

The Olana Landscape Garden: Frederic Church's Contribution  
to Wilderness Preservation

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## Outline

- I. Introduction
- II. Wilderness Preservation in Nineteenth-Century America
- III. Preservation and Landscape Gardening
- IV. Frederic Church's Olana Landscape Garden
- V. Frederic Church's Personal Involvement in the Preservation Movement
  - A. Niagara Falls
  - B. Central Park
  - C. Affiliation with Frederick Law Olmsted
- VI. The Late Works Reconsidered
- VII. Conclusion--Frederic Church's Attempt to Reconcile Nature and Culture
- VIII. Figures
- IX. Notes
- X. Bibliography

A few short years!--These valleys, greenly clad,  
These slumbering mountains, resting in our arms,  
Shall naked glare beneath the scorching sun,  
And all their wimpling rivulets be dry.

Thomas Cole, "The Lament of the Forest"

In 1864, Arthur Parton painted Frederic Church's property in the vicinity of Hudson, New York, in an oil painting titled Looking Southwest over Church's Farm from the Sienghenburgh (fig. 1).(1) On March 31, 1860, Church had purchased the Wynson Breezy Farm, 126 acres of fields and woodlands comprising Red Hill and part of Long Hill (the Sienghenburgh).(2) Later, in 1867, he acquired the summit of Long Hill on which he would build his home, Olana, and where he would live until his death in 1900. From the early 1860s until about 1891, from the apex of his career through his later years, Church worked on improving the landscape and building his home, and his work at Olana is today considered one of his greatest achievements (fig. 2).(3) The viewer familiar with the Olana landscape after Church's landscaping of it is immediately struck by the desolate landscape that Parton portrays. A barren cornfield studded with broken trees and covered with dusty earth, Parton's landscape starkly contrasts with the luxuriance of Church's landscape garden, which Church modelled on the natural style of landscape gardening practiced by European and American

professional landscape gardeners of the nineteenth century. The natural style was a romantic style of landscape gardening that incorporated eighteenth-century aesthetic theory on the sublime, the beautiful, and the picturesque, and it called for gardening as an art form that followed the lead of nature.(4) The natural style with its link to nature and, therefore, to God-in-nature, created that ubiquitous Transcendental dialogue so pronounced in romantic nineteenth-century America.

Confronted with the barren landscape that Parton has recorded for us, Church must have been concerned, most of all, with bringing the setting back to its former vegetative luxuriance, before land clearing and aggressive agricultural practices had ravaged the land. To achieve this goal, Church embarked on the task of landscape gardening his property beginning in the early 1860s. His activities at Olana included terracing the lawn, excavating a lake in the middle ground to replace swampland, laying out roads for both utilitarian and aesthetic viewing purposes, and framing the garden with picturesque views of the Hudson River Valley. Church's most important task at Olana to create a lush landscape garden, however, was to plant grass, shrubs, and thousands of native trees, including hemlocks, oaks, birches, chestnuts, and maples.(5) The rigorous job of planting trees for the purpose of re-luxuriating the land had a significance for Church that went far beyond the merely aesthetic, and I would like to propose that in laying out his landscape



garden, Church was motivated not only by artistic concerns, but by practical, humanitarian, and ecological concerns as well.

Tree planting was called for in the mid-nineteenth century by early wilderness preservationists as a means to save the American landscape, which had been ravaged for two centuries by both the axe and the hoe. Furthermore, in the wake of industrialization, the wilderness was disappearing, and consequently these years were marked by the great concern on the part of many Americans for its preservation. To stress the outcome of the damages that were being wreaked on the land, ecologically-minded writers ominously compared America to the Old World. According to these writers, the once luxuriant and thriving countries of the Old World, places like Syria and North Africa, had over the years been converted to barren deserts by the hand of man.(6) These writers stressed that without reform, America, too, could face a similar demise. Church's creation of the Olana landscape garden and particularly his laborious task of planting thousands of trees may be symbolic of his own attempts to save a landscape from a similar fate, and I would like to consider this garden as a reflection of Church's awareness of and personal contribution to the nascent wilderness preservation movement. Furthermore, Church's work at Olana might signify the artist's own ambivalence over the march of civilization and the ruinous consequences this march was inflicting on the landscape. These claims can be

attributed to first, the intellectual climate of the times in which Church lived; second, Church's personal involvement in the creation of Olana in particular and the preservation movement in general; and third, a critical evaluation of his paintings from 1860 and later.

The awareness of the need for the preservation of nature grew up in nineteenth-century America in response to the fast-disappearing wilderness. The incipient preservation movement during these years focused primarily on the saving of the wilderness, which meant the forests. Roderick Nash discusses the American's changing views of nature and the wilderness from the early colonial days, when nature was unappreciated, through the nineteenth century, when it was glorified because it had become synonymous with God. The early pioneers perceived the wilderness as an ungodly place of darkness and chaos that needed to be tamed by man. Faced with the difficult task of setting up homes and cultivating the land, the pioneer began the job of clearing the forests by both burning vegetation and by cutting down trees. This diligent clearing of the land on the part of the early settlers was bolstered by the idea that America was paradise regained. Paradise, however, would not be found in a savage, wilderness state, but in a pastoral state or garden.<sup>(7)</sup> Leo Marx defines the pastoral ideal as a "middle landscape" that exhibits "a happy balance of art and nature,"<sup>(8)</sup> but, as we shall see, in the latter part of the nineteenth century, this nature and culture dichotomy was, at best, held only in

tenuous balance. The American appreciation of the pastoral state substantiated the pioneer mentality and land clearing took on religious significance. The opening up of dark forest recesses to light symbolized not only the creation of order out of chaos, but also the fulfillment of a mission for God. (9)

In the nineteenth century, romanticism nourished by concepts of the sublime, the beautiful, and the picturesque, as well as by Emersonian Transcendentalism, helped to change attitudes, and the wilderness was no longer predominantly viewed with repulsion. (10) Yet, this new romantic attitude did not replace the old pioneer mentality, but, instead, they existed concomitantly. These new pleasing feelings toward nature, for example, were in marked opposition to those of the western frontiersman whose concept of the wilderness remained akin to that of the early settlers--tame the land so that culture would ultimately usurp wild nature. According to Nash, the first proponents for the appreciation of wild nature, therefore, were not pioneers, but American literati living in the cities, where the effects of industrialization were keenly felt. (11) Along with the scars left by incipient industrialization, two centuries of land clearing for cultivation purposes and for the timber industry had left marks of desolation and denudation on the land. Out of this climate, the need for the preservation of the wilderness grew up, when nature and culture came to be viewed as what Perry Miller terms an "irreconcilable opposition," (12) when the

march of civilization could not be heralded without nature's destruction. This dichotomy symbolized a painful dilemma for many Americans, especially because of the religious associations with nature. As Barbara Novak, in Nature and Culture: American Landscape and Painting, 1825-1875, aptly points out, insofar as chopping down America's forests "involved an attack on America's religion of God-in-nature, it was a profane act."(13)

Thomas Cole was one of the early literati who called for preservation, and he cried out against the destruction of America's forests. In his poem, "The Lament of the Forest," he blames mankind for the desolation of the land:

He came! Few were his numbers first, but soon /  
The work of desolation was begun

· · · · ·  
We feed ten thousand fires: in our short day / The  
woodland growth of centuries is consumed; / Our  
crackling limbs the ponderous hammer rouse / With  
fervent heat.(14)

Another writer's lament was expressed in a short essay, titled "A Sabbath in the Forest," and his agonizing words echo Cole's:

That orchestra of unwritten, untaught music, that was made when the world was, no longer rolls along the forest vistas and solemn solitudes of that old forest. Ah, no! only silence and melancholy are tenants there now. . . . Can a greater change ever come upon its present desolation? Ay, yes! But a few more years shall pass over its varied existence before the hand of man shall have despoiled it of its beauties. Its patriarchs, that have braved storm, the tempest, and age, and still stretch their protecting arms over their families, shall have fallen before the desolation of progress. The monarch, that no storm could uproot, and no winter kill, must fall before the march of civilization.(15)

Both writers's ominous tones over the march of civilization and its deleterious effects on nature were echoed in the words of many writers during the nineteenth century. Cole's poem is particularly interesting because in it he forecasts the outcome of the wanton destruction of trees--the desolation of land and its conversion to barren desert. In this way, Cole's scientism can be viewed as an early call for the preservation of nature. He concludes his poem with these apprehensive lines about the inevitable drying up of the land:

A few short years!--These valleys, greenly clad, /  
 These slumbering mountains, resting in our arms, /  
 Shall naked glare beneath the scorching sun, / And  
 all their wimpling rivulets be dry.(16)

The leader of the preservation movement was George Perkins Marsh, whose book Man and Nature; or Physical Geography as Modified by Human Action, originally published in 1864, gave credence to the words of earlier writers like Cole and helped to establish firmly the movement in the following years.(17) Church owned a copy of Marsh's book, and, as we shall later see, Church's own activities point to his awareness of Marsh's dictums. Marsh's thesis has three parts. First, he states that man is capable of changing the physical condition of the earth; second, he claims that man's abuse of nature, through such activities as deforestation, is detrimental for both himself and nature because it upsets nature's balance; third, he proposes that man, through reform, can restore nature's harmonies.(18)

To support his theory, that man is instrumental in bringing about his own destruction because of the destruction he wreaks on nature, Marsh discusses in Man and Nature the demise of the Roman Empire as a direct result of man's abuse of the land, and he sets up an ominous parallel with America. First, he describes the lands of the ancient Roman Empire as places of bounty, with fertile soil and rich resources. He writes:

The luxuriant harvests of cereals that waved on every field from the shores of the Rhine to the banks of the Nile, the vines that festooned the hillsides of Syria, of Italy, and of Greece, the olives of Spain, the fruits of the gardens of the Hesperides, the domestic quadrupeds and fowls known in ancient rural husbandry--all these were original products of foreign climes . . . .(19)

Marsh's claims, that these Old World countries were once lush with greenery, were supported by ancient descriptions as well as by the observations of nineteenth-century geographers. For example, a contemporary of Marsh's, Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, in Sinai and Palestine in Connection with Their History, also describes the fertility of these once thriving countries:

The countless ruins of Palestine . . . tell us at a glance that we must not judge the resources of the ancient land by its present depressed and desolate state. They show us not only that "Syria might support tenfold its present population, and bring forth tenfold its present produce," but that it actually did so.(20)

Like Stanley, Marsh refers to the desolation of these lands, but Marsh goes on to attribute emphatically their present

decay and infertility to the imprudent activities of man. He states:

The decay of these once flourishing countries is partly due, no doubt, to that class of geological causes, whose action we can neither resist nor guide, and partly also to the direct violence of hostile human force; but it is, in a far greater proportion, either the result of man's ignorant disregard of the laws of nature, or an incidental consequence of war, and of civil and ecclesiastical tyranny and misrule. (21)

According to Marsh, this desolation is often the result of the activities of agriculture, including the vast clearing of forests, the burning of vegetation, and ultimately the abandonment of land that has been overused. Man's materialism and avarice, Marsh states, are behind this kind of ruthless abuse of the land. In fact, according to Marsh, "Man has too long forgotten that the earth was given to him for usufruct alone, not for consumption, still less for profligate waste." (22)

Marsh spends a good portion of his book outlining his remedies for lands that had already been laid waste, such as the Old World, and others that were fast approaching a similar demise. His recommendations included such measures as draining and irrigation, the building of dams, public ownership of land, and afforestation or tree planting. (23) Placing particular emphasis on the pernicious consequences of the destruction of forests, Marsh discusses at length the need for afforestation to build up denuded forest areas. According to Marsh, without enough trees in a region, the climate is marked by extreme highs and lows. In the summer,

land becomes parched; in the winter, ravaged by the rigors of snow and ice. Inundations are frequent without the absorption by vegetation, and the soil becomes exhausted without its natural canopy. The trend is toward the drying up of the land which, over time, becomes a desolate waste. Marsh claims that, when this destruction occurs, "The face of the earth is no longer a sponge, but a dust heap. . . . The earth, stripped of its vegetable glebe, grows less and less productive. . . . Gradually it becomes altogether barren."(24)

Tree planting was an important remedy proposed by Marsh for the re-luxuriating of the land. He states the practical benefits of this activity:

It is hoped that the planting of the mountains will diminish the frequency and violence of river inundations, prevent the formation of torrents, mitigate the extremes of atmospheric temperature, humidity, and precipitation, restore dried-up springs, rivulets, and sources of irrigation, shelter the fields from chilling and from parching winds, prevent the spread of miasmatic effluvia, and, finally, furnish an inexhaustible and self-renewing supply of a material indispensable to so many purposes of domestic comfort, to the successful exercise of every art of peace, every destructive energy of war.(25)

The American especially, according to Marsh, had a duty to plant trees for future generations, and he must be motivated not only by pragmatics, but also by higher moral motives and never for materialistic gain.(26) The obligation to plant trees, he goes on to say, is a duty which "this age owes to those that are to come after it."(27)



Marsh was well received in America probably because of his pragmatism: he not only galvanized his readers to work toward preservation, but he also provided practical solutions for how preservation could be carried out. David Lowenthal has referred to another reason that may have contributed to Marsh's enthusiastic acceptance by nineteenth-century America. Although Marsh was anti-materialistic and believed strongly that man's avarice could lead to his downfall, he still called for tamed, pastoral nature. In other words, he did not embrace the extremist attitudes of someone like Henry David Thoreau, who tended to value wildness over civilization. Marsh, on the other hand, did look down on progress that abused the land, but he also proposed a happy medium where progress and nature could exist side by side.(28) In this way, he provided active solutions for achieving Marx's "middle landscape." One way that Marsh proposed Americans achieve this balance was by attempting to establish what he called a "fixed ratio" between woodland and plough land. This equal ratio, he claims, would help Americans "become, more emphatically, a well-ordered and stable commonwealth, and, not less conspicuously, a people of progress."(29) Because of his emphasis on progress, therefore, it is not surprising that Marsh's book was embraced in mid-nineteenth-century America. The book provided the reader with the means to reconcile nature and civilization, and at the same time, it helped to mitigate that often painful dichotomy. But the only way a

reconciliation could be achieved was through the efforts of both individuals and society at large.

With Marsh's principles in Man and Nature establishing the focus of the preservation movement, a spate of articles were published during these mid-century years on the destruction of America's forests, the pernicious consequences of this type of desolation, and the need for preservation through the activity of tree planting, a duty conferred to every American. Like Cole's poem and Marsh's Man and Nature, these writings are marked by their sense of apprehension and foreboding over the vanishing wilderness, and they voice concerns over the two major results of deforestation: the practical concern over the depletion of timber supplies, and the more doomful, but, at the same time, more scientific concern over the imminent desolation of the land. Furthermore, these writers often draw parallels with the Old World. (30)

The fear that America would eventually deplete its supply of wood is a major theme in nineteenth-century articles that deal with preservation. These authors's warnings debunked what has been referred to as the American myth of superabundance, a pervasive belief in the perennial bounty of the New World that was related to the paradise myth. (31) In 1844, a journalist for The North American Review refers to the impending problem of using up America's wood resources, and he calls for the management of America's forests. He writes:

. . . in America,--a country of stumps and newly cleared lands,--apprehensions should be expressed, as to our capability of furnishing ourselves with timber in all coming time. . . . Our lands are our home, and we can guard them; they are of immense worth, let us manage them wisely, that something of what was inherited from our fathers may descend to our children . . . .(32)

The author's reference to the cut tree stump, a ubiquitous image in nineteenth-century American literature and painting, has been discussed by scholars as a symbol for the march of civilization. The stump, which in the earlier part of the century might have been interpreted as a benign feature in the landscape, existing as a result of the important work toward progress, becomes, later in the century, emblematic of doom.(33) Another journalist also alludes to the stump in a reference to the imminent depletion of timber because of land clearing for the railroad industry. He writes:

The railroads are inflicting upon this country, by the destruction of its forests, a curse which we fear will more than balance the benefits they have conferred, and which, without some legislative interference, will end in universal drought and devastation, making the country an arid desert, and depriving our posterity both of wood and water.(34)

This writer also points to the other major concern voiced by these early preservationists: without taking action to prevent the wanton destruction of the forests, desolation of the land would inevitably result.

