

# To Make His Country Smile: William Hamilton's Woodlands

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**This famous estate on the Schuylkill River in Philadelphia occupies an important position in the history of American landscape gardening.**

Two hundred years ago the preeminent sight on the southern approach to Philadelphia was a country estate lying just above the picturesque Schuylkill River. Created by William Hamilton (1745-1813), gentleman, landscape designer, botanist, and avid plant collector, the Woodlands was an icon in its time, one of the first American landscape gardens in the "natural" English style.

It was to Hamilton that Thomas Jefferson wrote the letter now considered one of the key documents in American landscape history. Near the end he apologizes because "I sat down to thank you for kindnesses received, & to bespeak permission to ask further contributions from your collection & I have written you a treatise on gardening generally, in which art lessons would come with more justice from you to me." In the same letter Jefferson called the Woodlands "the only rival which I have known in America to what may be seen in England."<sup>1</sup> Although it is now rarely given more than a paragraph or two in articles on the art of American landscaping prior to the nineteenth century, in Hamilton's time the Woodlands received a great deal of attention, both written and graphic.

Hamilton inherited the Woodlands in 1747 when he was only two years old. His interest in "improving" what was then a country seat began very early; indeed, a schoolmate remembered listening to Hamilton's plans for its improvement when he was only a boy.<sup>2</sup> But

with his visit to England in 1784-1786, that interest was heightened. Of his tours there we have only a list of the counties he visited and a boast.

Short as my absence from you has been [one year at the time], I am bold to say I have seen as much of Eng'd & its metropolis as any of my countrymen who have preceded me . . . [I] have left unseen nothing that I have ever heard of as worthy of notice. At every place where I have been I have attended to whatever was most curious, & by the help of my memorandums, I flatter myself, the impressions I received will not be easily effaced.<sup>3</sup>

He was favorably impressed. "England *as a country* is an Elysium, & I should not have repined if circumstances would allow me a fixed Residence in it, with my family & property about me." He resolved to transport it to his own country. "The verdure of England is its greatest beauty & my endeavours shall not be wanting to give the Woodlands some resemblance of it."<sup>4</sup> He pledged, "Having observed with attention the nature, variety & extent of the plantations of shrubs, trees, & fruits & consequently admired them, I shall (if God grants me a safe return to my own country,) endeavour to make it smile in the same useful & beautiful manner" And in the same letter he sets his secretary to work on his plans for improvements: "To take time by the forelock, every preparation should *immediately* be made by Mr. Thomson [his gardener] who is on the spot, & I have no



