

# Site LINES

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## Letter from the Editor

All landscapes are like palimpsests, showing the marks and erasures of time. History becomes altered in memory as each generation interprets the past according to contemporary values. For this reason landscapes get layered with new designs, new uses, and new meanings. At the same time, because of amnesia, indifference, changing economics, and shifting cultural ethos, representations of time and place become vulnerable to neglect or intentional destruction.

Today historic commemoration in the form of art, architecture, landscape design, and place preservation is generating a good deal of controversy. Certain landmark sites continue to be interpreted idealistically with the intention of inspir-

ing uncritical reverence in those who visit them. At the same time, some monuments in public parks are being reviled as symbols of racial discrimination. In either case, reconsideration of the implicit meanings of place and representations of historical figures requires new forms of interpretation. In this issue of *Site/Lines*, essays around the theme “Reviving the Past: Landscapes of History” explore these issues.

Gardiner Hallock’s “Mulberry Row: Telling the Story of Slavery at Monticello” details the historic facts behind the extensive, ongoing restoration of the log and stone structures in which enslaved men, women, and children were housed and worked as blacksmiths, joiners, bricklayers, field hands, road builders, ditch diggers, tree planters, fence menders, domestic servants, and stable boys. In telling the backstory of the construction of Thomas

Jefferson’s architectural marvel and the management of Monticello’s plantation economy, Hallock illuminates the ways in which its current custodians are providing “a significant case study on how museums and historic sites can adapt their landscapes to confront the complexities of our historical past.”

In “Being There While Here,” Kenneth Helphand discusses “the challenges posed by anyone attempting to memorialize a tragedy – whether famine, war, murder, or disease.” In several relevant examples he shows the reader how “some physical designs can, indeed, ‘take’ you to another place.” According to Helphand, the most effective memorials elicit a response that is a combination of both mind and heart.

In “A Case of Mistaken Identity: A Historian’s Hunt for Buried Treasure,” Central Park historian Sara Cedar Miller writes about two armed conflicts that are associated with the northern end of the park: the American Revolution and the War of 1812. How did a cannon and mortar that had once been displayed on the site of Fort Clinton within the park end up in a storage facility on Randall’s Island – and why had these military relics been put there to begin with? Recounting the work of archaeological experts and colleagues at the Central Park Conservancy, Miller’s essay demonstrates the role tenacious detective work can play in rewriting the history of place.

In his profile of Louise Agee Wrinkle, the Foundation for Landscape Studies 2019 Place Maker award recipient and author of *Listen to the Land: Creating a Southern Woodland Garden*, George Crow lauds a former president of the

Garden Club of America who has brought the art of interpreting place to a high level through the creation of an extraordinary garden in Birmingham, Alabama. You are invited to join us on May 8 at the Central Park Boathouse when we honor Louise for her outstanding achievement.

As always, I would like to remind our readers that the publication of *Site/Lines* depends on reader support. For this reason I urge you to send a discretionary contribution to the Foundation for Landscape Studies in the enclosed envelope.

With good green wishes,



Elizabeth Barlow Rogers  
President

### On the Cover:

The site of Thomas Jefferson’s Joiner’s Shop on Monticello’s Mulberry Row. Built around 1780, the chimney was recently stabilized as part of a decades-long project to expand the interpretation of Monticello’s enslaved community.  
©Thomas Jefferson Foundation at Monticello.

## Reviving the Past: Landscapes of History

### Mulberry Row: Telling the Story of Slavery at Monticello

In 1768, Thomas Jefferson paid local merchant and neighbor John Moore 180 bushels of wheat and 24 bushels of corn to create a level site for a grand house on a mountaintop in Virginia's fertile Piedmont. While enslaved workers hewed into the dense red clay and living bedrock, the twenty-five-year-old Jefferson, a largely self-taught architect, drew up plans for his future home. Famously, he would continue building and rebuilding Monticello for over fifty years. The house, with its Flemish-bond brick walls, cream-colored classical details, and iconic dome served him throughout his life by reinforcing his national prominence and cultural sophistication.

Jefferson wished to be remembered for three principal achievements – the Declaration of Independence, Virginia's Statutes of Religious Freedom, and the University of Virginia. But he was also a polymath, deeply interested in using his restless curiosity to elevate the taste and improve the economy of his young country. Agriculture, architecture, gardening, decorative arts, brewing, cooking, prison reform, history, politics, science, geography, natural history, and even the abolition of slavery fell within his purview. Visitors to Monticello have long been drawn to the house to learn more about these stories and experience a physical connection to buildings and objects that relate to the founding of the United States. Similarly, the landscape surrounding the house – wide lawns, winding walks, and lovingly cultivated gardens and orchards – serves as a tangible link to Jefferson. Over the past four decades, however, one portion of his estate – a twelve hundred-foot-long, tree-lined road named Mulberry Row – has instead been adapted and restored to tell the stories of Monticello's enslaved community. The recent work to reconstruct the buildings there, and the details of how this process has evolved, add up to a significant case study on how museums and historic sites can adapt their landscapes to confront the complexities of our historical past.

Monticello has been a tourist attraction for almost two centuries. Even before Jefferson's death in 1826, visitors came

to Monticello to contemplate his personal and political life by touring the site's immersive landscape and inspirational architecture. After more than 180 years of private ownership, Monticello formally became a museum in 1923 when the Thomas Jefferson Foundation purchased the Mountaintop. Visitation to the site grew rapidly in the years leading up to the national bicentennial celebration and peaked with 671,000 people in 1976. In response to the growing numbers, restoration and interpretation efforts began to expand beyond the main house to incorporate more of Jefferson's wide-ranging interests. This deepening attention to the landscape surrounding the main house also shifted the historical focus to uncomfortable truths about Jefferson and slavery. Jefferson, the same man who wrote in the preamble to the Declaration of Independence the words that would become the United States' aspirational vision and guiding philosophy, owed his privileged lifestyle to profits made from the forced labor

of the 607 men, women, and children he enslaved during his lifetime.

Jefferson's role as a leading Founding Father of his young nation was exceptional, but his status as a slave owner was typical. Much of Virginia's wealth prior to the Civil War came from the intensive cultivation of tobacco, and, eventually, wheat on large plantations owned by a small group of prominent families. At the center of these plantations was often a main house surrounded by a tightly controlled landscape of aesthetically and functionally arranged outbuildings, service yards, and gardens. The construction and maintenance of these historic vernacular and designed landscapes was made possible by the labor of enslaved workers. They cleared the fields, raised the buildings, leveled the terraces, constructed the roads, planted the trees, and built the fences that created a landscape rooted in English antecedents but heavily adapted to the climate of Virginia. Jefferson's Monticello may be



A digital reconstruction of the Monticello Mountaintop around 1816, created by RenderSphere, LLC. All images ©Thomas Jefferson Foundation at Monticello.

unique in many ways, but in this respect, it was no different than the other large plantations scattered across Virginia.

It was not until the late 1960s and 1970s that historians like John Chester Miller and Winthrop Jordan began to develop a new understanding of Jefferson and slavery. In the following decade, integrating Jefferson's role as a slave holder into the interpretation of his undeniably important political and cultural contributions to the United States became a long-term goal of the Thomas Jefferson Foundation. Slavery began to find its way into the house tour, and members of the enslaved community started to be mentioned in exhibits.

Physical changes began to appear on the Mountaintop in the 1980s. One of the first steps taken to reestablish a more inclusive power of place at Monticello was restoring and reconstructing lost landscape elements beyond the main house's curtilage. From the late 1970s through the 1980s, the work of many scholars (including that of historian Lucia C. Stanton, archaeologist William M. Kelso, architectural and landscape historian William L. Beiswanger, curator Susan R. Stein, and landscape architect Rudy J. Favretti) guided the first phases of this large-scale landscape restoration. As a result, an awkward, ill-conceived parking lot was removed from the Mountaintop and important historic features were reconstructed. Some of these elements – the massive, dry-laid stone retaining wall that supported Jefferson's thousand-foot-long vegetable garden; the elaborate system of four recreational carriage trails that circumnavigated the mountain; the gentled woodland grove reinstalled north and west of the house – reestablished Jefferson's aesthetic vision for Monticello's landscape. However, one restored landscape feature, the utilitarian Mulberry Row, stood apart from these pleasure grounds.

The ten-foot-wide Mulberry Row sits several hundred feet below the main house on the south side of the mountain. It is as straight as Jefferson's state-of-the-art surveying instruments could make it and laid out like a linear village. On this path, shaded and sheltered by an allée of fruit-producing mulberry trees, sat the houses for enslaved and free workers; the stables,

A digital rendering of Monticello and Mulberry Row as it appeared in about 1816, created by RenderSphere, LLC.

smoke houses, dairy, and washhouse used to maintain the Jeffersons' life at Monticello; and the workshops that enabled Jefferson to build his estate and support his experiments in small-scale, plantation-based manufacturing. In total, thirty-two buildings are known to have been built along the road in Jefferson's lifetime. Here blacksmiths spent their days hammering out nails; carpenters transformed rough-cut planks into fine architectural elements; and domestic workers salted hams, washed clothes, prepared the day's meals, and greeted friends and relatives in the precious moments between these and the sundry other tasks that defined life for those enslaved at Monticello. Mulberry Row was so busy that today historians often call it Monticello's "main street."

Its built environment was modest. Almost two-thirds of the buildings were simple, one-story log structures. The workshops where the enslaved craftsmen spent their days were often rudimentary – clapboard-covered frame structures supported by posts buried directly in the ground. A few of the more substantial buildings were built from the light green basalt and pinkish, granite-like alaskite common to the Mountaintop. However, none of these buildings came close to rivaling the well-ordered beauty of the main house. This was a landscape of labor.



Mulberry Row was not a static landscape. It evolved almost constantly as Jefferson's needs, desires, and interests changed. Surviving documentation and archaeological evidence suggest that from the late 1760s until around 1789, when Jefferson returned from France, Mulberry Row consisted of eight buildings: five houses for workers, a log storehouse, and a carpenter shop. By the 1790s Jefferson, energized by what he had seen in Europe, New York, and Philadelphia, made dramatic changes to Mulberry Row. The new buildings supported his ambitious plans for expanding the main house and establishing small-scale manufacturing at Monticello. Enslaved carpenters built the workshops and the dwellings needed to support these activities. By 1796 the total number of buildings on Mulberry Road had grown to twenty-three.

Jefferson retired from the presidency and left public life in 1809. When he returned to Monticello, the house was largely complete, leaving many of the workshops redundant. To prepare for what he hoped would be a peaceful retirement, he transformed Mulberry Row one last time. Many of the crude workshops and log dwellings, no longer needed to support his construction projects, were demolished. He also refined Mulberry Row's built environment by ordering three additional stone structures to be constructed. Historians and archaeologists believe that as a result only ten buildings remained on Mulberry Row by the 1810s. The sublime views of the surrounding countryside, so characteristic of today's Mulberry Row, were hidden during this period by a ten-foot-



Visitor parking lots on the eastern half of the Mountaintop. The lots were removed in the early 1980s.

tall, riven-pale fence set hard against the back of the remaining buildings. The section of fence on Mulberry Row was part of a larger enclosure that also surrounded Jefferson's large south orchard. In his specifications for the fence, he ordered the rough pales to be set so near together that not even a "young hare" could get in. However, a later order for a padlock for the enclosure's gate reveals that he also designed the fence to keep the inhabitants of Mulberry Row from the fruits and vegetables within. Jefferson's final round of alterations reflected his ultimate vision of Mulberry Row as an ideal working landscape for enslaved men and women.

But at times during Jefferson's life, Mulberry Row was an integrated landscape where at least eighty-seven enslaved and free workers lived and labored alongside each other. As with other Virginia plantations, enslaved workers were always a clear majority, and their material world was clearly distinguished from the free workers who lived among them. Instead of rough-hewn log houses, the free workers lived in a Palladian-inspired stone house and had ready access to better clothes, money or credit, and food. It is also clear that the work being done to the main house created this integrated landscape. After the house was substantially completed in 1809, the itinerant free workers were no longer needed and so left to find other jobs. Jefferson made sure that when possible they trained the enslaved workers in their trades so that their skills would remain at Monticello after the freed workers departed. As a result, by the time of Jefferson's retirement, Mulberry Row had become a complete landscape of slavery, and it would stay that way for the rest of Jefferson's life.

The diversity of the people who lived along Mulberry Row may surprise many modern visitors. Isaac Granger, an enslaved, Philadelphia-trained tinsmith and blacksmith, made tin cups and other tinware in a small, log tin shop near the center of Mulberry Row. Up to fourteen enslaved boys aged ten to eighteen – including Wormley Hughes, Burwell Colbert, and Moses Hern – produced tens of thousands of nails near the tin shop in an eighty-seven-foot-long nailery. In a textile "factory," enslaved weavers Mary Hern and Dolly turned wool sheared from Jefferson's own sheep, hemp grown on the plantation, and purchased cotton into the clothes worn by Monticello's enslaved workers. Other residents had more personal ties to the Jefferson family. The enslaved nurse Priscilla Hemmings cared for Jefferson's grandchildren and lived on Mulberry Row in a twelve-by-fourteen-foot chestnut log cabin roofed with wooden slabs. Historians also think that

the seamstress Sally Hemings, Jefferson's enslaved concubine and mother to six of his children, lived on Mulberry Row after she returned from France in 1789. She would stay on Mulberry Row until she moved into the South Wing around 1802 along with at least two other enslaved domestic workers whose work required that they be near the house.