This fear, that by denuding the land of its trees the terrain would become barren, was even more weighty than the fear that deforestation would lead to a timber shortage, and numerous articles in contemporary literature resounded with

the same theme, underscoring the immediate need for preservation. Even before Marsh's Man and Nature was published, the prescient Cole in his "Lament of the Forest" had warned that in a few short years America's rivulets would all be dry because the naked, deforested land would be scorched by the hot sun. In a similar way, in May 1872, a writer for The New York Times, in an article, titled "Forest Preservation," links the drought that the East Coast was experiencing that season to deforestation. He warns:

Considering the effects of drouth [sic] from which we are now suffering, and the awful destruction of property which a portion of the state has recently experienced, we may surely be pardoned for once more directing attention to the paramount necessity of vigorous measures being taken to preserve that most valuable heritage of the people--their forests. . . . Meanwhile there is no time to be lost; every day adds to the chance of the irretrievable destruction of valuable property, which a little present energy may entirely prevent. (35)

By providing empirical facts about the drought, this author hoped to galvanize Americans to work toward saving America's forests. Another journalist, J. B. Harrison, whose writings include discussions of the plight of Niagara Falls as well as of the forests, echoes Marsh when he claims that on certain parts of the East Coast, miniature deserts were already forming because of the activities of man: ". . . my fellow-citizens in New England have long been engaged in the business of desert making, and they still widen the areas of desolation every year." (36) Like Harrison, William Cullen Bryant, in an article, titled "The Effect of Stripping a

Country of its Trees," from a June 1865 issue of The New York Evening Post, also refers to signs that America is, over the years, becoming more desolate:

Almost everywhere our rivulets and rivers show, by certain indications in their channels, that they once flowed towards the sea with a larger current than now. If we go on, as we now do, we shall at length see many of our ancient water-courses as nearly obliterated . . . .(37)

As Marsh had done in Man and Nature, the theme of American desolation was elaborated upon by writers and brought into sharp focus by referring to the desolation of the Old World. These comparisons subtly served to suggest that America's rapid rise to power would ultimately lead to an ineluctable fall. For example, in an article, titled "The Climatic Influence of Vegetation--A Plea for Our Forests," published in Popular Science Monthly in 1877, the author, scientist Felix L. Oswald, refers to the Old World as an ancient garden converted over time to a modern desert. He writes:

Since the advent of the Christian religion, the physical history of our planet records the steady growth of a desert, which made its first appearance on the dry table-land of southern Syria, and [has] gradually spread[ing] eastward. . . . Like a virulent cancer, the Azoic sand-drifts of the Moab Desert have eaten their way into Southern Europe and Northern Africa, and dried up the life-springs of districts which beyond all dispute were once the garden-regions of this earth.(38)

According to the author, these lands have become wastelands because of the destruction of forests by the hand of man. Furthermore, echoing Cole, who had astutely pointed out years earlier in his 1835 "Essay on American Scenery"--"We are

still in Eden; the wall that shuts us out of the garden is our own ignorance and folly"(39)--this author exclaims: "The hand of man has produced this desert, and I verily believe every other desert on the surface of this earth. Earth was Eden once, and our misery is the punishment of our sins against the world of plants."(40) Man's ruthless activities in nature are the focal point of these writings, suggesting that, without reform, man could ultimately create his own downfall.

Oswald was an active leader for forest preservation, and in another article, titled "The Preservation of Forests," in The North American Review, he again refers to the Old World's desolation: "The inhabitants of Persia, Egypt, and Mesopotamia, and the Mediterranean nations, who once 'enjoyed heaven on this side of the grave,' have thus perished together with their forests, leaving us a warning in the ruins of their former glory . . . ." (41) The destruction of forests, he goes on to say, is a cardinal sin whose "significance is preached by every desolate country on the surface of this planet." (42) Furthermore, Oswald does not believe that America is immune to the demise that has afflicted Old World countries, and he states that the nation should not become complacent: ". . . the present productiveness of our most favored regions is no safeguard against the possibility of such a fate." (43) C. N. Bement, another writer, echoes Oswald's concerns: "We are persuaded that trees are closely connected with the fate of nations,

that they are props of industry and civilization, and that in all countries from which the forests have disappeared the people have shrunk into indolence and servitude."(44) Last, another writer, Harland Coultas, in his book, titled What May Be Learned from a Tree? (a copy of which Church owned), underscores the same doomsday theme: "Where there are mountains, the woods must be allowed to stand, for they cannot be removed without the most pernicious consequences. . . . It is thus that mischief done to the woods on mountains, is a bequest of destruction to coming generations."(45)

Like Marsh, these writers called for an end to imprudent deforestation, and they worked to galvanize Americans to plant trees. The tree planting movement was two pronged: on the one hand, its goal was to beautify the landscape, whose beneficent qualities the movement valued; on the other, to save nature, which might soon be lost because of years of cultivation and encroaching industrialization. Planting came to be considered a moral obligation of every American in mid-nineteenth century America. As one author in an article, titled "Planting Considered as a Duty," espouses: "Let planting then be looked on as a duty--a duty to ourselves, to our country, to science and to posterity."(46) Practiced by both the landscape gardener and the preservationist alike, the activity of tree planting forged a link between the two disciplines, erasing their distinctions. In this light, landscape gardening in the nineteenth century can be viewed, on one level, as an activity whose purpose was to save the

environment. One early writer in 1841 clearly points out the connection between the art of landscape gardening and preservation in an article, titled "The Popular Taste in Gardening in Rural and Church Architecture." He writes that art helps to preserve nature's "imperishable images":

As one encroachment after another is made by the eager spirit of self-aggrandizement on her beautiful domains, we look for a substitute in the reproductive power of art; a power that shall preserve imperishable images of the vanishing forms, perpetuate at least the echo of the broken harmony, and permit us to catch glimpses, in later days, of those fresh wild scenes, over which enterprise is driving her ruthless ploughshare.(47)

Other modern scholars have also drawn this parallel between landscape gardening and preservation. Novak, for example, writes: "To some extent, landscape gardening attempted to deal with the problem of respecting nature."(48) Similarly, Lewis Mumford in The Brown Decades states that the landscape architect Frederick Law Olmsted "gave to Thoreau's and Marsh's principles the benefit of an active demonstration."(49) George Chadwick, in The Park and the Town: Public Landscape in the 19th and 20th Centuries, shows his debt to Mumford when he writes: ". . . the work of the practical gardeners was an echo of the efforts of Henry Thoreau and George Perkins Marsh in demonstrating the relationship of man to Nature, and stressing the need of conservation of resources and renewal of man-blighted landscapes."(50) Thus, whereas in the eighteenth century tree planting on the part of the landscape gardener working in the natural style was motivated by aesthetics, in the



nineteenth century, this activity was imbued with deep moral significance that was aligned with preservation.

The call to plant was marked in nineteenth-century articles from popular, scientific, and gardening literature, dealing with the preservation theme. A. H. Guernsey, a writer for Appleton's Journal, applauds the benefits of tree planting in an article, titled "Spare the Trees." Writes Guernsey:

Perhaps man will never be able to control clouds or sunshine; but it is certain that he can convert a fertile land into an arid waste, or, by patient industry [tree planting], wisely directed, can change the climatic character of a continent, causing shaded springs to gush forth in a dry land, and water-brooks in a desert.(51)

The landscape gardener and the landed proprietor in particular were called upon to be the leaders of the movement to plant, as they were daily involved in this activity. Oswald, the scientist mentioned above, in his article "The Preservation of Forests," advises: "Let every landed proprietor see to it that the balks or boundaries of his estates, and the unplowed ridges between the subdivisions, be set with shade-trees. . . . Plant fruit-trees whenever there is a piece of ground neither otherwise occupied or absolutely barren . . . ." (52) Another journalist in the June 1865, issue of The Horticulturist also points to the landholder, who is especially "duty bound to plant a tree." (53) The same leitmotif appeared in an article on landscape gardening published as early as 1844:

. . . it is not impossible for every landed proprietor to surround himself, in a few years, with very respectable appliances for shade and shelter,--to raise a wood around his habitation, which, though it may not be magnificent, will surely be beautiful, and will afford to posterity the best evidence of his refined taste and far-sighted care for the interests of his descendants.(54)

These ecological concerns linked to tree planting, were, at the same time, bolstered by other more subtle and mystical views about nature. The theory of associationism, for example, connected trees to nineteenth-century morality, prompting one author for The Horticulturist to ask: "May we not so plan and plant our grounds as both to awaken and to express some of the highest and best sentiments of the soul?"(55) This moral viewpoint informs another writer's words:

Planting is an honorable and ennobling occupation. He who cuts down a tree takes a life--it cannot be restored. He who plants a tree creates a life and erects at the same time a monument to himself; a monument . . . more lasting, more grateful in perpetuating his name and memory than any other work of his life time.(56)

Thus, during these mid-century years in the Transcendental climate of America, the theory of associationism served magically to erase the real / ideal dichotomy, and God's immanence was particularly noteworthy in the patriarch of the forest, the majestic tree. Coultas, in an article, "Observations on the Growth of Trees," remarks on the connection between the tree and the Creator:

When we look at its massive stem, its far-extended branches . . . we cannot but feel that we have before us one of the most noble and wonderful of the works of God, and a display of the effects of

those secret, silent, and ever active forces with which He has endowed matter, which is really astonishing. (57)

Because of the tree's divine associations, Hans Huth aptly points out that their planting also was imbued with both religious and moral connotations. Huth claims, however, that: "Very likely it was not only the practical and moral aspect of the [tree planting] movement which made it so popular; back of it perhaps was a mystical or sentimental idea which defies precise analysis." (58) That these landscape gardeners were actively involved in the re-luxuriating of the American landscape may be the clue to the arcane idea that Huth refers to. The activity of planting in the climate of Emersonian Transcendentalism, may have been viewed as synonymous with the very act of creation, and these landscape gardeners may have felt they had a hand in re-instituting the paradisiacal garden of America.

In this climate of preservation, centered in the northeastern part of the nation, Church's creation of the Olana landscape garden must be considered. For Church, like Cole and other intellectuals of his time, was very much a part of this world, which daily faced the dire consequences of the disappearing American wilderness. At Olana, Church's approach to planting and landscape gardening, as well as the approach to gardening in the natural style, in general, was marked by its glorification of nature and the wilderness, and these concerns clearly dovetailed with the concerns of preservationists. One erudite journalist, who wrote about

Olana in 1890, refers to Church's planting activity there in terms of preservation: ". . . the multitude of trees planted under Mr. Church's direction a quarter of a century ago now give convincing evidence of his wise foresight and prompt action when he came here." (59) Thus, reflecting his age's concerns over the effects of encroaching civilization on nature and following the dictums of Marsh and others, Church worked hard to plant thousands of trees to re-luxuriate a desolate landscape. Before we consider Church's hands-on activities at Olana, however, we must look at the landscape garden as a work of art, for clearly Church was not only motivated by his concerns for preservation of the wilderness but also by his interest in aesthetics.

Many of the discussions of the Olana landscape garden focus on the landscape as a reflection of Church's success in utilizing current gardening practices in the natural style with its incorporation of picturesque aesthetics. These writers stress that the beauty of Church's landscape garden attests to his pictorial eye. (60) Theoreticians of the picturesque proposed that the study of both paintings and nature would aid the improver of landscapes. (61) Andrew Jackson Downing, for example, one of the first professional landscape gardeners working in the natural style in America, states, in his seminal work, A Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening, Adapted to North America; with a View to the Improvement of Country Residences, that painting should inform landscape gardening. Downing writes:

The harmonious union of buildings and scenery, is a point of taste that appears to be but little understood in any country; and mainly, we believe, because the architect and the landscape painter are seldom combined in the same person, or are seldom consulted together. It is for this reason that we so rarely see a country residence, or cottage and its grounds, making such a composition as a landscape painter would choose for his pencil. (62)

Thus, Church, by virtue of his talent as a landscape painter, had the credentials to meet Downing's requirements for a successful landscape gardener, and at Olana, he drew on his knowledge of both art forms. Church must have gleaned his knowledge of landscape gardening from books, like the one in his library, titled Landscape Gardening: Or, Parks and Pleasure Grounds, by Charles H. J. Smith, the Scottish landscape gardener working in the natural style, and from exposure to the Downingesque landscape gardens in the Hudson River Valley. (63)

Church's involvement in designing the architecture of his home has been well documented. Although he hired the architect Calvert Vaux sometime around 1869 to draw up house plans, Church's numerous architectural sketches and his correspondence clearly attest to his personal involvement in every stage of the building process. (64) Furthermore, comments like the one Church made to A. C. Goodman on July 21, 1871--"I am building a house and am principally my own Architect"--clearly illustrate that the architecture at Olana is Church's personal vision. (65) While some scholars have placed too great an emphasis on the creation of the landscape garden as the work of Vaux and his partner, the landscape

architect, Frederick Law Olmsted, the opinion at Olana today is that Church was not only the primary architectural designer at Olana, but he was also the primary landscape gardener on his property, and he oversaw the work of many assistants. (66)

Church's correspondence and nineteenth-century literature on Olana support the assertion that Church was in charge of the landscape gardening on his property. F. N. Zabriskie, for example, remarks in The New York Christian Intelligencer in 1884 that only a practical man like Church could accomplish the herculean task of laying out the landscape garden at Olana. He writes:

The expenditure in road-building, and in otherwise bringing this huge, wild, steep mass of earth into suitable shape and condition, has been immense, and could not have been accomplished by the Bohemian type of artist, whose wealth is in purely aesthetic securities and whose castles are all in Spain. (67)

Church's own remarks in his personal correspondence tell us even more about his hands-on involvement in manipulating the land. In the spring of 1864, for example, Church writes to his father, Joseph Church, that he intends to create on a portion of his land known as the Bethune Lot a roadway with picturesque views. Church writes: ". . . I should reserve from the Bethune Lot a certain portion which is important as securing five openings for the view and sell the rest--The advantage of the proposed Roadway is that it saves a mile in getting to Hudson." (68) This statement shows not only Church's own pragmatic participation in the laying out of his

property, but also his handling of the landscape garden in a picturesque manner. Again, in 1880, Church refers to his own work on the landscape garden and the work of his assistants when he writes to Erastus Dow Palmer: "I have . . . one mason building the dam of the Lake higher. . . . Two men laying out and grading the grounds between the House and Stable--Two men blasting rocks on the new road--I am laying out a two acre garden below and east of the lake . . . ." (69) And a few years later, he tells Charles Dudley Warner: "I am busy Landscape Architecturing." (70) In fact, he is so pleased with his accomplishments on the landscape garden at Olana that he tells Palmer in 1884: "I have made about 1 3/4 miles of road this season, opening entirely new and beautiful views--I can make more and better landscapes in this way than by tampering with canvas and paint in the studio." (71) By the 1880s, Church was painting much less frequently, not only because of old age and arthritic lameness in his right hand, but also because his painting style had fallen out of fashion. The above quote to Palmer about his ability to create better real rather than painted landscapes may be read as a statement of resignation and, even, to some extent, one of rationalization. Church was no longer finding much success with his painting, but he had found solace in his accomplishments at landscape gardening.

The planting and nurturing of trees is a major theme in Church's correspondence from the 1860s, during his early active years working on the Olana landscape garden.

Following the natural style of gardening, Church planted his trees singly or in groups in close imitation of nature, and as his letters illustrate, his preoccupation during these years seems to have been to establish a luxuriant well-wooded property. In an interview with Frank J. Bonnelle, a contributor to The Boston Sunday Herald, in 1890, Church states that this activity occupied a great deal of his time: "For several seasons after I selected this spot as my home, I thought of hardly anything but planting trees, and had thousands and thousands of them set out on the southern and western slopes."(72) By the spring of 1864, only four years after Church made his first purchase of land at Olana, he already had planted several thousand trees, and he writes to his father on May 13, of that year:

My young trees are doing splendidly out of several thousand which I have planted within a year[.] I do not know that I have lost one with the exception of three or four evergreens from a small lot which I received from Fishkill--My Muck seems wonderfully adapted to trees and I give them liberal doses of it.(73)

Church seems to have acquired these trees by purchasing them from nurserymen in the area or by collecting them on his own. For example, on July 7, 1864, he tells William H. Osborn that a drought had killed many of his trees, but that they could be replaced at their original prices: "We are suffering very much from an extraordinary drouth [sic], which I feel pretty keenly for hundreds of my young trees have succumbed to its influence. But fortunately I can buy trees at the old prices and thus can afford to replace the dead



ones."(74) And, on May 9, 1867, he writes to Palmer: "It is delightful to see the ground wet once more--My young trees absolutely laugh to find their toes in the water--I am going into the mountains next Tuesday to get some Evergreens . . .

