

Japonaiserie in London and The Hague

A history of the Japanese gardens at Shepherd's Bush (1910) and Clingendael (c. 1915)

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Preface

A Japanese style garden was fashionable among the higher circles of Europe about a century ago. With the financial crisis of the 1930s most owners lost their wealth, and maintenance became a problem. After the Second World War the fashion was no longer understood and Japanese gardens were increasingly considered bad taste. Taken or fallen apart, not many have survived. Now, a century later we have enough distance in time to reach to a more balanced evaluation, more profound than a simple judgement as fashion or bad taste. Indeed, Japanese gardens in Europe have become a source of interest and research, restoration is coming in focus or has successfully been completed here and there. The present article introduces the term *Japonaiserie* in describing the cosmopolitan context of the Japanese Garden (c. 1915) of Clingendael in The Hague, Netherlands. The garden came about in circles where British connections were strong and there are possible links with the Japanese gardens made in Britain, such as the remarkable efforts in 1910 at Shepherd's Bush, London. This London project is quite well documented, also in Japanese sources. In The Hague though, the single Japonaiserie garden that remains in Holland is not blessed with much primary source material and most of what we know is gained through circumstantial evidence or oral history. It is hoped that this article generates the discovery of more sources concerning Clingendael, hopefully also in the UK.

Introduction: Japonaiserie in Europe

In early 1873 at the Vienna world exhibition, fourty workers were preparing the Japanese pavilion and surrounding garden, dressed in traditional Japanese dress. For the Viennese garden lovers it must have been a queer and exciting scene to see the first "Japanese garden" in Europe taking shape. Judging from the rare picture we have, the result was a Shinto religious precinct decorated with stone lanterns, garden plants and banners, indeed quite an exotic arrangement. In the years to follow the West could start to develop a taste for the Japanese garden by visiting the various world exhibitions. Japan showed entries of bonsai and potted plants or complete gardenlike environments around the exhibit halls. The Paris 1889 world exhibition at Trocadero attracted a record of about thirty million visitors, and many of them saw the Japanese garden with its authentic gardeners that enlivened the scene. Racks were stacked with potted plants and bonsai for sale. Though speaking of Europe here, America had its share as well. One of the more exciting projects was the park-like Japanese garden in St.Louis in 1904. Soon quite a few wealthy Westerners took up the idea and had themselves a Japanese garden made. Early owners were often motivated by some personal involvement or business with the Empire of the Rising Sun. Rather than seeing the exhibitions, they had actually been to the exciting country that had only recently been opened to trade and tourism. Tourists were impressed by novel sights such as Mount Fuji, indicated with the un-Japanese 'Fujiyama', or the mausoleum at Nikkô with its red, arched bridge. Memories of tourist sights became strong and popular icons fixed in the mind, not in the least by photography or spectacular printing work like some French guidebooks on

Japan. Such images were readily recreated in miniature size in many of the Western Japanese gardens, the example being set by some Edo-period gardens in Japan where mini Mount Fuji's indeed exist.

The Japanese on the other hand, were eager to acquire novel Western achievements, and the state Japan had entered the field of international commerce. Soon it was in struggle with a trade deficit and put much effort in exporting whatever could be exported. Rather than primary products of agriculture or heavy industries it was the cultivated and the artful that could be traded. Exports of garden plants were actively promoted [1]. But also arts and crafts were well received by the American and European fin-de-siecle public giving a boost to Paris' Art Nouveau. In the garden, imported craft like bronze cranes, bonsai, ceramic stools, but also complete garden structures like gates and rest houses in authentic style, were readily added, the inevitable stone lantern being an absolute requirement for the Japanese garden in the West [2].

To possess a garden with a Nikkô bridge or Fujiyama set among novel garden plants and decorated with garden ornaments or structures all imported from Japan, was close to a craze among the cosmopolitan elite of the Western world in the decades before and after 1900. It is too much to speak of Japonism, as it never reached the level of an -ism, a garden style. With perhaps the exception of Alexandre Marcel (1860-1928) in Paris, no designer would specialize and develop an own expression. The fantasy of owners and commissioners was romantic, careless and free, hardly dogmatic. The Japanese gardens in America and Europe remained frivolous exceptions for which, analogous to 18th century Chinoiserie, the term *Japonaiserie* is most fit [3]. Japonaiserie gardens have been condemned as cheap, kitschy imitations. Indeed, any fashion carries the danger of becoming a spiritually empty husk and rave about Japan could easily turn into a shallow exoticism. But owners were often men and women of taste with ample means, garden materials were never cheap and actually some gardens of the highest quality have remained, such as can be seen in Clingendael. Now, a century later, we have enough distance in time to judge more mildly; research, restorations and publications are beginning to cede results [4].

Japonaiserie and the Japanese: Shepherd's Bush

Several Japonaiserie gardens existed in Britain by the time the Japan-British Exhibition was held in West London, Shepherd's Bush in 1910. It was a trade fair to promote the trade relations, but for the Japanese it had an even greater meaning, showing the proud nation to the world. In Japan an extensive committee was formed of high-ranking officials and even scientists to prepare the fair. Among the events planned, Japanese horticulture and garden art were to be presented to the British garden loving public, not as a decorative surrounding, but on purpose as a separate entry demonstrating the Japanese skills in the field to promote exports. It was decided to build two spacious gardens [5]. Two men, Keijirô Ozawa (1842-1932) and Kinkichirô Honda (1850-1921) were asked to design and supervise the works. Both were famous in Japan as a kind of garden specialist and writer. Ozawa was a man of letters who held an incredible collection of historic materials on gardens; Honda was a painter, having published several books on the Japanese garden [6]. They had a background in academic arts more respectable, and had developed only later in life as well-known garden experts. They were typical paper specialists, not familiar with the subtleties of the craft of the gardener in the field, where it was a matter of generations and of training from a young age. As experts, Honda and Ozawa had designed a rare garden as well. Did the scholarly approach of the men appeal to the Japanese officials, very much aware of their responsibilities? Were they not willing to take the risk of inviting a more

warm-blooded, professional garden master? Creative designers were indeed active in Japan, but garden scholars were called in for London [7]. Scholarly garden theory in Japan, as understood by Honda and Ozawa, had since the beginning of the nineteenth century been preoccupied with a mannerist dividing of gardens in idealized types, or styles, such as the flat garden (*hiraniwa*) and the hillock garden (*tsukiyama* or *tsukiyama senzui*). These again were divided in three degrees of elaboration: the abbreviated (*sô*), the medium (*gyô*), and the most elaborate (*shin*) degree; the most elaborate is also referred to as formal or finished degree. The average garden book reaches thus at two times three, is six different ideal styles, though deviating divisions are also found. The tea garden is sometimes added as a separate style, sometimes it is classified as flat garden. Each of the styles is presented with a diagrammatic scene, with an added list of named rocks, and sometimes also plants in use. Typical representatives of such named elements are the Master and Servant Stone, the Worshipping Stone, and the like. Westerners interested in Japanese gardens must already have read the peculiar article "the Garden of Artificial Hills (Tsukiyama)" by Kenkichi Okubo that appeared in *The Journal of The Royal Horticultural Society* (1904-1905). The most well known book on the subject by architect Josiah Conder (1852-1920) uses the same paradigm, in fact Honda illustrated Conder's book [8].

Ozawa and Honda took their commission seriously, and wanted to present a picture of the Japanese garden as complete as possible. The two London gardens were to represent the *tsukiyama senzui*-style and *hiraniwa*-style respectively, that is the hillock garden style and the flat style, both without a degree of elaboration. The principle of elaboration was shown in a separate roofed pavilion with two large models. These were about twelve feet wide and seven feet deep and showed the *sansuizukuri noshintai*, and *hiraniwa no sôtai*, that is the most elaborate formal style for a landscape garden (that is with garden hills and water), and the abbreviated style for a flat garden (without hills and water).