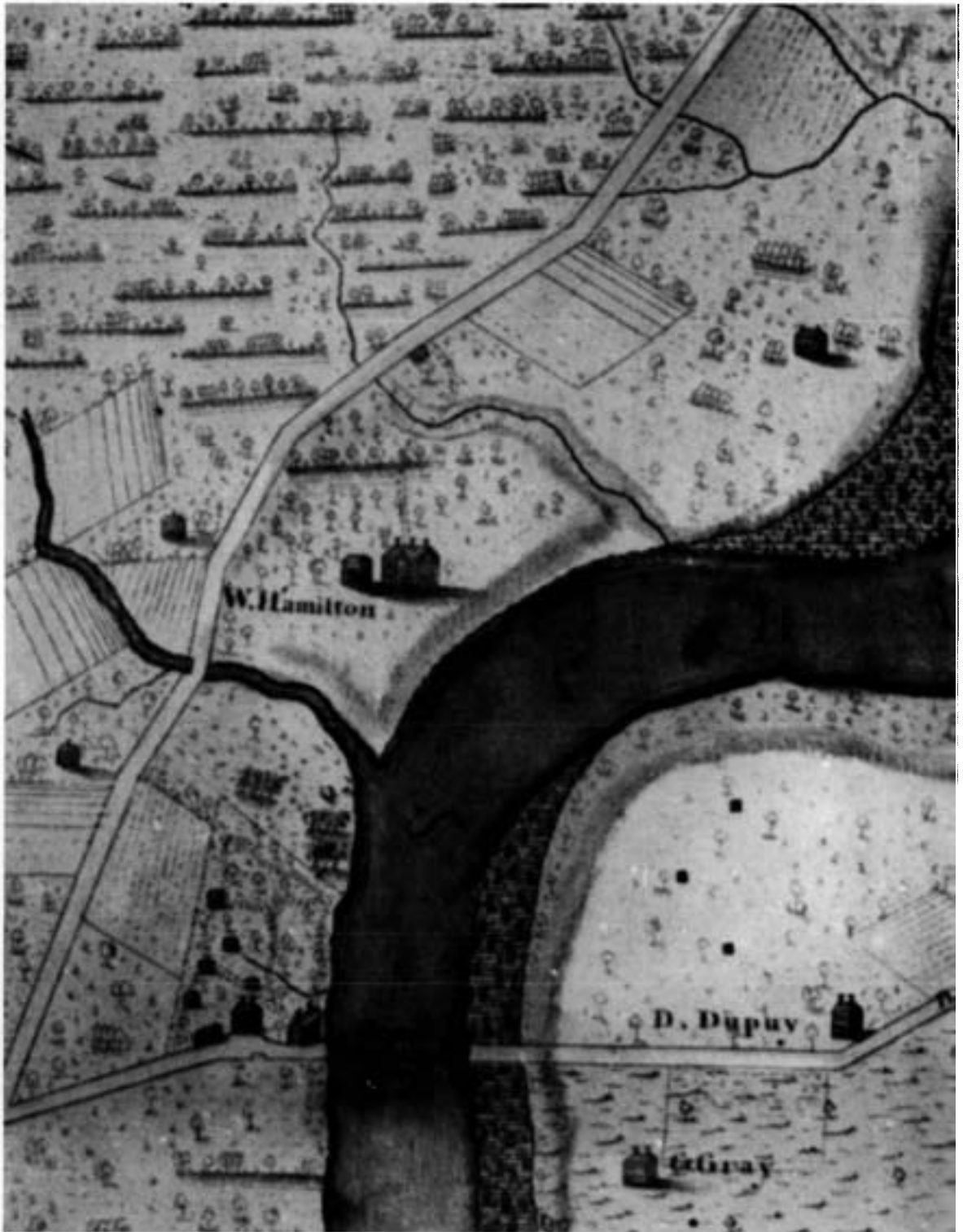
*James Peller Malcom's watercolor titled The Woodlands From the Bridge at Gray's Ferry, ca. 1792. This is the perspective of travelers from Washington and other points south as they approached Philadelphia's limits. The house appears to loom over the river, as if sited much closer to it than it really is. To the left, or west, of the house can be seen the wall of the greenhouse, the roof of the stable, and in the right middle ground, a path winding down to the river. From City of Independence, Martin P. Snyder. New York. Praeger Publishers, 1975, page 71, privately owned.*

doubt you will assist him to the utmost of your power."<sup>5</sup>

Hamilton's ambition—to make his country smile in the same useful and beautiful manner—can in no way be considered hobbyish, inconsequential, or in any way purely optional. Landscape was an issue of both aesthetic and intellectual concern. It was seen to have consequences in physical and economic well-being and to have important moral implications as well. It expressed the young country's aspirations. As one historian put it, "The quality of American life and scenery assumed nationalistic overtones. The improved landscape not only provided evidence of the coun-

try's progress but displayed its integrity and wholesomeness."<sup>6</sup>

Begun in the eighteenth century, by the nineteenth the process of adapting the English conception of natural beauty and order to the United States had taken a central position. It has been pointed out that "the national landscape stimulated much of the most influential thinking, the most intense feeling, and the finest art of the American people."<sup>7</sup> The English romantic landscape, widely seen as revolutionary in its concept, was and is considered England's greatest contribution to the arts in the eighteenth century. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, that con-



cept also shaped American standards of natural beauty with all the implications that has had for our landscape and our way of life.

With so many Americans born or educated in England, it was only natural that English taste should have its influence. Philadelphia, New York, and Boston might be major cities of an independent nation on the far side of the ocean, but culturally they were as dependent on London as any of the provincial cities in England itself. In 1798 Benjamin Henry Latrobe wrote in his journal, "I could see no difference between Philadelphian and English manners. The same style of living, the same opinions as to fashions, tastes, *comforts*, and accomplishments. Nor can it well be otherwise. The perpetual influx of Englishmen, the constant intercourse of the *Merchants*—here the leaders of manners and fashion—with England, must produce this effect."<sup>8</sup> But on one important point America had the advantage over the mother country, and that was in its natural beauty. In typical American fashion the advantage was often expressed in terms of its practical aspects, or as the English-born artist William Russell Birch put it, "In the United States the face of nature is so variegated . . . that labour and expenditure of Art is not so great as in Countries less favoured."<sup>9</sup>

The English canon on natural beauty did not neglect rivers. Those looking for "pleasing and picturesque views" were encouraged to follow the course of a river; winding through a country it was "one of the most beautiful objects in nature."<sup>10</sup> The Schuylkill was early recognized as one of the most beautiful among beautiful objects, abounding in "beautiful situations for retreats," as Birch, who portrayed so many of them, wrote in his autobiography.<sup>11</sup> At the Woodlands the terrain was of the much admired hill-and-dale variety with several small streams crossing it.