."(75) Pleased with the salubrious effects the spring rains had on his trees, Church makes plans to plant more of them, which he will attain in an upcoming visit to the mountains.

Like his contemporaries, Church admired the woods in the Catskill Mountain region, and in 1867, he purchased his own wood lot, the summit of Long Hill on which he would build his home. He writes to Palmer on the eve of his trip to Europe and the Near East in October, 1867, about his recent purchase and his intention to create the perfect setting for his home:

I have purchased the wood lot on the top of the hill recently at a high price but I don't regret it--I am in fact trying to get more still--I want to secure if possible before I leave, every rood of ground that I shall ever require to make my farm perfect.(76)

Three days later he tells Osborn that he intends to acquire even more woodland for his property: "I am trying to buy the roadway out through Sally Benham's Farm. I may succeed. I shall need about six acres stretched out a half mile, all splendid woods."(77) In an early drawing by Church of his property from 1863, titled Sienghenburgh and the Catskills from Mrs. Van Deusen's Farm (fig. 3), the densely-forested summit of Long Hill and the surrounding woods are clearly recorded in the mound just left of the center of the picture. The open, treeless slope to the right of the summit, which,

in fact, slopes toward the south, marks the area known as the park. This denuded sloping open field, in particular, Church planted with grass, shrubs, and trees in close imitation of nature. (78)

According to Robert Toole, the naturally-wooded areas that Church acquired were incorporated as "wildernesses" in the overall design of the landscape garden. (79) Furthermore, Toole states that Church encouraged the natural re-growth of trees in these wooded areas, viewing them "as existing organic compositions that were initially preserved and then allowed to evolve while maintaining a natural woodland appearance." (80) Thus, Church's intention at Olana was to incorporate both wild forested areas and pastoral park settings into his plan, drawing on nature's myriad forms for inspiration. His goal to balance wilderness and parkland in his landscape scheme recalls Marsh's "fixed ratio" and Marx's "middle landscape," and, on one level, the Olana landscape garden may symbolize Church's attempts to harmonize the opposing forces of nature and culture. But Church's focus on planting trees and preserving woodland point to his even greater interest in allowing nature to regain a central position in areas where it had previously been wiped out. These intentions, I contend, align Church with the preservation movement.

If Church's creation of the Olana landscape garden was informed by ecological concerns, his active involvement in the preservation movement lends further support to these

conclusions. For example, Church's participation in the preservation of Niagara Falls, his sitting on the Central Park Commission, and his acquaintance with Olmsted, an early environmentalist, who, with his partner, Vaux, designed Central Park and worked at Olana--these activities show that Church was, in fact, fully aware of the insidious encroachments being made on American nature, and that he was making his own personal contribution to its preservation.

Church's two major paintings of Niagara Falls--Niagara (1857; Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington D.C.) and Niagara Falls, from the American Side (1867; National Gallery of Scotland)--were the result of sketching trips to the falls during the 1850s. On one of his trips to the falls, in the early autumn of 1858, Church wrote to his friend Goodman that he was disappointed over the many tourists who were visiting the site. He writes:

The cheap fares bring a great many queer people to the Falls and as there is but a step from the sublime to the ridiculous I can readily bring myself from the contemplation of the Awful Cataract to the study of human character as developed in the persons of numerous verdants, who, full of greenness [sic] and conceit, swarm the Hotels. I am somewhat annoyed too as they seem to think that the quarter which gives them admission to Goat Island also conveys the privilege of gaping over the shoulders of modest artists when engaged in studying the various effects about the Falls. (81)

Not only was the area overrun by tourists, but also, by the 1860s, most of the vicinity immediately surrounding the falls had been stripped of its trees for the introduction of commercial enterprises. This destruction of the natural

landscape in the area around the falls alerted nineteenth-century intellectuals, writers, and artists to call for the preservation of its scenery. (82) For example, the above-mentioned journalist, Harrison, who was contributing letters to the New York papers to stress the importance of preservation of both the falls and the forests, writes about the urgent need to preserve the great cataract, which, according to Harrison, should be especially valued by the nation "as a great possession for the human spirit, a source of uplifting, vivifying inspiration for those who can receive and enjoy such influences . . . ." (83)

Olmsted and Lord Dufferin, governor-general of Canada from 1872 to 1878, led the movement to make Niagara Falls a state reservation and international park in both New York and Canada. Olmsted clearly states, however, that Church was the catalyst for his work to preserve the falls. In his "Notes," presented to the Commissioners of the State Survey in 1879, Olmsted writes:

I have myself been an occasional visitor at Niagara for forty-five years. My attention was first called to the rapidly approaching ruin of its characteristic scenery by Mr. F. E. Church, about ten years ago. Shortly afterwards, several gentlemen, frequenters of the Falls, met at my request, to consider this danger . . . . (84)

Probably Olmsted is referring to a lecture Church gave at the Century Club "sometime before 1869," a lecture that Vaux had supposedly attended. (85) Furthermore, Charles Mason Dow, in The State Reservation at Niagara: A History, quotes an interesting letter that he attributes to Church, pertaining

to the falls's preservation. The letter provides a good outline of the activities that led up to Lord Dufferin's active participation there. According to Dow, Church writes:

A long time has elapsed since the idea occurred to me that Niagara Falls should be reserved as a Park. I kept the matter to myself for two or three years, as I wished to revisit and study that locality with reference to such a disposition of it. . . . The importance of having the co-operation of Canada finally determined me to take advantage of the kind services of William H. Hurlbut, Esq., then editor of The New York World and a friend of Lord Dufferin, who wrote him on the subject. I opened the matter to several of my friends who received it with so much enthusiasm that I was glad to leave it in their hands for such action as they deemed advisable, but no publicity was given until Lord Dufferin alluded to it in a speech.(86)

Although it may be difficult to establish the exact chronology of events that culminated in the establishment of Niagara Falls as a State Reservation in New York in 1885 and in Canada in 1888, it is clear that Church made an important early contribution to the reservation's creation.

Tied to landscape gardening and preservation, the establishment of parks in America was, in the first half of the century, called for by Downing, who had admired the great English parks. After Downing's death, the park movement was heralded by Olmsted and Vaux, whose 1858 design for Central Park, called Greensward, capitalized on the features of the natural style of landscape gardening with its orientation to naturalism imbued with Transcendental overtones. The impetus to create the park was defined by Olmsted and Vaux, and their ideas make clear the relationship between park making and

preservation. They state: ". . . the whole of the island of New York would, but for such a reservation, before many years be occupied by buildings and paved streets . . . ." (87)

Parks, according to Olmsted, must be integral to the creation of cities and to the improvement of those already existing.

He concedes: ". . . commerce requires that in some parts of a town there shall be an arrangement of buildings, and a character of streets and of traffic in them . . . . But commerce does not require the same conditions to be

maintained in all parts of the town." (88) The establishment of parks in the city not only saved a portion of nature from the onslaught of industrialization, but, according to Olmsted and Vaux, it also supplied to the "hundreds of thousands of tired workers, who have no opportunity to spend their summers in the country, a specimen of God's handiwork . . . ." (89)

The moral and health benefits for mankind's participating in this kind of communion with nature were preached pervasively in the nineteenth century: nature elevated the public taste, educated the public mind, and improved the public health. (90)

Church was appointed a commissioner of the New York City Department of Public Parks on November 22, 1871. (91)

Olmsted, in a letter to Charles Loring Brace dated November 24, of that same year, describes the significance of Church's appointment and the contribution to the commission that a painter could provide:

Church's name was first suggested by Vaux, and we both did what we could to secure his appointment, which was made on Col. Stebbins' [Henry G.

Stebbins] nomination. There is, I think a peculiar propriety and significance in it. A quiet, retired man--a model of rank and file citizenship--but who in his special calling has earned the respect and regard of the community, called at last to serve the public in an office where his special training will be of value . . . . [Furthermore] [W]e were anxious on a matter of propriety that the art element should be recognized--that the public utility of devotion to art and the study of nature in a public service of this kind should be recognized and Church seemed on the whole the most appropriate and respectable man to express this.(92)

Because of Church's involvement at Central Park during these years, perhaps his own work on the landscape garden at Olana was influenced by Olmsted's natural style of gardening in New York City. Olmsted's and Vaux's Greensward plan called for the introduction in the park setting of many features that resemble the natural style of landscape gardening instituted by Church at Olana. The creation of sweeping horizon lines, the introduction of "ornamental water in large sheets" to replace existing swampland, the addition of an arboretum of American trees in the north-east section of the upper park, and the emphasis on picturesque views--these natural style characteristics of the Greensward plan did, in fact, serve as a model for those interested in landscape gardening.(93) One professional landscape gardener from the latter half of the nineteenth century, Jacob Weidenmann, for example, urged those interested in gardening to visit Central Park to learn how to group trees. Writes Weidenmann: "Before one plants his trees, especially on the principal ground, it would be well for him to visit such places as are acknowledged schools

of taste of which the New York Central Park is the chief."(94)

I think it is safe to say that Church probably found inspiration at Central Park for his own gardening practices. But, as pointed out above, Olmsted's direct involvement in the landscape gardening at Olana should not be overestimated; very little documentation exists to attribute clearly the landscaping of the property to Olmsted or to his partner, Vaux. It is evident, however, that Church shared Olmsted's environmental ideals because of his involvement with Olmsted at Niagara Falls and Central Park as well as his mutual interest with Olmsted in landscape gardening in the natural style, which, on one level, served to preserve nature through the means of art.

Last, I would like to consider Church's paintings and sketches from 1860 and later. Like his landscape garden at Olana, these works also may be read as mouthpieces for preservation. Franklin Kelly has related Church's landscape paintings to the wilderness preservation movement.(95) For example, Kelly has focused on the change in Church's subject matter in the later 1850s from a pastoral mode to a wilderness mode. The pastoral mode reached its apotheosis in Church's oeuvre in the 1853 painting Mount Ktaadn (fig. 4), which Theodore Stebbins has called Church's last great pastoral.(96) Mount Ktaadn has traditionally been read as the pictorial expression of Marx's "middle landscape," where a balance between nature and civilization has been achieved.



Furthermore, it has been pointed out that Church's pencil sketch of this scene is in stark contrast to the painting. The sketch is marked by its pure wilderness aesthetic, a truthful rendition of shaggy wilderness, untouched by man. The painting, on the other hand, has been idealized by Church; it is a depiction of a cultivated landscape alongside incipient industry, suggesting, as Kelly points out, that Church was early in his career comfortable with American progress and its effects on the landscape. According to Kelly: "In the untempered idealism of his youth, Church believed in the primacy of man over nature and that man was capable of using and modifying the New World without destroying it."(97)

By the later 1850s, however, Church's positive feelings about American progress were changing. In 1860, the year he made his first purchase of land at Olana, he completed the painting Twilight in the Wilderness (fig. 5), a work that reflects a new world view. In its celebration of pristine nature, Twilight in the Wilderness may be symbolic of Church's ambivalence over progress and, at the same time, his new appreciation of wild nature. Here, he has consciously chosen not to paint a pastoral garden setting. Instead, the work is characterized by its pure wilderness aesthetic: it is a depiction of nature untouched by man. Kelly interprets this wilderness subject matter and Church's glorification of it as a symbol for nature conservancy. He writes: "On perhaps its most direct level, the painting's assertion of

the positive values of untouched nature may be read as a plea for preservation of the wilderness." (98) Furthermore, the wilderness scene may represent nature just before man's harmful manipulation of it, and the words, "twilight in the wilderness," become symbolic of nature's imminent fate. (99)

Even more than Twilight in the Wilderness, Church's works from the late 1860s to the early 1880s, produced during or after his trip to Europe and the Near East, may have been informed by Church's ecological concerns and particularly his concern for land desolation. To begin, the subject matter of many of these paintings--ancient ruins perched in dry and barren terrains--starkly contrasts with the subject matter of his earlier works that focus on luxuriant vegetation and tropical scenery. The late works have been interpreted in three primary ways: first, compared to his earlier paintings, these later ones have been read as uninspired, conforming to a hackneyed Claudian mode (100); second, the predominance of barren terrains in these late works has been interpreted as a symbol for Church's loss of faith in a post-Darwinian world (101); third, the late paintings have been viewed as an expression of Church's successful attempt to reconcile his pre-Darwinian world view in a post-Darwinian world. (102)

Following this last line of thought, John Davis has considered the late works in terms of Arthur Penrhyn Stanley's "sacred geography," and he aptly points out that in the Old World Church's pursuit to understand biblical history allowed him to rekindle his faith in God and to retain in his

mind that important link between science and religion. In the Old World, Davis continues, Church was no longer searching for the origins of the earth, but instead his eyes were now cast on the origins of man and human history. In this way, Church could acknowledge "the long life of the world and the human race without bowing to the ideas of Darwin and their unsettling implications." (103) Furthermore, Davis appropriately states that Church found poetry in the architectural ruins and desolation of these Old World lands. These wastelands came to represent for him "the unchanging ponderous timelessness of the remnants of culture." (104) Like Davis, Elizabeth Cornwell views the late paintings as hopeful rather than symbolic of Church's abandonment of faith in a post-Darwinian world. She states that Church's incorporation of ruins bathed in light may suggest time's passage, an appropriate subject for an artist working in his late years. Cornwell insightfully adds, however, that these works also show promise and hope in a redeemer God. In this way, their theme of ephemerality is transmuted into one of infinity.

Although Davis's and Cornwell's interpretations of these late paintings certainly shed light on our understanding of them, I would like to consider these works within the rubric of preservation. For Church's personal commentaries about his Near Eastern experience may be read as a reflection of the ecological concerns of Marsh and others; his "dry" paintings, a pictorial assertion of them. Furthermore, to

understand fully these late paintings, one must understand Church's conception of man, his place in the world, and, most of all, his place in nature. Although Church never lost his faith in God, even in the post-Darwinian climate, as Davis and Cornwell aptly point out, he had, perhaps, begun to lose his faith in man. In other words, whereas on the one hand, Church's late works may be interpreted as hopeful; on the other, they may also be viewed as symbols for Church's environmental concerns and his awareness of the changes being wrought on the land by the ruthless activities of man.

During his later years, Church's ambivalence over the march of civilization is clearly marked. In a letter to Joseph B. Austin, for example, dated August 27, 1879, Church writes: "Perhaps the strongest feature of this Modern Civilization is its restlessness--its lack of repose. Even in my secluded Mountain Home I feel daily the restless waves beating."(105) In another letter with a similar theme that Church wrote to Thomas Appleton on May 1, 1883, he refers to California's march toward industrialization and his own inability to keep up with progress: "But the Spirit of unrest reigns there--The pioneers of Civilization are at the front with all new instruments of progress--they like the buzz and clatter--I for one have had enough of it for a time at least--Would that science rested for ten years--and no more patents applied for."(106) It is interesting to note that these quotes are right in line with Marsh's views about American progress. In a short chapter in Man and Nature,

titled the "Instability of American Life," Marsh echoes Church when he writes: "It is time for some abatement in the restless love of change which characterizes us, and makes us almost a nomade [sic] rather than a sedentary people." (107) Marsh, and, I contend, Church, too, believed that this instability and striving for change had led to man's ruthless destruction of the natural world.