Responsible for the construction of the gardens at Shepherd's Bush was head gardener Hannosuke Izawa who guided three other Japanese gardeners and held the command over the contracted British workers. Showing up in the source material is another Japanese man named Saburô Ida. He had arrived in England in the 1880s and was successful for a while as an importer of antiques and bonsai. Once failed in business, he went broke and got stuck in London. The Japanese embassy advised to engage this Ida at the construction works, as we may guess because he spoke English. This Saburô Ida is most likely the same person as a man called Tassa Eida in England. This Eida is known to have guided works at the Japonaiserie garden in Tully, Ireland [9].

Both of the London gardens had a winding serpentine pond running in the middle over the length of the garden [10]. One of the gardens was titled "The Garden of Peace", it was about one hectare. To present the Hillock Style, water and groundwork were done according to Ozawa's design; Japanese carpenters built a huge garden pavilion from imported timber, and immense painted screens were set up to form the background to the design.

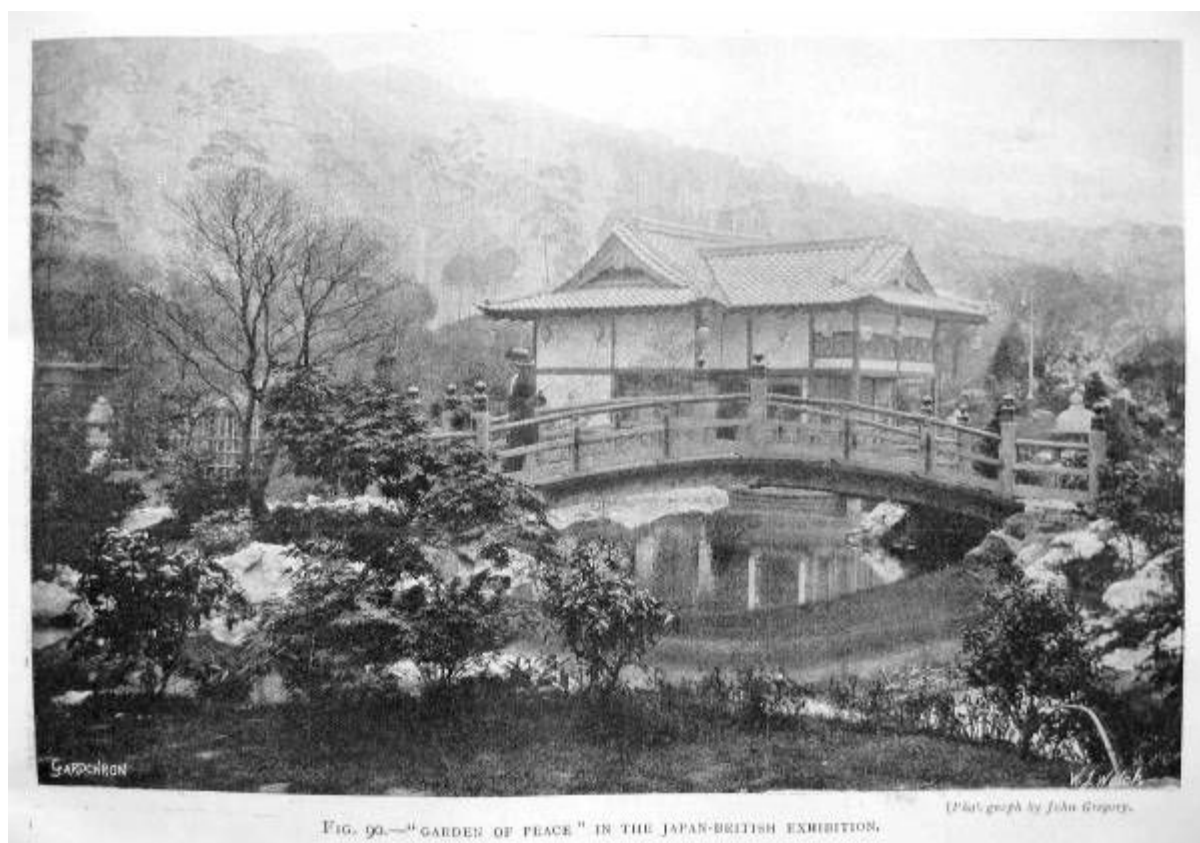


FIG. 99.—"GARDEN OF PEACE" IN THE JAPAN-BRITISH EXHIBITION.

(ill 1) The Water Pavilion (*Suitei*) in the Garden of Peace. A lady with hat, crossing the bridge gives an impression of the scale of the garden. The painted screens of mountain scenery seen behind the pavilion were more than 10 meters high (Photo by John Gregory in 'Gardening at the Japan-British Exhibition', *The Gardeners' Chronicle*, September 24, 1910, p.227).

In fact it was to be viewed from one side. There was an island, bridges of various designs, a small Shinto shrine with gate, a Buddhist statue, and a five-storied stone pagoda. The contemporary Japanese explanation states that these more architectural decorations are required to have the garden understood as veritably Japanese with Westerners.

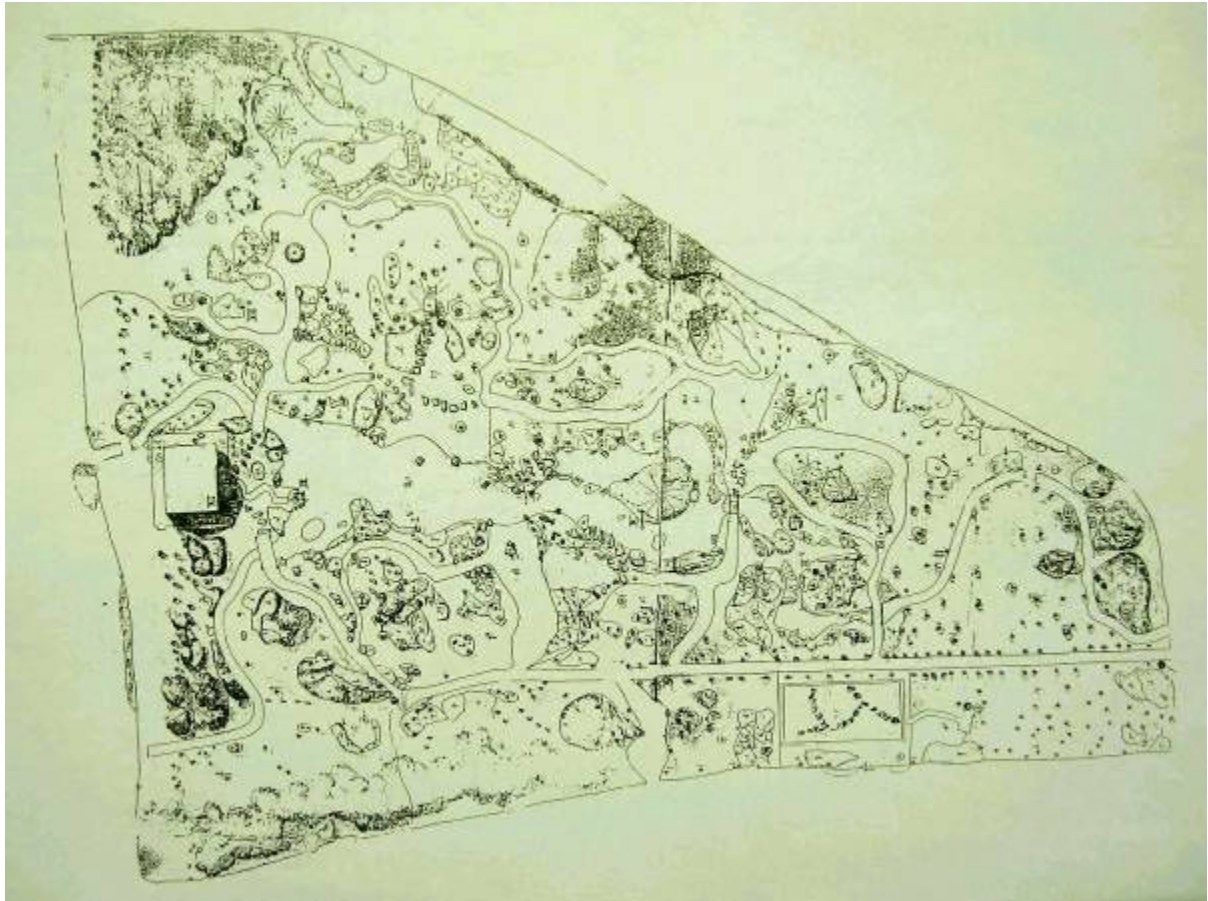
The second garden more to the back was called "The Garden of the Floating Island" (7300m2) and was designed by Honda in the Flat Garden Style, although interpreted quite liberally. It had again several garden buildings set around a garden hill, stuffed with rocks around a waterfall of about 5 meters high. This extraordinary arrangement in the middle had to function as a focal point seen from the buildings set around it. Several stone lanterns were added. Japanese ambassador Takaaki Katô and Imre Kiralfy, responsible producer for the fair were not satisfied with the very outspoken design of the garden mountain with its five meter cataract, but it was explained away that the average fair visitor would love the idea and it was built as designed. Starting from selecting the designers, much stress was therefore laid on the outward, formal qualities of the Japanese garden, rather than on more intrinsic qualities of beauty or of art. To what extent Ozawa and Honda's presentation of styles was appreciated by the British visitor, is still a question. The gardens at the Japan-British Exhibition remain a peculiar, official government-approved effort in the field. The Japanese embassy in London was directly involved in the garden project at Shepherd's Bush. Also in Holland, legend has it that the Japanese embassy in The Hague lent support with the Japanese Garden in Clingendael, so close by in the same city [11]. Although there is no real evidence so far, it is possible that the embassy in The