The free and indentured residents of Mulberry Row, like their enslaved coworkers, had diverse backgrounds. For example, William Rice was an indentured English stonecutter; John Neilson, a carpenter and house joiner, was a political exile from Ireland; David Watson, another joiner, was hired after he deserted from the British army during the American Revolution; and Anthony Giannini, who worked along Mulberry Row in Jefferson's orchard and vineyards, was an indentured servant from Italy. At Monticello Jefferson is found not only in the landscape and architecture but also in the people he hired and the labors of his enslaved workers.

These stories are an important part of Monticello's and the nation's history. In 1993, to return them to Monticello, the foundation started to offer guided tours of Mulberry Row devoted to the enslaved community. That year also marked the inception of the *Getting Word* oral-history project that, to this day, collects the stories

Mulberry Row as it appears today. Interpretive stations were installed in 2011 as part of the *Landscape of Slavery: Mulberry Row at Monticello* exhibition. Photograph by Jack Looney.

of the descendants of Monticello's enslaved communities. In the 2000s the main house's cellars and wings were reinterpreted and partially restored. These spaces introduced the enslaved workers associated with the tasks that happened under the main house. Crossroads, an exhibit focused on important members of the enslaved domestic staff, was installed in the house's cellar.

On Mulberry Row, the installation of a comprehensive exhibit in 2011 called *Landscape of Slavery: Mulberry Row at Monticello* was an interpretive milestone. The exhibit, developed by a team of historians and curators led by Senior Curator Susan Stein, installed stations along the row that used text, historic images, and archaeological artifacts to explain the complex history of the site and its residents. Even more recently, Chad Wollerton, the foundation's director of Digital Media and Strategy, led the initiative to develop an app that includes additional information on Mulberry Row, as well as audio files of descendants and historians and digital renderings of the long-lost buildings. Using these tools, visitors to Monticello today can discover even more information on the people who lived along Mulberry Row as they walk its length.

Each of these important steps has had a lasting impact, and yet more needed to be done. Although several of the missing buildings were outlined with low posts, loose rocks, or railroad ties, visitors struggled to understand what the larger landscape looked like when the enslaved workers lived on

Mulberry Row. With the physical presence of slavery missing, Monticello's interpreters were forced to spend their limited time with visitors helping them visualize the street itself instead of focusing on the lives and stories of its inhabitants.

To solve this problem, another project was recently completed on Mulberry Row. The first step was to finish the work started in the 1980s to restore the road that serves as Mulberry Row's backbone. The last traces of the parking lot were removed and the Kitchen Road, which connected Mulberry Row to the South Wing, was reconstructed. After the landscape



restoration was finished, five buildings were reconstructed or restored. Two of the long-vanished log structures were completely reconstructed on their original plots; two surviving but heavily renovated Jefferson-era buildings were restored; and a ruined chimney that once anchored Jefferson's Joiner's Shop was stabilized and the shop's footprint outlined in stone. The foundation specifically selected these sites for reconstruction and restoration because together they would help tell the complete history of Mulberry Row: a place that included housing as well as domestic and manufacturing sites.

It was decided that the buildings selected had to date to Jefferson's retirement period and to have survived until the mid-1820s, when he made his final improvements to the main house. Because Mulberry Row sits adjacent to, and is visible from, the restored landscape that surrounds the main house, reconstructing or restoring buildings that survived into the 1820s allows the two landscapes to dialog without any anachronistic restored elements. While the view from the main house looking toward Mulberry Row will never be the same as in Jefferson's time, using only buildings from his later period at Monticello provides a visual guide as to how the entire landscape may have appeared in the years before his death.

The work of many historians, scholars, and architects went into developing plans for the restored and reconstructed buildings to ensure they were as accurate as possible. Historian Martha Hill assembled much of what is known about the physical development of Mulberry Row into a comprehensive report. Fraser D. Neiman led both Monticello's Archaeology Department and the Digital Archaeological Archive of Comparative Slavery in reanalyzing the results of the archaeological investigations. Architectural historian Edward A. Chappell provided early designs for the reconstructed buildings and shared his extensive knowledge of Virginia's colonial and early republic architecture throughout the entire project. Construction drawings for most of the buildings were provided by architects at Mesick Cohen Wilson Baker, with the foundation's historical architect Jobie Hill drafting the plans for the Hemmings Cabin. The work would not have been possible without the incredible generosity of David Rubenstein, Fritz and Claudine Kundrun, the Sarah and Ross Perot, Jr. Foundation, the Mars family, Richard and Sarah Page Mayo, the Garden Club of Virginia, the Beirne Carter Foundation, and the Robert H. Smith Family Foundation.

The first building the team reconstructed was the 1792 tin and blacksmith shop, which Jefferson called the Storehouse for Iron. This simple, fourteen-by-sixteen-foot workshop for Iron. This simple, fourteen-by-sixteen-foot workshop was rebuilt using newly hewn oak logs held together with dovetailed joints in accordance with Jefferson's instructions. Surprisingly, no chimney or roof duct was reconstructed to vent the forge. This unusual detail, occasionally found in other eighteenth and early-nineteenth-century blacksmith shops, was drawn from a key piece of evidence used to reconstruct and restore these buildings: a detailed insurance policy and associated plat that describes all of the buildings on the Mountaintop in 1796. The interior is largely based on evidence uncovered by archaeological excavations. A reconstructed forge occupies the corner near where the building's original forge sat. Similarly, evidence of an anvil post and a floor paved with broken bricks prompted the inclusion of similar features in the new building. Because no plaster or whitewash was found archaeologically, the interior has been left unfinished, with the surface of the logs scarred by the up-and-down marks of a pit saw.

Almost all of the archaeological evidence that guided the reconstruction has been preserved. The first goal of these projects was to do as little harm as possible to any historic fabric – above- and belowground – that survived from Jefferson's time. So the building was built over, instead of on,

the archaeological site. In the future, archaeologists can dig through the reconstructed, brick-paved floor to uncover the 1792 floor built and used by the enslaved workers. Similar care was taken at the other sites. Unless there were concerns about the structural stability of a surviving building, the remaining archaeological resources were preserved for future research and analysis.

The Storehouse for Iron was selected for reconstruction because it provides an important connection to Jefferson's experiments with manufacturing on Mulberry Row. Jefferson had the building constructed to serve as Isaac Granger's tin smithy. In a stroke of providence, a tin cup – thought to be potentially the only known example of Granger's work – was discovered during the archaeological excavations. The excavations also revealed that enslaved workers lived and forged nails in the building. This was a particularly important discovery because Jefferson's much larger nailery, located several hundred feet to the west of the Storehouse, was demolished around 1802 and so did not exist during his retirement period. Jefferson's nail-making business is one of the most interpretively rich stories on Mulberry Row. Now, because the tools and materials used for nail making can be exhibited at the Storehouse for Iron, interpreters at the site of the long-lost nailery can focus on telling the stories of the "nailery boys" instead of how they forged the nails.

The second building reconstructed on Mulberry Row was another small log structure. Called the Hemmings Cabin, it is one of three twelve-by-ten-foot log houses that Jefferson's workmen built in 1793 to house slaves. The building was selected for reconstruction because of the large amount of information known about this grouping of three slave quarters. Extensive archaeological excavations combined with Jefferson's documents, which even specified details such as how to prepare the logs, meant that the reconstruction could be very accurate. The hewn-log



The reconstructed Hemmings Cabin.

walls, wooden chimney, and wooden-slab roof are all derived from the historic records. The interior, with its exposed joists, dirt floor, and bare walls without plaster or whitewash, reflects typical slave quarters during Jefferson's lifetime.

Interpretively this site was also very rich. It was known that Priscilla and John Hemmings, two of the most important members of the enslaved community, lived in one of these quarters during Jefferson's retirement. Priscilla was an enslaved nursemaid and domestic worker, while John was a talented carpenter and joiner. Because of the Hemmings' close association with the Jefferson family, and because John was literate, more is known about John and Priscilla than almost any of the other members of Mulberry Row's enslaved community. A description of the interior of their quarters – furnishings included a bed, dressing table, counterpane, and even a banded box with a hunting scene that sat on a small shelf – was miraculously discovered while planning the building's reconstruction.

The three other structures – the Stable, the Stone House, and the Joiner's Shop – all partially survived, so they were either restored or stabilized. The most intact of these surviving buildings was the Stone House, where the one-story fieldstone walls, built around 1778, remained in place under an 1880s gambrel roof. In this instance, a Jefferson drawing of the building's elevation and plan survived. Archaeologists and architectural historians were able to "ground truth" many of the features shown in the drawing to prove that it did, in fact, reflect the building as constructed. Further details were uncovered when Jefferson-era framing and decorative woodwork were revealed during demolition of the later additions.

The Stone House, with its new, low-pitched, Palladian-inspired roof, rounded wooden shingles, brick-paved floors, masonry chimney, double-hung windows, and plastered interior, stands in stark contrast to the humble reconstructed log slave quarter found several hundred feet away. This dichotomy, now restored to the landscape, reinforces the fact that



The Stone Stable with its newly reconstructed, Palladian-inspired roof set on surviving Jefferson-era fieldstone walls.

While having two stone cells separated by an open space sounds awkward, the building was gracefully restored by reconstructing yet another

low-pitched, Palladian-inspired roof covered in rounded wooden shingles.

A Jefferson plat from 1809 shows that a long, frame addition may have been built on one end of the building. Since the only evidence that the wing existed is this very small building outline – no physical evidence or archaeological traces were found – it was not reconstructed. This is not to say that the other reconstructed and restored buildings on Mulberry Row do not include conjectural elements; almost every reconstruction or restoration requires some educated guesswork. In this case, though, there was not enough evidence to allow the Thomas Jefferson Foundation to reconstruct the wing accurately.

Jefferson had the Stone Stable constructed to house his horses, the supplies needed to maintain them, and his visitors' carriages. Unlike the living quarters or manufacturing sites, the Stable is important because it returns to Mulberry Row a building used to help maintain Jefferson's lifestyle and social standing. The stories that are told now in connection with this building include not only those relating to Jefferson's horses and his daily habit of inspecting his plantation on horseback but also those of the enslaved hostler Wormley Hughes, who was largely responsible for maintaining Jefferson's stable, and of the enslaved wagoners responsible for transporting crops, food, and goods to and from the Mountaintop.

The final building included in the recent campaign is the ruined Joiner's Shop found on the opposite end of Mulberry Row from the Stone Stable. Built around 1780, the once substantial, eighteen-by-fifty-foot, timber-frame building sat on a three-foot-high fieldstone foundation. When the project started, only the stone chimney and scattered remains of the foundation survived.

The Joiner's Shop was included in this project because of the important work completed in the building and the stories of successive generations of craftsmen passing their skills on to younger carpenters. Here free and enslaved craftsmen worked together over decades to produce architectural trim and furnishings for a house – Monticello – that is an

even while Mulberry Row was a racially integrated landscape for many years, Jefferson built a strict hierarchy into its fabric to reinforce the division between free and enslaved workers. The building's complex history also means that it can serve both as a physical connection to Mulberry Row's enslaved and free laborers and to Jefferson's use of enslaved labor for manufacturing.

The Stone House was originally constructed around 1778 to house the free workmen who were needed for the initial construction and expansion of the main house. This changed when Jefferson was appointed the Minister to France in the 1780s and work on the main house stopped. The free workers left Monticello for other jobs and the enslaved workers, undoubtedly looking for warmer and drier quarters, moved into the building. When work restarted on the main house around 1796, the Stone House reverted into housing for free workers and Jefferson ordered the enslaved workers to leave. By Jefferson's retirement, the structure appears to have changed uses yet again after the free workers left Monticello for good. This time Jefferson seems to have moved his spinning and weaving operations into the Stone House.

Less remained of the 1809 Stone Stable than of the Stone House, but two of its single-room fieldstone cells survived under a later roof. Found at the far eastern end of Mulberry Row and built on a hillside, the building's most distinguishing feature was a ten-foot-wide central passage that allowed Jefferson's carriages and carts to enter a protected stable yard.



A digital reconstruction of the Joiner's Shop, created by Render-Sphere, LLC.

Hemmings and a man known only as Lewis – to be highly skilled house joiners and furniture makers. Hemmings, whom Jefferson's overseer Edmond Bacon described as "a very extra workman" who could "make any thing [sic] that was wanted in woodwork," would later be the principal joiner for Poplar Forest, Jefferson's octagonal retreat in Bedford County, Virginia. Hemmings himself would pass along his skills to two of Jefferson's sons with Sally Hemmings, Madison and Eston Hemmings, when they were old enough to help their half-uncle in the shop. They were ready students, and the skills they learned helped to support them after they were freed at Jefferson's death.