Before we consider the late works, however, first, we must review Church's correspondence from his European and Near Eastern trip, correspondence that illustrates Church's awareness of geography and his interest in the desolate condition of the Old World landscape. It is clear from Church's writings that the arid landscape and desert-like terrain of these lands fascinated him, and in both his Petra Diary and his correspondence with friends, Church describes many of the sites he visited in terms of their desolation. (108) A sampling of quotes from this diary give the reader an idea of Church's analysis of the barren terrain that he encountered on his way to Petra: ". . . the scene was fine although one of desolation" (109); "We passed over a terrible waste, stony and bleak and very thinly scattered with tufts of vegetation" (110); ". . . started early--fine day . . . A day spent in passing dreary wastes--dreary--dreary sandy hills topped with crumbling rocks" (111); "We passed over a sterile plain undulating slightly" (112); "Later in the day the scenery changed . . . and one side of the hills were [sic] often covered with the debris of broken

rocks giving a singularly wild and desolate appearance . . .

."(113) And in two important letters to Osborn in 1868, Church expresses his fondness for Syria over Europe when he states that it is Syria's desolation, most of all, that imbues the country with a sad poetry. On July 29, 1868, Church writes to Osborn from Berchtesgaden, Germany:

"Magnificent and stupendous as the scenery is here--yet I look back with particular favor to the sad--parched--forsaken Syria. There is poetry--not here."(114) He underscores these feelings in another letter to Osborn two months later from Perugia, Italy:

Syrian subjects in the main must be distinguished by paucity of detail so far as landscape is concerned. The sentiment of them should be highly poetical and with a tone of sadness. . . . Syria, with its barren mountains and parched valleys possesses the magic key which unlocks our innermost heart.(115)

Not only does Church in his correspondence comment about the desolation of these lands, but he also suggests that at one time these lands were well-watered and rich with cultivation, echoing the views of Marsh and others. For example, Church makes references in the Petra Diary to dried up water courses that mark the Near Eastern terrain. In one section of the diary he describes: "The barren soil was of course gravelly [in] nature [,] the larger stones white or whitish. The dry bed of a torrent made an important feature by lending a brilliant silvery streak to the landscape."(116) And in another section he mentions his view of the Dead Sea in terms of its lack of water. Church describes: "Although

the depressed bed of that Salt Lake would hardly admit our seeing the water from our moderate elevation--Still the pure blue lines of shadows from the clouds made the dirt and stretch of desert appear like water . . . ."(117)

His above comments about the depletion of water supplies in these regions dovetail with one observation he made in the Petra Diary on February 8, 1868, about the remnants of ancient cultivation techniques in Jerusalem. His observations echo those of Marsh and other nineteenth-century geographers and preservationists who reported on the flourishing cultivation and ancient fertility that once characterized these terrains. Church, for example, records that along the slopes of the mountains in Jerusalem there existed "curious ledges uniformly terracing the mountains-- vestiges of old artificial terraces . . . ."(118) Church's wife, Isabel, also kept a diary during the year 1868, and her comments, like Church's, underscore these same themes. Her remarks about Jerusalem and the Mountains of Judea parallel Church's: "Some few trees, and flowers, new and beautiful at every step--many mountains showed evidences of having been at one time terraced--and probably clothed with olive trees and vineyards [sic] . . . ."(119)

Just as the practical Marsh had suggested that in many cases these lands, ravaged by the hand of man, could still be cultivated if the proper measures were taken, Isabel attributes the lack of fertility of the Huran Plain near Bashan to the ignorance of the Bedouins when she writes:

This plain of the Huran; [sic] is an almost uninhabited desert, for that reason since, once it was cultivated; and in most places the soil being rich, it would still yield abundant crops if the Beduin [sic] with their devastating raids did not drive the poor people who would cultivate it away. (120)

In Beirut, Church even goes so far as to suggest the remedy of pine tree planting on the part of the inhabitants to prevent the swallowing up of the landscape with sand. He writes to Martin Johnson Heade on January 22, 1868:

. . . this Town is sweetly situated on the sea shore and backed up by Mount Lebanon now snow capped and the lower hills are covered [section cut off] and desert of sand is drifting upon the City from the south and is already beginning to swallow up houses--all this could be checked by planting pine trees--but my dear sir this is a Turkish province and the thing wont [sic] be done. (121)

Church's words directly parallel those of Marsh, who also called for the pine to be planted on dunes "to confine the sand most firmly," (122) and suggest that Church was aware of Man and Nature while he was travelling in the Old World. We can be sure, however, that ethnic bias also informed Isabel's and Church's views about the desolate conditions of these Old World countries. Yet, both of their correspondence show that they were not only trying to understand the biblical history of these lands but also trying to understand the physical history and how it related to man. Although only hinted at in their words, Church's and Isabel's conclusions about the physical conditions of these places were tinged with hope--the landscapes could be built up again if their inhabitants were better informed.



With Church's and his age's ecological concerns informing our study, we can now reconsider Church's late works in this climate of nature preservation. These works, produced during or after his European and Near Eastern sojourn and dating from the late 1860s to the early 1880s, can be divided into three groups, and this division is based on the physical condition of the landscapes portrayed. The first group includes works that depict lush vegetation; the second group, works that depict dry terrains with a limited amount of vegetation; the third group, works that depict landscapes that are almost entirely barren. In light of the views of Marsh and others on the ancient fertility of the Old World, the first group may symbolize an idealized vision of the past cloaked in the pastoral mode. The second and third groups, on the other hand, may record the transformations that have taken place on these landscapes. While group one may represent portrayals of what Church believed the lush ancient settings were like, groups two and three might be read as portrayals of the Old World settings in modern times, after man's ravages had scarred and denuded the land.

The first group includes four major paintings and one ink sketch, including Damascus (1869; destroyed), Near Eastern Landscape--A Composition (fig. 6), Morning in the Tropics (fig. 7), On the Mediterranean (fig. 8), and Al Ayn (The Fountain) (fig. 9). Damascus, Church's first large-scale Near Eastern painting, is a particularly interesting work because its subject, the ancient city of Damascus, had

apparently retained its ancient fertility up until Church's time. The painting, then, is not only a symbol for the entire region's previously-rich cultivation, but it also represents a vestige of former luxuriance, an oasis amidst desert, a watering hole amidst dry land. Church was fascinated by the city's lush vegetation when he and Isabel visited there at the end of April, 1868, and although the painting has been destroyed, we have some understanding of its subject matter from Church's correspondence and contemporary reviews. This city was traditionally known as the site of the Garden of Eden, and, as Davis mentions, these associations must have appealed to Church. (123) In a letter from Church, published in The New York Evening Post on February 15, 1869, the artist writes about the city's flourishing greenery:

The view of Damascus from an adjoining mountain is strangely beautiful. The contrast between the dry, desolate mountains, treeless and verdureless, of an arid, sandy color, and the dazzling green plain, in which rises the city, is remarkable. The plain is a lake of green, with sparkling bits of water scattered all over it. The system of irrigation is very extensive, the river Abana being diverted in a thousand channels, carrying richness in their course. (124)

Church's description of the city's richness is echoed in the words of a London critic who reviewed the painting in the London Art Journal in June, 1869. He describes the scene's luxuriance: "The city . . . shines out as surrounded on all sides by the luxuriant verdure of the plain . . . ." The critic continues: "It is remarkable . . . to note how the

vegetation has seized the soil from the very foot of the rocky sweep to the uttermost distance . . . ." (125) It seems from the review and from Church's own words that the painting's focus was on the flourishing physical condition of the Damascus landscape.

Also in group one, On the Mediterranean, Al Ayn (The Fountain), and the ink sketch Near Eastern Landscape--A Composition--these works conform to the Claudian mode, with framing trees, a middle ground scoop of water, and distant mountains, and each depicts architectural ruins in richly foliated environments. As other scholars point out, a golden glow and a tranquil mood suffuse the two paintings. (126) Again, the focus here may be on the glorification of the ancient garden settings of the Near East. The ancient boatman's beckoning to the shore in Al Ayn (The Fountain), the quiet travellers in On the Mediterranean and Near Eastern Landscape--A Composition--the figural component in lush settings suggest that these works may be a reflection of past times rather than present realities.

Another painting that fits our group one subject matter (richly-foliated late landscapes) is Morning in the Tropics. This painting, however, is one of Church's late tropical works and does not conform to the Near Eastern subject matter we have been discussing above. Yet, the dense vegetation, moist air, and soft golden light are also characteristic of the group one Near Eastern works that depict pastoral capriccios, richly cultivated imaginary landscapes. Tropical

lushness had great significance for Church especially since the tropics that he visited over the course of his lifetime, including Jamaica, Mexico, and South America, were only beginning to feel the effects of industrialization. Thus, these lands, like Damascus, retained their primeval garden settings and came to represent, for Church, remnants of Eden, untouched by civilization.(127) Church travelled to Mexico every winter for several years in the 1880s and 1890s, and he often recorded the serenity he found in Mexico, far from the corruption of the rest of the world. For example, he writes to Palmer from Mexico on February 26, 1885:

We feel a sort of pity for the rest of the world-- for the Telegraphs and newspapers are full of Flood, fire and famine [,] War and pestilence-- earthquakes and avalanches--Dynamiters and other rogues--It seems to us that Mexico is about the only safe quiet place to be found.(128)

Thus, Morning in the Tropics may be symbolic of that sanctuary that Church found in nature, and particularly in the lush, wild nature of the tropics.

This painting may also be compared to Church's own creation of a garden at Olana, for, on one level, Olana did represent, for Church, his own Eden, a microcosm in the center of the world.(129) The composition of Morning in the Tropics is uncommon in Church's painting oeuvre. Instead of being perched above the composition or distanced from it (two compositional modes Church traditionally employed in his paintings), here, the viewer is immediately confronted with the smooth lake water and the humid air. We feel as if we

stand on the bank of the lake, safely ensconced amid bright green ferns and a great canopy of leaves and vines. The stark immediacy is both stunning and alerting. What does Church mean, and why does he bring us right up to the water's edge? We may never understand why Church blatantly changes his composition in such an extreme fashion in this example, but it is interesting to note that Church and his gardening assistants began work on the lake on his Olana property during the 1870s, around the time Morning in the Tropics was painted, and his work on the lake must have occupied much of his time. He and his family spent time outdoors by the lake at a spot known as Picnic Point, and, although we do not know for sure if Church sketched there, this painting's new immediacy may suggest that, when painting, he was not only influenced by tropical lake scenery, but also by his own lake scenery at home. (130)

The second group of late paintings, depictions of barren terrains with traces of vegetation, includes four major Near Eastern works: Jerusalem from the Mount of Olives (fig. 10), El Khasne, Petra (fig. 11), The Aegean Sea (fig. 12), and Syria by the Sea (fig. 13). Jerusalem from the Mount of Olives and El Khasne, Petra, seem to be accurate depictions of these ancient sites in Church's time. In Jerusalem from the Mount of Olives, for example, pilgrims overlook the city from a dry plateau. Here, Church clearly sets up a contrast between the predominantly dry land depicted throughout the painting and the verdant grassy knoll in the left foreground.

Furthermore, the olive trees that dot the brown earth throughout the painting and grow on rocky, waterless terrain suggest an anomaly. Gerald Carr has recorded that Church owned a photograph of an olive tree clinging to barren ground, and in Jerusalem from the Mount of Olives, this feature of the olive trees, growing from ostensibly infertile earth, seems to be the focus.(131) El Khasne, Petra is a depiction of an abandoned temple situated in a dry, rocky terrain, but, here, Church also adds a small stream, its banks growing with foliage. Again, as in Jerusalem from the Mount of Olives, in El Khasne, Petra, the greenery is in stark contrast to the hard coldness of the temple and rocks.

The Aegean Sea, in some ways, conforms to group one in subject matter: the religious figures may be inserted to pull us into an ancient setting. But the predominance of dry land and the rock-cut ruin in the left foreground suggest that, again, Church may be interested in depicting the ravages that have inflicted the land over time and contributed to its loss of greenery.

Syria by the Sea is one of Church's most important late works, and many scholars have aptly compared this work to Cole's Desolation (fig. 14), the last work in the series, The Course of Empire.(132) Both works are depictions of ancient ruins poised on the edge of a large expanse of water. The connection to Desolation is further supported by a famous statement that Church made to John D. Champlin in a letter written on September 11, 1885. In this letter, Church tells

Champlin that he admires Desolation, for it is, according to Church, Cole's most poetic picture. Church states:

If I were permitted to select three from among all the landscapes I have ever seen I should certainly choose for one of them "Desolation" the last of the five pictures by Cole entitled "The Course of Empire" . . . . [I]t is a striking picture, possessing as much poetic feeling as I ever saw in landscape art. (133)

For all of the similarities between these two works, however, there are striking differences. First, Cole's focus on cyclical time throughout the series is continued even in this final work in the series with the predominance of plant growth, the addition of a high sun or moon in the sky, and the insertion of the ubiquitous mountain with rocking boulder. Here, nature's duration seems to be the theme. In this way, Cole emphasizes man's insignificance--for he has been eliminated from the scene--and, at the same time, he suggests that, unlike man, the natural world is capable of withstanding the ravages of time. A hopeful work, Desolation shows nature in bloom, and it springs up on every available patch of earth.

Church's Syria by the Sea, on the other hand, is another great twilight by Church. The sun is setting on a landscape of ruins and barren land. In stark contrast to the incipient lushness of Cole's Desolation, here, Church severely limits the growth of vegetation, and only a few traces of greenery cling to the rocks and arid terrain. Furthermore, unlike Cole in Desolation, Church inserts man in his landscape: a group of figures and animals take the road to the castle in

the distance. Church no longer optimistically believes in nature's natural rejuvenating abilities. Instead, like Marsh, Church views man as a major antagonist, whose influence on nature was often deleterious. Here, Church suggests that man may outlive nature if he continues to ravage the land, for it is he who brings twilight to the wilderness.

The Parthenon (fig. 15) belongs to our group three: all signs of vegetation have been eliminated in the painting except for very sparse traces of moss and greenery, sprinkling the dry terrain. It is interesting to note that in several of Church's sketches of the Parthenon or the strewn ruins surrounding it, Church includes more greenery than he depicts in the finished painting. For example, in the oil sketch Broken Column, Parthenon, Athens (fig. 16), bright white columns are nestled together in soft grass. Here, Church seems to have been interested in the contrast between the inanimate hard stones and their living carpet. Similarly, in another oil sketch, The Parthenon from the Southeast (fig. 17), the temple sits high up on the velvety green terrain of a sloping hill. Because the majority of Church's sketches, in general, tend to be accurate, perceptual portrayals compared to his paintings, which are more conceptually based, this lack of plant life in the painting of the Parthenon may suggest that Church consciously chose to eliminate it. On the other hand, the sketches of the Acropolis are either close up renditions of segments of



the terrain, or they include the sloping ground of the vicinity surrounding the temple. Perhaps this sloping ground did, in fact, have more greenery on it than did the plateau on which the temple sits, and Church's painting of the barren plateau may, in fact, be accurate.(134) Regardless, here again Church is contrasting the subjects of barren and verdant terrains.

That Church played with the opposing themes of growth and desolation by portraying both vegetation and barren land in his late works points to his concern over the changing conditions of the landscape from a fertile to a non-productive state. In the Old World these changes to the landscape were keenly felt. Carr has recorded that Church only displayed two on-site oil studies from his Old World trip in his home at Olana: The Parthenon and the Acropolis, Athens (fig. 18) and Olive Trees, Athens (fig. 19). These two works were originally hung in the sitting room at Olana; the former hung on the east wall, and the latter, on the south wall.(135) The Parthenon and the Acropolis, Athens conforms to the compositional format of other studies Church made of the temple: it sits high on a sloping hill and there is evidence of sparse vegetation. The terrain, however, is predominantly rocky and dry. The lack of flourishing greenery in The Parthenon and the Acropolis, Athens starkly contrasts with the lushness of the olive grove depicted in Olive Trees, Athens. Perhaps Church chose to hang these works together in the same room to make them a pair. Viewed

together these two oil studies suggest sequential subjects. Although olive groves still exist in Greece, and Carr has related these trees to a group located on the fertile plain of Cephissus, close to the city of Athens, the trees may also have been symbolic for Church of the ancient fertility of the Old World.(136) Conversely, The Parthenon and the Acropolis, Athens, like Church's other late works of ruins and Old World wastelands, might suggest the modern world, shorn of its trees and devoid of vegetation. We are left with the ruins of man and history, the legacy of civilization having dethroned nature from its once-supreme position.