Hague supplied information to prepare the garden design at Clingendael. Judging from political circumstance, the embassy will happily have provided support in whatever form to a Japanese garden project, even the more while it was undertaken by an owner of high social standing.

The Japanese Garden at Clingendael

The Japanese Garden at Clingendael was laid out in the years around 1915 [12]. On its origin the late Miss Cornelia Cremers has left us an interesting piece of information, she writes: "The original design - several "scenes", one on each page, bound in a thick book - nowhere to be found until now, was probably of Japanese origin. Each scene was explained with a plant list, an indication for the correct placing of the garden ornaments,..., and a short explanation on the symbolic meaning of the materials to be used' [13]. Although she supposed that this were design drawings, the set of scenes with accompanying explanations could equally well have been a typical set of Japanese garden diagrams or a standard garden design book, rather than a design drawn on purpose for the garden in Clingendael. That 'the symbolic meaning' was explained with it, suggests that it even could have been in English. Cremers' 'thick book' might therefore even simply have been the book of Josiah Conder, and it might have been a present from the Japanese embassy. Another guess can be that the embassy presented drawing work related to the gardens in London. Ozawa and Honda made a set of sketches, some sketches for the Peace Garden show concepts that are indeed similar to the Japanese Garden at Clingendael [14].

From the early years a survey of the planting design exists in form of a numbered plant list with an accompanying photocopy of a plan, badly damaged by now.



(ill 2) Plan to the plant survey of the Japanese Garden in Clingendael, The Hague (Damaged photocopy of lost original attributed to Theo Dinn, to be dated 1915-1920. Copy in archives of Dienst Stadsbeheer, The Hague, some cleaning done, WK).

The survey must have been prepared by Theo Dinn, Clingendael's steward from 1905-1920 and shows us the original lay out [15]. Though the Clingendael Garden is about half the size, in concept it resembles The Peace Garden in London, having a similar central Y-forked mini-serpentine. In Clingendael it has an island, bridges of various designs, and several buildings and low hills along it, all much like the Peace Garden in Shepherd's Bush. But there are some major differences. The bold elevations and prominent stone groups of London are lacking completely in The Hague. Most striking though is the strong spatial arrangement of the Clingendael garden. Entering at the original entrance one gets the main pavilion directly and straightly in sight; it is situated at the end of the longest and central line of sight over the full length of the winding pond.



(ill 3) The pavilion at the back of the garden cozily catches the late afternoon light. The spatial arrangement of the Japanese Garden in Clingendael relies on a strong axial view, with much depth of perspective gained through the curving lines of the pond, all covered with duckweed when this photo was taken (Photo Wybe Kuitert, August 31, 2001).



(ill 4) The main pavilion of the Japanese Garden in Clingendael, The Hague. Behind the stone lantern, and at the left edge of the photo the red bridges can be seen. The pavilion stands between the forking branches, in fact rather narrow ditches, crossed by two red bridges connected to the main route running through the garden. The bridges flank the pavilion on both sides in a broken symmetry. (Photocopy of lost original, photographer unknown, to be dated before or about 1930, copy in archives of Dienst Stadsbeheer, The Hague).



(ill 5) Approach lined with oaks (*Quercus robur* L.), seen towards the original entrance gate, rest arbour seen at the right side of the path, Japanese Garden at Clingendael, The Hague (Photo Wybe Kuitert, August 31, 2001).

Striking is a double row of narrowly planted oaks that line the straight path, starting just after the entrance gate. Along the route to the pavilion several sights over the garden scenery are composed through the oaks and all together it functions almost like an approach to a main house in an English landscape style garden, though scale and feeling are completely different. The sudden and direct view on the pavilion when entering, is not a very Japanese design solution; such a view would be rather hidden and only reached after several turns. Also the strong sequence in the design of the approach points to a European designer. All together the spatial organization of the garden is compact and very well achieved.

Research is not yet conclusive, but it is possible that the double row of oaks existed already in 1915, they are shown in the old survey and mature trees are seen in an old, but undated photo that has the original entry porch, replaced before living memory. Together with the original entrance gate and the red bridges, effectively a miniature approach to Nikkô is evoked in phantasy. The road to Nikkô in Japan is lined with age-old cryptomeria trees in a mossy setting that resembles Clingendael in relative proportions and feeling. The red bridges in Clingendael were probably imported from Japan, as were several garden buildings such as a rest arbour, a gate and various stone artifacts [16].



(ill 6) *Cryptomeria japonica* (L.f.) D. Don lines the approach to the mausoleum at Nikkô for more than 30 kilometers. The trees were planted in the early seventeenth century, therefore almost three centuries old in this photo. Europeans were much impressed with the sylvan atmosphere in Nikkô, many Britons went there for fishing rainbow trout. (Adolf Groth, 'Japanische Gartenkunst', *Gartenflora*, 55 (1906), pp.369-373, 394-401).



(ill 7) The little shrine stands on a low garden mound, it is reached by stepping stones. A group of Tiger lilies is seen just at the left side of the left post of the shrine, Japanese Garden at Clingendael, The Hague (Photo to be dated mid 1920s, photographer and person on photo unknown, in archives of Dienst Stadsbeheer, The Hague).

An old photo shows the small, still extant shrine, on a low and gently sloping garden mound. Indeed, given the boggy natural conditions of Clingendael, with only fine sea sand in the deeper subsoil, no garden hill could practically be made any higher than this on the narrow confinements of the garden [17]. The same photo shows that effort was put into the detailing of the pond edge. Rows of wooden pegs were set to confine the edge, and in the Japanese manner irises and at other points rows of stepping stones intervene and add interest to the curving lines of the pond edge. Stepping stones that cross a pond edge to come down to the surface of the water are a typical detail of certain Tokyo gardens, known to have been visited by Western tourists as well [18].

The original planting design of the Japanese Garden in Clingendael was rich in flowers. Discussed more in detail below, the planting design reflects the growing interest in the flower border and the increasing role of women in gardening in these days.