Once Jefferson was gone, subsequent owners of Monticello neglected the Joiner's Shop, and it fell to ruins around 1839. By the early twentieth century, its former purpose had been forgotten, and it was wrongly identified as the site of the nailery. By the time research and an early archaeological investigation in the 1950s corrected this error, soil had eroded from under the surviving chimney, and it leaned precariously towards the terraced vegetable garden. To stabilize it, an unconvincing system of steel cables and treated lumber was installed in the 1960s. When the most recent restora-

tion project was launched, these restraints had reached the end of their useful life, and action was needed to ensure that the chimney would not collapse into the garden beds below.

The decision of how to interpret the Joiner's Shop was perhaps the most interesting of all of the choices made in restoring or reconstructing the buildings along Mulberry Row. The question that confronted the foundation's educational, architectural, and archaeological staff members was whether it was better to reconstruct the entire building or simply to maintain the chimney by installing a new stabilization system. Unlike the Stone Stable's missing wing, an accurate reconstruction of the building was possible – amazing evidence embedded in the chimney revealed details like the exact angle of the roof rafters and the height of the ceiling.

However, the team decided instead that the best option was to leave the remains largely as they were. The ruin provides not only an untouched, authentic experience but also a physical link to how Mulberry Row looked in the years after the Jefferson's death. With its new, cantilevered-steel gantry and the original walls outlined with stones recovered from the site, the physicality of the shop is returned to Mulberry Row, but its connection to a lost time is preserved.

Built and maintained by enslaved labor, Jefferson's Monticello was a vision that could not be sustained after its owner died on July 4, 1826. Jefferson had accumulated large debts throughout his life due to profligate spending. In addition, he had inherited his father-in-law's debts and cosigned a disastrous loan for a friend who subsequently defaulted. Once he was gone, the great mountaintop plantation and architectural masterpiece on which he had worked throughout his life began to fall apart almost immediately. Almost everything he owned had to be sold at his death. Tragically, this included about 200 people. On the lawn of Monticello, just steps away from where many of the enslaved had lived and worked their entire lives, these men, women, and children were all sold to the highest bidder. Only the five slaves freed in Jefferson's

will – his two sons Madison and Eston Hemmings, the enslaved joiner John Hemmings, blacksmith Joseph Fossett, and enslaved butler Burwell Colbert – were exempted. Sally Hemmings was also exempted. While not freed, she was "given her time" by Jefferson's daughter Martha Randolph shortly after Jefferson's death.

The buildings and workshops used by the enslaved community would collapse quickly in their absence. In 1828 Jefferson's granddaughter Cornelia Randolph wrote that the log buildings were "lying in little heaps of ruin." By 1839 an anonymous visitor described the Joiner's Shop as reduced to "tottering remains," and even the more solidly built structures had fallen down. The same year, the roofless walls of one of the stone houses built to embellish Mulberry Row during Jefferson's retirement had been repurposed to enclose the grave of the mother of Monticello's new owner, Uriah Levy. By the mid-twentieth century, Mulberry Row, paved and regraded, had become the main entrance road to the increasingly busy historic site, and parking lots covered much of its eastern end. Time and neglect had erased almost all traces of Mulberry Row's enslaved people from the landscape.

Today, however, Mulberry Row is considered by many to be among the most significant sites at Monticello. Once of interest primarily as the location of the quarters and support buildings that made the construction of Monticello and its surrounding grounds possible, it has become one of the premier places to learn about slavery in the country. Gaining knowledge of slavery through sites like Mulberry Row is vital, since slavery, like Jefferson himself, was intrinsic to the foundation of the United States.

Even after the work done over the past forty years, the restoration and interpretation of Mulberry Row is not finished. Not only will ongoing research and archaeology shed new light on its appearance and development, but the Thomas Jefferson Foundation's dual mission of education and preservation will continue to adapt to the questions routinely posed to it: What forces brought us together as a single nation? What ideals bind us as a united people? What does it mean to be a citizen of the United States? While the Monticello Mountaintop offers only a single voice in the chorus of scholarship and historic sites seeking to answer these weighty questions, its contribution is not static. Just as hard questions about liberty, race, and freedom in the United States have led Mulberry Row to its current incarnation, the questions asked by future generations about the complex legacies of Jefferson and the enslaved communities he held in bondage will prompt new changes to this ever-evolving landscape. – Gardiner Hallock

tion project was launched, these restraints had reached the end of their useful life, and action was needed to ensure that the chimney would not collapse into the garden beds below.

However, the team decided instead that the best option was to leave the remains largely as they were. The ruin provides not only an untouched, authentic experience but also a physical link to how Mulberry Row looked in the years after the Jefferson's death. With its new, cantilevered-steel gantry and the original walls outlined with stones recovered from the site, the physicality of the shop is returned to Mulberry Row, but its connection to a lost time is preserved.

Built and maintained by enslaved labor, Jefferson's Monticello was a vision that could not be sustained after its owner died on July 4, 1826. Jefferson had accumulated large debts throughout his life due to profligate spending. In addition, he had inherited his father-in-law's debts and cosigned a disastrous loan for a friend who subsequently defaulted. Once he was gone, the great mountaintop plantation and architectural masterpiece on which he had worked throughout his life began to fall apart almost immediately. Almost everything he owned had to be sold at his death. Tragically, this included about 200 people. On the lawn of Monticello, just steps away from where many of the enslaved had lived and worked their entire lives, these men, women, and children were all sold to the highest bidder. Only the five slaves freed in Jefferson's

will – his two sons Madison and Eston Hemmings, the enslaved joiner John Hemmings, blacksmith Joseph Fossett, and enslaved butler Burwell Colbert – were exempted. Sally Hemmings was also exempted. While not freed, she was "given her time" by Jefferson's daughter Martha Randolph shortly after Jefferson's death.

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## Being There While Here

How can one feel a connection to a loss of human life that occurred in another place and time? How can the experience in one place “take” you to another? Can being “here” take you “there”? These are the challenges posed by anyone attempting to memorialize a tragedy – whether famine, war, murder, or disease. And yet some physical designs can, indeed, “take” you to another place. When these designs are most effective, there is a connection made that is both intellectual and emotional, a combination of thought and feeling.

Such connections to the tragedies of the past are perhaps most easily made *in situ*: we have all visited places where an event of historical significance is said to have happened “right here.” Sometimes the surroundings exude a spirit or even have an aura, a type of energy that can be felt. This is vivid at sites of assassinations: Ford’s Theater in D.C., Dealey Plaza in Dallas, Lorraine Motel in Memphis, or Rabin Square in Tel Aviv.

At other times, though, adding and subtracting various elements from the landscape, designing a path through it, and providing additional information about the events that occurred there can dramatically alter perception and response. Many responses are intellectual; others might be visceral, giving rise to a lump in one’s throat or a wave of nausea. Being at the site of extreme events can conjure extreme emotions.

I have traveled to landscapes inscribed with catastrophic events all over the globe, and I have found simply *being there* enormously powerful. Standing at the beaches in Normandy conjured up the historic and heroic events of D-Day. Having a picnic there seemed almost sacrilegious. Taking the small skiff to the Pearl Harbor Memorial places you atop the sunken battleship Arizona. Portions of the ship are visible beneath the surface, and oil still seeps from the hull after seven decades. Visitors respond appropriately, standing in silence or speaking in muffled voices, for the sailors are entombed beneath. In other places, where the numbers of those slaughtered climbed to the hun-

Stolpersteine (“stumbling blocks”). Brass plates created by the artist Günter Demnig located in the pavement at the homes of victims murdered by the Nazis in Berlin. All photographs by Kenneth Helphand.



Newfoundland Memorial Park. Preserved trenches from the Somme battlefield. Beaumont-Hamel, France.

dreds of thousands or millions, as at Auschwitz or the killing fields of Cambodia, horror mingles with incomprehension. At the Newfoundland Memorial Park in France, the trenches of the Battle of the Somme are preserved in the exact landscape where the Newfoundland Regiment suffered catastrophic losses. Every summer, young people from Newfoundland serve as guides to the site there, creating a link between the homeland of those who perished and the living.

However, these places, with their powerful historical associations, are set apart from the bustle of quotidian existence. How do we memorialize, in the neighborhoods where they once lived, those who were plucked from their daily activities to be deported and murdered far from their homes? One answer to this challenge is the Stolpersteine (stumbling blocks) Holocaust Memorial project conceived by the German artist Günter Demnig. The project consists of concrete cubes with brass plates in the center that are roughly the same size as the granite squares that pave many European streets and sidewalks. More than seventy thousand of these stumbling blocks have been placed in over twelve hundred locations throughout Europe. Each one has an inscription: *HIER WOHNTE* – “Here lived” (or else “worked,” “practiced,” “studied,” “taught”) – followed by the person’s name, year of birth,

year and place of deportation, final destination, and fate – most often *ERMODET* (murdered).

Thus each block is inadvertently discovered – stumbled upon – perhaps even with a bit of guilt for having stepped on what is manifestly a memorial. After looking at your feet, your eyes are inevitably drawn upward. You may be in front of the same building that was there seventy years ago, where this person once taught or wrote or slept,

or it may have been replaced. The fact that the location is ordinary amplifies the impact as your imagination attaches it to the victim’s extraordinary fate. Perhaps you even consider whether such a thing could have happened to you, for you are walking the same streets. The surrounding gray blocks devoid of names suggest the willful ignorance or complicity of the victim’s neighbors. Demnig said, “If you read the name of one person, calculate his age, look at his old home and wonder behind which window he used to live, then the horror has a face to it.”

Sometimes sculptural representations of suffering can create an imaginative bridge to the past. At the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Memorial in Washington, D.C., the sculptures by George Segal include a life-size breadline, and it is common for people to “join” the line to be photographed. At the nearby Korean War memorial, larger-than-life statues of soldiers trudge through an abstraction of a rice paddy. When I fell into conversation with a veteran at the memorial, he remarked, “It is exactly the way it was.”

In other instances, though, forcing the viewer to supply what is missing can be equally powerful. As landscape architect Susan Herrington has noted, “landscapes can provide tangible evidence of the absent.” The Shoes on the Danube Bank Memorial in Budapest consists of casts of sixty pairs of period-appropriate footwear, made of iron and attached to the embankment at the exact location where Jews were

told to remove their shoes, before they were shot and their bodies dumped in the river. The lack of representation only intensifies the emotional connection: we feel what it would have been like to be in their shoes.

What about memorials that are trying to transport the viewer not only through time but through space as well? Names are perhaps the most common and the most powerful way to honor the dead. Even a century later, the lists of young men in the village squares of small English towns who were killed during the First World War can evoke the magnitude of the nation's loss. Sometimes the directional orientation of a monument can also be significant, as with the innumerable memorials to those who have died at sea. Invariably, they are facing the ocean, as close as possible to sites known or imagined. Typically there is a figure of a fisherman or sailor looking out over the water. Sometimes the imagery is more literal, with representations of a ship capsizing or sinking, or the fragment of a vessel.

Planes as well as ships are lost at sea. In 2009, en route from Rio de Janeiro to Paris, Air France flight 447 vanished over the Atlantic Ocean with 228 people aboard. There are two parallel memorials to the victims, respectively located in the cities of the flight's origin and destination. One is at Père-Lachaise cemetery in Paris; the other is outside of Rio, overlooking the ocean. On each the names are listed on the base and a pane of transparent glass rises above, etched with 228 birds in flight as well as the names of the thirty-three home countries of the dead. The identical memorials connect these two distant places, the arc between them re-creating the plane's intended journey.

How one moves *through* these spaces is also of critical importance: often there is a walk or progression through a designed landscape that allows the visitor time to both anticipate and reflect on the experience. The competition brief for the Vietnam Memorial demanded a listing of all the Americans who were killed or still missing. In Maya Lin's design, visitors cannot approach the memorial head-on but are instead filed along its angled wall of names – a chronological litany of the dead, from the war's first casualty to its last. The path also angles down into the earth and then up again, so that at the memorial's center, where the names on the polished black granite are thickest, one can no longer see over the wall. The result is an emotionally charged journey through time and space.

Israel's memorial to the Holocaust, the Valley of the Communities at Yad Vashem, combines a physical journey through space with the mapping of places. From an upper terrace, you descend through a zigzagging passageway into a

The Irish Hunger Memorial in lower Manhattan. A fragment of the hunger landscape replicated in New York. Artist Brian Tolle, Landscape Architect Gail Wittwer-Laird.

miniature canyon. Walls of limestone blocks ten meters high envelop you. Inscriptions filling the entire walls periodically punctuate the passage. Moving closer, you read the names of cities, towns, and villages. Many are familiar: Paris, Berlin, Vilna, Kraców, Strasbourg. Others are unfamiliar: Domažlice, Butla, Vercelli, Thann, Bisttra. Gradually you become aware of what you are looking at: this wall and its list is Germany; another, Poland; another, France; another, the Netherlands. The valley is a geography of destruction: a three-dimensional atlas of 107 walls; an abstracted map of Europe and North Africa.

The genius of the labyrinthine walk through the valley is in the associations that it conjures up and its ability to act as a grand mnemonic device. The experience is simultaneously instructive and visceral, of mind and body. There is no escape from it. Its size is a reminder of the Holocaust's vast and insidious reach, not only in the great cities but also into the hidden valleys, caves, and root cellars of the countryside, where people hoped they would be safe. We know the number – six million – but here we are reminded that those millions lived in thousands of places. From the shtetl to the metropolis, there was no refuge.