In conclusion, Church, like his contemporaries, was concerned over the harsh dialogue between nature and culture, and, using Novak's terminology, he was, at times, caught in the middle of this dichotomy.(137) Clearly, Church was ambivalent over the long strides America and the modern world were taking toward civilization. But, at times, he applauded progress, taking advantage of all of the amenities progress could offer him and his family. Surely, Olana, his Persian castle on high, represents the apotheosis of power; it symbolizes man's control over the world, and, ultimately, over nature. Some would argue that even though at Olana Church utilized the natural style of landscape gardening, a style that was respectful toward nature, he was still manipulating the land artificially--artfully--and, in this way, how can we consider him "ecologically correct?"(138) In a letter from the 1860s or 70s, for example, Church writes

about his wish to revisit Niagara Falls to consider their preservation as well as their artistic manipulation:

I kept the matter to myself for two or three years, as I wished to revisit and study that locality with reference to such a disposition of it. I was the more anxious to do this as the natural formation of the rocks seemed to invite some artistic treatment especially by cutting channels for the purpose of forming picturesque cascades which would not only greatly enrich and diversify certain portions but also do much toward harmonizing the general effect. (139)

A quote like the one above suggests that Church was first and foremost an artist, and even the romantic artist of the nineteenth century could not shake his neoclassical heritage--ideal art required that an artistic sheen be applied.

Church's activities, however, strongly suggest that he cared deeply about nature. He lived in a period when the early preservation movement was taking shape, and his active involvement with Olmsted on the preservation of Niagara Falls and the creation of Central Park marks his own contributions to this field. In this light, his focus in his paintings and writings on the desolation of the Old World may symbolize his awareness of Marsh's and other preservationists's dictums and his own concerns over man's ruthless destruction of the natural world. Marsh and others focused in their writings on the harmful results of deforestation and its insidious result in drought, both leading to the creation of deserts and barren land. Interestingly, many of Church's late letters from the 1880s and 90s are obsessed with weather conditions and particularly drought. For example, Church writes to his

daughter Isabel (Downie) Church Black in the summer of 1894 about an especially bad drought the Northeast was experiencing that season: "The drought here is really pitiable--Many trees are losing their leaves and the grass is brown--The question of a water supply seems to be a leading one among our neighbors."(140) In the fall of that same year he tells Palmer about the extent of the damages from the dry spell of the previous summer: "One good result of your trip to Europe is the fact that you escaped the terrible drought which afflicted the greater part of our country--It made a painful impression knowing as we did that hundreds of thousands of farmers suffered to the verge of impoverishment."(141)

Connected to drought, deforestation also worried Church. In another letter to Palmer from 1884, Church expresses his unhappiness over the generous use of wood for building in the United States, suggesting that denudation was taking its toll on America's forests:

I like wood for architectural purposes less and less as I grow older--The transition from the solid walls and tiled roofs of Mexico to the shingles, lathes, clapboards, paint and paper of the states was painful to us--Wood is awfully convenient and cheap just now but I suppose when our forests are swept away by the axe and fire--we will use more stone . . . .(142)

Thus, Church built his own house in stone and surrounded himself with a natural garden, a small paradise he must have felt was the antithesis of the complex modern world.

At Olana Church worked hard to carry out the preservationist's call to restore nature, through planting, where nature had earlier been stamped out. In this way, he partook, as did other natural gardeners, in the very act of creation. Always retaining a pre-Darwinian world view, Church's mission to garden, like his mission to paint, aligned him with God. The nineteenth-century art critic James Jackson Jarves writes: "The artist who would fulfil his entire mission must manifest the completeness of his divine credentials by displaying creative power. For this rare faculty, in its perfection sublime, most closely affirms the tie of genius with its Creator." (143) The exalted state that Jarves assigned to the artist called for serious work, and, at Olana, Church's natural style of landscape gardening was carefully planned to follow the lead of nature. At times, Church was fanatical about the nature surrounding his home. His fanaticism was observed by a visitor to Olana who recorded that the Churches asked their guests not to pick the wildflowers on the property, for the flowers were part of the natural effect of the landscape. (144)

Nature remained for Church throughout his lifetime a continual source of rejuvenation and inspiration. In his later years, when he wasn't at Olana, Church actively sought wilderness settings in Mexico or Maine, finding in these natural places a sense of peace. For example, from Mexico in 1896, Church writes to his daughter Isabel (Downie): "The civilized and semi-civilized nations seem to be grievously

roiled." He goes on to say that from his "quiet peaceful stand point, so remote from the rest of the World, the chips of news received excite an interest akin to the reports of the Astronomer who announces a volcanic disturbance in Mars."(145) Here, Church tells us that away from civilization, he found solace as life slowed down; yet, he does not dismiss his own excitement over the fast-paced modern world. In fact, he relishes the reports he receives, for he never abandons civilization. At Olana he comes close to achieving a happy medium between nature and culture, that "middle landscape" that Marx describes. Living in a garden a few miles outside of the city of Hudson, New York, Church kept close to both sides of the dichotomy. But nature and culture still had not reached the equilibrium defined by Marx; instead, for Church, that ubiquitous pendulum always would swing on the side of nature.

Figure 1

Arthur Parton. Looking Southwest over Church's Farm from the Sienghenburgh. Oil on canvas, 1864. Olana State Historic Site, Hudson. Figure 8 in "Frederic Church's Olana: Architecture and Landscape as Art." By James Anthony Ryan.

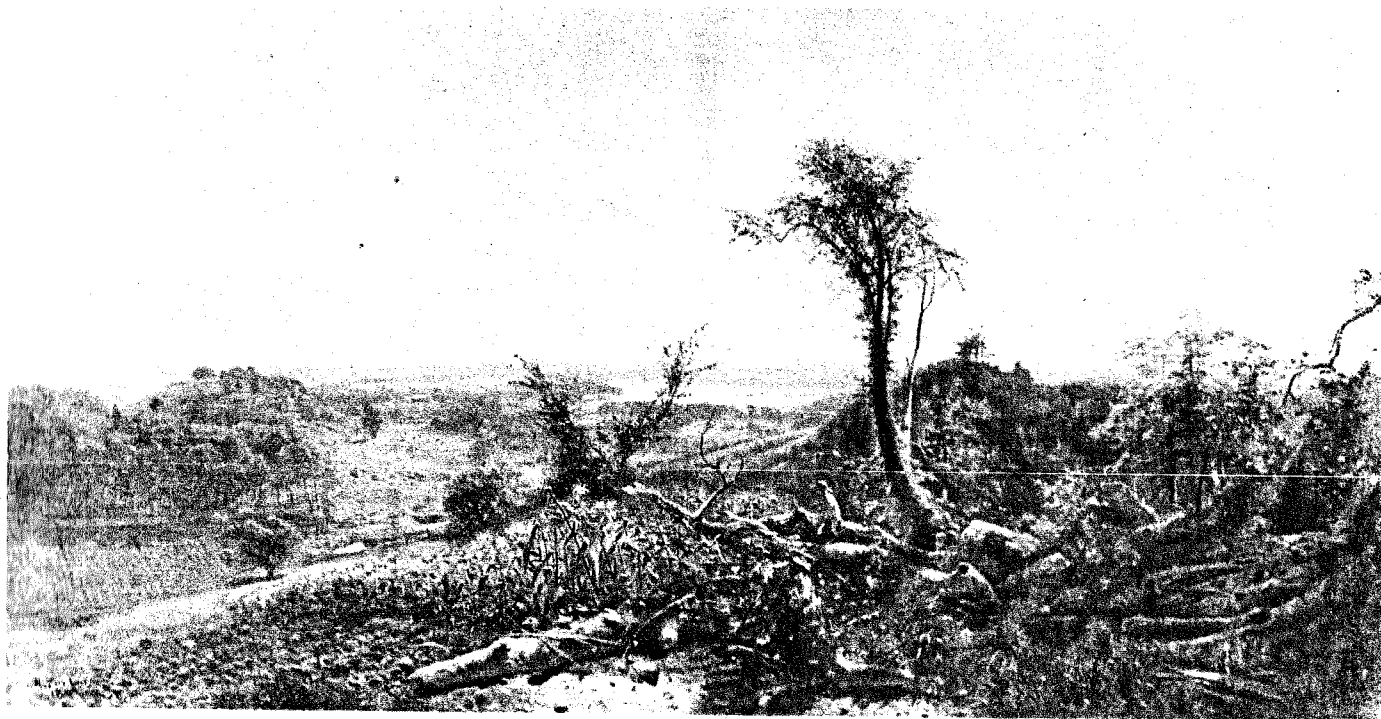


Figure 2

Unknown photographer (possibly Louis Church). House and Park from Across the Lake, Olana. Albumen print, c. 1892. Olana State Historic Site, Hudson. Figure 50 in "Frederic Church's Olana: Architecture and Landscape as Art." By James Anthony Ryan.





Figure 3

Frederic E. Church. Sienghenburgh and the Catskills from Mrs. Van Deusen's Farm. Graphite on paper, 1863. Olana State Historic Site, Hudson. Figure 10 in "Frederic Church's Olana: Architecture and Landscape as Art." By James Anthony Ryan.



Figure 4

Frederic E. Church. Mount Ktaadn. Oil on canvas, 1853.  
Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven. Catalogue number 18  
in Frederic Edwin Church (National Gallery of Art, 1989). By  
Franklin Kelly.

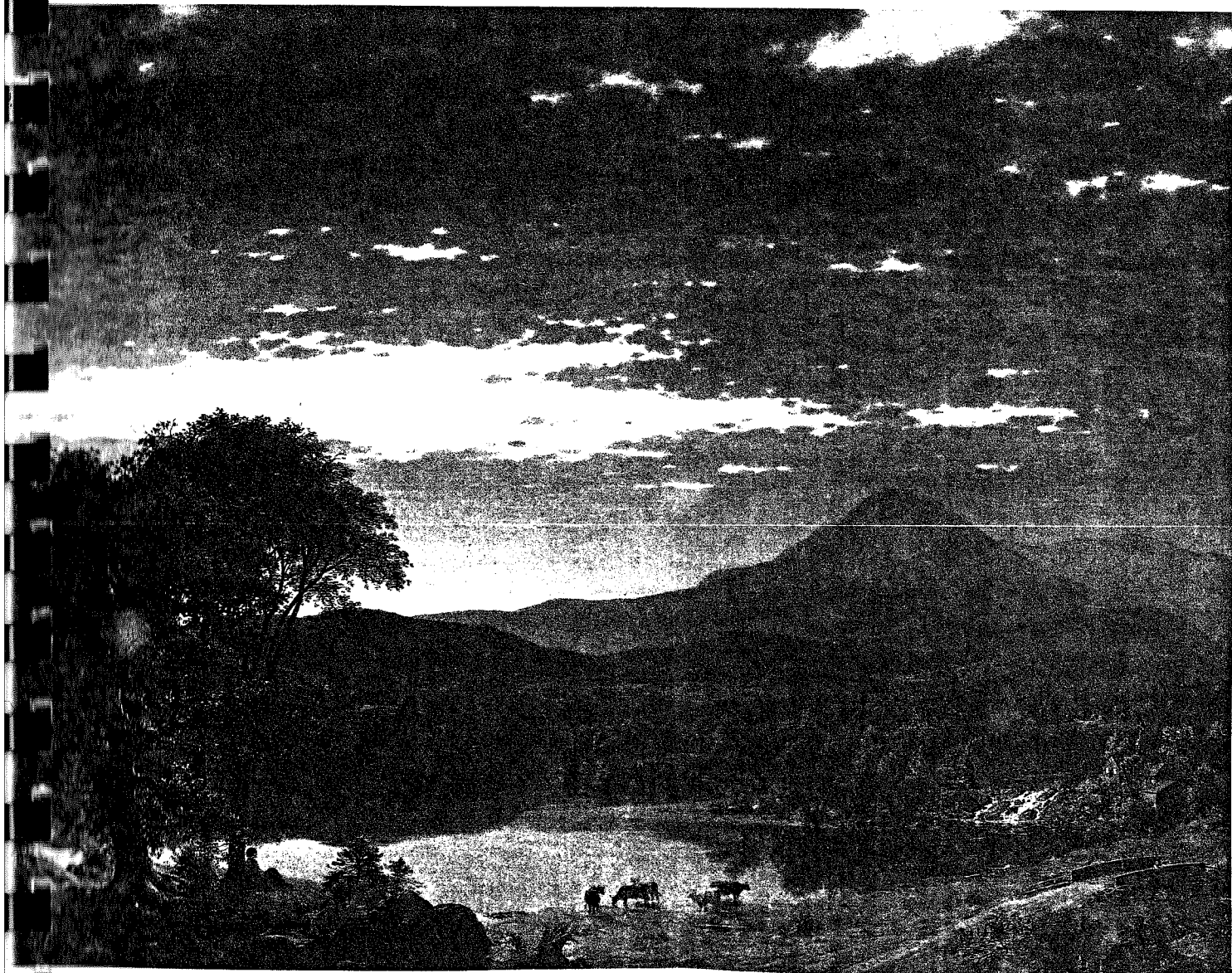


Figure 5

Frederic E. Church. Twilight in the Wilderness. Oil on canvas, 1860. Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland. Catalogue number 34 in Frederic Edwin Church (National Gallery of Art, 1989). By Franklin Kelly.

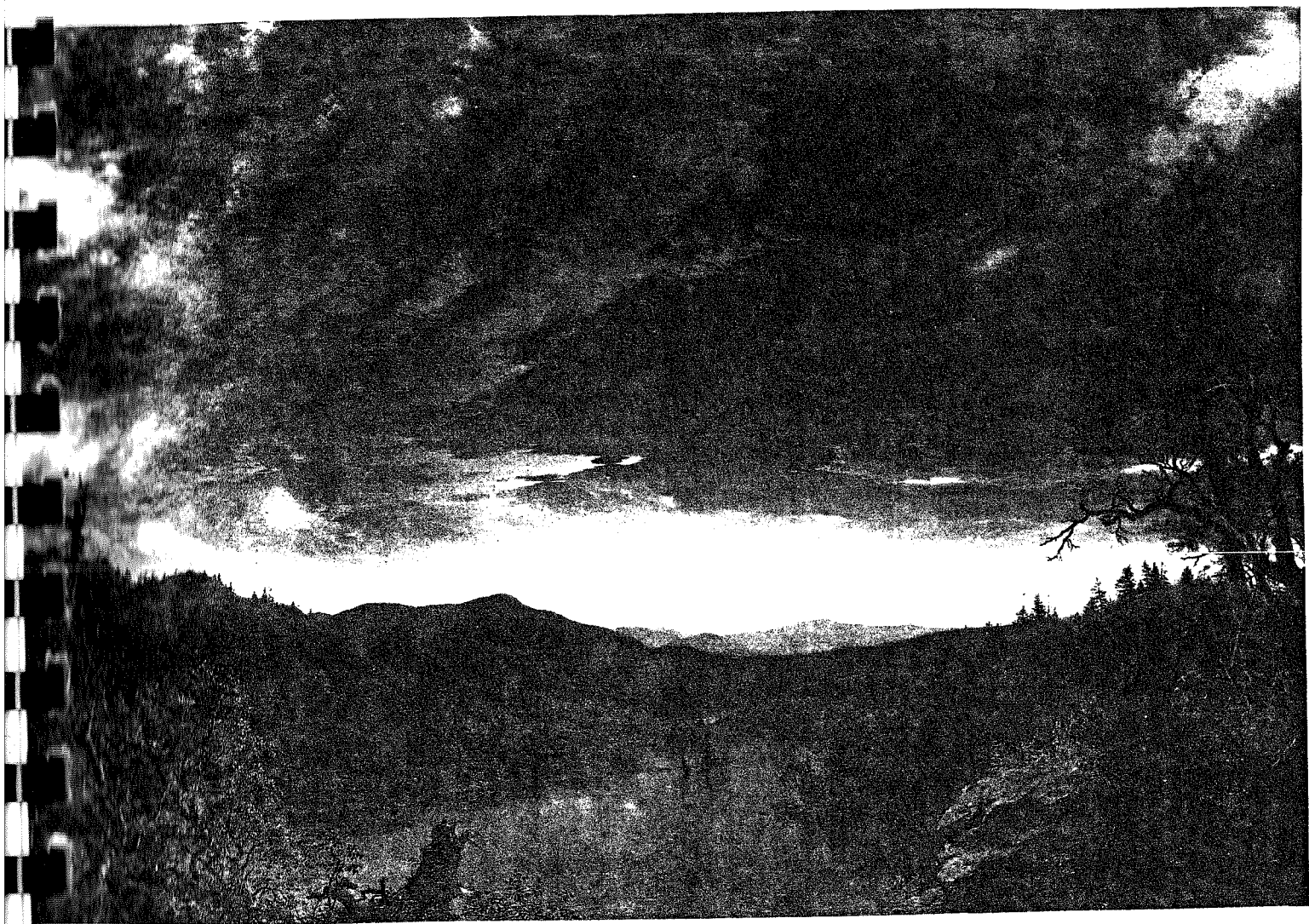


Figure 6

Frederic E. Church. Near Eastern Landscape--A Composition.  
Oil study, 1870-73. Olana State Historic Site, Hudson.  
Catalogue number 508 in Frederic Edwin Church: Catalogue  
Raisonne of Works of Art at Olana State Historic Site. By  
Gerald L. Carr.



