



1. SREBRZYNIEC: Watercolour by Napoleon Orda. c.1880. (National Gallery, Krakow). Devastated by the death of his second wife and two sons between the years 1829 and 1831, McClair sought solace in travelling into the Podole region where he completed a number of projects including Srebrzyniec for the Czacki family.



2. HARMAKI: Watercolour by Napoleon Orda. c.1880. (National Gallery, Krakow). Towards the end of his days, McClair dictated a memoir of his life which is the principal source for information about his career. Harmaki was created in the 1830s for the Dembowski family. Clumps of spruce decorate the lawn in front of the house.

Art and Nature

The Polish and Ukrainian Gardens of Denis McClair (1762-1853)

Patrick Bowe
chronicles the exotic career of an Irish
landscape gardener and *émigré* in the 19th century



3. MOUNT BELLEW, CO GALWAY: Engraving by J C Varnall after J P Neale. (National Library of Ireland). Denis McClair, who was brought up near Athlone, worked as a young man with Thomas Leggett who designed the park at Mount Bellew.

The 18th century saw the emigration of many Irishmen who were talented in the arts. James Hoban (1758?-1831), the architect of the White House in Washington DC and John Field (1782-1837) the composer who died in Moscow, are among the best known. Among the least known is Denis McClair (1762-1853) who emigrated to Poland in 1790 and became the outstanding landscape gardener there during the first half of the 19th century. Towards the end of his life he dictated a memoir in Polish which is the principal source of our knowledge about his life and career.

The last king of Poland, Stanislaw August (1732-1798), was considerably influenced by Enlightenment thought and was

determined to modernise his country by updating its political institutions and bringing Poland's cultural life into line with that of the most progressive countries in Europe. His reign ushered in a new era of political and cultural reform. Poland's neighbours – Russia, Prussia, and Austria – viewed this beacon of liberty in their midst with alarm. They invaded Poland, forced Stanislaw to abdicate, and partitioned the country among themselves. Poland then lost its political independence for over a century.¹

In his project to liberalise Poland, Stanislaw August was able to count on the support of a group of powerful and enlightened aristocrats within his kingdom. In the forefront of this group was Princess Izabela Czartoryska. She had been Stanislaw August's

mistress for a time, was married to his cousin, Prince Adam Czartoryski, and was a famous patroness of the arts and education.² Among her many cultural interests, Izabela Czartoryska included landscape gardening. She pioneered the introduction of the English landscape garden into Poland, writing the standard handbook in Polish on the subject, *Various Thoughts on the Creation of Gardens*.³ She also employed an English gardener, James Savage (1740-1816), in the park of her husband's estate near Lublin in eastern Poland. Known as Pulawy, it was to become among the best known landscape gardens in Europe.⁴

On one of her many travels throughout Europe, Princess Czartoryska found herself in London in 1790 with the aim of enticing to Poland a professional landscape gardener who would design parks and gardens in the English style.

Foremost in her mind, was the wish of the king's nephew, Prince Stanislaw Poniatowski, to find a gardener to landscape a setting for his new neo-Gothic house at Korsun in eastern Poland.⁵ The landscape gardener whom Princess Czartoryska found in London and persuaded to come to Poland was an Irishman called Denis McClair.

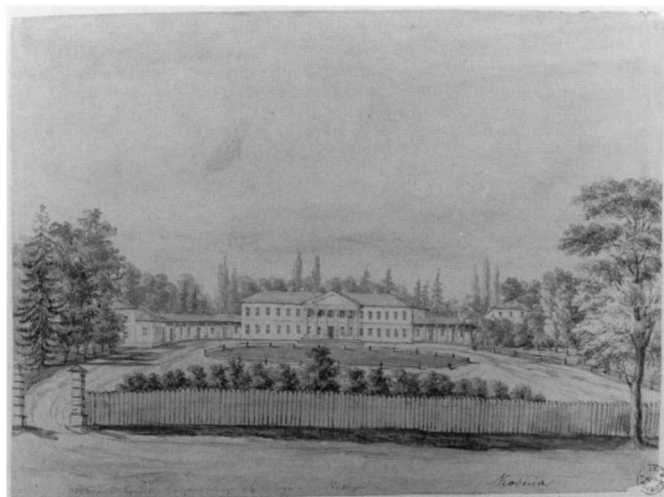
McClair was brought up at Fairfield, his father's small estate, located near the town of Athlone in the centre of Ireland.⁶ At the age of sixteen he left his family home to study botany and natural history at the University of Dublin. He was obliged to support himself by teaching because his father⁷ had gone into exile to escape sentence of death for his part in the 1777 Whiteboys' Revolt.⁸ When he had finished his studies, Denis emigrated to London where he worked as a landscape gardener. Among his prestigious employers there was the Duke of Bedford.⁹