No Jews remain in most of these five thousand communities. Each place name on the wall is a world obliterated. The Jewish inhabitants' ways of life, their languages, the mundane and profound rituals that made up the character of a civilization were all deliberately destroyed. If Yizkor books document the people and places lost during the Holocaust, the valley is a Yizkor book carved in stone. As one moves between these high walls and reads these place names, their horrific fate resonates in the body like a series of deep echoes, the rippling



waves of the experience transmitted through time.

As J. B. Jackson wrote in his classic essay "The Necessity for Ruins," a monument "can be nothing more than a rough stone, a fragment of a ruined wall as at Jerusalem, a tree, or a cross. Its sanctity is not a matter of beauty or of use or of age; it is venerated not as a work of art or an antique, but as an echo from the remote past suddenly become present and actual." The western Irish landscape is littered with such memorials in the form of "famine cottages," the abandoned stone homes of families who fled or perished during the Irish Potato Famine. These ruins now sit amid overgrown vegetation in the countryside, a poignant reminder of events 175 years ago.

The artist Brian Tolle has forged a link to that landscape by re-creating it thousands of miles away. His Irish Hunger Memorial near Battery Park in New York City resembles a giant swath of the famine landscape of western Ireland, with native grasses and wildflowers and the remnants of a house transported from Attymass Parish. (The illuminated texts beneath it include information not only about this particular tragedy but also about world hunger today.) The drama of the memorial is compounded by its location – between New York Harbor, where so many Irish immigrants fleeing the famine first arrived, and the glass towers of lower Manhattan.

For the pathway through the memorial's artificial yet real terrain, Tolle included stones from each of Ireland's thirty-two counties.

Of course, relics have significance in many faiths. Most common are the bones of a saint or martyr, but they can also be a piece of fabric (the Shroud of Turin), a mark of the presence of an individual (relics of the footprint of the Prophet Muhammad), an artifact (the Chains of Saint Peter, a piece of the cross). A relic is commonly contained in a reliquary, which is often ornate and beautifully crafted. Sometimes the relic itself is hidden from view and only exposed on ritual occasions.

Tolle's memorial suggests that we can think of a landscape design as a reliquary as well – as a container for a relic or an artifact. As entire stories can be embodied in a relic, so too can they be embodied in the setting and design of a landscape. Babi Yar in Ukraine is the infamous site where thousands of Jews from Kiev were slaughtered in a ravine that then became a mass grave. At the Babi Yar Memorial Park in Denver, designed by Lawrence Halprin and Satoru Nishita, the progression through the site takes you down into a bowl suggesting the topography of the massacre. At the bottom of the bowl is a small, inscribed medallion, informing the reader that buried beneath that spot is soil from Babi Yar. This collection of soil – the transportation of the actual ground from one place to

Babi Yar Memorial Park, Denver, Colorado. The topography of the park echoes the site of the 1941 massacre near Kiev. Landscape Architects Lawrence Halprin and Satoru Nishita.



another – is an example of how a fragment or artifact can hold within it the power of the place, acting as a synecdoche of the entire place or event. Dramatic contemporary examples are the many 9/11 memorials that have incorporated fragments from the ruins of the World Trade Center site as a focal point of their design. Witnessing a piece of crushed steel conjures up images of the destruction of the twin towers in Manhattan.

At the National Memorial for Peace and Justice, the national lynching memorial in Montgomery, Alabama, eight hundred steel panels represent each U.S. county where racially motivated lynchings occurred. Each panel is inscribed with the names of the victims known to have been lynched in that county. The adjacent museum houses a collection of jars with soil from lynching sites across the United States. It is as if the ground itself retains the memory of the horrific violence that took place, as well as the society that witnessed, condoned, and even celebrated it.

Duplicates of the panels are waiting to be claimed and placed in their respective counties – an act that would reunite, like Demnig's Stumbling Blocks, the names of the dead with the communities they called home. This gesture would not only honor the memory of the victims but also help Americans of all colors come to terms with our past. As the Equal Justice Initiative explains on its website, "EJI shares historical and educational material with community members, encourages participation with communities of color, and works with partners to find an appropriate geographic location for each monument to ensure that the process of claiming monuments helps local communities engage with this history in a constructive and meaningful way."

The question of what we take home from these sites is an important one. Many of us, after visiting a significant site or making some private pilgrimage, bring back some object – whether bought or found – as a talisman or keepsake. In 2004 I visited the Warsaw Ghetto while doing research for my book *Defiant Gardens: Making Gardens in Wartime*. I spent days walking through the site of what was once the ghetto, seeking the exact location of gardens that I knew had been cultivated there under Nazi rule. I took a stone from one of these sites. Every year I place it on our Passover Seder plate with the traditional objects, as a reminder of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising that began the first night of Passover in 1943. – Kenneth I. Helphand

### A Case of Mistaken Identity: A Historian's Hunt for Buried Treasure

As the historian for the Central Park Conservancy – the nonprofit organization that has restored, maintained, and managed the park since 1980 – I have given hundreds of tours to visitors. Some have come from as near as Central Park South and others from as far away as the mountains of Peru, but often their first question is the same: "So, what was here before it became a park?" For me the social history of the pre-park starts with the native Lenape peoples and ends when co-designers Frederick Law Olmsted and Calvert Vaux won the design competition in 1858 with their "Greensward" plan, the genesis of their masterpiece. Some clues to Central Park's past are still buried in the ground, waiting to be discovered during landscape restoration. Others are far more familiar to the park's visitors, but their history may have been lost or forgotten over time. Such was the case with the cannon and mortar which I first saw lying in a storage facility on Randall's Island.

It was the year 1995, and I was curating an exhibit called Northern Exposure about the history of the land above 96th Street in Central Park, which focused on its role in Dutch and English colonial culture, the Revolutionary War, and the War of 1812. It included historical photographs and prints and maps, but I had heard about a cannon that had once been mounted on the empty granite base where Fort Clinton had stood, west of Fifth Avenue at approximately the line of present-day 106th Street. I called Jonathan Kuhn, the Parks Department's Director of Arts & Antiquities, and asked if we could borrow it for the exhibit.

Jonathan was delighted that the conservancy was willing to take the gun out of storage and bring it back to Central Park. "Do you want the mortar, too?" he asked.

"What's that?" I asked.

He explained that it was a cannon with a shorter barrel. I said we'd love to have them both.

The north end of Central Park has long been associated with the War of 1812. During the Revolutionary War, approximately seventy years before the park's creation, a promontory there had been part of a chain of fortifications held by British and Hessian troops. It overlooked the future intersection of Fifth Avenue and 106th Street on the east and the only road through McGowan's Pass (named after the family that owned a nearby tavern) on the west. Thirty-eight years later, after

a surprise attack on Stonington, Connecticut, in 1814, New Yorkers rushed to fortify these strategic locations, fearing that the British might attack New York next. The fortification on the eastern promontory was named Fort Clinton in honor of DeWitt Clinton, mayor of New York at the time. It became part of Central Park during the park's expansion in 1863.

By the time Edward Hagan Hall wrote his history of the upper park in 1905, these two cannons, which had been lying on the ground at Fort Clinton for decades, finally had been given a place of honor there, on a newly created granite base. There was ample evidence that the site had been armed – in fact, the New-York Historical Society owns a series of beautifully preserved watercolors portraying the fortifications, troops, and guns at Fort Clinton during the war, which the army had hired the artist John J. Holland to execute. Hall logically assumed that these “two old pieces, deeply pitted with rust” were two of the guns that had been brought to Fort Clinton to protect the city. This explanation of the origins of the cannon and mortar was accepted as fact for nearly a century, and I, too, identified them as dating to the War of 1812 in the Northern Exposure exhibit.

I came to question this assumption quite by accident three years later, on April 26, 1998 – which happened to be the 176th anniversary of Olmsted's birth. In preparation for my annual birthday tour, I randomly opened the *Board of Commissioners of the Central Park Annual Report for the Year 1865*. Customarily these reports detailed items that had been donated to the park, and my eyes fell upon the following in the 1865 list: an anonymous gift, received in October, of “One cannon, one small Mortar, one 18 lb. Ball and Grape Shot, all taken from the wreck of British Frigate *Hussar*.” The pairing of the large and small guns immediately caught my attention: it seemed highly unlikely that a different cannon *and* mortar would have been donated to the park. And yet these had been donated after the Civil War, which seemed to contradict the lore that they had participated in the city's defense in 1814. This mystery clearly demanded further investigation.

The internet was not yet the research tool it is today, so I reached for the authoritative *Encyclopedia of New York City* on my bookshelf. And there, to my shock, was an entry for the *Hussar* – a British ship that “struck Pot Rock, and sank near Hell Gate [the stretch of the East River between Randall's and Wards Islands and the Astoria waterfront] in November 1780.” The entry continued, “Reports that the *Hussar* carried gold to pay the British troops fighting in the Revolutionary War led to a number of salvage attempts into the twentieth century.” According to an account from an officer who survived the disaster, one hundred and seven crew lost their lives.

I decided to take a trip to the New-York Historical Society library to see what else I could find out about the *Hussar*. There I found a three-inch-thick folder filled with reports and newspaper clippings on the dives, one of which was conducted as recently as 1962. These accounts confirmed that numerous guns were recovered from the sunken ship, as well as several manacled skeletons of American prisoners of war and a firkin (wooden barrel) of still-fresh butter. Based on this evidence, the pitted and rusted cannon and mortar in the park's possession might well be booty from one of the many attempts to retrieve the *Hussar*'s gold rather than military relics from the War of 1812.

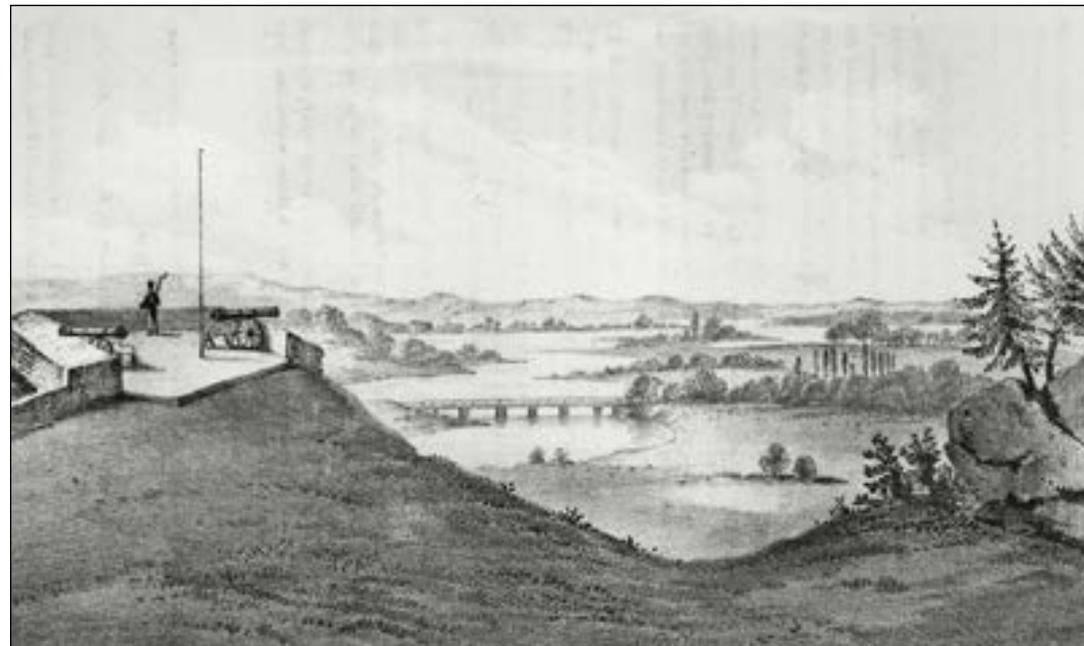
My new theory suddenly made sense from another angle as well. If these relics of American history had been at Fort Clinton during the park's construction, Frederick Law Olmsted, Calvert Vaux, the Board of Commissioners of the Central Park, and its pious and patriotic comptroller, Andrew Haswell Green – who was an ardent preservationist and later the founder of the American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society – would surely have given them a place of honor. And yet they had not. I then tried to track down photographs, illustrations, or any mention of the guns in nineteenth-century Central Park guidebooks, but my search proved fruitless. The first photograph that I could find of the cannon and mortar on the Fort Clinton site showed them lying on the ground, just as Hall had described. The picture was in a 1903 book about Harlem, published only two years before the guns were placed on the granite pedestal.

To confirm my hunch, I needed a weaponry expert. Richard Cox, a technician at the Harbor Defense Museum and a retired member of the New York Police Department (NYPD), offered to examine the cannon and mortar, which had been transferred from a storage facility on Randall's Island to one in Central Park. His first remark, before I had had a chance to even tell him my suspicions, was, “I'm sorry to say they are really in very bad

shape. They look like they have been underwater for decades.” Of course, I couldn't have been more pleased with his initial assessment!