Along the river, which is very broad here, there was a touch of wildness and the visual interest of rock outcroppings.

The most prominent feature in the landscape was the house, sited on a high bluff. Truly it fit the eighteenth-century English ideal of a beautiful object in a picturesque landscape. A well-traveled Polish nobleman called it the Villa Borghese of Philadelphia although it was on a scale far smaller than the English or European (as was appropriate to a new republic).<sup>12</sup> When on his return from England in 1786 William enlarged on the rural summer retreat his father had built, he followed the latest English fashion using curvilinear forms and detailing new to American architecture. But most significant, the house represents an early attempt—perhaps the earliest—to literally move out into the landscape. The south facade, with its giant projecting portico, faces square onto the most important vista, the river.

It was there on an October evening in 1803 that the peripatetic Reverend Manasseh Cutler, then congressman from Massachusetts, and his colleague Senator Timothy Pickering, seeking shelter for the night from fever-ridden Philadelphia, found the owner of the manse, taking his ease on his piazza, smoking a cigar, no doubt chatting with family, surveying the traffic on the Schuylkill, and enjoying the view to the south.<sup>13</sup> By all accounts the views were exquisite.

The prospect from every room is enchanting, as you enter the hall you have a view of a remarkably fine lawn, beyond that, the bridge over which people are constantly passing, the rocky ground opposite to Gray's, four or five windings of the Schuylkill, the intermediate country & the Delaware terminated by the blue mist of the Jersey shore—at the back the eye is refreshed with the sight of the most beautiful trees.<sup>14</sup>

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*A detail from Peter C. Varlé's map of Philadelphia, 1796. The Darby Road, running parallel to the Schuylkill, intersects the Woodlands. The Schuylkill and Mill Creek, which flows into the Schuylkill, form two of the Woodlands' boundaries. When Hamilton inherited the Woodlands, it was about 356 acres in extent. A 1781 survey shows him to have increased its size to 600 acres. Most of the property was farmed with the exception of the area between the Darby Road and the Schuylkill. That is where Hamilton made his landscape garden. Courtesy of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.*



*William Russell Birch, Woodlands, the Seat of Mr Wm Hamilton Pennsylv'a, an engraving from his Country Seats of the United States of North America, 1808. Birch was one of the first to depict country estates in the early years of our nation. His Country Seats resembles similar English publications of the period, the major difference being that the English pictured the manors of the nobility and a way of life attainable only by accident of birth, whereas Birch showed an American way of life, within reach of all. Courtesy of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.*

Contemporaries recorded that Hamilton was wonderfully charming, fond of show, an affectionate son and uncle, and above all an enthusiastic and eager host. George Washington noted in his diary for 1787 a "lavish entertainment at which were more than an hundred guests."<sup>15</sup> On July 4, 1788, when Philadelphians celebrated the official acceptance of the Constitution with a three-mile parade ending at the Woodlands, seventeen thousand citizens spent the afternoon picnicking on the grounds.<sup>16</sup>

It is on the surviving bits of paper that we must depend for an idea of what England's only rival actually looked like. No plan of the landscape garden is known, nor can it be entirely reconstructed unless and until the tools of archeology are employed at the site.

Several contemporary accounts do exist. Add to these what remains of Hamilton's correspondence as well as the evidence of surviving illustrations, and we can form an idea of the terrain, the views from the house, the "pleasure ground," and the greenhouse and its surrounding area. We get only glimpses of outbuildings, terraces, and bordered walks as well as kitchen garden and orchard.

Reverend Cutler described the pleasure ground as being "in front, and a little back of the house. It is formed into walks, in every direction, with borders of flowering shrubs and trees. Between are lawns of green grass, frequently mowed, and at different distances numerous copse of the native trees, interspersed with artificial groves, which are of trees collected from all parts of the world."