In 1788, he joined a botanical research expedition to the East Indies but only got as far as the south Atlantic island of St Helena where he was obliged to leave ship on account of an illness. He returned to Ireland where he worked with a famous landscape gardener of that time, Thomas Leggett. Although

Leggett designed Marlay Park and Stillorgan Park near Dublin, his practice was located to a great extent in the western county of Galway. His best known work in that county was the park at Mount Bellew (Fig 3), conveniently close to McClair's home near Athlone.¹⁰ However, their working relationship did not last long as, according to the memoir dictated by McClair later, Leggett became jealous of McClair's talents.¹¹ After his return to London, McClair met Princess Izabela Czartoryska in 1790 and grasped the opportunity of going to Poland not least because he hoped to encounter his exiled father there. On first going into exile, his father had joined the Prussian army but was now serving as an artillery major in the Polish army.

However, McClair was not to see his father. On his arrival in Poland, he learned that his father, taking advantage of an amnesty, had returned to Ireland. McClair was further disappointed by not receiving a summons to Prince Stanislaw Poniatowski's estate at Korsun – the prince, having lost interest in Korsun, had gone on an extended journey abroad. McClair was now known as 'Mikler Dionisy' – 'McClair' having been Polonized to 'Mikler' and 'Denis' to 'Dionisy', the surname coming before the first name as is the Polish tradition. He worked temporarily at Princess Czartoryska's estate at Pulawy and also at the park of Arkadia, the creation of another famous Polish patroness of the arts, Princess Helena Radziwill.¹² After a year and a half of fruitless waiting for a summons to Korsun, the disappointed Mikler was taken under the protection of the king who offered to pay his fare if he wished to return home.

Mikler was, however, distracted by a new friendship and a new project. He had met Adam Chreptowicz, a son of the powerful Chancellor of Lithuania, Joachim Chreptowicz. Adam Chreptowicz challenged Mikler to create a garden behind his father's palace in Warsaw while his father was away for two weeks and so surprise him on his return home. Mikler took on the challenge. Although the time of year (the month of May)



4. KODNIA: Watercolour by Napoleon Orda. c.1880. (National Gallery, Krakow). Having met the Polish Princess Czartoryska in London in 1790, McClair seized the opportunity of going to Poland where he hoped to find his exiled father. Failing to do so, and patronised first by the Chancellor of Lithuania, he became the most successful landscape gardener in Poland in the early decades of the 19th century.



5. KOLODNE: Watercolour by Napoleon Orda. c.1880. (National Gallery, Krakow). McClair settled in Wolyn, a region in eastern Poland which is today part of the Ukraine. There he laid out a number of important parks and gardens including that at Kolodne. The oval lawn in front of the portico and the poplars are characteristic of his designs.

was not ideal and the effort and cost were great, Mikler completed the job in the stipulated time. It was the first garden in the new informal English landscape style to have been laid out in the city. Old Chreptowicz was delighted and all of fashionable Warsaw came to see it.¹³

While the Chreptowicz garden was being made, the site was visited on a number of occasions by a modestly-dressed young woman who appeared to be knowledgeable about botany but whose name Mikler was unable to discover. Later, the young lady sent her carriage to bring him to her house. There he came to know that her name was Princess Magdalena Michalowska Lubomirska. Her purpose was to persuade him to go to Wolyn, a region in eastern Poland which is to-day incorporated into Ukraine. She wished him to advise on the re-landscaping of the great Lubomirski estates around the towns of Dubno and Rivne. Being unable to resist such a tempting offer, he postponed his return home for a second time.