Fortunately, Cox was also captivated by the mystery – he was, after all, a former NYPD detective sergeant. After photographing and measuring the two “tubes” (as he called the guns) on that first day of inspection and during several subsequent visits to the park, Cox substantiated that the “mortar” is a rare carronade, a specialized naval gun originally made in Carron, Scotland, in 1776 and found on many ships of the Royal Navy by 1780. A carronade was designed to throw a large projectile with short range. It could punch a big hole in the side of a wooden ship, making it particularly useful as a gun on a naval vessel such as the *Hussar*.

The origin of the cannons now seemed certain – but how, when, and why had they wound up lying on the ground at Fort Clinton at the end of the nineteenth century? The most likely answer can be found by tracing the places where gifts given to the park were once stored and exhibited. Beginning in 1858, all gifts given to the park – some living! – were displayed in the Arsenal, the park's first museum, located at Fifth Avenue and 64th Street. After the Civil War, however, various items, including some weaponry, were transferred to New York's first uptown museum, located in a two-story former chapel that was once part of a motherhouse and academy of higher education for girls and young women built by the Sisters of Charity of Saint Vincent de Paul in 1847. The complex, near what is now Fifth Avenue and 105th Street, ended



View at Fort Clinton, McGowan's Pass, 1812, D.T. Valentine, *Manual of the Corporation of the City of New York for 1856*. Private Collection.

up within the confines of Central Park (where the park's composting operation is today).

One of the Sisters of Charity's former buildings became a restaurant, and the chapel became an art museum. On the upper level of the museum was a display of plaster casts by Thomas Crawford, featuring the most famous works he sculpted for the exterior of the U.S. Capitol Building in Washington, D.C. The lower level, however, was used to exhibit assorted gifts to the park, such as the skeleton of a whale, a stone idol from Utatlán (the K'iche' Mayas' ancient capital, located in today's Guatemala), a plaster bust of the Prince of Wales, and photographs of the members of National Hose Company No. 24 and Newark Hose Company No. 1. Also shown were one 450-pound shell and one Parrott shell from Fort Sumter in Charleston Harbor, where the opening battle of the Civil War was fought, and a six-pound shell presented



by the Marquis de Lafayette to General Cropper. Although I could find no proof that the cannon and mortar were in the museum collection other than the 1865 annual report, conservancy conservationist John Harrigan discovered an 1872 article that mentioned that the Central Park museum contained "some cannon, rusty and misshapen, which once did duty aboard the *Hussar*, and people gaze at them with stimulated remembrances of the curious story of the ship."

In 1881 the uptown museum burned down as a result of a fire in the adjacent restaurant. The cannon and mortar survived the conflagration, but perhaps it was at this point that the records documenting their provenance were lost. Presumably it was after the fire that park officials decided to place them on nearby Fort Clinton, with the intention of commemorating the park's military history. Unfortunately, the cannon and mortar were frequently rolled down the hill by vandals, and more than once had to be retrieved from the Harlem Meer. By the time they were mounted, any connection with the *Hussar* had been completely forgotten.

The guns remained there until sometime in the 1960s or 1970s, the years when Central Park experienced the grimmest days in its century-old history. After the cannon and mortar had been vandalized repeatedly, Parks Department authorities wisely removed them to the storage facility on Randall's Island before they were further damaged or, worse, stolen.

The empty chunk of granite where they had been positioned symbolized the loss of New York City's fiscal power to maintain its park and its historic monuments.

After having been correctly identified with the help of Richard Cox in 2001, the guns remained in the 79th Street Ramble Shed, waiting for the moment when the Central Park Conservancy would turn its attention to restoring the fort's landscape. The plan was never to re-create the fortifications per se – there would be no Williamsburg-type reconstruction, no park employees dressed as War of 1812 soldiers, and no staged military battles. Instead the restoration would consist of improved infrastructure and irrigation, seating areas that featured beautiful views of the Harlem Meer, new plantings, and – at last – the conservation of the badly corroded cannons.

In 2013 my colleague John Harrigan, assisted in part by Matthew C. Reiley (both artists/sculptors in their personal lives), pursued the questions I'd raised about the guns further, consulting with armament experts Richard Patterson of the Old Barracks Museum in Trenton, New Jersey, and Leslie Jensen and Brian W. Rayca of the West Point Military Museum to learn more about the cannon and mortar's provenance. After extensive research, John proved beyond the shadow of a doubt that the guns were from the HMS *Hussar* and that the "mortar" was, indeed, one of the first carronades ever made, and "one of two earliest carronades still in existence."

Then, at last, the guns came out of storage. The first course of action was to open the cannon, which contained the

The conserved cannon and carronade on Fort Clinton, Central Park. Photograph by Sara Cedar Miller.

donated Parrot shell from Fort Sumter cemented inside its bore. An even bigger surprise, lodged inside the carronade, was the *Hussar*'s "18-pound

ball" – part of the gift to the park back in 1865. Once Reiley and Harrigan removed the gun's built-up iron scale, the cannonball easily rolled out, revealing a more explosive discovery: a one-pound, twelve-ounce packet of gunpowder wrapped in two-hundred-and-thirty-year-old wool. The NYPD bomb squad was called immediately, and the ammunition was taken away. Like the shot heard round the world, the discovery of the gunpowder was reported in international newspapers.

It turned out that the corroded cannon and carronade had been under water for over sixty years. This meant that before these weapons could be returned to the park, they had to be soaked in a desalinization tank for twenty-four months, until the metal was sufficiently stabilized, because salt is terrible for metal. Only then could they be properly sealed and secured on their original 1905 Fort Clinton pedestal. Now, however, these artifacts are memorialized not as defense weapons of the War of 1812 but as guns once belonging to HMS *Hussar*, which sank in 1780 in the treacherous waters of the strait that connects the East River with Long Island Sound.

The hunt for the *Hussar* still goes on. In 2013, the very year that Reiley and Harrigan began restoring the weapons, the *New York Times* reported that treasure hunter Steven Smith had discovered curved wooden joints on the shores of the South Bronx after the disturbances from Hurricane Sandy. He believed them possibly to be a part of the *Hussar*. In Central Park, though, these old and misshapen cannons are the only tangible British artifacts from the Revolutionary War, more valuable as a commemoration of those people and events than whatever treasure may or may not be buried under the East River. Indeed, the British soldiers manning the city's forts in 1780 might have viewed that disaster through their spyglasses from the exact spot where the cannon and mortar from that doomed ship are now installed. – Sara Cedar Miller

Parts of this article were published in a different form as "Central Park's Sunken Treasure," *New-York Journal of American History* 65, no. 3 (Spring 2004): 93–97.

## Placemaker

### Louise Wrinkle

When I was a boy, each approaching June brought great anticipation of spending the summer with my grandparents in Alabama. The trip from South Carolina began with boarding the Southerner at dawn for the exciting train journey to visit them. Once there, hot summer days were spent imagining, exploring, and enjoying the company of older cousins who often sat on the long front porch of the house telling stories of their travels and adventures. Over the bed in my room, my grandmother had placed a photograph of her great-niece, Louise, who shared her name. A beautiful young debutante when the photo was taken, Louise had recently married and started a family. My young mind often wondered about my cousin and her life in Birmingham, as I would see this photograph every day throughout the summer. It was not until later in life that I really got to know her, but during these boyhood summers, I often went to visit her parents at their beautiful home in Mountain Brook.

Mountain Brook, Alabama, was originally designed in the 1930s as a suburb “over the mountain” from downtown Birmingham. Inspired design and development created a residential community of beautiful homes along winding roads that followed the natural contours of the mountain. The roads connected three planned villages – Mountain Brook Village, Crestline Village, and English Village – that provided stores and other amenities for the residents of the community. The Mountain Brook Club with its spacious golf course was built along Shades Creek, and building lots were laid out by the developer to accommodate homes and gardens nearby. Louise’s parents purchased a two-acre lot on Beechwood Road near



the club’s entrance and built their house there in 1938. It had a unique entry that fascinated me as a child. From the road, it appeared to be a typical two-story brick home in the Georgian style that would normally have a front door in the center. In this case, however, the formal entry was on the side of the house, adjacent to a motor court and flanked by a sunken parterre garden.

During Louise’s childhood, the sloping land behind the house was covered by an almost impenetrable forest overgrown with honeysuckle, poison ivy, and weed trees. Louise and her sister called it the Jungle. They spent many hours there damming the stream at the bottom of the hill and playing with crawfish and salamanders. Many years later, when she moved back into her family home, Louise decided to work with this unique site in the foothills of the Appalachians to create a natural woodland garden, for which she is now being recognized with the Foundation for Landscape Studies’ Place Maker award. The garden has continued to evolve over the last three decades, and a few years ago Louise decided to record her experiences, and the lessons she learned, in *Listen to the Land: Creating a Southern Woodland Garden* (available online at [louisewrinkle.com](http://louisewrinkle.com)). The book includes stunning photographs that reveal her garden in all weathers and seasons.

“People often talk about *genius loci*, or the spirit of a place, but too often they impose their own preferences and patterns on a piece of land,” Louise writes in her introduction. Rather than emulate any particular existing style, she resolved to “listen” to the land and let its contours suggest her garden’s plantings and



The front entry into the house is accessed from an enclosed and formal motor court.

circulation. As a result, its spaces flow into one another, maintaining their relationships to the whole rather than being set apart. “My lifelong connection with this piece of Alabama woodland has taught me how to hear its particular voice,” she writes.

Like her mother, Louise was always interested in horticulture, and she joined a local garden club not long after her marriage. After her

two daughters were born and became old enough to ride, they devoted most of their free time to horseback riding. It wasn’t until her daughters left home for college that, as she put it, “the plant bug bit.” After serving as a regional representative to the National Horticulture Committee of the Garden Clubs of America (GCA), she was asked to become its chair. As she traveled across the country speaking to local chapters, she made an effort to learn as much as she could about each region’s plants and the ways in which they were cultivated. “I wanted to emphasize that plants have specific needs in specific places,” she recalls. Understanding this basic gardening principle saves people from trying things that are doomed to failure.

Working with the GCA, Louise learned the latest styles in floral arrangement using a variety of plants, both potted and cut specimens, that had been grown to perfection. As chair, she also observed that, while many members knew how to arrange flowers beautifully, they were often less knowledgeable about how these flowers grew. Louise writes that “sometimes we growers feel that the arrangers assume that the flowers come from the coolers at the wholesale florist, just as children think that milk comes from the grocery store.” She worked to develop a wider appreciation among her fellow members for the whole process of gardening, from propagation to final display.

Her GCA role gave Louise a chance to meet experts and seasoned gardeners from all over the country who were dedicated to growing and showing and sharing their knowledge. Perhaps her greatest teacher, however, has been her own garden, which she took on after moving back into her childhood home following her mother's death in 1986. For the dedicated gardener, Louise believes that tending a garden over time is an ongoing experiment, an ever-evolving process of discovering through trial and error what will fail and what will thrive.

As Louise and her husband began their renovations, she formed the "Committee," which was made up of an architect, a landscape architect, and several landscape contractors. They followed Louise's decision to let the land itself suggest the most natural way to design both an addition to the house and the garden's plantings and circulation. Feeling that too many nonnative plants had come to dominate local gardens, Louise decided instead to use plants native to the southeastern United States, favoring those that offered attractive combinations of seasonal color, texture, and form.

The first order of business was to move the driveway so that it created a graceful curve up the hill into an expanded motor court. At the beginning of the driveway, there happened to be a large grouping of native azaleas to which were added other wild azaleas from around the property. The



Freestanding crabapple trees form an espaliered "Belgian fence."

motor court was developed to include a subtle fountain, and the existing sunken parterre garden beyond was greatly enhanced by establishing a "Belgian fence" by bending crabapple trees to form a freestanding espaliered shape.

A cutting garden for fresh flowers was also created, and a stone storage building was later designed and built at its far end to enclose the garden and resemble a stone wall in the distance.

Most ambitious, however, was the transformation of the Jungle behind the house into a carefully curated woodland landscape. "I feel the less done the better," Louise writes, "but I'm very much in favor of leaving space to breathe. In an appreciation of forest aesthetics, a certain amount of editing must be done to eliminate clutter and emphasize the grandeur around us."

The spring-fed brook at the rear of the property that Louise had so loved as a child was no longer visible from the house and was virtually inaccessible, choked with privet, honeysuckle, and poison ivy.

It took two weeks to clear the Jungle. Stonework was then added to stabilize the stream's banks, and two bridges were built to allow visitors to experience the brook from both sides. Today the woods behind the house are threaded with a series of winding paths that use large and beautiful stones for steps and have railings made from natural limbs and branches as well as iron.

Although the entire garden is little more than



Stone steps with natural wood railings lead to paths that wind throughout the woodland garden.

two acres, it feels much larger. Surprises await at every turn – a tiny patch of meadow, a rustic bench, a bed of wild phlox in bloom. Louise points out that the lack of a horizon adds to our sense of space: "If we can only see a few dozen yards in front of us, we're busy figuring out where we are and tend to overemphasize the acreage at hand." And of course visits at different times of year yield fresh rewards. It is in winter, she observes, "when the distracting splash of color and bloom has disappeared," that the anatomy of a garden is most apparent.