Baroness Van Brien en and Friends - a taste for flowers

The Japanese Garden was part of the Clingendael estate owned by Margu  rite Mary Baroness Van Brien en van de Groote Lindt (1871-1939). The Baroness had family and friends in the better circles of England's high society. She spoke more English than Dutch; it has been said that she maintained ties with Lady Sackville-West and her daughter Vita (1892-1962) [19]. In summer Vita's friend-at-heart Violet and Violet's mother Mrs. George Keppel (Alice) would come over and stay for holidays in the comfortable house in the centuries-old landscaped garden of Clingendael. In one of her letters to Vita, Violet writes about the garden:

“...It is such a heavenly night - if only you were here; there is a really lovely little Japanese garden in the middle of the wood. I have just been out to look at it. It has a little paper house in the middle, where it would be divine to sleep...” Clingendael, Holland, October 1920 [20].

One wonders to what extent Baroness Van Brien en, called ‘Freule Daisy’ by close friends, was inspired for a Japanese garden by Frances Evelyn Greville 1861-1938 who was Countess of Warwick since 1893 and also known among friends as Daisy Greville. Like Alice Keppel, Daisy Greville is known that have had the intimate interest of the Prince of Wales, and there was a lot of talk about such reckless love affairs. From 1902 Daisy Greville, planning her gardens at Eastern Lodge, added a Japanese garden with lanterns and a tea house [21]. The brother of her husband was Hon. Louis George Greville of Heale House, who created a Japanese garden at about the same time after returning from his Tokyo ambassador post. In Heale House the river Avon is divided into streams that come to wind through a dreamy garden world. One of the streams comes under a red mini Nikko Bridge at the Japanese tea house that has eight tatami-mats [22]. Both of these Japanese gardens by Daisy and Louis George Greville were planned as actually not more than a small garden pavilion decorated with few plants and some Japanese style garden artefacts. The garden at Clingendael was much more elaborate in design and execution.

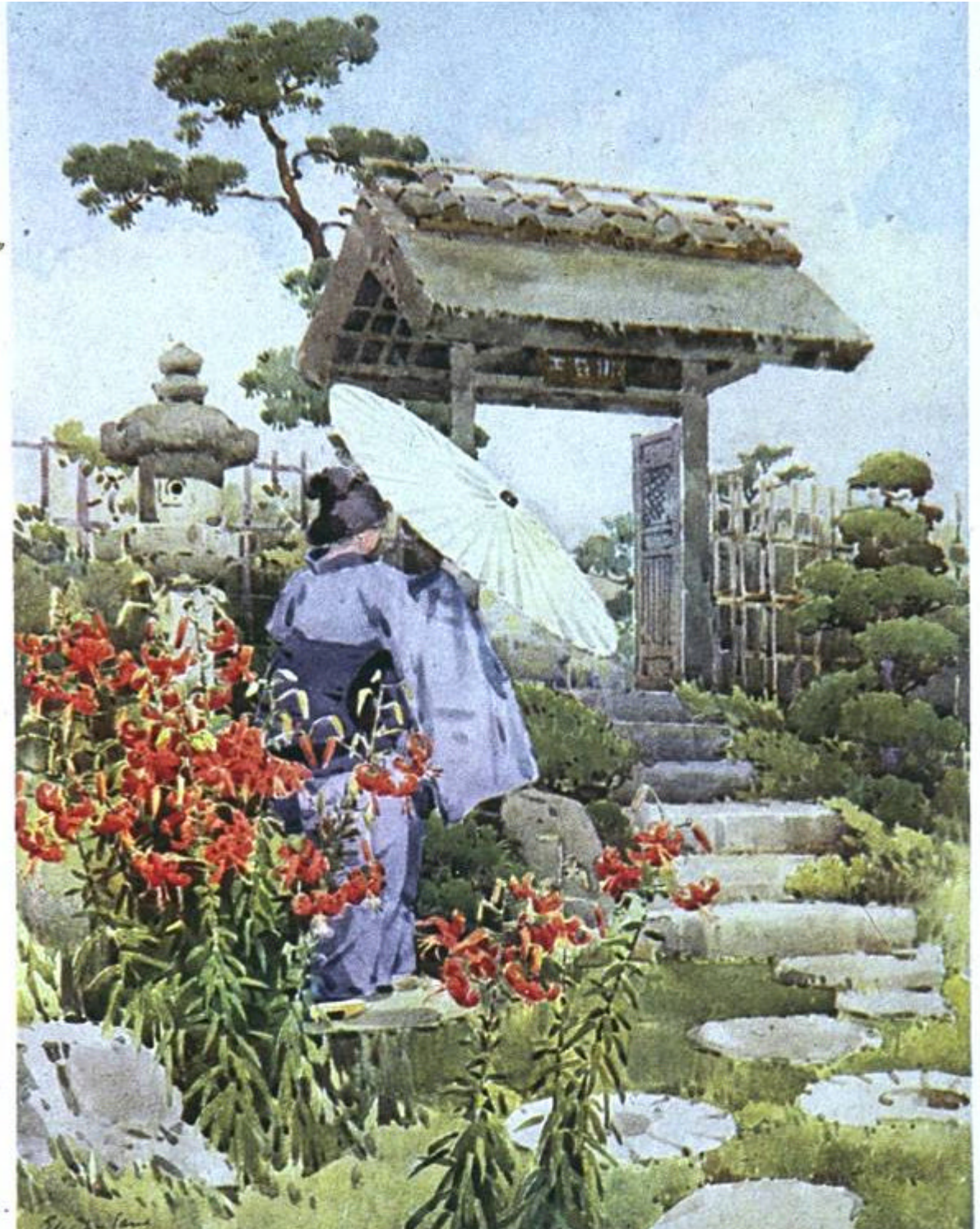
Other good friends of Baroness Van Brien en were Ella and Florence Du Cane. Ella was a painter who has left us fifty watercolours of gardens and flowers painted in Japan [23]. Her sister Florence wrote accompanying texts for their *The Flowers and Gardens of Japan*, published in 1908. The soft mellow tones of Ella's watercolours strikingly register the world of Japan's temples, gardens, fairs and exhibitions, all full of flowers. This flowery image of the Japanese garden is commonly found in these days [24]. With Florence's texts the book paints us an intimate-romantic Japan, even more idealized after the country's victory in the Russo-Japanese War. Through the book, the Du Canes gained friendship with the Baroness, they staid in Clingendael and *The Flowers and Gardens of Japan* has been an important source of inspiration for the final detailing of its Japanese Garden [25].

In Japan itself the chrysanthemum was one of the most obvious flowers in garden design and decorative arts of the period. It was the beloved symbol of a beloved Meiji emperor who headed the country eagerly moving forward to an industrialized society after Western model. In Clingendael chrysanthemums were found in a border facing the main pavilion, and two stone lanterns brought from Japan show a stylized chrysanthemum design, nowadays very rare in Japan.



(ill 8) Chrysanthemum-shaped stone lantern, Meiji-period, Kyoto-make, Shirakawa-granite. It stands under a young *Prunus serrulata* Lindley 'Takasago', probably a second generation of the plant given as *Prunus pseudocerasus* in the plant survey of 1915-1920. (Photo Wybe Kuitert, August 31, 2001).

Planted in drifts or in borders, flowers were everywhere. The old plant survey gives a lot of *Compositae*: *Aster* L., *Solidago* L., *Senecio* L., *Ligularia* Cass., and *Rudbeckia* L.. Tiger lilies were planted to the left of a flight of stepping stones leading up to the little shrine, just as at a little garden gate in one of Ella Du Cane's paintings [26].



(ill 9) Tiger lilies at the left of a flight of stepping stones leading to a gate, painted in Japan by Ella Du Cane (Du Cane, *The Flowers and Gardens of Japan*, No.6 Tiger Lilies, f.p. 34.).