By 1792, Mikler had completed the park, which is known as Palestyna¹⁴, on the Lubomirski estate. In the marsh which surrounded the mediaeval castle of Dubno, Mikler had supervised the creation of an artificial island which was then transformed into a landscape park. The project was accomplished at a very difficult time in Poland's history. During those years, Poland was trying to halt the territorial encroachment of its neighbour, Russia. In 1792, the Polish army defeated the Russians at the battles of Zielence and Dubienka, both located near the Lubomirski estates. In spite of the proximity of war, McClair's project was undamaged. Two years later, the Polish army lost the decisive battle of Maciejowice, also located not far from Mikler's base. For a second time, McClair's work remained undamaged. After the defeat, Mikler was charged by Princess Lubomirski with the task of conveying some sorely-needed cash to the heroic commander of the defeated Polish army, Tadeusz Kosciuko, who, having been taken a prisoner by the Russians,

was being led through the Lubomirski estates.

The Palestyna park was so successful that other landowners in the region engaged Mikler to lay out their parks. After the Polish defeat at Maciejowice, Russia had annexed the entire region of Wolyn and Podole. However, the Polish aristocrats retained ownership of their estates and felt sufficiently confident to employ Mikler to develop them.

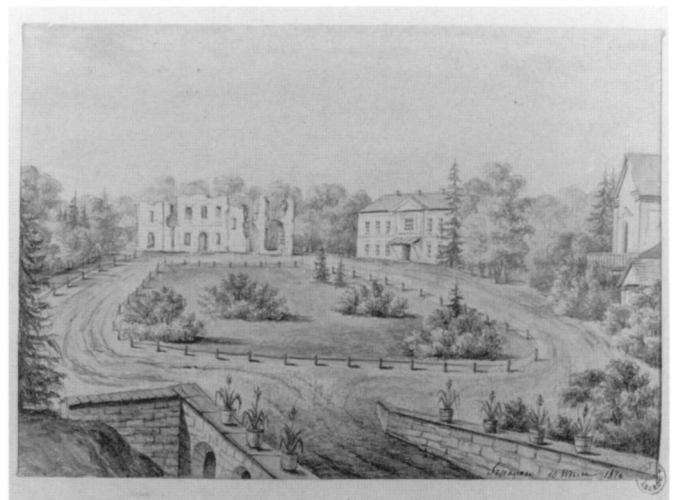
Shortly after the creation of the Palestyna park, Mikler was employed by General Krzysztof Karwicki, a friend of Princess Izabela Czartoryska, to lay out a picturesque park at Mizozs on the banks of the river Stubla also in the region of Wolyn. Below Karwicki's neo-classical house, Mikler widened the river to form a lake and re-grouped the conifers and broadleaved trees already growing on the site, linking them visually by means of new, carefully-placed architectural features such as balustrades, terraces, and towers as well as an orangery.¹⁵ One of the architectural features of the park, a lakeside grotto, bears to this day a plaque inscribed to Karwicki's friend and Mikler's patron, Izabela Czartoryska: 'This stone was placed here by the Princess Czartoryska on the 15th. August 1805. This memorial was erected with gratitude and friendship.'

During the early 1790s, McClair was working continuously: for the Czacki family, for the princely Sangusko family on its estate at Boromel, and for the starost (king's deputy) of Nowograd at his estate called Poryck. The house and park of Poryck were sited on an oval-shaped, artificially-created island which was about three hectares in extent. Mikler planted trees along the water to frame views to and from the island. The park was famous for its collection of native and exotic plants, such as 'Wisla' poplars¹⁶, which were deliberately chosen to flower in different seasons.