With insight and sensitivity, Louise devotes a section in her book to creating seasonal color through choices in planting and location. Numerous innovative ideas have been imaginatively applied to the garden for which she is being honored, and she generously shares them in *Listen to the Land*. We can all be grateful that she included a chapter entitled "Plant Profiles" that lists many of the plants she has used in developing her garden along with photographs of each specimen and helpful notes on its pruning and proper care. – George Crow

## Book Reviews

### ***California Mission Landscapes: Race, Memory, and the Politics of Heritage***

By Elizabeth Kryder-Reid  
University of Minnesota Press, 2016

The preservation of scenic and historic places for public benefit has a long history in the United States, characterized by positive accomplishments, challenges overcome, and successes that have been

emulated elsewhere in the world. Our national and state park systems in particular figure prominently in any inventory of the more admirable achievements of American society. But the acclaim sometimes obscures complex questions that have always been raised by historical investigations into the park movement: which “public benefit” was typically served, whose rights of possession or use may have been abrogated, and why did tension and conflict often accompany the seemingly unalloyed good intentions of preservationists?

To their credit, public historians and officials

charged with managing and interpreting historic sites and other parks for the general public have long sought to enrich the narratives associated with these landscapes by including stories



that previously had been muted. The history of racial slavery is no longer ignored at most antebellum plantation and Civil War battlefield sites. The displacement of immigrant and African

American communities to create urban parks has been the subject of research and publication in recent decades, as has the dispossession of tribal groups in the establishment of national parks. Historians have made clear that some park advocates have been motivated by the prospect of financial rewards from real estate and tourism revenue, just as other activists have been driven by concern for scenic preservation and public health. The subject of park history is considerably richer than the simple and still-all-too-familiar bro-

chures about “America’s best idea.” Few other cultural enterprises tell us more about our highest values and aspirations while at the same time revealing the less lauded forces and conflicts that have always supported and accompanied them.

The landscape-management practices and cultural associations of precolonial indigenous peoples have proved to be particularly difficult to integrate into the practices of park agencies. There is no lack of scholarship on the topic, but its implications can be daunting. At least since 1992, when the geographer William Denevan described what he called the “pristine myth,” it has been clear that before 1492 the Americas had been far more populated – and cultivated – than had ever been acknowledged. The population of the New World, in fact, was comparable in size to that of the Old World. By waging war against its indigenous peoples and exposing them to diseases they had no immunities against, Europeans created pristine wilderness more than they discovered it. Twenty-first century archeologists have documented that pre-Columbian cultivated landscapes and settlements were continental in scale. Analyses of early written

accounts have contributed to completely new understandings of the “precontact” people and landscapes of the Americas that belie later descriptions of an uninhabited and ahistorical hemisphere awaiting European settlement.

Despite decades of these findings, the myth of the pristine wilderness has remained remarkably persistent, as Denevan himself has pointed out. Recent scholarship aided by remote sensing technologies on the size of pre-Columbian cities, for example, or the extensive, early cultivation of the Amazon Basin still makes headlines. The idea of the wilderness of the New World remains enshrined not only in the legislation that guides the management of many parks but in the public imagination as well.

There are many reasons for the endurance of older historical frameworks that effectively eliminate the role of indigenous people in shaping their landscapes, thereby restricting serious consideration of the cultures and narratives associated with them. Most of the United States’ scenic and historic places were designated as such between the mid-1800s and the mid-

1900s, when “nature” served as an antidote to the conditions of industrial cities for the urban middle classes, and “history” typically reinforced the identities and narratives they favored. These social constructions remain important to millions of the people who visit these places yearly. Recognizing the significance of indigenous occupation and management of the land threatens both the notion that the Americas were once an unpeopled wilderness and the historical narratives of settlement that have shaped not only our national identity but group and individual identities as well. While general histories of Native American societies are rarely absent from national and state park interpretative programs today, it is fair to say that more full and specific accounts of the meanings and practices those groups invested – and often continue to invest – in these “preserved” places are far rarer. Absent a deeper historical context of the indigenous cultural landscape, conveying the continued meanings and associations of Native people today for parks and historic sites can be impossible.

To make these stories both vivid and accessible is

a scholarly challenge as well as a political one. Integrating indigenous perspectives on landscape history and park interpretation requires extensive, site-specific research, which is necessarily interdisciplinary and ethnographic. Collaboration with tribal groups is as critical to these efforts as historical and archeological studies are. For many parks and historic sites, the needed partnerships and long-term research programs simply do not exist. This is, in part, what makes Elizabeth Kryder-Reid’s *California Mission Landscapes* such a welcome and important book.

California’s mission churches are among the oldest buildings in the state and most visited of its historic sites; their placid courtyard gardens have been favorite destinations for generations of tourists and schoolchildren. Most of them have reverted to the ownership of the Catholic Church in some capacity. Two are California state parks, and all are designated California landmarks. The themes embodied by the full history of the mission landscapes, however, make these preserved sites among

the most problematic in the United States. Kryder-Reid, who is a professor of anthropology, has not neglected to include a deep and comprehensive account of the people who inhabited and shaped the landscapes in which the missions were first established. She employs an ethnographer's approach and perspective to deepen the formal history of the mission gardens and to illustrate how these cultural landscapes have embodied the shifting and contentious relationships of indigenous and non-indigenous people in California. The result is a basis for a far more meaningful interpretation and appreciation of a difficult and controversial history.

The Franciscan Order established and operated the California missions between the 1760s and the 1830s. The purpose of the missions was both to convert regional tribal groups to Catholicism and to prepare for the 1804 establishment of the Spanish colony of Alta California. Monks were accompanied to the region by Spanish soldiers who drove indigenous people off their lands and forced them to relocate to the new mission settlements. There the monks instructed them in European agricultural as

well as religious practices. The violent conscription of the population to the mission plantations and the terrible conditions often experienced by these unpaid laborers amounted to little more than slavery, and the traditional ways of life for tens of thousands were drastically altered or destroyed.

Following Mexican independence, an emancipation order was issued for the Indian "neophytes," and in the 1830s the missions were secularized. By that time, however, the circumstances of the indigenous population of Alta California had become a human disaster, one that only intensified as the mission system collapsed and California became part of the United States at mid-century. By 1870 the Native population of California was probably one-tenth of what it had been just over a century earlier, when the first mission had been established in San Diego. Mission lands were privatized, and buildings began to deteriorate. By the 1890s, when preservationists first began to take notice, many of the missions had fallen into ruins.

In the course of the twentieth century, a remarkable

transformation occurred – one that was closely tied to the emerging identities and favored historical narratives of Californians of European descent. The missions attracted the attention of artists, preservationists, and business and civic leaders, who sponsored restoration efforts. As Kryder-Reid observes, this was at a time when "California was seeing a growing Anglo-American influence in political and social circles, and the efforts to cast the missions as relics of a halcyon Hispanic [colonial] era served to both romanticize and to distance" the problematic past.

The reinvention of the mission gardens themselves, which once had been "dusty, bustling work and social spaces," was a key focus of the project. Located in the courtyards or forecourts of the mission churches, they were designed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as peaceful retreats, with central fountains, flower beds, small trees, and structured paths. Each has a specific history of its creation, but all shared basic characteristics that make them important and influential examples of the Spanish Colonial Revival design of the era.

The process began in 1872, with the arrival of

Father José Maria Romo at Mission Santa Barbara, where he was sent to run the Franciscan boys' college that had been established there four years earlier. Romo supervised renovations to the buildings and the creation of a cloister garden, probably inspired by historical precedents he saw while in Europe. This impressive garden became the primary influence for the gardens built over the following decades at most of the twenty other California missions. A four-square plan with a central fountain, the garden was planted with orange and cypress trees, as well as beds of mixed "succulents, ground cover, cacti, roses," and other perennial and annual flowers. The result was a sacred and meditative space that soon became a favorite of photographers, including William Henry Jackson, who in 1894 praised the "ancient" beauty of the missions and the "riches of history which they possess." He was particularly taken with the garden at Mission Santa Barbara, "which was, and still is, a place of peculiar beauty." The architectural firm of Newsom and Newsom

provided a somewhat more intricate plan for the garden in 1903, maintaining its basic character. In a matter of years, the mission garden was understood to be a central legacy of the Spanish Colonial era – a misconception that has been passed along to generations of tourists and visiting school children ever since.

Kryder-Reid's book, the result of decades of research, provides detailed histories of the design and management of all of California's mission gardens, most of them influenced by the precedent at Santa Barbara. The significance of her work, however, is that these interesting and needed histories are fully contextualized in the history of the larger landscape of which they were once a part. She explores the complex issues of their heritage and the cultural confrontations that led to their reinvention. These restored churches with their appealing courtyard gardens were the centers of large agricultural enterprises and of an entire colonial project that had tragic results for indigenous people. And these plantations were, in turn, sited in a larger landscape of indigenous occupation and use by an estimated three hundred

thousand people, who managed that landscape through controlled burning, selective harvesting, and seed spreading. Unfortunately, the author observes, the history of the missions has not yet been "fully mined" for its potential as an "avenue to understanding the politics of the past as a continuum between the Spanish colonial period, emerging American nationalism, and the contemporary heritage industry."

And yet, if the California missions embody, as the author puts it, some of the most difficult and contentious themes of "race, memory, and the politics of heritage" that exist in the United States today, *California Mission Landscapes* exemplifies the rewards of grappling with the challenges posed by such deeply significant places. Its fresh conclusions and original insights demonstrate the potential of landscape history to encompass ethnographic, political, and environmental themes, and to explore, with nuance and respect, how the same landscape can have starkly different meanings for the societies that made it.

– Ethan Carr

***Oasis in the City: The Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Sculpture Garden at The Museum of Modern Art***

Edited by Peter Reed and Romy Silver-Kohn

New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 2018

When the Museum of Modern Art opened its first building, on West Fifty-third Street in Manhattan, on May 10,

1939, one can only imagine the clarity with which the event contributed to the new era – Modernism. The 1939 New York World’s Fair had opened just ten days earlier. Abby Aldrich Rockefeller, one of the visionary founders; her husband, John D. Rockefeller Jr.; and his father generously donated their townhouse properties to provide the land. With a leftover plot in back on Fifty-fourth Street, the building’s architects, Philip L. Goodwin and Edward Durell Stone, oversaw the creation of what the press release heralded as an “oasis



in the city”: a sculpture garden to display the museum’s collection out-of-doors.

To celebrate its eightieth anniversary, MoMA has published a 16 x 11¼ inch, 284-page tome titled *Oasis in the City: The Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Sculpture Gar-*

*den at The Museum of Modern Art.* Generously illustrated, the volume serves as a veritable time machine,

transporting us back through the garden’s development and transformations. If readers could only handle it like a flip book, they would experience, as with a high-speed camera, the exhilarating flow of the placement and removal of sculpture, including those pieces commissioned for the garden. The editors, Peter Reed and Romy Silver-Kohn, have masterfully organized the book in three sections: a five-part architectural history of the building and the sculpture garden; an almost-year-by-year catalogue of important acquisitions and staged events; and, finally, a portfolio of commissioned photographs of the garden

by seven contemporary photographers.

In the chapter “A Garden Grows,” Reed and Ann Temkin explain that in its first configuration (designed by John McAndrew, Curator of Architecture and Industrial Design, and Alfred H. Barr Jr., the founding director), the garden was planned as a biomorphic form with a few groves of trees, a gravel-strewn surface, curvilinear background screens, and dividers of wattle, plywood, or wire. The authors liken it to work by Roberto Burle Marx or Alvar Aalto: a contrast to the grid of the building’s architecture. The first-generation sculptures on view were figural bronzes, like Gaston Lachaise’s *Floating Figure* and Elie Nadelman’s *Man in the Open Air*, followed over time by pieces in carved stone, like those by Henry Moore and Isamu Noguchi, and then by works made of fabricated steel. A later photograph shows the curator Dorothy Miller and five workmen setting up Alexander Calder’s *Black Widow* stabile. (His *Man-Eater with Pennants*, with its swinging parts, was ulti-

mately declared too dangerous and removed.)

At Abby Rockefeller’s death in 1948, her sons Nelson and David engaged Philip Johnson, then the director of the Department of Architecture, to redesign the sculpture garden in her memory. A Miesian convert (after encountering the Barcelona Pavilion, with its single figurative sculpture standing in a pool), Johnson sought “the urban sophistication of an Italian piazza.” He got it right, and even though there were alterations around the perimeter over the decades to accommodate new construction, his design is essentially the garden we know today: a walled courtyard with four asymmetrical display areas, divided by steps, plantings, and bridges, and paved with slabs of striated white marble. He then designed two staggered, rectangular reflecting pools with jets of water.

The Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Sculpture Garden opened on April 29, 1953. Collaborating at first with a landscape architect from New Canaan, Johnson was eventually assisted with planting plans by Robert Zion and Harold Breen,

whose landscape firm continues to oversee the garden today. Groves of weeping beeches, European birches, and two plane trees were complemented by ground covers of evergreen pachysandra, lily of the valley, and Geneva bugle, along with seasonal plantings and changing flora in terracotta pots. For many years, Beth Straus, a leader of MoMA’s International Council, guided the seasonal plantings. A lot left vacant at the eastern end for future development was shielded by a row of Lombardy poplars. And, of course, the Harry Bertoia wire chairs became a ubiquitous feature.