And collected in great numbers. In a letter from England Hamilton worries the fate of plants sent home, among them three hundred silver firs and five hundred Portuguese laurels.<sup>17</sup>

An account dating from 1788 tells us that the walks were "planted on each side with the most beautiful & curious flowers & shrubs. They are in some parts enclosed with the Lombardy poplar except here & there openings are left to give you a view of some fine trees or beautiful prospect beyond, & in others, shaded by arbours of the wild grape, or clumps of large trees under which are placed seats where you may rest yourself & enjoy the cool air . . ." <sup>18</sup>

America's first planting guide, *The American Gardener's Calendar* (1806), was written by a man who knew the Woodlands well, Bernard M'Mahon, a Philadelphia nurseryman and (with Hamilton) one of the two recipients of the Lewis and Clark plant discoveries. His recommendations for Ornamental Designs, and Planting of The Pleasure, or Flower-Garden, echo the descriptions of the Woodlands, especially when he insists that screens be used to prevent the entirety from being taken in at one view, "so that a spectator will be agreeably surprised to find, that what terminated this prospect, only served as an introduction to new beauties and varieties."<sup>19</sup>

*Variety* harks back to the delights of the Woodlands. It was also a hallmark of the landscape theories of Thomas Whately, whose very influential *Observations of Modern Gardening*, published in London in 1870, William Hamilton surely knew and, like so many tourists in England, surely used on his rounds of English estates. *Mood* was another effect that Hamilton exploited. Cordial host though he was, he was quite definite about when and how his landscape should be experienced. He may have taken his cue from Whately. "To every view belongs a light which shews it to advantage; every scene and every object is in its highest beauty only at particular hours of the day; and every place is, by its situation or its character, peculiarly agreeable in certain months of the year."<sup>20</sup> A visitor in 1798 contended that Hamilton carried "his fastidious-

ness about the countryside to such a point that he is in a dreadful humor when one comes to visit it during low tide."<sup>21</sup> That was perhaps an exaggeration, but one of Hamilton's 1787 invitations did specify that "should you wish to see the Woodlands to any advantage, it must be in the morning at this season."<sup>22</sup>



Benjamin West's painting of William Hamilton of the "Woodlands" and his niece Mrs. Anna Hamilton Lyle. Part of a distinguished and prominent family, Hamilton's Scots-American grandfather, Andrew Hamilton (1676-1741), earned a considerable fortune as attorney for the Penns, held high public posts including Attorney-General and Speaker of the Assembly of the Province, and late in life won lasting fame as the "Day Star of the Revolution" for his celebrated defense of freedom of the press in the 1735 libel case of Peter Zenger. Hamilton's uncle James (1710-1793) was first native governor of the province (and loyalist and prisoner on parole during the Revolution), an early president of the Philosophical Society, and a patron of Benjamin West and other artists. It was from James that William inherited the mainstay of his income, the rents on the five hundred acres of land on which Lancaster, Pennsylvania, is situated. Courtesy of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

## Hamilton Among the Botanists

Ever since William Penn founded Philadelphia as a "greene Country Towne," it has been a lively center for botanists and horticulturists. One of the most illustrious was John Bartram (1699-1777) who lived just south of the Woodlands and was a source of plants and information for William Hamilton. Botanist to King George III, correspondent of Peter Collinson and Carolus Linnaeus, he introduced many American plants to England. It was he and his son William who discovered the *Franklinia* along the Altamaha River in Georgia. Cultivated in their garden, it disappeared in the wild shortly after their discovery. All extant specimens in North America derive from layering of their original tree.<sup>1</sup>

Humphry Marshall (1722-1801), collector of native plants, author of *Arbustum Americanum, or The American Grove, or An Alphabetical Catalogue of Forest Trees and Shrubs, Natives of the American United States, Arranged according to the Linnaean System* (1785), and cousin of John Bartram, lived in Chester, not far to the south of Philadelphia. A few letters survive in which Hamilton requests both plants and information from Marshall, such as where over the mountains his servant can discover "the oil nut, the *Mentzgia* or any thing else that is curious."<sup>2</sup>

Both John Lyon and Frederick Pursh were among Hamilton's gardeners. John Lyon

(d. 1818) devoted several years to exploring the Carolinas, Georgia, and Florida and was responsible for introducing a number of important plants into English gardens. The genus *Lyonia* commemorates his name, "an indefatigable collector of North American plants, who fell a victim to a dangerous epidemic amidst those savage and romantic mountains which had so often been the theatre of his labors"<sup>3</sup>

The German-born Pursh (1774-1820) published in 1814 the second flora of North America north of Mexico, the *Flora Americae Septentrionalis*. It contained all the plants described by several botanists from the Lewis and Clark expedition. In its preface he credited Hamilton's collection with being "particularly valuable for furnishing me with a general knowledge of the plants of that country preparatory to more extensive travels into the interior, for the discovery of new and unknown species."