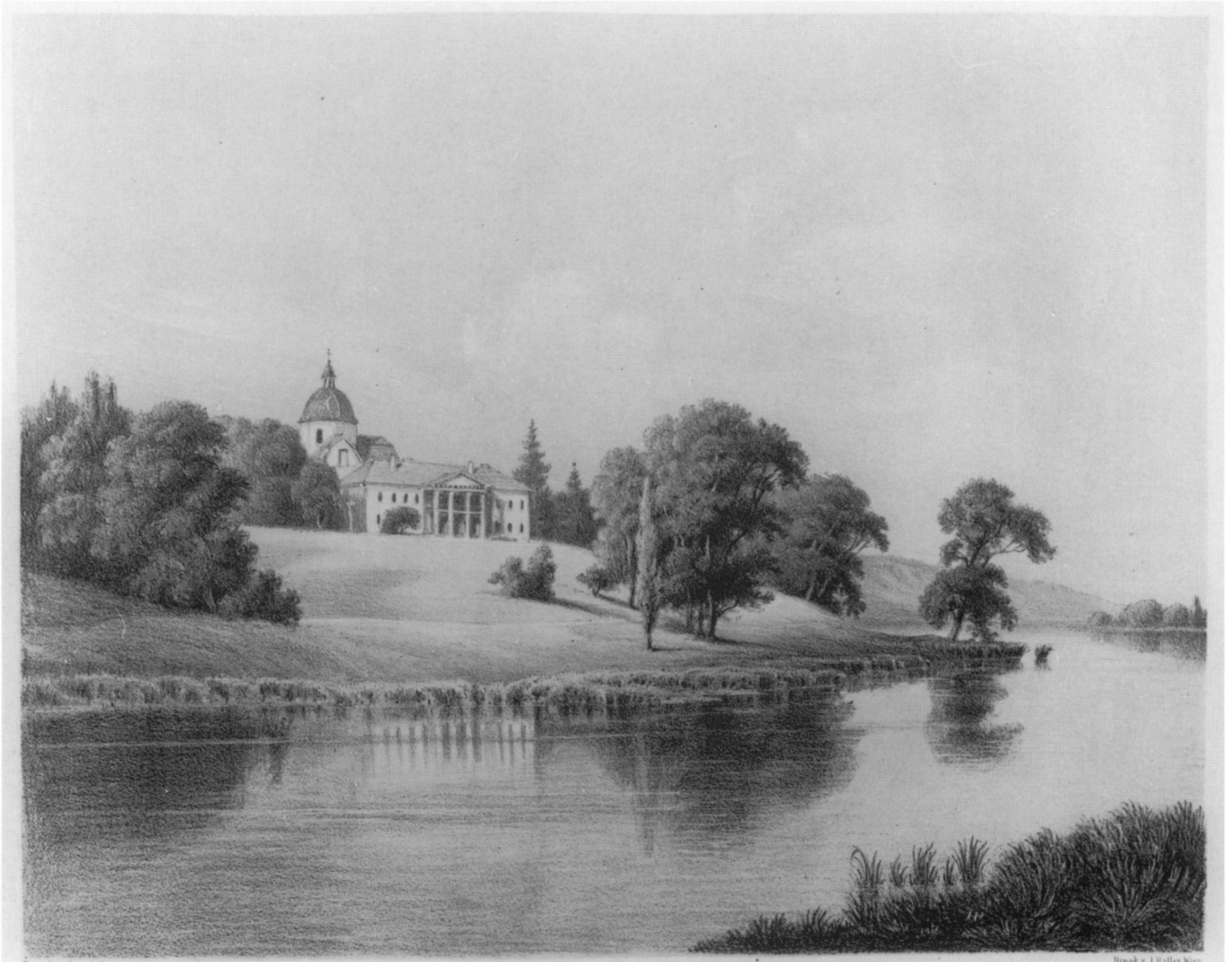
In 1795, when Mikler was travelling in the north west of present-day Ukraine, he discovered a previously unknown variety of the hawthorn which was distinguished by being much larger



6. KOLODNE: Watercolour by Napoleon Orda. c.1880. (National Gallery, Krakow). McClair was known as 'Mikler Dionisy' in his adopted country as Mikler was the Polish pronunciation of McClair. In this park, created after 1814, both church and mansion open on to an informal lawn varied with trees and shrubs of contrasting form.



7. SZPANOW: Watercolour by Napoleon Orda. c.1880. (National Gallery, Krakow). The house at Szpanow was built by Princess Helena Radziwill in the early decades of the 19th century. It is on a high ridge overlooking a series of natural lakes. McClair combined the ruined old house, the new house, and the estate church into a picturesque landscape composition around a carriage sweep.



8. GRODEK: Lithographed by J Haller after Henryk Peyer. (National Gallery, Warsaw). Gródek, also in the Wolyn region, was created for Count Esterhazy about 1820. McClair's work is in the 'English Garden' style that became popular at the the end of the 18th century and here the house, framed by trees, is seen from across the meandering river.

than the common hawthorn which is relatively small in stature. It was given the name *Crataegus* 'Beryki'. Growing wild on the banks of the river Slucz in the same region, he also discovered a shrub with strongly-scented yellow flowers from which he took cuttings.¹⁷ Some of the plants subsequently raised he gave to Princess Czartoryska for her park at Pulawy but others he retained intending to sell them in London, for he was by now determined to go home.¹⁸ (He had come to Poland intending to stay for only three years and had already stayed seven.)