Four sculptures appear to be displayed in the garden at all times, even as the collection rotates annually, sometimes in relation to an exhibition in the galleries or, since 1989, as part of a series called Artist’s Choice. Among these, Henri Matisse’s abstract sculptural bronze reliefs of a female back – *The Back (I)* to *The Back (IV)* – are against the Fifty-fourth Street wall; originally only three were acquired, but a plaster of a fourth discovered after the

artist’s death was cast in bronze. Aristide Maillol’s *The River*, a falling woman cast in lead, is placed at the edge of one pool. Pablo Picasso’s pregnant *She-Goat* – an assemblage in bronze of objects the artist had scavenged in local junkyards, which was originally on display in his own garden – is a great favorite of children. And finally, there is the entrance gate to a Paris subway (*Métropolitain*) station, ca. 1900, crafted by Hector Guimard in painted cast iron, glazed lava, and glass, rescued from the City of Paris before its dismantling. In all, one hundred sculptures are represented in the book, by a total of sixty-one artists.

Succeeding sections of this chapter deal with the inevitable expansions of MoMA that altered the dimensions of the sculpture garden while giving it different points of access. The first addition, by Philip Johnson in 1964, included a raised terrace with a grand staircase at the east end that he called “architecture in motion.” In the 1984 redesign, Cesar Pelli added a four-story, glass “Garden Hall,” with an escalator that offered views of the garden and the city beyond as one

ascended, and replaced Johnson's upper terrace with a two-story café and restaurant. In 2004 Yoshio Taniguchi created new buildings on the east and west that gave the garden a new entrance and view from the west side; it became a true courtyard surrounded on four sides by MoMA buildings and the Fifty-fourth Street wall.

In the meticulously researched second chapter, "Oasis in the City: Eighty Years of the Sculpture Garden" by Reed and Silver-Kohn, the reader is introduced to a staggering number of stimulating exhibitions, happenings, and events – especially the Summergarden performances that began in 1971. In addition we learn that there was occasionally outdoor architecture to complement drawings and models in the galleries. In 1942 Buckminster Fuller's Dymaxion Deployment Unit was exhibited: a circular steel grain bin adapted into a family dwelling that could be used as a bomb shelter or a beach house. This was followed by two furnished houses,

Marcel Breuer's famous The House in the Museum Garden (1949) and Gregory Ain's Exhibition House (1950), which both demonstrated postwar solutions for American suburban families that combined economy of space with elegance of form.

Recognizing that the principles behind the open interiors of these Western houses, like Ain's with its sliding panels and walls, had been formulated by the Japanese three hundred years earlier, Arthur Drexler, the curator of architecture, commissioned the most popular house in the series, the traditional Japanese Exhibition House designed by Junzo Yoshimura (1954). It was also the most gardenesque, with a landscape designed by Tansai Sano, who was descended from seven generations of gardeners at Ryoan-ji. It included a pond, a waterfall, and a contemplative sand garden featuring raked, wavelike designs symbolizing water. It was eventually reconstructed with a garden in Philadelphia's Fairmount Park, where it serves as a local center for Japanese culture.

Other built components complemented the structure

of the garden itself, but none more so than Shigeru Ban's *Paper Arch* in 2000, his first project in the United States. Having invented brown-paper tubing as a low-cost but strong construction material for quick-fix housing in earthquake-shattered Kobe, for MoMA he created an arched trellis of the material that spanned the garden's entire width. It suggested the lightness of a weathered bamboo trellis in an old Japanese garden as visitors sat under its veil of crisscrossed shadows.

When I finished reading the book, I went downtown to take a walk in the sculpture garden as I have done a hundred times before. I grew up in Trenton, New Jersey, and my parents belonged to MoMA, so I visited the museum with them as a child on our excursions into town; along with the art, I recall the chic, penthouse restaurant for members and the original Bauhaus staircase (which it is still fun to rediscover in the depths of the museum). On this dark, wintry afternoon, however,

I wanted to confirm the presence of the four perennial sculptures. The falling woman, the goat, and the subway entrance were all accounted for: only one Matisse back was missing. I also noted that Isa Genken's giant, long-stemmed *Rose II*, a more recent addition, may be acquiring permanent status.

The leafless branches of the weeping beeches and silver birches were like etched lines in the air. No water in the pools, but Peter Fischli's *Snowman*, encased in his freezer, was appropriate to the season. Actually, Fischli had selected the whole collection on view for this year's Artist's Choice exhibition. Also, for the first time, I looked up and saw Rachel Whitbread's *Water Tower* of translucent resin and painted steel on the roof. Finally, dusk descended, and the guard asked us to leave. From inside the museum, the garden in the dimming light resembled the slightly blurred, black-and-white photographs by Hiroshi Sugimoto in the final section of the book: art imitating art.

– Paula Deitz

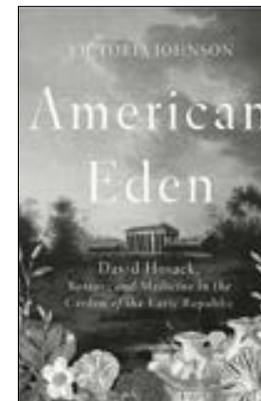
### **American Eden: David Hosack, Botany, and Medicine in the Garden of the Early Republic**

By Victoria Johnson

New York: Liveright, 2018

In 1783, when David Hosack was a young teenager, William Livingston, governor of the state of New Jersey, received a letter from Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur. Crèvecoeur, who had just published his *Letters*

*from an American Farmer*, was now writing in his new role as French consul. He presented to Livingston, as he did to the governors of New York and Connecticut, a formal proposal from the French government: if New Jersey established a botanical garden, the French would share specimens from their collections in exchange for American plants. The offer from the French was indicative of the botanically forward-thinking policies of the French government, which could safely claim to have one of the most fully furnished botanical gardens in western Europe and hence in the



world. The *Jardin royal des plantes médicinales*, launched in 1626 with the support of Louis XIII, was understood to serve the king and state in all matters botanical. Royal scientists collected and

cultivated plants and studied them for medicinal and other uses. By the time Crèvecoeur contacted Governor Livingston, the French had established finely tuned administrative procedures through which

they aggressively sought out plants from colonies around the globe in order to grow their own geopolitical power.

Governor Livingston passed along the French proposal to the Assembly of the State of New Jersey and reported back to Crèvecoeur that the assembly expressed thanks and wished "to assure him that whenever this state hath formed an Establishment of a Botanical Garden, His Most Christian Majesty's offer will be gratefully accepted." In other words, if New Jersey

ever decided to build such a garden, the French would be welcome to contribute specimens. But New Jersey did not build a botanical garden. Nor did New York or Connecticut (though a New Haven medical society tried). The French quickly lost patience with the young republic and decided to bypass it in 1785 by sending their own botanist, André Michaux, to carry out the French mission. Michaux established a French nursery garden in New Jersey that excited the curiosity of Americans, but no American garden materialized.

It was in this institutionally underdeveloped context that David Hosack, the hero of Victoria Johnson's *American Eden*, waged a lifelong effort to build the first U.S. botanical garden (the Dutch had built one in the seventeenth century) in New York City. He encountered intellectual curiosity and enthusiasm all along the way, but unfortunately the new country did not yet have the mature institutions needed to support his vision. As a result his efforts would prove both dramatically successful and ultimately unsustainable in the Early Republic. Yet his life, Johnson writes, "tells

the story of how Americans learned to think about both the natural world and their own bodies." It is also, as the author goes on to argue, "the story of how one of the world's greatest cities became just that."

*American Eden* is first and foremost a biography of Hosack. Johnson begins with his early quest to acquire a medical education. He began his formal training at Columbia College in 1786; he also became an apprentice to London-trained military surgeon Richard Bayley, whose work at New York Hospital and anatomical dissections provided practical preparation. When public suspicion grew around Bayley's anatomical dissections in 1788 and his laboratory came under attack, Hosack chose to continue his education at the College of New Jersey (now Princeton University). He returned to New York after that for advanced training, and then in 1790 moved to Philadelphia where he studied under Benjamin Rush.

But Hosack yearned for more rigorous medical instruction. In 1792, leaving his wife and child with his parents, he set across the Atlantic to study at the University of Edinburgh. There he embarked on a rigorous course of study, but

quickly realized how little he knew of medical botany, which was an essential part of the study of medicine in Britain. To correct that deficit he proceeded to London, where he studied with William Curtis in the Brompton Botanic Garden. In so doing he developed a lifelong passion for botany and a strong conviction that botanical knowledge was key to improving medical practice. Back in the United States Hosack launched his professional career in medicine, a lengthy and vaunted career that through his prodigious energy would include teaching botany and later medicine at Columbia University; teaching medicine at its rival, the College of Physicians and Surgeons; maintaining a private medical practice through which he catered to an elite roster of patients, including Alexander Hamilton and Aaron Burr; seeing patients at charity hospitals as well; and encouraging the growth of the arts, sciences, and especially botanical sciences in New York City.

Central to all of these efforts was Hosack's establishment of a botanical garden in New York City. Johnson narrates his crusade to build one against

the backdrop of the history of science and medicine in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Hosack's discovery of medical botany coincided with a golden age of the study of plants in Britain, France, and the Sweden of Carl Linnaeus. In America Thomas Jefferson and George Washington were only two of many American elite gentlemen who were enthusiastic gardeners and plant collectors. The most serious among them collaborated, conversed, and collected via the informal but cosmopolitan "republic of letters" and formal academies and societies: Hosack was elected a Fellow of the Linnaean Society of London after his studies there and was eventually named a Fellow of the Royal Society. And, like his contemporaries, he believed that unlocking the secrets of botany could bring about a revolution in the practice of medicine. If Linnaeus had, through his classification system, found the key to identifying similarities between different plants, surely resemblances between their medicinal properties could be identified, tested, and deployed pharmaceutically. The medical field was experiencing great change as practitioners finally began to abandon the

millennia-old theory of the humors in favor of practices based on knowledge gleaned from anatomical and pharmaceutical study. The assemblage of an encyclopedic botanical garden was therefore essential, and New York City, let alone the United States (as the French had lamented), did not have one.

Hosack launched his efforts to create one in 1801 when, with his own money, he purchased the first of several plots of land north of the city and began the construction of the site that he would call the Elgin Botanic Garden after the Scottish birthplace of his father. Its precincts would eventually include a handsome conservatory and thousands of plant specimens that Hosack himself had collected or had acquired from his now international and extensive network of botanical correspondents in Britain and France and on the frontiers of America. It was an astounding achievement that drew visitors and botanists from around the country. Its purpose was both practical and commercial: in 1807 he advertised in a New York newspaper that "Our citizens are now

informed that they can be supplied with Medicinal Herbs and Plants, and a large assortment of Green and Hot House Plants, &c." But it was also a labor-intensive and expensive endeavor that Hosack could not sustain financially on his own. He therefore waged a decades-long and ultimately unsuccessful bid to convince Columbia and the State of New York of the benefits of, first, taking ownership of the garden and, second, appropriating sufficient funds for its maintenance. Even the scientifically forward-thinking Thomas Jefferson initially rebuffed Hosack's efforts. The garden eventually fell into ruins. Its site, once in the city's rural environs, is now covered by Midtown Manhattan's Rockefeller Center.

Yet, as Johnson writes, Hosack's "greatest legacy is perhaps the one that is hardest to see. He showed his fellow citizens how to build institutions." And in this sense, Johnson's biography is also a history of New York City and its emergence over the course of Hosack's professional life as the financial and cultural center of the new republic. Johnson's account transports the reader back to a late-eighteenth and early nineteenth-century New York City that is both crackling with

intellectual excitement and political possibility, and frighteningly gritty and dangerous.

The terrible significance of Hosack's work as a physician was forced upon him throughout his life: even as he strove to advance medical and pharmaceutical knowledge, he was unable to save his first wife, his first child, Theodosia Burr, Alexander Hamilton's son Philip, and then Hamilton himself, let alone the many hundreds of patients lost to yellow fever, smallpox, and other communicable diseases that plagued America. So Hosack soldiered on, a leading but by no means solitary force in Enlightenment America who believed in the potential of the new nation and the progress of science. He built networks of botanical and scientific exchange with the leading botanists of Europe, cultivated rivalries with contemporaries like the Peales in Philadelphia, and tirelessly contributed to and shaped the learned societies and institutions that would mold America – including the New-York Historical Society and the New York Horticultural Society, to name just two. The publisher of *American Eden* has frustratingly

opted to forgo footnotes, but Johnson's erudition and exhaustive research into the archival sources surrounding her subject are consistently rewarding. The reader will be both delighted by the story of Hosack's life and convinced that he left the world and his city a far better place than he found it.