Figure 7

Frederic E. Church. Morning in the Tropics. Oil on canvas, 1877. National Gallery of Art, Washington D.C. Catalogue number 49 in Frederic Edwin Church (National Gallery of Art, 1989). By Franklin Kelly.





Figure 8

Frederic E. Church. On the Mediterranean. Oil on canvas, 1882. Olana State Historic Site, Hudson. Catalogue number 619 in Frederic Edwin Church: Catalogue Raisonne of Works of Art at Olana State Historic Site. By Gerald L. Carr.

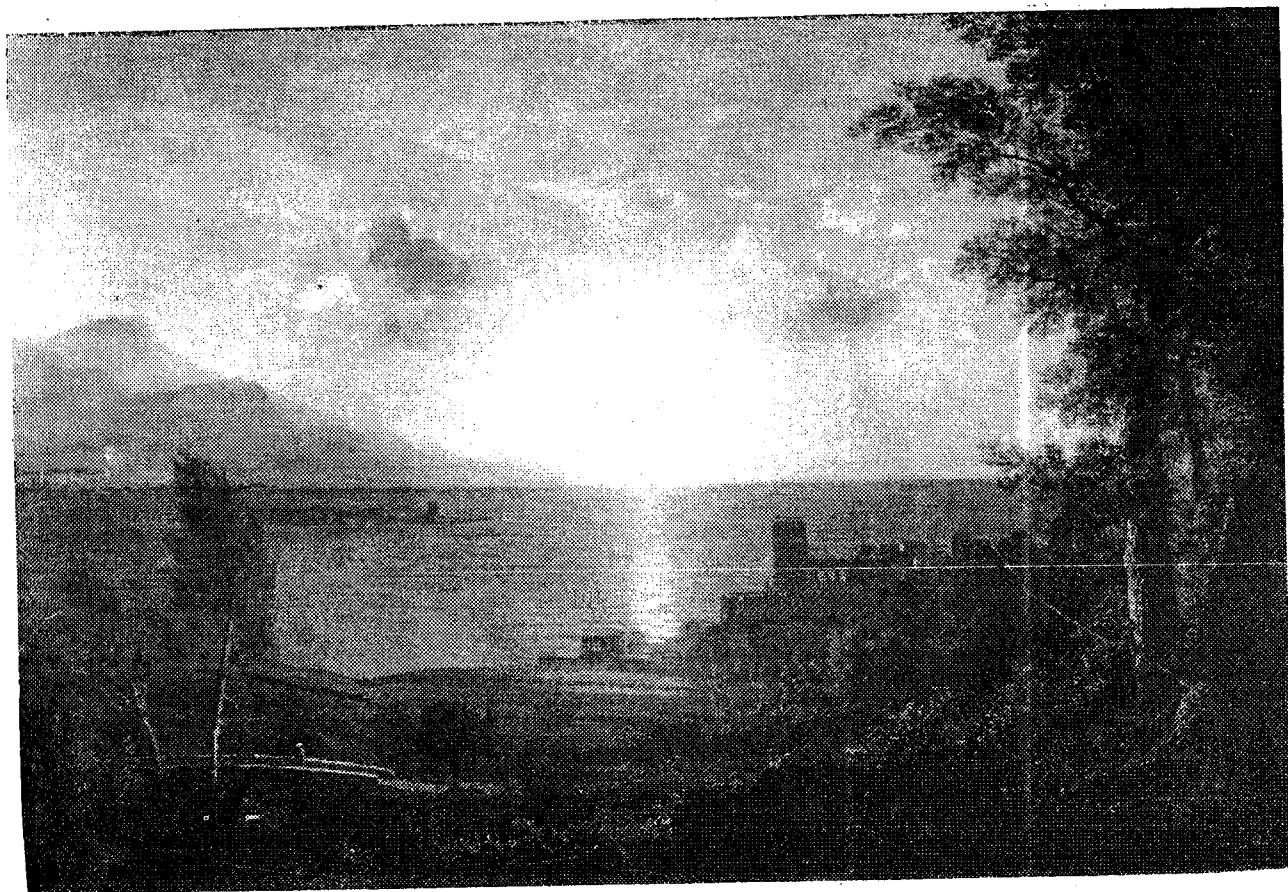


Figure 9

Frederic E. Church. Al Ayn (The Fountain). Oil on canvas, 1882. Mead Art Museum, Amherst College, Amherst. Figure 11 in "Frederic Church's 'Sacred Geography.'" By John Davis.

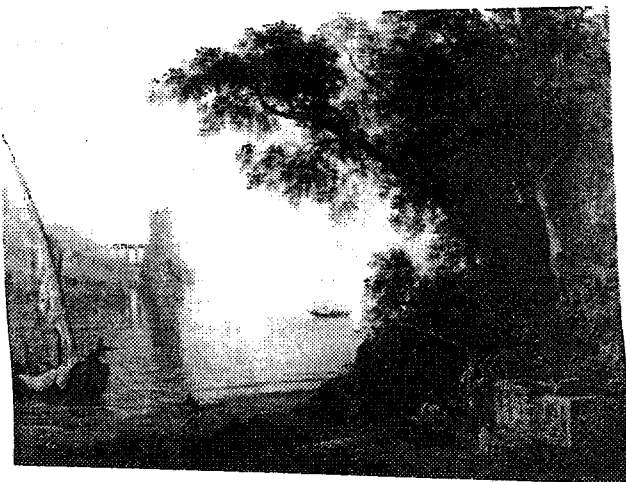


Figure 10

Frederic E. Church. Jerusalem from the Mount of Olives. Oil on canvas, 1870. Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City. Catalogue number 44 in Frederic Edwin Church (National Gallery of Art, 1989). By Franklin Kelly.

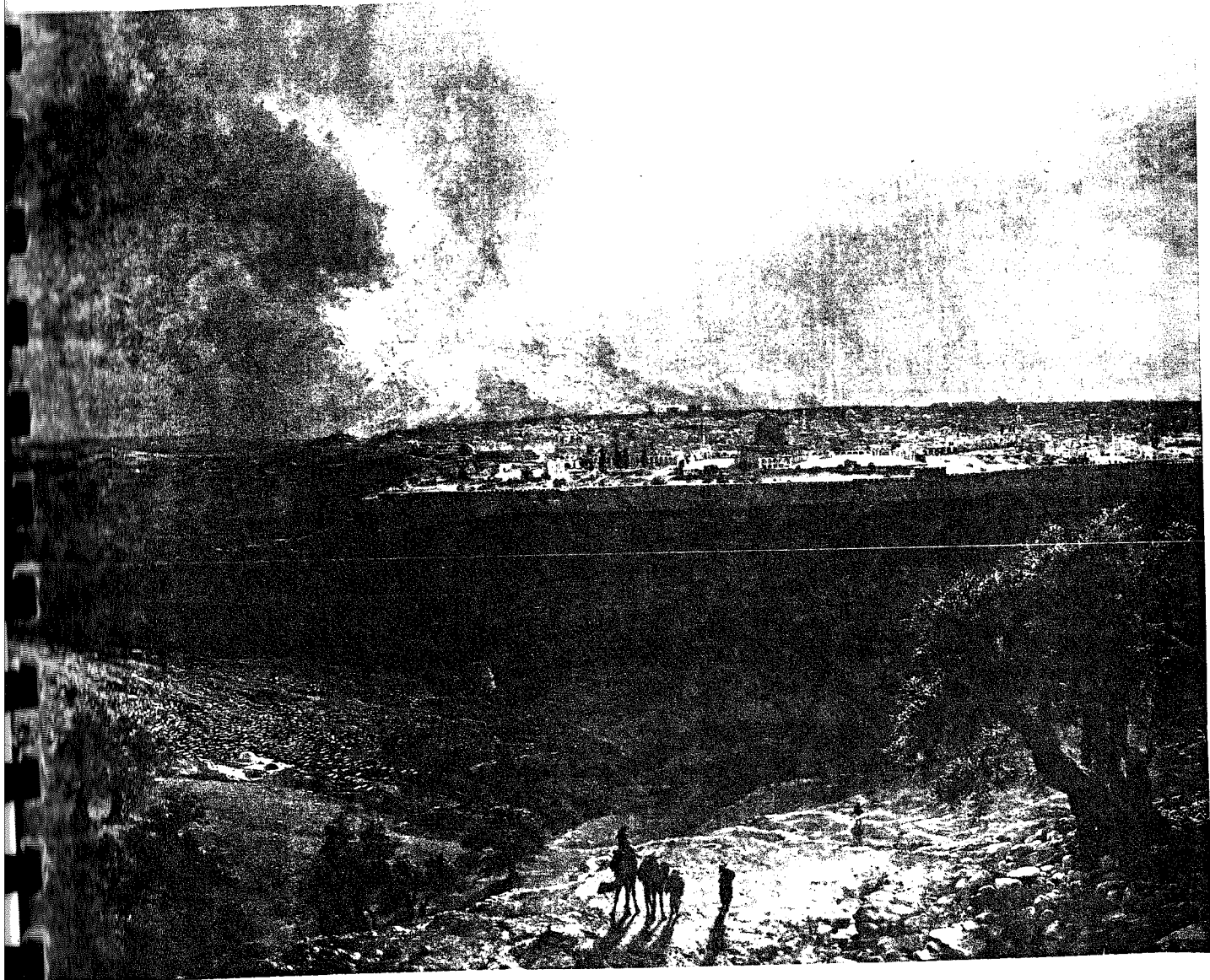




Figure 11

Frederic E. Church. El Khasne, Petra. Oil on canvas, 1874.  
Olana State Historic Site, Hudson. Catalogue number 46 in  
Frederic Edwin Church (National Gallery of Art, 1989). By  
Franklin Kelly.

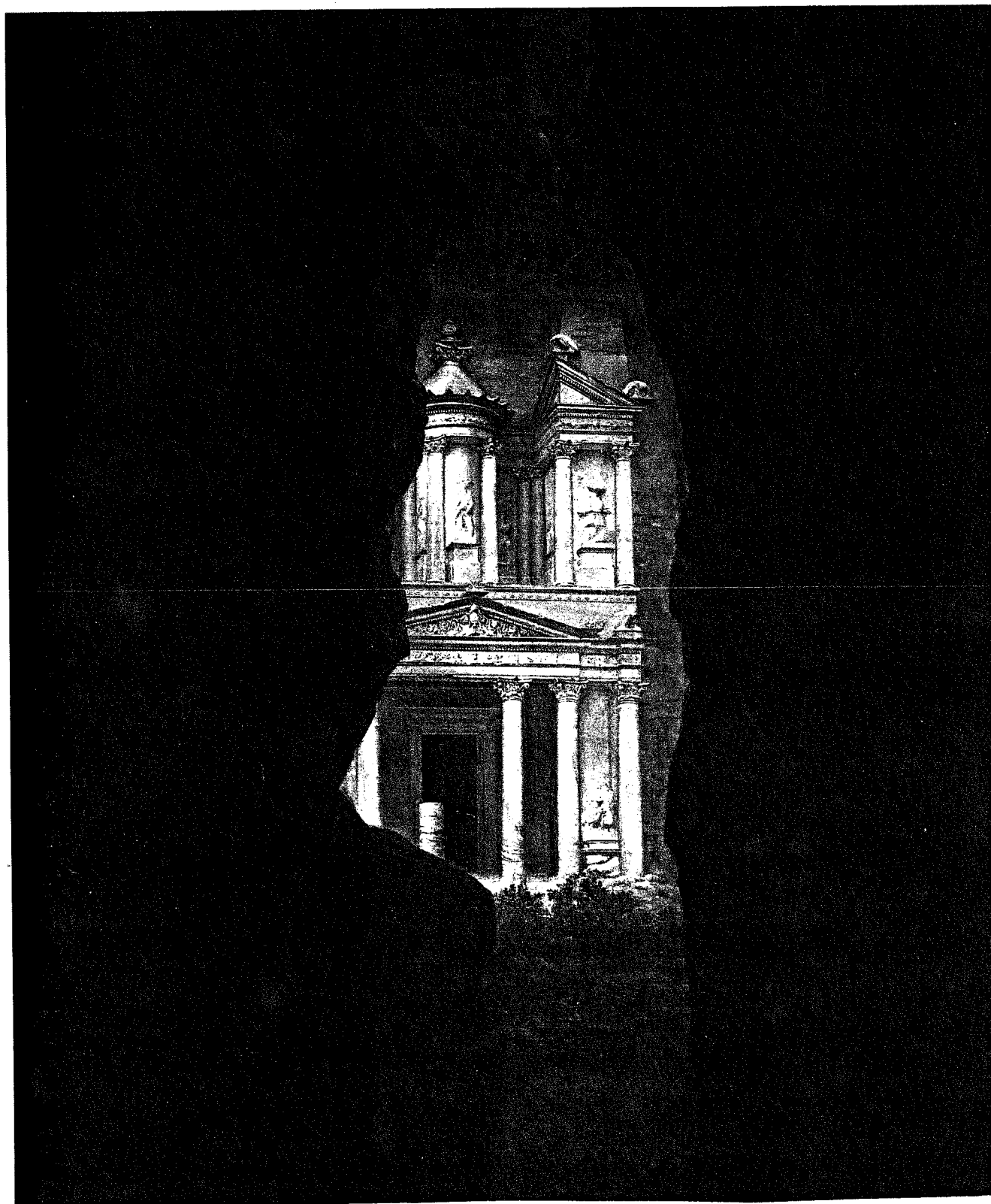


Figure 12

Frederic E. Church. The Aegean Sea. Oil on canvas, 1877. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Page 170 in Frederic Edwin Church (National Gallery of Art, 1989). By Franklin Kelly.



Figure 13

Frederic E. Church. Syria by the Sea. Oil on canvas, 1873. Detroit Institute of Arts, Detroit. Catalogue number 47 in Frederic Edwin Church (National Gallery of Art, 1989). By Franklin Kelly.

