to develop London in concentric circles. At the center of the plan was St. Paul's; a town zone and a country zone would then appear outside the center. This development was intended to "cover any space whatever with perfect safely to the inhabitants, in respect to the supply of provisions, water, and fresh air, and to the removal of filth of every description, the maintenance of general cleanliness, and the dispatch of business"(686). If this plan was to be realized, according to Loudon, any inhabitant could have access to an open air situation within a half mile distance, and he or she could enjoy various kinds of recreation there.

In Loudon's age, a system of local government had not yet been established. While the newly developed areas were often structured on the basis of old parishes, an administrative body of greater London did not exist. There were therefore spaces without any governmental control, left barren or disused in ugly states, or developed partially without having any city plan. To Loudon, this was a time when gardeners could be cultivators of society by creating green spaces with various benefits, and proposing plans for further improvements of lands, streets, houses, or green spaces.

From 1816 onwards, he lived in Bayswater, a northern area of Hyde Park, where various groups of people were then forming residential communities. Leigh Hunt, who knew the vicinity of Loudon's residence, remembered Loudon as "public-spirited," saying, he brought about environmental improvements, and "got the old wall in the Bayswater Road exchanged for an iron railing which gives the wayfarer a pleasant scene of shrubs and green leaves as he goes along, instead of dusty old brick-work."35 Hunt also observed that many trees along the pedestrian walk were still young, and that it would be necessary to wait a few years to have a secluded sense of space there. Such expanding and changing of London required some improvement, and as a result, public spaces necessitated some ornamental planting.

In the late 18th century, with the growing number of scientific journals and institutions, scientific knowledge became widely available, and this growth went hand in hand with an educational boost. Horticultural and botanical knowledge were also considered preferable for education in that age, thanks to the flourishing of Linnean botanical classification, as it was far simpler and easier to understand than a natural classifications, for amateur people. This led to making botany an educational

³⁵ Leigh Hunt, *The Old Court Suburb* (London, 1855), 275-276.

tool for women, and, in the following decades, creating botanical works for middle-class people, including Loudon's Encyclopedia of Gardening. In 1823, Flora Domestica, or the Portable Flower-Garden written by Elizabeth Kent, Leigh Hunt's sister-in-law, was published, and Coleridge left favorable remarks about this book.³⁶ However, with the publication of growing numbers of botanical books containing illustrations, such as Curtis's Botanical Magazine and James Edward Smith's English Botany, Kent's book, which was strong in its literary interest in flowers and plants' domestic names, but contained many digressive passages in view of botany, soon fell out of fashion. Instead, far more scientifically appropriate botanical books appeared in various forms, including works such as the Young Lady's Book of Botany (1838) by Loudon's wife, Jane. She was one of the first women who attended lectures on botany at the University of London. This was probably made possible due to her husband introducing her to a prominent botanist, John Lindley who was a professor there.

For Loudon, education was an important factor for gardeners. In the first edition of his *Encyclopedia of Gardening*, he included a chapter, titled as "the statistics of gardening." This chapter contained a section named "Of the Education of Gardeners" in which he wrote about how gardeners disciplined themselves by using their time efficiently. He wrote: "it seems to us that a gardener ought not to attempt to excel in any branch of knowledge besides that of gardening, but rather to make himself acquainted, to the degree that circumstances may permit, with the whole circle of human knowledge." ³⁷ In reality, it seemed that gardeners as a whole were not likely to enjoy their leisure time, or to be easily available for educational opportunities outside of gardening. His idea of gardeners' education was actually ideal. Yet, once it was set in an encyclopedia, it sounded feasible to some extent.

In 1834, Loudon's idea of education was severely attacked by John Wilson (better known by his pseudonym Christopher North), who referred to Loudon as "a wretched ignoramus," and "a Thief and a Robber."38 This critical attack on Loudon was followed by an anonymous critic in the Magazine of Botany and Gardening who alleged to find in Loudon's writing that "the shameless wholesale plagiarisms, the vulgar and filthy language, and the utter ignorance and presumption."39 It is obvious that they intended to degrade Loudon's writing by accusing him of stealing knowledge of gardening from elsewhere, and distributing it to gardeners who were part of the landowner's property. Seen from a different view, though, this attack was somehow understandable when we consider the fact that Loudon's publisher was almost always Longman, and Christopher North worked for various review journals mostly on behalf of a rival publisher, Blackwood. Moreover, during this time, publica-

³⁶ Collected Letters of Samuel Taylor Coleridge, V, 293-94

³⁷ J. C. Loudon, *An Encyclopaedia of Gardening* (London: Longman, 1822), 1328.