David Hosack was decades ahead of his time. The young United States could not be persuaded to fund a national botanical garden until 1820, when the Columbian Institute for the Promotion of Arts and Sciences pushed a bill through Congress, signed by President Monroe, which granted a plot of land for such purposes. This was almost half a century after Crèvecoeur's proposal, and it would still be years before serious plant collecting began. But Hosack had inspired generations of American botanists, and after his death in 1835 they continued his mission. One of his last students, John Torrey (as leader of what came to be called the Torrey Botanical Club) even succeeded in cultivating the necessary political and financial support among New York's wealthiest citizens to create the New York Botanical Garden – one of the most important botanical institutions in the world today. – Elizabeth Hyde

## Awards

### 2019 David R. Coffin Publication Grant

The Foundation for Landscape Studies is pleased to acknowledge the following 2019 awardees of the David R. Coffin Publication Grant to authors or publishers of forthcoming books that will advance scholarship in the field of garden history and landscape studies.

Jane Amidon  
Dan Kiley  
Volume Five, Library of American Landscape History's Modern Landscape Design series

Jane Amidon, professor of Landscape Architecture at Northeastern University, teaches studio, lecture, and seminar courses focused on the ideas, histories, and design strategies of changing cities.

Elizabeth Butler  
*Spirited Stone: Lessons from Kubota's Garden*  
Chin Music Press

Elizabeth Butler, outdoor grants manager for the Salmon Section of the Duwamish/Green/Central Puget Sound, Lake Wash-

ington/Cedar/Sammamish, and Snohomish watersheds, is overseeing this compendium of contributions by a group of scholars, novelists, poets, and garden enthusiasts on the legacy of nurseryman Fujitaro Kubota, who transformed a Puget Sound swampland in southern Seattle into a version of the Japanese garden.

Helen L. Horowitz  
*Traces of J. B. Jackson, The Man Who Taught Us to See Everyday America*  
University of Virginia Press

Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, a Smith College professor emerita, is the author of books ranging from architecture to women's studies.

Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts  
*From the Schuylkill to the Hudson: Landscapes of the Early American Republic*, exhibition catalogue

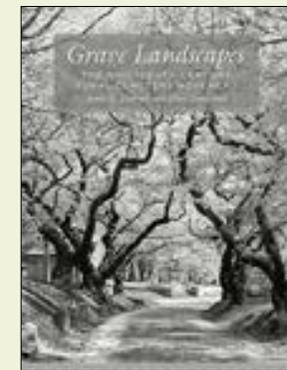
This handsome volume will accompany an exhibition organized by Anna O. Marley, curator of historical American art at the academy and director of the Center for the Study of the American Artist.

### 2019 John Brinckerhoff Jackson Book Prize

The Foundation for Landscape Studies is pleased to announce the awardees of the John Brinckerhoff Jackson Book Prize for a distinguished, recently published work on a subject related to the history of designed and vernacular landscapes.

James R. Cothran and Erica Danylchak  
*Grave Landscapes: The Nineteenth-Century Rural Cemetery Movement*  
University of South Carolina Press, January 2018

This beautifully illustrated volume features more than 150 historic photographs, stereographs, postcards, engravings, maps, and contemporary images that illuminate the origins of rural cemeteries, their physical evolution, and the nature of the landscapes they inspired. Extended



profiles of twenty-four rural cemeteries reveal the evolving design features of this distinctive landscape genre before and after the American Civil War, facilitating their identification and preservation. In addition, *Grave Landscapes* places rural cemeteries in the broader context of American landscape design, thereby illuminating their influence on the creation of public parks.

The late James R. Cothran was a landscape architect, urban planner, and garden historian in Atlanta, Georgia, where he served as an adjunct profes-

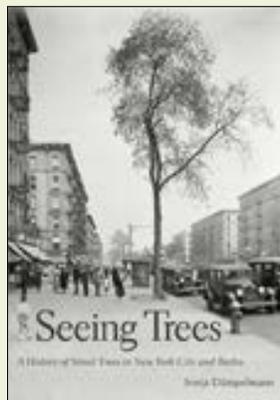
or of garden history and preservation at the University of Georgia and Georgia State University. A fellow of the American Society of Landscape Architects, Cothran is the author of *Gar-*

*dens of Historic Charleston, Charleston Gardens and the Landscape Legacy of Lourel Briggs*, and the award-winning *Gardens and Historic Plants of the Antebellum South*.

Erica Danylchak holds degrees in history from Boston University and heritage preservation from Georgia State University. She has worked in archival science at the Cherokee Garden Library and the Kenan Research Center at the Atlanta History Center, and in preservation as executive director of the Buckhead Heritage Society. Danylchak served as a research fellow for the Georgia Historic Landscape Initiative and in 2009 received the Jenny D. Thurston Memorial Award from the Atlanta Urban Design Commission.

Sonja Dümpelmann  
*Seeing Trees:  
A History of Street Trees in  
New York City and Berlin*  
Yale University Press,  
January 2019

Today cities around the globe are planting street trees to mitigate the effects of climate change. However, as landscape historian Sonja



Dümpelmann explains, this is not a new phenomenon. Focusing on two cities in the nineteenth century – New York City and Berlin – she discusses the planting of trees to improve the urban climate and how this practice affected the larger social, cultural, and political aspects of urban life.

Sonja Dümpelmann is a landscape historian and associate professor of landscape architecture at the Harvard University Graduate School of Design. She is the author of *Flights of Imagination: Aviation, Landscape, Design* (2014) and a book on the pioneering twentieth-century Italian landscape architect Maria Teresa Pargagliolo Shephard (2004). In addition, she served as editor of *A Cultural History of Gardens in the Age of Empire* (2013) and coeditor with Dor-

othee Brantz of *Greening the City: Urban Landscapes in the Twentieth Century* (2011).

Hansjörg Gadient, Sophie von Schwerin, and Simon Orga  
*Migge: The Original Landscape Designs Die Originalen Gartenpläne 1910-1920*  
Birkhäuser, October 2018

“Gardens for everyman!” was the central credo of Leberecht Migge (1881–1935), one of the most influential landscape architects of the twentieth century. His estate was thought to be lost until the discovery of more than three hundred original plans and drawings in the Archives of Swiss Landscape Architecture. This book presents numerous projects, many previously unknown, ranging from large-scale plans for housing settlements to detailed designs for luxurious private gardens. Introductions to the historical period and to Migge’s ideas put the plans in context. Indices of persons, places, and plant names complement the text and illustra-



tions. Two plans, reprinted at original size, accompany this volume.

Hansjörg Gadient is an architect, landscape architect, and professor at Rapperswil University of Applied Sciences (HSR), where he teaches the design and planning of urban open space in the bachelor’s and master’s study programs.

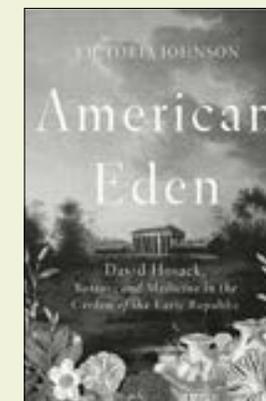
Sophie von Schwerin is a gardener, landscape architect, and historian of garden art who joined the Institute for Landscape and Open Space at the HSR in 2012 and has served as curator at the Archives of Swiss Landscape Architecture since 2015.

Simon Orga is an architect who joined the staff at the Institute for Landscape and Open Space at the HSR in 2012 and has been a member of the team of the Archives of Swiss Landscape Architecture since 2015.

Victoria Johnson  
*American Eden:  
David Hosack, Botany, and  
Medicine in the Garden of  
the Early Republic*  
Liveright, June 2018

*American Eden* tells the forgotten story of David Hosack, a young New Yorker who set out to put his raw, commercial city on the scientific and cultural map of the United States. In 1801, on twenty acres of Manhattan farmland, Hosack founded the first public botanical garden in the new nation, amassing a spectacular collection of medicinal, agricultural, and ornamental plants. (See review, page 19.)

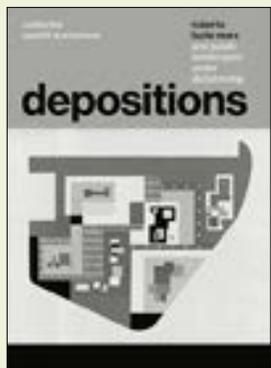
Victoria Johnson is a former Cullman Fellow at the New York Public Library



and an associate professor of urban policy and planning at Hunter College in New York City. She teaches on the history of philanthropy, nonprofits, and New York City. She holds a doctorate in sociology from Columbia University and an undergraduate degree in philosophy from Yale.

Catherine Seavitt Nordenson  
*Depositions:  
Roberto Burle Marx and Public  
Landscapes under Dictatorship*  
University of Texas Press,  
April 2018

In this book the author explores a pivotal moment in the preeminent modernist landscape architect’s career: the years in which he was an appointed member of the Federal Cultural Council in Brazil. While serving on this advisory panel created by the country’s military dictatorship in the mid-1960s, Burle Marx authored eighteen environmental position pieces. Together with her translation Seavitt



Nordenson presents pertinent examples of Burle Marx's public projects in Brazil – several of which were commissioned by the military regime. *Depositions* offers new insight into Burle Marx's outstanding landscape oeuvre and elucidates his transition from prolific designer to prescient political counselor.

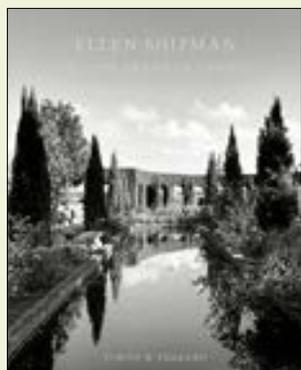
Catherine Seavitt Nordenson is an associate professor of landscape architecture at CUNY's City College of New York and principal of Catherine Seavitt Studio. Her research focuses on

design adaptation to sea-level rise in urban coastal environments and explores landscape-restoration practices within the dynamics of climate change.

Judith B. Tankard  
*Ellen Shipman and the American Garden*  
University of Georgia Press,  
May 2018

Between 1914 and 1950, Ellen Shipman (1869–1950) designed more than six hundred gardens, from Long Island's Gold Coast to the state of Washington. Her secluded, lush, formal

gardens attracted a clientele that included the Fords, Edisons, Astors, and du Ponts. Shipman's imaginative approach merged elements of the Colonial Revival and Arts and Crafts movements with a unique planting style enlivened by impressionistic washes of color. Richly illus-



trated with plans and photographs, the book explores Shipman's ability to create intimate spaces through dense plantings, evocative water features, and ornament. This updated edition of a book first published in 1996 includes many newly discovered gardens as well as color photographs of surviving gardens, such as those at the Cummer

Museum of Art and Gardens and Tranquillity Farm.

Judith B. Tankard is a landscape historian, author, and preservation consultant. She received an M.A. in

art history from the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, and taught at the Landscape Institute of Harvard University for over twenty years.

## Contributors

**Ethan Carr**, Ph.D., FASLA, is a professor of landscape architecture at the University of Massachusetts Amherst and the graduate program director. He is a landscape historian and preservationist specializing in public landscapes. He has written two award-winning books, *Wilderness by Design* (1998), and *Mission 66: Modernism and the National Park Dilemma* (2007) and is also the volume editor of *The Early Boston Years, 1882–1890* (2013), the eighth volume of the papers of Frederick Law Olmsted. His latest book is *The Greatest Beach: A History of Cape Cod National Seashore* (University of Georgia Press in association with the Library of American Landscape History, forthcoming in 2019).

**George Crow** graduated from Emory University and received a Master of Architecture from Clemson University and a Master of Science in Landscape Design from Columbia University. He is a residential designer based in New York City.

**Paula Deitz** is editor of *The Hudson Review*. Her book, *Of Gardens: Selected Essays* (2011), will soon be released as an audiobook by Redwood Audiobooks.

**Kenneth I. Helphand** is the Philip H. Knight Professor Emeritus of Landscape Architecture at the University of Oregon. He is the author of *Colorado: Visions of an American Landscape* (1991), *Yard Street Park: The Design of Suburban Open Space* (with Cynthia Girling) (1994), *Dreaming Gardens: Landscape Architecture & the Making of Modern Israel* (2002), *Defiant Gardens: Making Gardens in Wartime*, and *Lawrence Halprin* (2017). He is the former chair of the Senior Fellows in Garden and Landscape Studies at Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.

**Gardiner Hallock** is the Robert H. Smith Director of Restoration and Collections at the Thomas Jefferson Foundation. Before joining the foundation he was the director of architectural research at James Madison's Montpelier and manager of restoration at Mount Vernon. His prior scholarship has included works on Monticello's Mulberry Row, vernacular architecture, and architectural conservation.

**Elizabeth Hyde**, Ph.D., is Associate Professor and Chair of the Department of History at Kean University. She is the author of *Cultivated Power: Flowers, Culture, and Politics in the Reign of Louis XIV* (2005) and is currently writing *Of Monarchical Climates and Republican Soil: Nature, Nation, and Botanical Diplomacy in the Franco-American Atlantic World*, a book that explores the cultural and political dimensions of the trans-Atlantic botanical exchange of plants, trees, and knowledge in the 18th century through the work of French botanist André Michaux and his American counterparts.

**Sara Cedar Miller**, the historian and photographer for the Central Park Conservancy for thirty-four years, is now Central Park Historian Emerita. She is the author of *Central Park, An American Masterpiece* (2003), and the author and photographer of the forthcoming books *Seeing Central Park*, second edition (Abrams, 2020), and *Before Central Park* (Columbia University Press, 2021).

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