Sailing from the Polish port of Gdansk he reached London only to find that the elegant shrub of which he had brought stock was already available. It had been introduced from Warsaw the previous year by the Polish botanist, Anthony Hove, and had been given the name, *Azalea pontica*.¹⁹ Greater disappointment followed when he received the news that his father, as well as his brother, had been killed on the same day during the 1798 rebellion in Ireland. When he was in England,

he met and subsequently married a young woman called Matilda Milton, a distant relation of the great poet John Milton. To ensure a settled position for his new wife, Mikler returned with her to the region of Wolyn where his professional reputation was already established and much work awaited him. Sadly, family tragedy struck again during the following year with the death of his young wife in childbirth.

To try to forget his loss, Mikler decided to leave the Wolyn region temporarily and to travel and work in the adjoining region of Podole. While there he founded what were described in his memoirs as three great gardens: at Batanowka for Hieronym Sobanski, at Obidowka for Michal Sobanski, and in Sitkowice for Count Jaroslav Potocki.

Eventually, Mikler returned to the Wolyn region to work for his great friend, General Karwicki, who used Turkish prisoners-of-war to execute Mikler's project for the park at Krzywín (Figs 10-12). Between 1801 and 1805, Mikler seems to have been at



9. SZPANOW: Lithographed by J Haller after Henryk Peyer. (National Gallery, Warsaw). McClair's work here was so successful in creating a 'natural' effect that his patron, Princess Radziwill, concluded after a visit that 'art will never equal nature'. McClair has clumped a mixture of coniferous and deciduous trees around the lake.

his most prolific. He arranged or re-arranged a great number of gardens including those at Chotniow for the Chloniewski family, at Katy for Court Chamberlain Olizar, at Woronczyn for General Kropinski, the author of *Lindgarda*, at Iwanczyce for Mr Bystry, at Balabanowka for Mr Dulski, and at Kodnia (Fig 4) for the Korzeniowski family of which the novelist Joseph Conrad was subsequently the most famous member. He also arranged no less than five parks – Beresteczko, Czerwiszcze, Horynka, Laski, and Zaborol – for the Czarnecki family.

In 1805, Mikler's personal life was transformed. He went to the city of Krakow in the south of Poland to collect a debt owed to his father by a Mr Narodoslowski, a Krakowian aristocrat. He fell in love with Mr Narodoslowski's daughter, married her, and returned with her to Wolyn to settle in the village of Olszana – a village of which Mikler was, in 1814, to become the legal inheritor.

In 1809, Mikler became closely involved with a school called

the Lycaenum in the city of Krzemieniec. It had been started by the noted educational reformer, Tadeusz Czacki. Czacki wishing to have a botanic garden as part of the institution's facilities, commissioned Mikler to go to St Petersburg and London to make a collection of interesting seeds and plants. Mikler set off in March 1811 accompanied by Prince Kazimierz Lubomirski, the son of the Princess Michalowa Lubomirski, the patroness who had first brought Mikler to work in the Wolyn region. When the pair reached St Petersburg, Mikler, ever keen for new experience, made a brief digression northwards to visit the port of Archangel and the shores of the White Sea. Afterwards, they set off for England, travelling overland through Finland and Sweden to the Danish port of Gothenburg where they found that the harbour was being blockaded by the English navy as a result of an Anglo-Danish dispute. However, they were able to board an English ship bound for London. Having spent ten weeks collecting seeds and plants, they returned to Krzemieniec

by the same route arriving in December. The plants were received by the famous botanist, Willibrand Besser, who was by now professor of botany at the Krzemieniecki Lycaum.²⁰ The new plants became part of the collection of twelve thousand plants listed as growing in the garden by the 1830s. By this time the garden had a European-wide reputation.²¹

The year 1812 saw three of Mikler's closest friends die. Napoleon's epic retreat from Moscow of that year resulted in many wounded soldiers passing through the Wolyn region. Prince Kazimierz Lubomirski, Mikler's travelling companion on his recent London expedition, organised and staffed a temporary hospital for them which eventually reached a capacity of seven thousand patients. Ignoring doctor's advice, Lubomirski personally cared for some of the most critically ill. As a result of this, he caught a fever in November and subsequently died. A month later, Mikler's friend and patron, General Karwicki died and on 8 February during the following year, Tadeusz Czacki, founder of the Krzemieniec Lycaum, died.