³⁸ [Christopher North], "Of the Education of Gardeners," Blackwood Edinburgh Magazine, 1834, May.

³⁹ Magazine of Botany and Gardening, Vol 2, 1834, June 81.

tions of various kinds of encyclopedias increased, and Loudon's encyclopedias of gardening, trees, shrubs, and others were in a hostile relationship with other encyclopedias that contained mostly horticultural articles.

Probably because of these reviews, in the 1835 edition, Loudon withdrew the section, "Of the Education of Gardeners." However he wrote the following new remarks on the philosophy of the encyclopedia:

Encyclopaedias, hitherto, have been generally arranged as Dictionaries; but we have rejected this form of arrangement, because it presents no other principle of order than that of initial letters of the subjects; and because (as the learned author of the prospectus of the *Encyclopaedia Metropolitana* has observed) it is altogether unsuitable to the present advanced state of science.⁴⁰

Here Loudon, without mentioning Coleridge's name, referred to Coleridge's thoughts on the encyclopedia and declared that he followed the Coleridgean way:

Instead, therefore, of breaking up the whole accumulated mass of garden knowledge into fragments, and scattering these over a thousand pages, with no other connection than that afforded by the letters of the alphabet, we have presented it in such a manner, that every part stands in immediate connection with that which precedes and that which follows it; and, consequently, all those subjects which are most clearly allied in their natures are placed together, for connected perusal, and for illustrating each other.⁴¹

Loudon was often regarded as one of the first horticultural journalists, and his publications, such as Gardener's Magazine and various encyclopedias were mostly successful. However his last publication venture, Arboretum et Fruticetum Britannicum which started publishing from 1835, was financially unsuccessful, and he went into debt. This eightvolume botanical work focused on, as its subtitle reads, "The trees and shrubs of Britain, native and foreign, hardy and half-hardy" and "their propagation, culture, management, and uses in the arts, in useful and ornamental plantations, and in landscape-gardening..." Loudon's propaganda here was to 'make it green,' using trees and shrubs of which, according to Loudon, the British people had not previously made good use of. He tried to educate people in terms of planting, and this work provided primary knowledge in order to improve the environment of residential areas, rural or urban, by adding trees or shrubs according to the climate and the soil. The failure of this publication venture probably lies in the fact that planting trees or shrubs requires a considerable area of a garden. While this would be affordable to wealthy people, Loudon's readers were mainly the middle-class people, who only had small gardens.

⁴⁰ J. C. Loudon, *An Encyclopaedia of Gardening* (London: Longman, 1835), preface.

⁴¹ An Encyclopaedia of Gardening, 1835, preface.

His idea, Arboretum, of collecting trees and shrubs in a garden, was nevertheless realized in the Derby Arboretum, which was started when Joseph Strutt (1765-1844), a wealthy industrialist, donated a garden to the city of Derby, and Loudon was commissioned to design the garden. Although Loudon was at this time already having physical difficulties and, therefore unable to work at Derby, he made a detailed management plan of the Arboreturn, and it was constructed according to his plan. This Arboretum was claimed as the first public park in England. Indeed many citizens of Derby enjoyed walking around the garden, where trees were planted according to Loudon's aesthetic principle, namely Gardenesque. In a Gardenesque garden, each plant, or in this case tree, should be planted with enough space around it to grow as freely as possible. People walking in the Arboretum could observe trees in their most natural state, and learn how they extended their twigs and leaves. A sequential landscape with trees planted by the gardenesque principle, could not be boring as there appeared many kinds of trees in succession, each showing their individual beauties in different shapes.

In his last years, Loudon was commissioned to design other public places, including a few graveyard designs. In his On the Laying Out, Planting, and Managing of Cemeteries, and on the Improvement of Churchyard (1843), Loudon claimed that burial grounds should not disturb the living people with respect to hygiene, and that their improvement would contribute to enhancing the moral sentiments of all people.⁴² According to Loudon, buried bodies produced toxic gases in the process of decomposition, and "The gas abounds to a fearful extent in the soil of all crowded burial-grounds."⁴³ These gasses sometimes caused harmful effects on grave-diggers, or even on the people performing the funeral. As he considered London's city management part of a country zone, Loudon deemed it necessary to control the burial grounds as a place for letting humans return to the earth, as well as for remembering them with a peaceful mind. His churchyard designs were ornamented with trees, shrubs, and perennial herbaceous plants, according to the soil and available spaces.