More lilies were found in front of the pavilion. As in the Japonaiserie in Britain, also in Clingendael, *Wisteria* Nutt. was planted to grow on a pergola construction jutting out over the water of the pond. It was inspired by the spectacular *Wisteria* pergolas of the Kameido temple in Tokyo [27]. In Clingendael we find a collection of water lilies on the narrow pond, known from other Japonaiserie gardens as well. Most famous were the lilies in the pond of painter Claude Monet in his Japanese garden at Giverny, who promoted new varieties of the French nurseryman Joseph Bory Latour Marliac (1830-1911). The plant list of Clingendael is not very specific on cultivars though, naming only 'Robinsoniana', indeed a Marliac-lily, released in 1895. Reflecting the high ambitions towards the project, rather than an effort to introduce a Japanese touch, are such exotic plants as *Yucca filamentosa* Hort., *Gunnera manicata* Linden and *Tritoma Macowani* Hort. (now: *Kniphofia* Moench.). In the plant list we find novelties of the time such as *Daphne fioniana* Hort., a rare nursery hybrid, or Baby Rambler roses, that had only recently arrived in Holland. The list further gives an import from Japan: *Pinus densiflora* Sieb. & Zucc. 'Tanyosho' offered by the Yokohama Nurseries. It is possible that other plants with less obviously exotic names were imported as well [28].

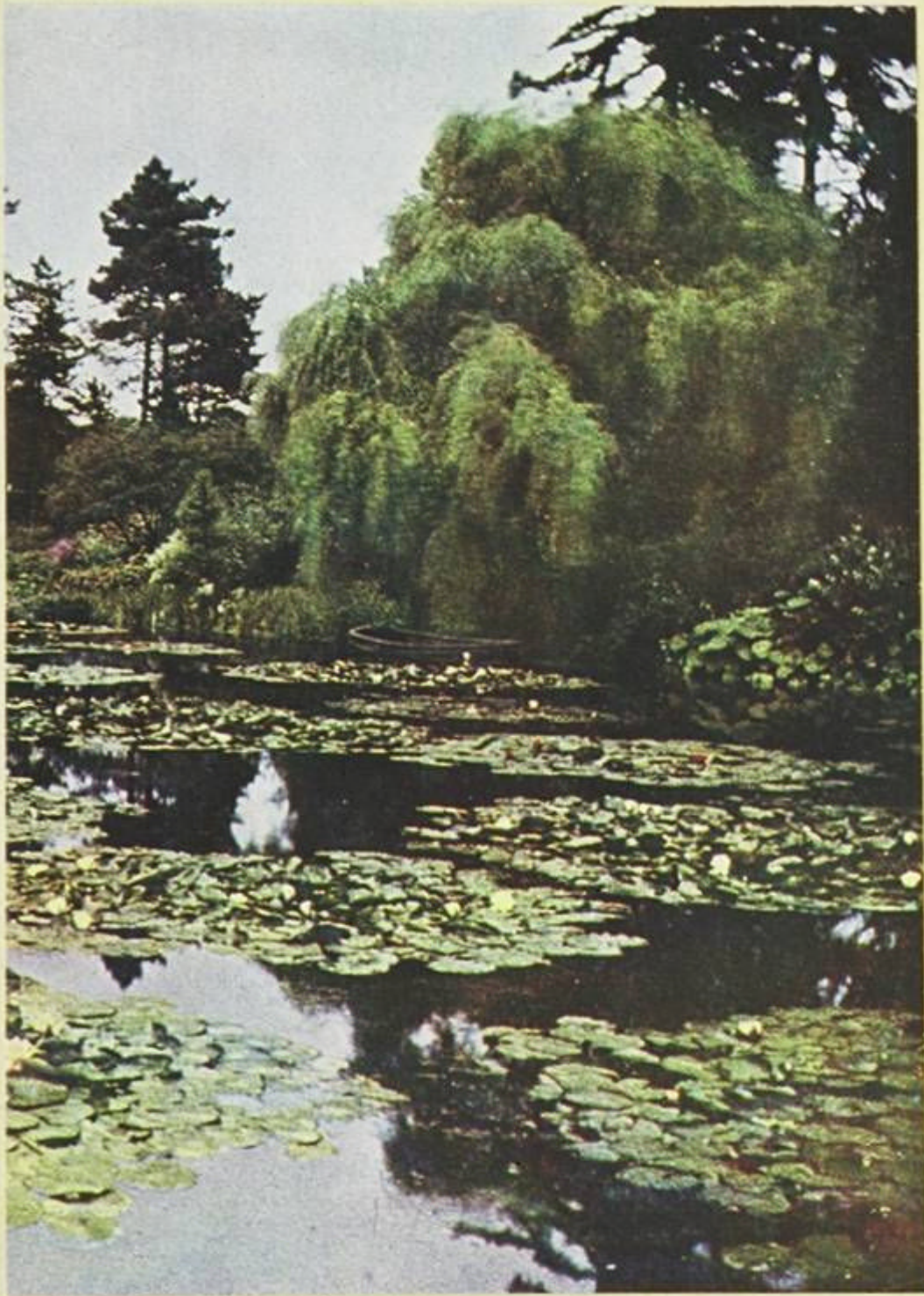
Baroness Van Brien en was a grand lady, intelligent and enterprising, who even traveled to Japan. The incredible level of horticultural artistry of the earlier Edo period (1603-1867) was still felt around the turn of the century. Vendors walked the streets, carrying potted plants, bonsai and flowers. Along the streets, townspeople would set up plants in the prime of flowering in front of the house. Flower festivals were on in every possible season of the year. The Baroness visited Japan in 1911, and she must have seen all this. The flowery vision of the Japanese garden is typical of the time. Cremers adds that the Baroness' memories of her travel to Japan where she visited the gardens played a major role in the design [29]. Ideas of friends like the Du Canes are demonstrated in the design, but she can not have developed the strong spatial arrangement and the horticultural ambitions of the planting design. The professional quality of the design that speaks from the planting and the well-conceived, European style spatial organization must have been the contribution of her steward and garden architect Theo Dinn.

Theo Dinn

Theodoor Johan Dinn (1876-1931) had been working in Versailles, London, and the Kew Gardens in Richmond, before we find him as a head gardener on the estate of E.S. Philpot on the Canarian Islands [30]. He took his free time to botanize and collect herbarium material, some of it is still kept in Kew. It was through the agency of Otto Stapf, assistant at the Herbarium of Kew that he was introduced to the Baroness, who employed him from 1905 on as a steward to manage the grounds of Clingendael. Dinn's international experiences were a guarantee for good connections in the European nursery world, and in 1913 the Clingendael N.V. commercial nursery was set up and Dinn was put in charge. At the same time he had an ambition to become a garden designer, and in spite of his employment he managed to develop his skills, amazingly even taking a job as a teacher in garden architecture to the Art Academy of The Hague in 1914-1916. The Japanese garden came about under his stewardship in the years when he was working on his talents as a garden designer even openly, in public [31]. What about his role?

A remarkable article is Dinn's *De Tuinen van Japan* (The Gardens of Japan) published in 1928 in the Dutch garden magazine *Onze Tuinen*. Dinn had left Clingendael eight years before, and he had written it on the occasion of the appearing of Jiro Harada *The Gardens of Japan*, a special edition of *The Studio* (London). Dinn discusses the Japanese attitude towards nature and the garden and refers as an aside to water design and stepping stones, as done in Clingendael. But nowhere is the garden of his former employer mentioned. Nevertheless, his article contains a most charming hint when it comes to the story of a German Count who, after returning from a trip to Japan decided to build himself a true Japanese garden. This fictitious Count imported all the required material at great cost. But his efforts proved in vain, when he was visited by a Japanese guest. Asked what he thought about the garden, the visitor said: "It is great, it is wonderful, we have no such thing in Japan". The story is copied from the book of Florence and Ella Du Cane who, in stead of a German Count, introduce an Englishman, owner of "probably the best of these English 'Japanese gardens'". He shows his garden to a Japanese visitor with the same dialogue as a result. Apparently, the anecdote was attached to the contemporary Japanese garden of Sir Frank Crisp [32].

Why should Dinn write a thing like this? At first thought it seems that he ridicules the Japanese garden fashion, but that is not what Dinn was after. In his own book, published the next year in 1929, he gives only two plates in color. Exactly these two give us clues to his interest in Japonaiserie. One shows stepping stones descending among a wealth of marsh-marigolds to the edge of a stream or pond similar to Clingendael. The other shows the pond of the Japanese garden of Claude Monet in Giverny, but without stating this in the title [33].