### Endnotes

- 1 John W. Harshberger, "The Old Gardens of Pennsylvania," *The Garden Magazine*, October 1920, page 78.
- 2 William Hamilton to Humphry Marshall, Letter of November 23, 1796, and undated letter. Dreer Collection, HSP.
- 3 Thomas Nuttall, *The Genera of North American Plants*, vol. 1. Philadelphia, 1818, page 266.

The tour of Hamilton's pleasure ground seems always to have ended with an ascent from Mill Creek to the greenhouse. Flanked by hothouses, it is reported to have been 140 feet long. As presented to visitors, looming above them as they approached, it was a breathtaking sight, "than which nothing that has preceded it can excite more admiration." Unless it was its contents—the plants listed in the Hamilton correspondence are

breathtaking in themselves. A visitor in 1809 catalogued the greenhouse:

It contains nearly ten thousand plants, out of which number may be reckoned between five and six thousand of different species, procured at much trouble and expense, from many remote parts of the globe, from South America, the Cape of Good Hope, the Brazils, Botany Bay, Japan, the East and West Indies, &c &c. This collection, for the beauty and rich variety of its exotics, surpasses any thing of the kind

on this continent; and, among many other rare productions to be seen, are the bread-fruit tree, cinnamon, allspice, pepper, mangoes, different sorts, sago, coffee from Bengal, Arabia, and the West-Indies, tea, green and bohea, mahogany, magnolias, Japan rose, rose apples, cherimolia, one of the most esteemed fruits of Mexico, Bamboo, Indian god tree, iron tree of China, ginger, olea fragrans, and several varieties of the sugar cane, five species of which are from Otaheite. To this green-house so richly stored, too much praise can hardly be given. The curious person views it with delight, and the naturalist quits it with regret .<sup>23</sup>

Nor did Hamilton forget either orchard or kitchen garden in his concern with ornaments. In a letter of June 12, 1790, he plaintively beseeches:

Pray have you had a plenty of peas & Beans? Have you got Strawberries! are they good have the celery plants put into the ground which was promised by the gardener Morris—How many thousand cabbage plants have been planted out. The seeds must have been wretchedly bad if they have not produced thousand of plants. But if they faild a small matter would purchase many pray are the pumpkins sowed or the potatoes planted I am thus inquisitive because I am really ignorant with respect to the state of all these things.<sup>24</sup>

And beyond his exotics and the edibles, beyond the Lewis and Clark plant materials that Jefferson sent him for cultivation, Hamilton was also himself collecting from the wilderness near and far, following Whately's dictum, "The whole range of nature is open to the gardener, from the parterre to the forest; and whatever is agreeable to the senses or the imagination, he may appropriate to the spot he is to improve: it is a part of his business to collect into one place, the delights which are generally dispersed through different species of country."<sup>25</sup>

To say that Hamilton was obsessed with plants is entirely justified. In 1784 the very last thoughts he recorded on board ship as it entered open seas bound for England were for "Seeds to save & send: mimosa floridana, carolina sponge tree."<sup>26</sup> Letters to his secretary often urge him to seek out particular plants or send him down to the docks to see if anything new has come in on the India ships. Hamilton complains bitterly when he hears

of someone else's having got hold of a new exotic or "curious" native plant that Mr. Smith has failed to obtain. We are grateful that Mr. Smith was neither so interested in horticulture nor so resourceful at plant collecting as his employer. A good deal of what we know about William Hamilton and the Woodlands is owing to his secretary's failure to anticipate his master's wishes and carry out orders, and to the consequent reminders and rebukes he elicited when Hamilton was away from home. We know much less about the years when gardeners of the caliber of John Lyon and Frederick Pursh were in his employ.