On the whole, Loudon contributed to turning the upper-class culture of gardening into everyman's activities, and he provided botanical and horticultural knowledge in the form of affordable books. Loudon's work, as a journalist and landscape gardener, emerged from his efforts to relate to societies consisting of a wide range of people, from landowners to various types of gardeners including middle-class house-wives. His visions of social improvement were expressed in many ways, yet it seems as if his visions were likely to be unrealized as they were always exposed to conflicting situations created by the various societies of people Loudon faced.

⁴² This is commented in the first page of the book.

⁴³ On the Laying Out, 4.

BARS2017

Death in the Garden: Landscape Gardening in Edgar Allan Poe's Tales Hiroko Washizu

Compared with their English or French counterparts, American gardens have an implication less actual than conceptual. Thanks to such influential scholars as R.W.B. Lewis (*American Adam*, 1959) and Leo Marx (*The Machine in the Garden*, 1964), they evoke an image of the prelapsarian Eden or a blank space between the city and the wilderness which new arrivals could manipulate to their avail. Though these theories are by now criticized for their lack of attention to problems of race, gender, class, capitalism, ecology and such, the conceptual "American garden" still retains its resonance of primordial middle ground.

This image was actualized in the establishment of Mount Auburn Cemetery in 1831. The first part of this paper, then, will examine Mount Auburn and other garden cemeteries in their historical context thereby trace their impact on landscape gardening and public park movement. The second part will read three landscape tales by Edgar Allan Poe ("The Landscape Garden," "The Domain of Arnheim" and "Landor's Cottage"), two of their variations ("Morning on the Wissahiccon" and "The Island of the Fay") and try to establish a connection with Poe's other tales of life and death such as "The Premature Burial." 1

Mount Auburn Cemetery, situated in Cambridge and Watertown, 4 miles (6.4 km) west of Boston, was designed by Henry Alexander Scammell Dearborn (first president of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society) with assistance from Jacob Bigelow (one who redefined "technology" as "application of science to useful arts") and Alexander Wadsworth (landscape artist; cousin of the poet Longfellow). This combination of three experts implicates cooperation of art and nature by making best use of architectural design and horticultural arrangement. Today it boasts its more-than-180year collection of over 16,000 plants and 1,700 plant taxa (some are extinct or near extinction in their native soil) among which are dotted more than 60,000 monuments commemorating those enjoying an "eternal sleep" there.

One important factor behind Mount Auburn is a rapid urbanization caused by the Industrial Revolution. With an increase in population, old burying grounds such as King's Chapel and Granary became too small for the dead and too unhealthy for the living. Vicissitudes of the old community left their maintenance insufficient; insanitariness and stench were predominant; their drainage seeping to Common polluted the grass, causing sickness to horses —and also to humans. Mount Auburn provided a clean and inodorous substitution.

Urbanization also changed the city-dweller's life style. Commuting to and from factories/offices separated work and home and, therefore, public and private, two spheres now allotted respectively to male and female. In this picture, death was no longer a public matter of community but a private matter of family and friends to mourn for. Mount Auburn's winding paths were intended to protect mourners' privacy from strollers' gaze. Urbanization moreover provided leisure hours in between work and home, badly spent in debauchery but wisely spent in recreational activities. Mount Auburn served as a refreshing promenade for those working in the dirty busy densely-packed city; its winding paths provided varieties of landscape. As in a poem attributed to William C. Bryant quoted in Cornelia W. Walter's *Mount Auburn Illustrated* (1847):

Mount Auburn

Mount Auburn

Here I have 'scaped the city's stifling heat, Its horrid sounds, and its polluted air; And, where the season's milder fervors beat, And gales that sweep the forest borders, bear The song of birds and sound of running stream, Am come awhile to wonder and to dream.

Other cities followed suit of Mount Auburn: Laurel Hill in Philadelphia (1836), Green-Wood in Brooklyn (1838), Green Mount in Baltimore (1838), Spring Grove in Cincinnati (1844), Elmwood in Detroit (1848) and Sleepy Hollow in Concord, Massachusetts (1855; famous for its "Author's Ridge"). By the 1860s garden cemeteries were found all over the United States.