Mikler, depressed by the loss of his friends, first went into seclusion at his home in Olszyna but, in 1814, he left to find solace by travelling and working in the Podole region again. There he made new gardens for Mr Witoslawski at Czerniatyn and for the Orlowski family at Sewerynow. (The latter remains one of the best preserved of his gardens to-day.) Mikler later returned home, dedicating himself once again to making gardens and parks for friends and neighbours. Most important among these were at Kolodne (Figs 5 and 6) for the Swiejkowski family, at Gródek for Count Esterhazy (Fig 8), and at Podluzne and Szpanow for the Radziwill family.

At Podluzne, the wide oval lawn Mikler made in front of the neo-classical house was a characteristic feature of his designs.

Here the lawn was varied with informal shrubberies and small groups of coniferous and broad-leaved trees. The park, which boasted an abundance of water and huge trees, was designed to merge with the surrounding meadows, the boundary between the two being marked simply by a set of classical urns.

The new house of Szpanow, (Figs 7 and 9) had also been built in the neo-classical style. It was owned by Princess Helena Radziwill, the maker of the famous park of Arkadia. In spite of Arkadia's fame, she sometimes found it a rather melancholy place, situated as it is in a flat agricultural landscape, its meadows turning dry and brown each summer in drought. In contrast the park at Szpanow was located on a high ridge overlooking a series of natural lakes. The lakes nestled among hills which were crowned with natural oak and hornbeam woods. Princess Radziwill enjoyed the natural beauty of the park's well-watered meadows, its abundant wild flora and its fields of wheat that 'swayed like the sea'. She found it ideal as a place of refreshment, a place in which to 'search for new views and relive past illusions', concluding after one visit that 'art will never equal nature'.²²

A place where art did equal nature was Kurasz which belonged to the Kaszowski family. It is not mentioned by Mikler in his memoirs but is referred to by Stecki in 1898: *Famous Mikler has founded here the garden that covered an area of forty 'morgow' (fifty six acres – author's note) and could be compared with no other garden in the neighbourhood. The garden is surrounded by the river Horyn which has here a couple of arms and hilly shores. The garden is full of artificial hills, monuments, bridges, summer houses, intelligently planted trees and magnificent views. Art and nature have been perfectly joined together.*²³

Mikler was shattered by the deaths of his second wife and of his two sons between the years 1829 and 1831. For a third time,



10. KRZYWIN: Lithographed by J Haller after Henryk Peyer. (National Gallery, Warsaw). From late in the 1830s, McClair who was then in his seventies, was in the habit of spending his summers on the estate of Krzywin in the Wolyn region where he helped Princess Lubomirski landscape her garden. The vertical forms of poplars and firs are contrasted with the rounded deciduous trees and shrubs.



11. KRZYWIN: Lithographed by Pillera after Anton Lange. (National Gallery, Warsaw). Near Krzywin was Palestyna which was the first landscape park that McClair created in Poland. Invited to return there by his original patron's son, he found himself at the age of seventy-eight, and after fifty years, in the same place. The lawn is edged with an extensive mixed shrubbery in the 'picturesque' style of landscaping.



12. KRZEWIN: Engraved by S Berger after P Fuhrman. (National Gallery, Warsaw). After McClair's death in 1853, his name and work remained known and well-regarded in Poland. Although some of his gardens have been lost, enough survive for us to be able to appreciate his work today. The smooth lines of his earlier landscaping style have, by this late stage, given way to the more natural, rougher, vein that was in vogue throughout Europe by this time.

he sought distraction from tragedy by travelling and working away from home in the Podole region. His memoirs list the projects he completed in this second prolific period: a 'splendid' garden at Czerniatyn for Mr Witoslawski, a garden at Makow for the Raciborowski family, at Srebrzyniec for Mr Czacki (Fig 1) and the re-arrangement of the garden at Harmaki for the Dembowski family (Fig 2). Others listed are the re-arrangement of the garden at Sietniaczyny for the influential starost (king's deputy) Grocholski, his plans for Mr Ludwik Makowiecki at Malimicze and for a Mr Zaleski at Wodyczki. He notes with satisfaction that the ornamentation of Miss Hortensya Sobanska's garden at Druzyn was carried out in very quick time. He also furnished a plan for the Komarowie family estate at Kurylowce where a subsequent land agent was the father of the pianist, Paderewski.