(ill 10) The water lilies in the Japanese Garden of painter Claude Monet, as given in Dinn, *De Villatun*, facing p.170, photographer unknown.

Dinn was employed by a member of the nobility, what requires consideration for privacy and diplomacy. He must have understood the sincere garden passion of the Baroness and her friends and can not have had any reason to criticize this. And then, the Japanese Garden was not exclusively his own achievement. No, his story of the German Count is a strategic, public denial of the Japonaiserie, to be explained in face of his ambition towards the newly founded association of Dutch garden architects (B.N.T.). Leonard Springer (1855-1940), 'Nestor' of the Dutch guild, was most instrumental in setting up the B.N.T., but had severely criticized Dinn's first garden booklet including its author [34]. Springer was a conservative and did not like any experiments in garden art of whatever fashion. With his article Dinn took the required public distance from the Japan-craze and became president of the B.N.T. in the same year. Quoting from a book of one of the Baroness' friends, but quoting it not too literally was an elegant understatement, that gave him enough distance without damaging the past. Dinn has been involved in the making of the Japanese Garden in Clingendael. No doubt the survey of the original planting design is attributed to him. I suspect the spatial quality in the design is his. It must have been through his network that imported, rare plants entered the garden, his nursery will have produced the flowers, Dinn was for instance good with chrysanthemum [35].

Recent history of the Japanese Garden in Clingendael

Baroness Van Brienon passed away childless in 1939 and ownership changed, while Clingendael was occupied by the Germans in the years of the war that followed. A period of confusion explains the loss of source material, before the City of The Hague acquired Clingendael in 1954. Until 1968, however members of the family lived on Clingendael. In the mean time the Japanese Garden had developed from a sunny and open garden, full of flowers to a garden with high trees above a shady forest floor. In stead of annuals, perennials, and even wild meadow flowers, forest floor geophytes typically found in the old gardens along the coastal dunes came up. The subsoil and the fresh groundwater table provide ideal conditions for the growth of moss [36]. Moss was ever present, well cared for and encouraged to spread by the managing staff of the City.

Nevertheless, a proper conscience on the origin of the garden was lacking among people involved, at a certain moment it was for instance believed that it was designed according to the rules of the Japanese tea ceremony, which induced irrelevant additions. Ideas on the Japanese garden in general terms changed in the West after the war when the Japanese garden was increasingly seen as an abstract Zen garden with rocks and gravel. Flowers and Japonaiserie were forgotten and in Clingendael rocks were added in the 1970s and recently even more [37]. All post-war changes were done in a tasteless manner with cheap garden centre materials, affronting the original high quality of the design. The old, imported architecture suffered from the Dutch climate: the rest arbour has been redone in proportions and materials that lack the qualities of the original design; the entrance gate has withered, and like the little shrine, has been completely replaced. After the 1992 Floriade flower show, some elements of the show's Japanese garden were moved to Clingendael to make a new and wider entrance area. Regretfully, again not much consideration was taken for authenticity of style.

Though this all may sound lamentable, actual damage still pales into insignificance in the light of the grand quality that the old and mossy garden as a whole still has. I hope that an extended research will be considered before it is too late. Finally, this precious garden deserves a proper legal protection status as monument to prevent further irresponsible renovations.

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REFERENCES

- [1]. Some remarks on Japan's export policy for garden plants in these years in: Wybe Kuitert, *Japanese Flowering Cherries*, (Portland: Timber Press, 1999), pp.79-80.
- [2]. Márka Keblusek, *Japanssch Magazijn - Japanse kunst en cultuur in 19de-eeuws Den Haag*, (Leiden: Hotei, 2000), published at an exhibition held in The Hague's History Museum on the shop *Japanssch Magazijn* that sold such imports.
- [3]. Japonaiserie, analogous to Chinoiserie in European garden history. The term was proposed by philosopher Philippe Nys at our international symposium *Les jardins japonais d'Europe*, at Musée départemental Albert Kahn, Boulogne/Collège International de Philosophie, Paris, October 1997. The publishing of the proceedings is announced at Besançon: l'Éditions de l'Imprimeur.
- [4]. Some recent research and publications: Amanda Herries, *Japanese Gardens in Britain*, (Buckinghamshire: Shire Books, 2001); Bernard Jeannel, *Jardins japonais en France*, (Paris: Nathan, 1995); Akira Satô, 'Gaikoku ni okeru Nihon teien', *Zôen zasshi*, 49/3 (1986), pp.167-188; Marie Simonnot-Bonhomme, 'Édouard André et l'art des jardins japonais' in *Édouard André (1840-1911) Un paysagiste botaniste sur les chemins du monde*, edited by Florence André and Stéphanie de Courtois (Besançon: l'Éditions de l'Imprimeur, 2001), pp.251-258 (with notes pp.325-326). To my knowledge, the only European restoration of a Japanese garden, done in combination with a proper archaeologic survey on site besides a research into the history, has been done at Schönbrunn, Wien. See Takahiro Naka, 'She-nburun kyûdennai no Nihonshiki teien no seibi ni tsuite', unpubl. paper, Kyoto Zôenkondankai, 1997. On the restoration of the Japanese Garden at Tatton Park: Shigeo Fukuhara and Ayako Shimizu, 'Tattonpa-ku Nihonteien ushinawareta nazo no saisei', *Landscape Design*, 27 (spring 2002), pp.64-71, kindly brought to my attention by Mr.Graham Byrne.
- [5]. The history of the gardens given in detail in Satô, 'Gaikoku ni okeru Nihon teien', pp.174-180. See also: Anonymous, 'Japanese Gardening at Shepherd's Bush', *The Gardeners' Chronicle*, (April and September 1910), pp.243, pp.227-228. Or an article in Dutch: Anth.O.P. Hile, 'Japansche Tuinen', *Onze Tuinen*, 6/22 (1911), pp.203-204. Two photos in: Theo J. Dinn, 'De Tuinen van Japan', *Onze Tuinen*, 23 (1928), pp.526-530.
- [6]. A certain Nisaburô Shimizu, and head gardener Izawa are mentioned alongside Ozawa and Honda for the design team, see Satô, 'Gaikoku ni okeru Nihon teien', p.175. The Diet Library in Tokyo still keeps the garden maps, scrolls and books that Ozawa gathered in the latter part of his life. The material is identified by various seals, mostly showing his pen-name Suien, which means 'drunk with gardens'. Ozawa's collection of his younger life was lost in a fire.
- [7]. Quite some creative designers were now active in Japan, like for instance the famous Jihei Ogawa (1860-1933). Ogawa worked together with Josiah Conder at Kyû-Furukawa's house in Tokyo between 1917 and 1919. For Ogawa see: Hiromasa Amasaki, *Ueji no niwa - Ogawa Jihei no sekai* (Kyôto: Tankôsha, 1990).
- [8]. Josiah Conder lived in Japan from 1877. After some publications for the Asiatic Society in Yokohama he presented his most extensive book on Japanese gardens in 1893. It was at the time the most scholarly book in English on the subject. See: Josiah Conder, 'The art of landscape gardening in Japan', *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, 14/2 (1886), pp.119-175; Josiah Conder, 'The Theory of Japanese Flower Arrangements', *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, 18/2 (1889), pp.1-96; Josiah Conder, *Landscape gardening in Japan*, with supplement with 60 views by Kazumasa Ogawa (Tokyo: Kelly & Walsh, 1893). Conder included illustrations reproduced from Kinkichirô Honda, *Zukai Nihon teizôhō*, (first edition

1890, Tokyo: Rinpei shoten, 1935). See also: Watanabe Toshio, Historical Loss as an Identity: Josiah Conder's *Landscape Gardening in Japan* (in Japanese) in *Kokusai shinpojiumu* 27, Nichibunken, 2005, pp.75-83. See further: Kenkichi Okubo, 'The Garden of Artificial Hills (Tsukiyama)', *Journal of the Royal Horticultural Society*, 29 (1904-1905), pp.82-85.