It was these garden cemeteries (especially Green-Wood in Brooklyn) that inspired the landscape architect Andrew Jackson Downing (1815-52). He was born and spent most of his life in Newburgh, New York, situated on the Hudson River whose contemporary views were eternalized in pictures of Thomas Cole and other painters of the Hudson River School. The area was also made famous through works of Washington Irving whose romantic homestead "Sunnyside" was in neighborhood. Downing's idea of "picturesque" was thus shaped by the scenic landscape of the Hudson River with its acclaimed paintings and legendary tales; it was further refined through his acquaintance with garden cemeteries.

Downing's landscape architecture is, just like its influential predecessor, framed by its contemporary context: urbanization and consequential split between private and public. It should be located at a moderate distance from the big city, reachable either by the expanding train system or, as in case of Newburgh, by the improved steamboat. Within its domain, the urban gender principles prevailed: what was regarded private was kept out of sight, whereas public appearance was kept immaculate to the view. Pantry, linens and other personal items were placed in back room. Plants of utility such as vegetables and herbs were grown in backyard, beautiful ornamental flowers in front yard. It was more or less after the image of the prelapsarian Eden, lenient asylum from the city.

Downing's landscape architecture, however, is neither nature itself nor nature reproduced. As he writes in *A Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening* (1841), landscape gardening is "an artistic combination of the beautiful in nature and art—an [*sic*] union of natural expression and harmonious cultivation." Artistic/artificial assistance comes in to expunge what is too abundant in nature and to supplement what is too deficient in nature. Thus the nature in landscape architecture is always already more naturalistic than natural. All its winding paths and irregular rows of asymmetrical trees were designed, maintained and kept under human control, just like in garden cemeteries.

Downing, who insisted on artistic/artificial working upon nature, also proposed to bring the natural/naturalistic into the city. In the magazine *The Horticulturist and Journal of Rural Art and Rural Taste* 4 (July 1849), he notes: if so many Bostonians took pleasure in taking a walk in the suburban Mount Auburn, a city garden or urban park would be ten times more visited. His project to build a city park was unfortunately aborted by his premature death in a steamboat accident. Six years later, it was recast and materialized by Frederick Law Olmsted and Clavert Vaux in constructing Central Park, New York City.

2

Downing's influence is obvious in tales of Edgar Allan Poe. Entitled no other than "The Landscape Garden" (1842), the tale contains a passage almost verbatim from an anonymous review of Downing's *Treatise* published in the magazine *Arcturus* 2 (June, 1841). This tale is incorporated in turn into "The Domain of Arnheim" (1847) with an additional water journey to Arnheim. "Landor's Cottage" (1848-49), subtitled "A Pendant to 'The Domain of Arnheim'," is again a journey through a similar landscape to the cottage of the title.

These tales have been read either as an expression of his aesthetic theory as in "The Philosophy of Furniture" (1840) or as a metaphor for his theory of writing as in "The Philosophy of Composition" (1846) and "The Poetic Principle" (1850). We should note, however, that Poe is not altogether uncritical to Downing's landscape architecture. His "Morning on the Wissahiccon" (also entitled "The Elk," 1843 — published a year after "The Landscape Garden" and 4-6 years before "The Domain of Arnheim" and "Landor's Cottage") describes a natural/naturalistic landscape till the narrator encounters an elk. It is the very elk he has been dreaming of, he exalts – in vain. The story ends with an anticlimax: "It was a pet of great age and very domestic habits, and belonged to an English family occupying a villa in the vicinity."

Or take "The Island of the Fay" (1841). With all its picturesque landscape, it also abounds in suggestion of death. The narrator sees the grass on the island wearing "the deep tint of the cypress" symbol of mourning and principle cemetery tree, hillocks having "the aspect of graves. His fancy summons up a Fay who, in "a singularly fragile canoe" circles around the island from light to gloom only to repeat the process again and again, which, the narrator opines, is a movement toward death. In either of these two pieces the landscape is not simply picturesque: the one ridicules its artificiality, the other casts a dark shadow of death on the otherwise picturesque landscape.