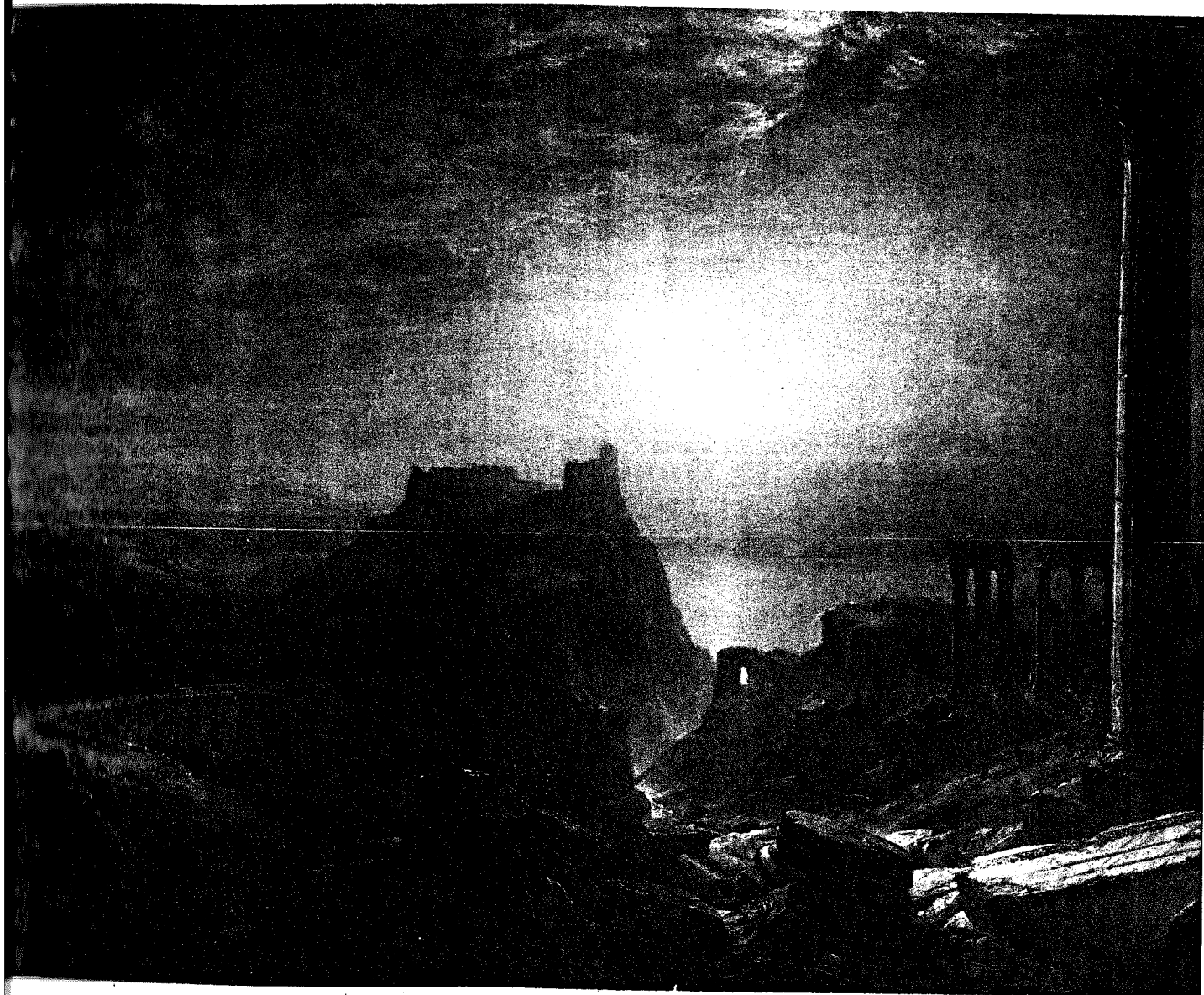


Figure 14

Thomas Cole. The Course of Empire: Desolation. Oil on canvas, 1836. New York Historical Society, New York. Catalogue number 107 in Thomas Cole: Landscape into History. Edited by William H. Truettner and Alan Wallach.

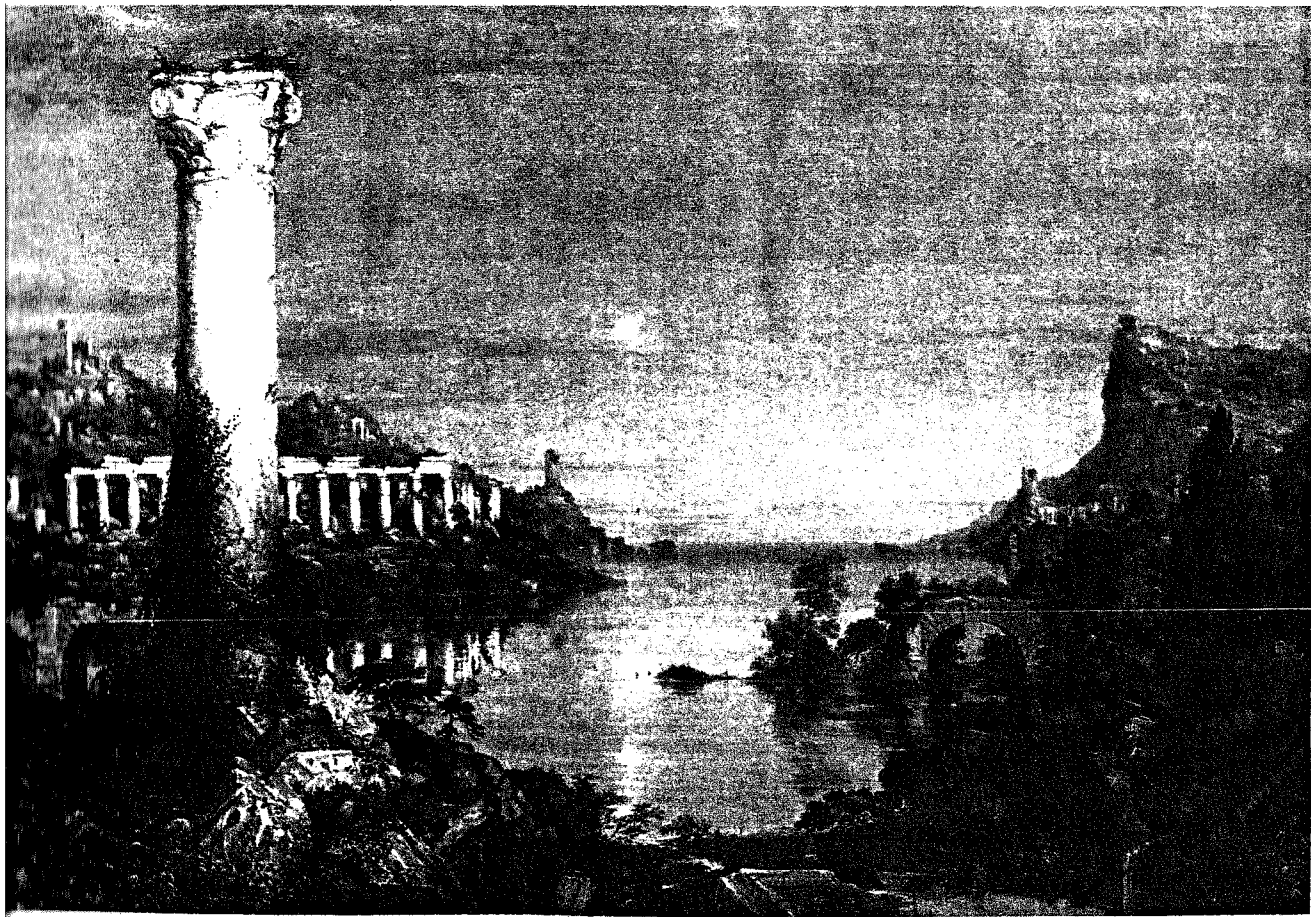




Figure 15

Frederic E. Church. The Parthenon. Oil on canvas, 1871.  
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Catalogue number 45 in  
Frederic Edwin Church (National Gallery of Art, 1989). By  
Franklin Kelly.



Figure 16

Frederic E. Church. Broken Column, Parthenon, Athens. Oil, graphite on thin cream board, 1869. Cooper Hewitt Museum, Smithsonian Institution, New York. Catalogue number 54 in Frederic E. Church: Under Changing Skies. By Elaine Evans Dee.



Figure 17

Frederic E. Church. The Parthenon from the Southeast. Oil with pencil on paperboard, 1869. Cooper Hewitt Museum, Smithsonian Institution, New York. Figure 89 in Close Observations: Selected Oil Sketches by Frederic E. Church. By Theodore Stebbins, Jr.

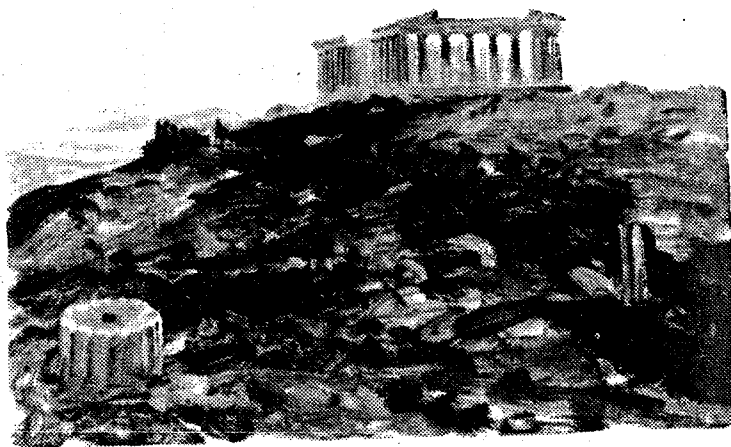


Figure 18

Frederic E. Church. The Parthenon and the Acropolis, Athens.  
Oil study, 1869. Olana State Historic Site, Hudson.  
Catalogue number 485 in Frederic Edwin Church: Catalogue  
Raisonne of Works of Art at Olana State Historic Site. By  
Gerald L. Carr.





Figure 19

Frederic E. Church. Olive Trees, Athens. Oil study, 1869.  
Olana State Historic Site, Hudson. Catalogue number 486 in  
Frederic Edwin Church: Catalogue Raisonne of Works of Art at  
Olana State Historic Site. By Gerald L. Carr.



## Notes

For their kind assistance, I would like to thank Robert Toole, landscape architect, Saratoga Springs, New York, and the following scholars working at the Olana State Historic Site, Hudson, New York: James Anthony Ryan, Site Manager, Karen Zukowski, Curator, Heidi Hill, Historic Site Assistant, and Robin Eckerle, Interpretive Programs Assistant.

1 James Anthony Ryan has referred to Parton's painting in his essay, "Frederic Church's Olana: Architecture and Landscape as Art." This essay is published in, Frederic Edwin Church, Franklin Kelly, Stephen Jay Gould, James Anthony Ryan, and Debora Rindge (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1989) 126-56. I have drawn largely on this essay and the landscape reports by Robert Toole and Ellen McClelland Lesser listed below for information concerning the Olana landscape garden and the chronology of its development. Furthermore, both Ryan and Toole kindly shared their thoughts with me in conversations mentioned below.

2 Church and his wife, Isabel Carnes, lived on "The Farm," as they called it, in a cottage they named Cosy Cottage until their home, Olana, was built on the summit of Long Hill. They did not move into Olana until 1872. As soon as Church moved into Cosy Cottage, he not only began landscape gardening his property, but he also established a working farm there and hired a farm manager to oversee its development. For a further discussion of Church's farm, see Ryan's essay, "Frederic Church's Olana: Architecture and Landscape as Art," and Toole, "Preliminary Historic Landscape Study: The Farm." Olana State Historic Site. New York State Office of Parks, Recreation, and Historic Preservation, Taconic Region, 15 April 1993.

3 According to Ryan, "no new projects are discussed in his [Church's] correspondence from 1891 to 1900." Furthermore, Church gave his son, Louis, the job to manage the farm in 1891. See Ryan's essay, "Frederic Church's Olana: Architecture and Landscape as Art" (149).

4 For information on the natural style of gardening, I have drawn on many sources, listed throughout both my bibliographic and footnote entries. The natural style was formulated in eighteenth-century England as a revolt against the neoclassical garden of the previous years.

5 Robert Toole kindly shared his thoughts with me on Church's tree planting and the natural style of gardening at Olana in a telephone conversation on Wednesday, November 23,

1994. I have also drawn on the following landscape reports by Toole and Lesser for information on the landscape garden: Toole and Lesser, "Master Restoration Plan: The Mansion Environs, Phase IV, Part 1." Olana State Historic Site. New York State Office of Parks, Recreation, and Historic Preservation, Taconic Region, 15 July 1988; Toole, "Master Restoration Plan: The South Park, Phase IV, Part 2." Olana State Historic Site. New York State Office of Parks, Recreation, and Historic Preservation, Taconic Region, 15 November 1988; Toole, "Master Restoration Plan: The North Road, Phase IV, Part 3." Olana State Historic Site. New York State Office of Parks, Recreation, and Historic Preservation, Taconic Region, 15 May 1991.

6 Later in this essay, I will discuss the connection between landscape gardening and preservation, and I will use nineteenth-century literature to trace the tree planting movement. Furthermore, I will refer to authors who compare the American landscape to the Old World.

7 Roderick Nash, Wilderness and the American Mind (New Haven: Yale U. Press, 1967) 6-43.

8 Leo Marx, The Machine in the Garden: Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in America (Oxford: Oxford U. Press, 1964) 226.

9 Nash 25-41.

10 Nash 41-51.

11 Nash 51-66.

For Nash on the preservation movement in America, see also 67-121.

12 Perry Miller, Errand into the Wilderness (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 1964) 208. Barbara Novak also discusses at length this nature and culture dichotomy in Nature and Culture: American Landscape and Painting, 1825-1875 (New York: Oxford U. Press, 1980).

13 Novak, Nature and Culture 157.

14 Thomas Cole, "The Lament of the Forest," The Knickerbocker 17 (June 1841): 518-19.

15 "A Sabbath in the Forest," Godey's Lady's Book 58 (Jan. 1859): 34-35.

16 Cole, "The Lament of the Forest" 519.

17 George Perkins Marsh, Man and Nature; or, Physical Geography as Modified by Human Action, 1864, ed. David Lowenthal (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 1965).

18 Marsh 3.

19 Marsh 8.

20 Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, Sinai and Palestine in Connection with Their History, new ed. (New York: A. C. Armstrong and Son, 1890) 186. This book was first published in 1856. John Davis, in "Frederic Church's 'Sacred Geography,'" Smithsonian Studies in American Art 1 (spring 1987): 79-96, discusses this book and its relation to Church's Near Eastern trip in the late 1860s. Davis's article is an excellent source for Church's experience in the Old World.

21 Marsh 10-11.

22 Marsh 36.

23 David Lowenthal, in the introduction to Marsh's Man and Nature, discusses Marsh's recommendations for conservation of resources (xix-xx).

24 Marsh 187.

25 Marsh 250-51.

26 Marsh 278-79.

27 Marsh 279.

28 Lowenthal, "George Perkins Marsh and The American Geographical Tradition," Geographical Review 43 (1953): 212.

29 Marsh 280.

30 Lee Clark Mitchell, Witnesses to a Vanishing America: The Nineteenth-Century Response (Princeton: Princeton U. Press, 1981) xiii-xiv. Mitchell discusses the sense of foreboding that many Americans felt about the vanishing wilderness. Furthermore, he states that many feared "that America was developing according to a cyclic pattern of rise and fall characteristic of other celebrated empires" (6).

Like Nash's Wilderness and the American Mind, Hans Huth's Nature and the American (Berkeley: U. of California Press, 1957) also provides an excellent discussion of the American climate that led to the preservation movement.

31 Stewart L. Udall, in The Quiet Crisis (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1963) discusses the American myth of superabundance (54).

32 George W. Coffin, "Report of the Land Agent of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts," North American Review 58 (April 1844): 328-29.

33 For information on the image of the tree stump in American landscape painting, I have drawn on Novak, Nature and Culture 157-65, and Nicolai Cikovsky, Jr., "'The Ravages of the Axe': The Meaning of the Tree Stump in Nineteenth-Century American Art," Art Bulletin 61 (Dec. 1979): 611-26.

34 "Landscape and Its Treatment," North American Review 84 (Jan. 1857): 164.

35 "Forest Preservation," New York Times, 30 May 1872, 4.

36 J. B. Harrison, "Our Forest Interests in Relation to the American Mind," New England Magazine ns 9 (Dec. 1893): 418.

37 William Cullen Bryant, "The Effect of Stripping a Country of its Trees," New York Evening Post, 20 June 1865.

38 Felix L. Oswald, "The Climatic Influence of Vegetation--A Plea for our Forests," Popular Science Monthly 11 (Aug. 1877): 385.