[9]. A letter of the Japanese embassy to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Tokyo recommending Saburô Ida is quoted in Satô, 'Gaikoku ni okeru Nihon teien', p.180. Whether Tokyo officials approved of calling in Ida or not is not clear; it is possible that he worked without official assignment. Tassa Eida worked in Tully, see J.Colleran and E. McCracken 'The Japanese Garden, Tully, Kildare', *The Journal of the Garden History Society*, 5/1 (spring 1977), pp.30-42. Miss Jill Raggett, Writtle College, now working on her thesis on the Japanese-style garden in the British Isles, 1850 - 1950, has found other evidence that Ida (Subaro Eida, according to Raggett) worked on the 1910 gardens and was involved with a shop in London.

[10]. Shorelines of ponds in both gardens were quite expressive in their curving in and out. According to Ozawa's explanation that went with the design, the shoreline in the Garden of Peace was modelled after the Japanese calligraphic writing '*nichiei*' (= Japan-England) and for The Garden of the Floating Island after '*dômei*' (= alliance), Satô, 'Gaikoku ni okeru Nihon teien', p.178-179. The design thus commemorated the military Anglo-Japanese Alliance concluded in 1902.

[11]. See the *Rapport/memorandum aan Hr.Vrijhof*, an internal note by J.L.Mol, of the *Afdeling Voorlichting* to the *Dienst der Gemeenteplantsoenen*, The Hague, to be dated c. 1969 and the oldest of the known sources that mention the engagement of the embassy.

[12]. This date is given in P.J.v.Bommel, 'Japansche Tuinen', *Onze Tuinen met Huis en Hof*, 25 (1930), pp.469-473 (p.472); it is likely a date of completion rather than start of the works. Joost S.H. Gieskes, 'Een conserveringsplan, Japanse tuin van Clingendael', *De Tuin exclusief, Tuinjournaal*, 18/2 (juni 2001), pp.107-113 (pp.109) mentions that thatchers carved the date 1913 in the roof.

[13]. 'One of the best Robinsonian gardens I have seen is in Holland' was the start of Christopher Thacker's praise of Miss Cremers' garden in *The History of Gardens*, (London: Croom Helm, 1979), p.263. The passage on her garden was left out in Miss Cremers' own edition of the Dutch translation of *The History of Gardens* that appeared in 1979 as *Tuinen door de eeuwen heen* (Amsterdam: Ploegsma); here Miss Cremers added information on the Japanese Garden in Clingendael (op. cit., pp.78-79). She lived close to Clingendael and was probably in contact with Frederik Willem Walter Van Tuyll van Serooskerken (1911-1985), who was the last member of the family living on Clingendael until he moved in 1968 to a nearby estate. According to others Irène B.N. van Brien (1883-1974), the younger sister of the owner was the source of Cremers' information. Similar oral history was known to the late Ms.E.F.G. de Koster (Leiden Hortus Botanicus), friend of Frederik Van Tuyll. Most of De Koster's information was laid down in Leslie Tjon Sie Fat's 'Flora Japonica - Japan and horticulture in the Netherlands' in *Imitation and Inspiration: Japanese influence on Dutch art*, edited by Stefan van Raay (Amsterdam: Art Unlimited Books, 1989), pp.131-140, p.137. Information on family members kindly presented by Mr.W.J.D. baron van Tuyll van Serooskerken.

[14]. See Satô, 'Gaikoku ni okeru Nihon teien', illustration numbers 10, 11, 15, and 16, poorly reproduced from originals in Tokyo's Kôen ryokuchi kyôkai.

[15]. The drawing (see ill 2) must be the same survey drawing 'by garden architect Dinn' mentioned in Thacker, Cremers (ed.), *Tuinen*, p.79. It makes a plant survey in combination with the accompanying list titled *Oorspronkelijke beplanting Japanse Tuin op Landgoed Clingendael*, (11 pages), both kept at the *Dienst Stadsbeheer* formerly *Dienst der*

Gemeenteplantsoenen of the City of The Hague. Though not signed or dated, from circumstantial and internal evidence one must conclude that the drawing and list can only be attributed to Dinn. They date from the early years of the garden: see Wybe Kuitert, *De Japanse Tuin Clingendael, voorstudie voor een conserverings en beheeradvies* (Den Haag, internal report Gemeentelijke Dienst Stadsbeheer, 2002), pp.21-22.

[16]. Bommel, 'Japansche Tuinen', p.471, and Thacker, Cremers (ed.), *Tuinen*, p.78. Our examination of receipts of recent ornaments, bought in the 1970s and 1990s and old photographs shows, with research on site as imports from the early days: a stone bridge, stone lanterns of the following models: *Kikugata (ikekomi)*, *Kikugata*, *Rankei-gata* (lost), "*Gunbai-gata*", *Yukimi-doro* (*Kodaikaku* type), *Rokkaku-gata*, *Kasuga* (lost). Also imported were one standing and one sitting Jizo, (sitting Jizo lost); a stone pillar (upper parts now lost); finally, one stone basin *Hasu-no-hachi*. All in detail reported in: Hiromasa Amasaki, Wybe Kuitert, Kinzo Nishimura, and Tokushiro Tamane, (Research Center for Japanese Garden Art, Kyoto, Japan) 23 *Stenen ornamenten in de Japanse Tuin te Clingendael, Den Haag*, (Den Haag, internal report Gemeentelijke Dienst Stadsbeheer, 2002). The two red bridges were probably also imported in the first place, but remade later. The gate, a rest arbour and the shrine were *sukiyafu*-imports; the main pavilion was built on site with European materials. See Kuitert *De Japanse Tuin Clingendael, voorstudie*, pp.11-12. *Sukiyafu* is a rustic style, making use of much material left natural as it is, sometimes even withered. It can easily be disassembled, crated and transported. Lengthy illustrative catalogues were edited in Japan since the early nineteenth century.

[17]. The gentle slope reminds of the splendidly regular cone of the real Mount Fuji. The little shrine on top makes one wonder whether a connection can be made with Ella Christie's Fujiyama. Miss Ella Christie built her own Japanese garden in 1907 in Cowden, Ochil Hills, Perthshire, Scotland, being inspired by a visit to Japan and meeting Ella Du Cane in Kyoto. The Japonaierie in Cowden had a Shinto shrine set on top of a garden Fujiyama. See Anne Scott-James, 'The Japanese Garden', in *'The Pleasure Garden'* by Anne Scott-James and Osbert Lancaster (London: John Murray, 1977), pp.106-111 (p.109).

[18]. As seen in Ella Du Cane and Florence Du Cane, *The Flowers and Gardens of Japan* (London: A. & C. Black, 1908), No.9 A Tokyo Garden, facing p.46.

[19]. Gieskes, 'Een conserveringsplan', pp.108 mentions ties with Sackville-West. Sisters and brothers of Baroness Margu rite's mother, Maria Louise Ottoline Niagara van Tuyll van Serooskerken, were married to members of British high society.

[20]. See *The letters of Violet Trefusis to Vita Sackville-West 1910-1921*, (Harmondsworth: Penguin Putnam, 1991), also: Philippe Julian and John Phillips *Violet Trefusis, Life and Letters* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1976). The Japanese Garden was laid out in the period of their exchange of letters and it is a challenging thought that the garden with all its flowers coming into existence was perhaps also known to young Vita.

[21]. The Japanese garden was meant "for scandalous love affairs" according to Sue Bennett, *Five Centuries of Women and Gardens*, 2000.

[22]. Plans for all of Heale House's gardens were drawn up for Hon. Louis Greville (1865-1941) by Harold Peto in 1910. Like Clingendael it is an eclectic mixture including parterre gardens as well. The tea pavillion at Heale House had an interior gorgeously decorated with lacquer.