A fascinating client of this period was Count Boleslaw Potocki who was married to Zofie, a famously-beautiful Greek woman whom Potocki had bought out of Turkish slavery for the sum of two million zloty, then a huge sum. Count Felix had already named a landscape park 'Zofijowka' in her honour. Located south of the Ukrainian capital, Kiev,²⁴ it is the best preserved and best known of Ukrainian parks to-day. Mikler's work, how-

ever, was on a smaller, but still exotic, park at Kowalowka, south west of Kiev which was also owned by Count Potocki. There, Mikler advised Zofie on the park which she was making, according to his memoirs, 'with oriental imagination'.²⁵

Mikler, now in his seventies, was in the habit of spending his summers on the estate of Krzywın near Dubno (Fig 10) helping the Princess Teresa Lubomirski to landscape her garden. According to his memoir, he could not, at first, bring himself to go back to the nearby park of Palestyna, the first landscape park he had created in Poland. It reminded him too much of the tragically early death of his friend, Prince Kazimierz Lubomirski. However, in 1840, he was persuaded to do so by Kazimierz's son, Prince Marcelli Lubomirski. Thus, he found himself at the age of 78 and after 50 years in Poland working again in the place in Wolyn where he had started (Figs 11 & 12).

Mikler went back to Podole once again to realise his proposals for the Przedziecki estate at Czarny Ostrow. It was there that Count Aleksander Przedziecki persuaded the old man to dictate his memoirs which Przedziecki then published in his book *Podole, Wolyn, Ukraina* in 1841. In 1853, *The Warsaw Courier* recorded Mikler's continuing work in the Lubomirski garden at

Palestyna despite the fact he was then 90 years of age.²⁶ In the subsequent issue, however, the paper was obliged to record the sad news of his death.²⁷ Fate had ordained that he would die working in the same garden that he had begun working in sixty years previously.

Inevitably, many of Mikler's parks and gardens have been lost but enough survive for us to be able to appreciate his work today. After his death, his name and work remained known and well-regarded in Poland. In the 1870s and 1880s, many of his surviving parks were drawn by the Polish artist, Napoleon Orda, who later published them as lithographs. During the 1930s, the Polish garden historian, G Ciolek, surveyed and restored some of the gardens.²⁸ More recently, Ukrainian experts have studied his life and work. Professor and Mrs Ivan Rodichkin of Kiev have included much material on Mikler in their forthcoming book *The Old Estates of Ukraine*.²⁹ The architect, Ivan Mogytych, of the city of Lviv, has made a comprehensive list of Mikler's projects, together with an extensive bibliography of publications in

Ukrainian, Russian, and Polish on his life and work. A recent conference has been held on a proposal to restore Mikler's botanical garden in Krzymieniec and an exhibition is to be devoted to his work around the town of Dubno as part of the town's 700th anniversary. Although Mikler is well-known in Poland and in the Ukraine to-day, this eminent Irishman is almost unknown in his native land.

N.B. The personal and place names used are as given in McClair's memoir, that is, they are in old Polish rather than in present-day Ukrainian.
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- 1 See A Zamoyski, *The Last King of Poland* (London 1992).
- 2 Her collection, which includes the famous Leonardo da Vinci, *Lady with the Ermine*, and the Rembrandt, *Landscape with the Good Samaritan*, can be seen at the Czartoryski Museum in Krakow
- 3 The book was first published in Wroclaw in 1805 and later in Warsaw in 1808 as *Mysli Rozne o Sposobie Zakladania Ogradow* ('Thoughts on the manner of Planting Gardens')
- 4 Pulawy's fame as a landscape park was mainly due to its inclusion in the poem, 'Les Jardins' published by the Abbe Delille (Paris, 1801) which had a wide circulation in Europe. For Pulawy, see also J C Loudon, *An Encyclopedia of Gardening* (London 1824), p. 62 and p.1131 and P Bowe, *The Gardens of Central Europe*, (New York and Woodbridge 1991), pp.58-61
- 5 Korsun was then located in eastern Poland but is now, due to subsequent changes in national boundaries, located in the Ukraine.
- 6 Fairfield was at that time in Co Roscommon but due to a boundary change it is now in Co Westmeath. The townland of Fairfield is located in the parish of Drumraney and contains a number of farmsteads. Which, if any of these, was the house of the McClair family has not been established.
- 7 His father's name was John McClair, his mother's Nancy McKue
- 8 The Whiteboys were a rural secret society which had risen in rebellion as a result of the doubling, and in some cases, trebling of land rents during the previous decade.
- 9 In McClair's memoirs published in the periodical *Przyjaciel Ludu*, 8th year (Leszno July 1841) and subsequently reprinted in A Przedziecki, *Podole, Wolyn, Ukraina*, *Obrazy miejsc I czasow*, t.II (Wilno 1841), pps.138-141, it is stated that McClair worked for the Duke of Bedford in Kent. However, in the *Dictionary of Polish National Biography*, it is stated that he worked