Rereading "The Domain of Arnheim" with this critical attitude of Poe in mind, we can find passages hinting at death. In a paragraph Poe made changes from "The Landscape Garden," the narrator mentions "geological disturbances" frustrating "the perfection in the beautiful, the sublime, or the picturesque," to which the domain owner/designer Ellison replies: they are "prognostic of death" (original emphasis). The river journey to Arnheim implies a passage from life to death. The vessel seems "imprisoned within an enchanted circle" and the voyager is "enwrapt [sic] in an exquisite sense of the strange," moving toward the declining sun. For the final segment of the voyage, he changes his vessel to "a light canoe of ivory," like the one of the dying Fay, which floats toward the setting sun. At last he witnesses Arnheim. There his eyes identify flowers there: lilies, violets, tulips, poppies, hyacinths and tuberose -all funeral flowers. His ears catch "a gust of entrancing melody" -funeral chant. His nose smells "an oppressive sense of strange sweet odor" ---incense burnt for the dead. Arnheim thus looks less a landscape architecture than a garden cemetery. Its location strengthen this impression, as it is, according to Ellison, "a spot not far from a populous city"-indispensable qualification for a garden cemetery.

This implication of a funeral in a landscape garden at the end of "The Domain of Arnheim" leads us to other tales of Poe touching the borderland between life and death. One type concerns death-like trance or pseudo-death caused by mesmerism: "A Tale of the Ragged Mountains" (1844), "Mesmeric Revelation" (1844), "Some Words with a Mummy" (1845) and "The Fact in the Case of M. Valdemar" (1845)⁴⁴. Another type concerns resuscitation/reincarnation of a dead (or presumably dead) woman: "Berenice" (1835), "Morella" (1835), "Ligeia" (1838), "The Fall of the House of Usher" (1839) and "Eleonora" (1841). Sharing a resuscitation theme with the latter type but with a comical quality of the former is a tale in the last part of our discussion: "The Premature Burial" (1844).

The narrator, suffering from cataleptic disease and fearful of premature burial, finds himself in total darkness. His failed searches for his precautionary safety devise brings his attention to the "strong peculiar odor of moist earth," from which he concludes that his worst fear has come true: buried alive. Then comes a bathos: he has only been confined to a small cabin of a sloop. With this revelation, the narrator "became a new man, and lived a man's life."

From this outline, the tale may be read as a story of symbolic death and rebirth. But the disproportionate length of quotes of historical cases, occupying almost first half of the whole tale, suggests something else.

Depicted are living inhumations on record. Of four cases detailed in some length, the patients were deemed dead from mysterious causes with which even their physicians were perplexed. A similar fate can easily be surmised for the narrator himself, who is "subject to attack of the singular disorder which physicians have agreed to term catalepsy, in default of a more definitive title." His fear of premature burial is thus shaped and framed by former case histories.

So obsessed is he with this "one sepulchral Idea" that he comes to dream "the graves of all mankind"

⁴⁴ See Washizu, "Dead or Alive: "(Pre-)Anesthetic Trance in Poe," *Review of American Literature* 25 for more details.

thrown open to show the restless "sleepers." He even makes himself a "life-preserving coffin" for an escape from the airless enclosure. This devise, however, illustrates less of his original intention than his entrapment/ confinement in his own idea —to the extent that he almost ends up leading a life of living death. He has been virtually dead till he awakes from sleep on a sloop. If he is reborn at this moment, it is not from the mistaken premature burial but from this mental confinement to living death that he is finally liberated.

In this tale, furthermore, death is compared to sleep. The narrator describes how he *awakes* from the fit of catalepsy; he wonders if even his "ordinary *sleep*" (original emphasis) is one induced by the disease; he is afraid of sleeping lest he may find himself "the tenant of a grave"; in his sleep, he dreams of a graveyard full of those whose "sad and solemn slumbers" are disturbed; his nameless unseen companion in the dream asks him "How canst thou tranquilly sleep?"

The sleep metaphor accords with what Ann Douglas called "the domestication of death" in the early 19th century. Death is no longer a threatening image of Puritan *memento mori* but softened into a private family mourning, materialized in garden cemeteries. The word "cemetery" itself derives from a Greek word meaning "a place to sleep."

Poe himself was not unfamiliar with garden cemeteries, as he is alleged to propose the poet Sarah Hellen Whitman on September 23, 1848 at the Swan Point Cemetery, Providence, Rhode Island. Or Thomas Ollive Mabbott mentions in his note to "Morning on the Wissahiccon" an episode of Poe's visit to the Falls of the Schuylkill: "his favorite seat was in the doorway of the family Mausoleum [of the Smiths]."

Thus the shrouded bodies in graves are "sleepers"; The artillery officer of the historical case is awakened from his sleep by the throng of "visiters" [*sic*] to the cemetery on a Sunday; "the strong peculiar odor of moist earth" that the narrator mistakes for graveyard soil turns out nothing other than the "garden mould" – an appropriate item now that the cemetery is a garden.