Hamilton was well known and often noted for his lack of generosity with at least certain plants and certain persons. Bernard M'Mahon complained of it in a letter to Jefferson,<sup>27</sup> and it can be found as well in Hamilton's own correspondence, as for instance with a China rose that was not to get into others' hands as well as admonitions that no one should be allowed alone in the pot and tub enclosures.<sup>28</sup> But it should be remembered that those were the times when, as Andrew Jackson Downing noted, "the introduction of rare exotics was attended with a vast deal of risk and trouble." Hamilton is credited with introducing several plants into cultivation in North America, most notably the ginkgo (*Ginkgo biloba*), the Lombardy poplar (*Populus nigra* 'Italica'), the ailanthus (*Ailanthus altissima*), and the Norway maple (*Acer platanoides*).<sup>29</sup> Individually, any one of these four species would have constituted a significant introduction. Taken as a group, their impact on the cultivated landscape of North America has been enormous.

Like all avid gardeners William Hamilton's work was never finished. In an article on the Woodlands dated 1809, when Hamilton had been hard at it for at least twenty years and probably many more, when he was sixty-four years old, laid low by gout and only four years from his death, a visitor reported "much still remains to be done, for the perfecting it in all the capabilities which Nature, in her boundless profusion, has bestowed."<sup>30</sup>

We cannot know how William Hamilton displayed his collection of exotics and curious





natives, combined foreign importations with native wilderness, contrasted open and closed spaces, or arrayed colors, textures, shapes. Nor do we know exactly how he used the natural shaping of the ground—the genius of the place—as inspiration for his groupings; in short, whether he achieved a unified work of landscape art. But given the descriptions, given Thomas Jefferson's strong approbation—"the chastest model of gardening which I have ever seen out of England"<sup>31</sup>—and the high praise of others, given William Hamilton's own eye and constant concern for beauty, there is a high probability that he succeeded.

He was aware that he was bringing English models in architecture and landscaping to America, and in so doing he knew he served his country, if for no other reason than because Thomas Jefferson often told him so. The landscape he adapted at the Woodlands had been fashioned by and for the aristocracy, but in this country it was to play its most important role in a decidedly democratic process. Birch, who included the Woodlands in his *Country Seats of the United States*, sought to "promote the Fine Arts and propagate Taste," to spread it more widely among the populace of the young country. M'Mahon's readership seems to have encompassed all who both read and gardened. If, as it appears, he took the Woodlands as a model for the laying out of pleasure grounds, then the Woodlands would have had wide influence on the many Americans who relied on his advice throughout the first half of the nineteenth century. Thus the Woodlands is nothing less than a crucial way station on the road that led from English country seat to American country seat to rural cemetery to the great public parks of the nineteenth

century—parks that a century later remain the quintessential American idea of a park.

The Woodlands began to decline soon after Hamilton's death in 1813. "Life is short, art is long"—unless it is the art of the landscape. The fabulous collection of tender exotics was scattered, and gradually all else that required care died. His successors had little knowledge, taste, or money. The Woodlands' conversion into a rural cemetery in 1840 was applauded as a method of preserving the splendid estate—the cemetery's charter asserted that "these groves and those prospects will be sacredly preserved"—but although it did save the mansion, it could not save the landscape.<sup>32</sup> The entire area is much changed. As long ago as 1864 Joshua Francis Fisher recorded:

The city out-skirts have encroached everywhere now. Ugly buildings rise where meadows and groves bounded the quiet river. The trees around the margin . . . have been cut down for wharves and a railway. The fine woods of Gray's Gardens, the more distant plantations of the Bartrams, the picturesque projecting rocks in the foreground, over all of which we used to look while we traced the meanders of the tranquil Schuylkill on its way to the Delaware, all are gone! and the primitive floating bridge has given place to the great tasteless wooden viaduct of the Baltimore Railroad, which spoils the landscape and obstructs the view<sup>33</sup>

Time has served only to add more factories, more oil tanks, more decay and dereliction. On the grounds themselves sweeps, curves, projections are obscured. Walks, borders, lawns, arbors, thickets, and groves are gone. Bulbous roots, ranunculus, double convovulus, franklinia, double peach, Portuguese laurels, and even the ginkgos—all are gone. The Elysium on the Schuylkill, William Hamilton's Woodlands, has given way to the unkempt litter of modern America.

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A 1936 photograph of the male ginkgo tree in Woodlands Cemetery, Philadelphia. Planted in 1785 by William Hamilton, this was long considered the oldest ginkgo in North America. In 1981 it was 68 feet tall and 30 inches in diameter. Unfortunately this tree, along with a nearby female of approximately the same age, was cut down in the mid-1980's, following an incident in which the caretaker's dog took sick after eating some of the seeds produced by the female tree. This regrettable incident has settled the long-running debate about which is the oldest ginkgo in the United States: there is now no doubt that it is the male specimen in Bartram's Garden just a few miles from the Woodlands. Photograph by R. H. True, from the Archives of the Arnold Arboretum.