- for the Duke in London. The Duke in question was the 5th Duke, a bachelor who was keenly interested in gardening and who employed Henry Holland, son-in-law of Capability Brown, as his principal landscape gardener.
- 10 K Lamb and P Bowe, *A History of Gardening in Ireland* (Dublin 1995) p.41 and p.50.
- 11 (As footnote 9).
- 12 Like Pulawy, Arkadia enjoyed European-wide fame as a result of its inclusion in Abbe Delille's poem 'Les Jardins' (Paris 1801). The park's principal designer was Szymon Bogumil Zug (1733-1807) who contributed an account of Polish picturesque gardening to the French edition (1779-85), vol 5 of Hirschfeld's *Theorie de l'art des jardins*.
- 13 *Kurier Warszawski*, 29.10.1843, no.287, p.1361-2. The garden, which was located in Długa Street, has now been built over.
- 14 Palestyna means literally 'Palestine'. Estates in Poland, as elsewhere at this time, were often given fanciful names such as 'Palestyna'. Sometimes they were named for some classical Eden as was the estate of Princess Radziwill which was given the name 'Arkadia'.
- 15 See the 1939 survey plan of the park by G Ciolek and K Zelechowski published in the article by Professor and Mrs Rodichkin. See fn 28 below.
- 16 This poplar variety has not been identified. It is possible that it is a synonym for the Lombardy poplar, *Populus nigra 'Italica'* whose tall spire-like shape can be identified in the depictions of many of Mikler's parks.
- 17 It is now known as *Rhododendron luteum*.
- 18 Tadeusz Jerzy Stecki, *Z boru I stepu*, *Obrazy I pamiatki* (Krakow 1898), p.295
- 19 Curtis's *Botanical Magazine* (London, 1799, t.433 and 1823, t.2383). For information about Hove's life, see his correspondence in the archives of the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew and of The Wellcome Institute, London.
- 20 Willibald Swibert Joseph Gottlieb von Besser was an Austrian-born professor of Botany at

- Lvov, Krakow, Wilna, and, finally, Kiev. He was a specialist in the botanical family, *Artemisia*. See G Krussmann, *Manual of Cultivated Broad-leaved Trees and Shrubs* (London 1886), p.484.
- 21 For an overview of the Krzymieniecki botanical garden, see W Grebecka, 'Badania szaty roślinnej prowadzone w osrodku wilenskim I krzymienieckim', *Wklad wilenskiego osrodka naukowego w pyrodynamiczne poznanie kraju* (Investigation of plants undertaken in the Krzymieniecki and Wilenski Institutes (1781-1840), *Studies on the nature of the countryside*, Wilenski Educational Institute (Wroclaw 1988), pp. 115-225
- 22 This quotation comes from M Radziwila, *The Last Wilenska Fiefdom* (Lvov 1892), pps. 237-8.
- 23 Tadeusz Jerzy Stecki, *Z boru I stepu*. *Obrazy I pamiatki* (Krakow 1898), p.136
- 24 Called Sophieivka in Polish, it is a park of one hundred and fifty acres along the banks of the river Kamienka, a tributary of the Dnieper.
- 25 Mikler's memoirs
- 26 *Kurier Warszawski* (1853), no 135, p.698
- 27 *Kurier Warszawski* (1853), no 136, p.702
- 28 G Ciolek, *Ogrody polskie* (Warszawa 1978), p. 172-3.
- 29 An article by Professor and Mrs Rodichkin was published in Polish as 'Parki Dionizego Miklera na Podolu I Wolyniu' in *Teka Komiiisji Urbanistyki I Architektury*, T.XXVII, Krakow, 1995, p. 135-145. The Ukrainian version of this article was published as 'Majester sadovoparkovogo mistectva. Zittja I tvorcist Dionisija Miklera v Ukraini' (the life and creativity of Dionysius McClair in the Ukraine), *Architektura Ukraini* (1992), vol 3, pp.33-39. Further sources for the study of the estates on which McClair worked can be found in the footnotes to that article. The authors work in the Kiev Engineering-Construction Institute (Department of Town Planning).