[23]. The sisters lived in Kyoto, Japan for a year. Their stay is to be dated at least before Ella had an exhibition of her Japan-paintings in either 1904 or 1906. See James Hudson, 'A Japanese Garden in England', *Journal of the Royal Horticultural Society*, 32 (1907), pp.1-10. It is the text

of a lecture Hudson gave on April 25, 1905. The article says that Ella Du Cane exhibited her paintings last year. 'Last year' could be either 1904 or 1906. Some of Ella Du Cane's paintings survive at the Rothschild's home at Exbury, Hampshire. The Lindley Library also has two paintings. Florence died in 1955, other dates are not known to us yet. Information kindly presented by Miss Jill Raggett.

At the Japan-British Exhibition in 1910 four series of six postcards, reproducing 24 of the paintings by Ella Du Cane were edited and sold as souvenir. The article C.Bosch, 'Iets over Tuinen en Bloemen in Japan', *Buiten, Geïllustreerd Weekblad aan het Buitenleven gewijd*, 5/39 (1911), pp.462-464 is clearly inspired by Du Cane, *The Flowers and Gardens of Japan*, and demonstrates a wider distribution in Holland of the ideas found in the book.

[24]. The same flowery image is, for example found in Francis T.Piggot, *The Gardens of Japan, A year's diary of its flowers*, (London: Ruskin House, 1896) or in Basil Taylor (Harriet Osgood), *Japanese Gardens*, (London: Methuen, 1912).

[25]. Thacker, Cremers (ed.), *Tuinen*, p.78 states that the sisters 'later' staid on Clingendael and continues with saying that in the years to follow, Du Canes' book was often consulted in order to evoke the right atmosphere. This seems to suggest that the friendship came after the book was published and perhaps even after most of the garden was made. The influence in the detailing of the planting design is most obvious.

[26]. See Du Cane, *The Flowers and Gardens of Japan*, No.6 Tiger Lilies, f.p. 34.

[27]. Photos of the pergolas were shown and discussed in E.C.J. Kuijper, 'Japansche Bloemenpracht', *Onze Tuinen*, 6/29 (1912), pp.1-2; Kuijper was inspired by Gerard Keller, *De Wonderen der Wereld; kunstwerken der natuur en der menschheid zooals zij thans bestaan, verzameld uit alle deelen der wereld*, (Leiden: Sythoff, 1911), with three photos and text on the pergolas: pp.145, 146, and 150; 'Fujiyama' and Nikkô are also treated in this source. Again a photo published in Dinn, 'De Tuinen van Japan', p.527. Ella Du Cane shows the *Wisteria* at Kameido again (Du Cane, *The Flowers and Gardens of Japan*, No.31, *Wistaria*, Kameido, f.p. 148). Five other of her paintings show *Wisteria*, one in a similar arrangement as at Clingendael, hanging over the water with stepping stones leading through it, in combination with a *yukimido* type of stone lantern (Du Cane, *The Flowers and Gardens of Japan*, No.4, In a Kyoto Garden, f.p. 4). Japanese woodblock prints showing the *Wisteria*-pergolas at Kameido were found in circles of impressionist painters.

[28]. Representative of Yokohama Nurseries was Barr in London, who, like Vilmorin, was supplying Dinn earlier in Tenerife (see diary, note 28 below). See also Thacker, Cremers (ed.), *Tuinen*, p.78: 'the rarest plants came directly from Japan'. Bommel, 'Japansche Tuinen', p.472 notes that imported dwarf conifers, grown too big for indoors were planted in the Japanese Garden. Indeed some conifers still give the impression to be such outgrown bonsai forms, but a proper cultivar verification is still to be done.

[29]. 'Fujiyama' and Nikkô are given as an interpretation in the present article. An album exists with photos of Baroness Van Brienens's travel to Japan, visiting its gardens. Covered in leather it has a date 1911 written on the back. The album was shown to me in 1989, and I remember having seen photos of the pond of the Fukiage garden in Tokyo, often visited by Westerners in these days. A proper study of the album could lead to the interpretation of more memories recreated in Clingendael. See also Thacker, Cremers (ed.), *Tuinen*, p.78.

[30]. See for biographies: Henri F. Hartogh Heys van Zouteveen, 'Necrologie Th.J. Dinn', *Speciale Collecties LU-Wageningen*, document no.11.005.34 (1932). Dirk O. Wijnands, 'Theodoor Johan Dinn' *Groen* 37/10 (october 1981), pp.447-452 and R.I. Beyer, 'Lest we forget - T.J.Dinn', *Kew Guild*, (1985), pp.415-418. Dinn's Tenerife diary and herbarium notes are kept

in the Wageningen Herbarium.

[31]. He was "Leeraar in Tuinarchitectuur", see: Wijnands, 'Theodoor Johan Dinn', p.449. At least one original, elaborate colour painting of a garden design scheme, from this period, by Dinn is found in the Special Collections of the Wageningen University Library: *Plan voor een Villatuin voor Mevr. H.J.J. de Pauw-Geerlings, Teteringen, Schaal 1 à 100, 's Gravenhage, 1918*, No. KKV.

[32]. See Du Cane, *The Flowers and Gardens of Japan*, p.37, see also Herries, *Japanese Gardens in Britain*, p.4. And see: Jirô Harada, *The Gardens of Japan*, (London: The Studio, 1928) that inspired Dinn's article.

[33]. Stepping stones illustration faces the frontispiece, Monet's garden faces p.170 in: Theo.J. Dinn, *De Villatuin: Aanleg, Beplanting - Onderhoud*, (Amsterdam: Kosmos, 1929).

[34]. See: Leonard A. Springer, 'Boekbespreking Dinn - Kleine Tuinen', *Buiten, Geïllustreerd Weekblad aan het Buitenleven gewijd*, 10/22 (1916), p.199. On the founding of the B.N.T., Springer and the role of Dinn, see Constance D.H. Moes (ed), Anne Mieke Backer, Eric Blok, Marleen Dominicus-van Soest, Theo Janson, Erik de Jong, and Carla Oldenburger-Ebbers, *L.A. Springer (1855-1940) Tuinarchitect, Dendroloog* (Rotterdam, De Hef, 2002), pp.175-187.

[35]. Dinn, *De Villatuin*, p.134 presents a border design for chrysanthemum; see also Theo J. Dinn, *Kleine Tuinen en hoe er het meeste genoegen van te hebben, naar het Engelsch van H.H. Thomas*, 2nd edn (1st edn 1911, Zwolle: Tjeenk Willink, 1916).

[36]. An extensive, illustrated inventory is: Paul L.J. Schoenmakers, *Mossen en korstmossen in de Japanse tuin: een overzicht van de in de Japanse tuin voorkomende mossoorten, alsmede van een aantal korstmossen, en hun verspreiding* (Dienst der Gemeenteplantsoenen van 's-Gravenhage, Den Haag, 1983). It counts 46 species of leafy mosses, 11 liverworts and 16 species of lichens. See on the moss in the Clingendael garden in a more general context: Herman Stieperaere and Jan Rammeloo, 'Les mousses dans les jardins Européens: l'exemple japonais', in *Mousses, Bonkei, Bonsai, un secret séculaire du jardinier japonais*, edited by Wybe Kuitert and Jan Rammeloo (Bruxelles: Hayez, Meise: Jardin botanique national de Belgique, 1989, also in a Dutch translation), pp.132-137.

[37]. New interpretations, interfering with the old, of the Clingendael Garden came from Jan L.Mol, as shows his *Rapport/memorandum aan Hr.Vrijhof*; see also Jan Mol and A.J.C. Mol-de Vos tot Nederveen Cappel, *Clingendael*, (Den Haag: Gemeente, Afdeling voorlichting, 1984) pp.10-22. Most recent "repairs" by the Project Groep Japanse Tuin, follow the vision of Mol, see Gieskes, 'Een Conserveringsplan' p.110; irrelevant stone material was again added, and "restorations" of island and shore destroyed original constructions, frustrating further research into Japonaiserie and gardening techniques. The history of the interpretation of the Japanese garden as Zen garden is discussed in Wybe Kuitert, *Themes in the History of Japanese Garden Art* (Honolulu, University of Hawai'i Press, 2002), pp.129-138, or see the article on the Zen garden on www.wybekuitert.nl