## Endnotes

- 1 Edwin M. Betts, ed., *Thomas Jefferson's Garden Book*, Letter of July, 1806. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1944, pages 322-323.
- 2 Sophia Cadwalader, ed., *Recollections of Joshua Francis Fisher* [1864]. Boston: Updike Publishers, 1929, page 218
- 3 William Hamilton to Thomas Parke, Letter of November 2, 1785. Society Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania [hereafter HSP].
- 4 William Hamilton to Thomas Parke, Letter of September 24, 1785.
- 5 William Hamilton to Benjamin H. Smith, Letter of September 30, 1785. Smith Collection, HSP.
- 6 Edward J. Nygren, "From View to Vision," in *Views and Visions: American Landscape Before 1830*, ed. Edward J. Nygren. Washington, D.C.: The Corcoran Gallery of Art, 1986, page 17.
- 7 Edward C. Carter II, ed., *The Virginia Journals of Benjamin Henry Latrobe, 1795-1798*, vol. 1. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977, page 465.
- 8 Carter, ed., *Virginia Journals*, page 374
- 9 William Birch, *The Country Seats of the United States* Springland, Pa., by the author, 1808, unpagged.
- 10 William Gilpin, *Observations . Cumberland and Westmoreland* (1789), quoted by Nygren, *Views and Visions*, page 54.
- 11 *The Life and Anecdotes of Wilham Russell Burch, Enamel Painter, by Himself*, typescript. Society Miscellaneous Collection, HSP, pages 19-20.
- 12 Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz, *Under Their Vine and Fig Tree: Travels Through America in 1797-1799*, tr. and ed. Metchie J. E. Budka. Elizabeth, N. J: Grassmann Publishing Company, 1965, page 52
- 13 William P. and Julia P. Cutler, eds., *Journals and Correspondence of Rev. Manasseh Cutler*, vol. 2. Cincinnati: R. Clarke, 1888, page 144.
- 14 "L.G." to her sister Eliza, Letter of June 15 [1788?]. Society Miscellaneous Collection, HSP.
- 15 John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *The Diaries of George Washington*, vol. 3. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1925, pages 220-221.
- 16 David Freeman Hawke, *Benjamin Rush, Revolutionary Gadfly*. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1971, page 356.
- 17 William Hamilton to Benjamin H. Smith, Letter of November 2, 1785. Smith Collection, HSP.
- 18 "L.G." to her sister Eliza, June 15 [1788?].
- 19 Bernard M'Mahon, *The American Gardener's Calendar*. Philadelphia: B. Graves, 1806, pages 55-56.
- 20 Thomas Whately, *Observations of Modern Gardening* New York: Garland, 1982, pages 242-243.
- 21 Niemcewicz, *Under Their Vine*, page 52.
- 22 William Hamilton to Jasper Yeates, Letter of November 30, 1787. Yeates Collection, HSP.
- 23 Oliver Oldschool, *pseud*, "American Scenery for the Portfolio, 'The Woodlands,'" *Port Folio* II, no. 6 (December 1809), page 507.
- 24 William Hamilton to Benjamin H. Smith. Smith Collection, HSP.
- 25 Whately, *Observations*, page 256.
- 26 William Hamilton to Benjamin H. Smith, Letter of October 8, 1784. Smith Collection, HSP.
- 27 Betts, ed., *Jefferson's Garden Book*, Letter of January 3, 1809, page 401.
- 28 William Hamilton to Benjamin H. Smith, Letter of June 1, 1789 Smith Collection, HSP.
- 29 Andrew Jackson Downing, *A Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening Adapted to North America*. Little Compton, R.I.: Theophrastus Publishers, 1977, page 26; and John W. Harshberger, "The Old Gardens of Pennsylvania," *The Garden Magazine* (April 1921), pages 120-121.
- 30 Oliver Oldschool, *pseud*, "American Scenery," page 507.
- 31 Betts, Letter of May 7, 1809, page 411.
- 32 Charter of the Woodlands Cemetery Company. Philadelphia, 1845, page 1.
- 33 Cadwalader, *Recollections*, pages 218-219.

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