39 Quoted in Novak, Nature and Culture 10.

40 Oswald, "The Climatic Influence of Vegetation" 387.

41 Oswald, "The Preservation of Forests," North American Review 128 (1879): 35.

42 Oswald, "The Preservation of Forests" 35-36.

43 Oswald, "The Preservation of Forests" 45.

44 C. N. Bement, "Among the Trees," The Horticulturist 19 (Dec. 1864): 375.

45 Harland Coultas, What May Be Learned from a Tree? (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1860) 180-81.

46 "Planting Considered as a Duty," The Horticulturist 19 (Sept. 1864): 273. Udall also discusses nineteenth-century planting as an American obligation (80).

47 F. D. Huntington, "The Popular Taste in Gardening in Rural and Church Architecture," Christian Examiner 31 (Sept. 1841): 61.

48 Novak, Nature and Culture 159.

49 Lewis Mumford, The Brown Decades: A Study of the Arts in America, 1865-1895 (New York: Dover, 1955) 79.

50 George F. Chadwick, The Park and the Town: Public Landscape in the 19th and 20th Centuries (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1966) 163.

51 A. H. Guernsey, "Spare the Trees," Appleton's Journals 1 (July-Dec. 1876): 472.

52 Oswald, "The Preservation of Forests" 44.

53 "Forests and Forest Trees--Their Preservation," The Horticulturist 20 (June 1865): 184.

54 "Landscape Gardening," North American Review 59 (Oct. 1844): 317.

55 "Laws of Association in Ornamental Gardening," The Horticulturist 21 (Sept. 1866): 257.

56 "Planting Considered as a Duty" 272.

57 Coultas, "Observations on the Growth of Trees," Godey's Lady's Book 59 (July-Dec. 1859): 344.

58 Huth 169.

59 Frank J. Bonnelle, "In Summertime on Olana," Boston Sunday Herald, 7 September 1890, 17. (I read a typescript of the article at Olana.)

60 See, for example, David Seamon, "Recommendations for a Visitors' Center at Frederic Church's Olana Based on the Approach of Christopher Alexander's Pattern Language," final report, Kansas State U., 1989; and Peter L. Goss, "An Investigation of Olana, The Home of Frederic Edwin Church, Painter," diss., Ohio U., 1973.

61 Uvedale Price in his Essays on the Picturesque, 3 vols. (London: J. Mawman, 1810) writes that the improver of landscapes should study pictures and nature: "The use, therefore, of studying pictures, is not merely to make us acquainted with the combinations and effects that are contained in them, but to guide us, by means of those general heads . . . of composition, in our search of the numberless

and untouched varieties and beauties of nature; for as he who studies art only will have a confined taste, so he who looks at nature only, will have a vague and unsettled one . . ."

(4). For the picturesque, see also Christopher Hussey, The Picturesque (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1927).

Interestingly, of the many picturesque views that Church created at Olana, they all seem to correspond to the three artistic modes defined by Novak: the grand, salon-style, Claudian mode is captured in the southwest view from the house; the pragmatic mode, Church's happened-upon mode that is most noteworthy in his oil sketches, is captured in numerous intimate views of the house and grounds; last, the luminist mode, with its open-ended composition, is captured in views of the wide expanses of the Hudson River to the south and in views of farmland to the east. For these three artistic modes practiced by the Hudson River School painters, see Novak, American Painting of the Nineteenth Century: Realism, Idealism, and the American Experience (New York: Harper and Row, 1969).

62 Andrew Jackson Downing, A Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening, Adapted to North America; With a View to the Improvement of Country Residences, 2nd rev. ed. (New York: Wiley and Putnam, 1844) 348-49.

63 Although I did not see Church's library copy, I read the American edition of Charles H. J. Smith, Landscape Gardening: Or, Parks and Pleasure Grounds, ed. Lewis F. Allen (New York: C. M. Saxton, 1856).

64 Ryan, in his essay, "Frederic Church's Olana: Architecture and Landscape as Art," writes: "Clearly, Church initiated the design, though he would not have hired Vaux if the artist had intended to be the sole architect. Church's sketches and correspondence show his control of the details and of the whole" (135).

65 Frederic E. Church to A. C. Goodman, 21 July 1871, typescript, Archive of Olana State Historic Site, Hudson, New York (hereafter referred to as Olana Archive).

66 I would like to thank James Ryan for informing me that there is conflicting opinion as to who the contributors were in the creation of the Olana landscape garden. The opinion at Olana today is that Church was the primary landscape gardener. Ryan, for example, states in his essay, "Frederic Church's Olana: Architecture and Landscape as Art": "In his [Church's] mind's eye he created the 'composition' for Olana's topography and, over thirty years, used his vision to transform the landscape" (130). Goss, in "Olana--The Artist as Architect," Antiques 110 (Oct. 1976), echoes Ryan's opinion when he writes: "It has been suggested that Church was aided in his landscaping at Olana by

Frederick Law Olmsted. However, to date, no written evidence has been found to support this assertion" (775, footnote 13).

Some scholars, on the other hand, have placed too much weight on Olmsted's and Vaux's contribution to the landscape garden. For example, William Alex, in his recently published book, Calvert Vaux: Architect and Planner (New York: Ink, Inc., 1994), writes: "A check for \$235 issued by Church to Olmsted, Vaux and Co. would suggest they rendered landscaping advice for his 125-acre estate" (69). And, Vincent Scully, in "Palace of the Past," Progressive Architecture 46 (May 1965), similarly states: "All of Olana's siting was worked out with endless calculation and care by William [sic] Law Olmsted, according to verbal tradition" (189). Last, Russell Lynes, in The Taste-Makers (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1954), states that at Olana, one overlooked "nearly a mile of landscaped meadows and trees that had been disciplined into romantic disorder by his [Church's] friend Olmsted . . ." (99).

67 F. N. Zabriskie, "'Old Colony Papers.' An Artist's Castle and Our Ride Thereto," New York Christian Intelligencer, 10 September 1884, 2. (I read a typescript of the article at Olana.)

68 Church to Joseph Church, 13 May 1864, typescript, Olana Archive.

69 Church to Erastus Dow Palmer, 1 August 1880, typescript, Olana Archive.

70 Church to Charles Dudley Warner, 15 August 1887, typescript, Olana Archive.

71 Church to Erastus Dow Palmer, 18 October 1884, typescript, Olana Archive.

72 Quoted in Bonnelle, 17.

73 Church to Joseph Church, 13 May 1864, typescript, Olana Archive.

74 Church to William H. Osborn, 7 July 1864, typescript, Olana Archive.

75 Church to Erastus Dow Palmer, 9 May 1867, typescript, Olana Archive.

76 Church to Erastus Dow Palmer, 22 October 1867, typescript, Olana Archive.

77 Church to William H. Osborn, 25 October 1867, typescript, Olana Archive.



78 For Church's tree planting scheme, I have drawn on the landscape reports mentioned above and particularly Toole, "Master Restoration Plan: The South Park," and Toole and Lesser, "Master Restoration Plan: The Mansion Environs." I confirmed my understanding of Church's planting scheme in a telephone conversation with Toole on Wednesday, November 23, 1994.

79 Toole and Lesser, "Master Restoration Plan: The Mansion Environs" 10.

80 Toole and Lesser, "Master Restoration Plan: The Mansion Environs" 12.

81 Church to A. C. Goodman, 2 September 1858, typescript, Olana Archive.

82 For a good review of the events that led to the preservation of Niagara Falls, see Alfred Runte, "The Role of Niagara in America's Scenic Preservation," in Jeremy Elwell Adamson, Niagara: Two Centuries of Changing Attitudes, 1697-1901 (Washington D.C.: Corcoran Gallery of Art, 1985) 117-27. See also Adamson, "Frederic Edwin Church's Niagara: The Sublime as Transcendence," diss., U. of Michigan, 1981.

83 Harrison, The Condition of Niagara Falls, and the Measures Needed to Preserve Them; Eight Letters Published in The New York Evening Post, The New York Tribune, and The Boston Daily Advertiser During the Summer of 1882 (New York: n.p., 1882) 7-8. The quoted letter is from: Harrison, "Variety and Vitality of the Great Cataract--How to See it," New York Evening Post, 9 August 1882.

84 Frederick Law Olmsted, "Notes by Mr. Olmsted," in James T. Gardner, ed., Special Report of New York State Survey on the Preservation of the Scenery of Niagara Falls and Fourth Annual Report on the Triangulation of the State for the Year 1879 (Albany: C. Van Benthuysen and Sons, 1880) 27-30. Also quoted in Charles Mason Dow, The State Reservation at Niagara: A History (Albany: J. B. Lyon, 1914) 11-12.

85 Laura Wood Roper, A Biography of Frederick Law Olmsted (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins U. Press, 1973) 379.

During my research, I was not able to locate a copy of Church's lecture from the Century Club, and this talk does not seem to have been recorded.

86 Quoted in Dow, 12.

87 Quoted in Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., and Theodora Kimball, Forty Years of Landscape Architecture: Central Park (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1973) 45.

88 Frederick Law Olmsted, Public Parks and the Enlargement of Towns Read Before the American Social Science Association at the Lowell Institute, Boston, February 25, 1870 (Cambridge: Riverside Press, 1870) 14-15.

89 Quoted in Olmsted, Jr., and Kimball, Forty Years 46.

90 For further information on the park movement in America, see Chadwick, The Park and the Town, mentioned above. For an excellent source on Olmsted's environmental concerns, I have drawn largely on Albert Fein, Frederick Law Olmsted and the American Environmental Tradition (New York: George Braziller, 1972).

91 David Schuyler, and Jane Turner Censer, gen. eds., The Papers of Frederick Law Olmsted, vol. VI, The Years of Olmsted, Vaux and Company (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins U. Press, 1992) 493, footnote 1.

92 Quoted in Schuyler and Censer, vol. VI 493.

93 For the Greensward Plan, see Fein, ed., Landscape into Cityscape: Frederick Law Olmsted's Plans for a Greater New York City (Ithaca: Cornell U. Press, 1967) 63-88.

94 Schuyler, ed., Victorian Landscape Gardening: A Facsimile of Jacob Weidenmann's Beautifying Country Homes. 1870. (Watkins Glen, NY: American Life Foundation, 1978) 24.

95 Franklin Kelly discusses the wilderness preservation movement and its relation to Church's paintings, and particularly in relation to his Twilight in the Wilderness (1860), primarily in two sources: Kelly, "Frederic Edwin Church and the North American Landscape, 1845-60," diss., U. of Delaware, 1985, 211-363; and Kelly, Frederic Edwin Church and the National Landscape (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1988) 33-126. He develops his idea by comparing Church's earlier paintings in the pastoral mode to his later paintings in the wilderness mode, and suggests that this change in subject matter reflects Church's changing world view.

96 Theodore Stebbins, Jr., "American Landscape: Some New Acquisitions at Yale," Yale University Art Gallery Bulletin 33 (autumn 1971): 16.

97 Kelly, "Lane and Church in Maine," in John Wilmerding, Paintings by Fitz Hugh Lane (Washington D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1988) 147.

98 Kelly, diss. 319.

99 Kelly, diss. 322.

100 I would like to thank Karen Zukowski for suggesting that I evaluate Church's late paintings, produced during the years that he was working on the landscape garden at Olana.

An example of this first interpretation of Church's late paintings--that they are less original than his earlier works--is the one held by Stebbins in Close Observations: Selected Oil Sketches by Frederic E. Church (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1978) 39-42.

101 An example of this interpretation of Church's late paintings--that they are symbolic of his loss of faith--is the one held by David C. Miller in Dark Eden: The Swamp in Nineteenth-Century American Culture (Cambridge: Cambridge U. Press, 1989) 107-17; 132-83. See also Martin Christadler's essay "Romantic Landscape Painting in America: History as Nature, Nature as History," in Thomas W. Gaehtgens, and Heinz Ickstadt, eds., American Icons: Transatlantic Perspectives on Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century American Art (Santa Monica: Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1992) 93-117.

102 An example of this interpretation of Church's late paintings--that they symbolize his successful attempt to reconcile his pre-Darwinian world view in a post-Darwinian world--is the one held by Davis in the article mentioned above, "Frederic Church's 'Sacred Geography'" 79-96. Another scholar, Elizabeth Cornwell, also interprets the late works as symbolic of Church's faith in God. I confirmed Cornwell's views in a telephone conversation on December 22, 1994.

103 Davis 90.

104 Davis 90.

105 Church to Joseph B. Austin, 27 August 1879, typescript, Olana Archive.

106 Church to Thomas Appleton, 1 May 1883, typescript, Olana Archive.

107 Marsh 279-80.

108 At the Olana State Historic Site, I read typescripts of both Church's Petra Diary (1868) and Isabel Church's Near Eastern Diary (1868).

109 Church, Petra Diary, typescript, 20.

110 Petra Diary, typescript, 34.

111 Petra Diary, typescript, 42.

112 Petra Diary, typescript, 29-30.

113 Petra Diary, typescript, 30-1.

114 Church to William H. Osborn, 29 July 1868, typescript, Olana Archive.

115 Church to William H. Osborn, 29 September 1868, typescript, Olana Archive.

116 Petra Diary, typescript, 30.

117 Petra Diary, typescript, 46-7.

118 Petra Diary, typescript, 4.

119 Isabel Church, Near Eastern Diary, typescript, 36-7.

120 Near Eastern Diary, typescript, 66.

121 Church to Martin Johnson Heade, 22 January 1868, typescript, Olana Archive.

122 Marsh 427.

123 Davis 86-7.

124 Church, "Letter from Church, the Artist," New York Evening Post, 15 February 1869.

125 Quoted in David C. Huntington, "Frederic Edwin Church, 1826-1900: Painter of the Adamic New World Myth," diss., Yale U., 1960, 195-96.

126 Church's late works are often discussed in terms of their similarity to Claude Lorrain's paintings. In his later years, Church became very interested in Claude's works and those of other old masters. In fact, Church writes to William H. Osborn from Rome on November 16, 1868, that he is experiencing what he termed, "old master fever," and he states that he had purchased "a genuine Claude." He writes about the painting: "But really the picture is beautiful--I am never tired of looking at it--it is finer than most of the Claude's I have seen" (typescript, Olana Archive).

Furthermore, in a late letter to Charles Olney on November 30, 1896, Church discusses what he believes to be

the most important feature of art, and he refers to his home, Olana. Church's brief discussion is particularly interesting because in it he discusses the beauty of soft, golden light, a characteristic feature of his late paintings and of old master paintings, in general. Church writes: "I am afraid if you had seen my house on a dull, cloudy day you would be inclined to criticise [sic] the predominance of details, the lack of repose that most important expression in Architectural Art and indeed in all Art--Fortunately the soft golden atmosphere glorified everything the day you called--even defects were lost in the general effect" (typescript, Olana Archive).

127 For material on Church and the tropics, I have drawn largely on Katherine Manthorne, "The Quest for a Tropical Paradise: Palm Tree as Fact and Symbol in Latin American Landscape Imagery, 1850-1875," Art Journal 44 (winter 1984): 374-82.

128 Church to Erastus Dow Palmer, 26 February 1885, typescript, Olana Archive.

129 For this reading of Olana, see particularly David C. Huntington on Church and his home in the following sources by Huntington: The Landscapes of Frederic Edwin Church: Vision of an American Era (New York: George Braziller, 1966) 114-25; "Olana--'The Center of the World,'" Antiques 88 (Nov. 1965): 656-63; and "Olana: The Center of the Center of the World," in Irving Lavin, ed., World Art: Themes of Unity in Diversity, vol. 3 (University Park: Pennsylvania State U. Press, 1989) 767-74.

130 For information on the lake on Church's property, I have drawn on Ryan's essay and the landscape reports by Toole and Lesser. See also, Gerald L. Carr, Olana Landscapes: The World of Frederic E. Church (New York: Rizzoli, 1989) 125-26.

To support further my idea that Church's landscape gardening may have informed his painting and vice versa, I provide the following interesting quote. In 1867, Church writes to Palmer about a painting he is working on during that year: "I am at work at the landscape snarled up in the foreground but hope soon to cut through" (Church to Erastus Dow Palmer, 9 May 1867, typescript, Olana Archive). This quote clearly illustrates that Church, using landscaping terms to discuss his painting, is creatively involved in a dialogue between the two art forms. Furthermore, his numerous sketches of the Olana landscape show that Church was concerned with recording his home environment. For these sketches, see particularly Carr's recently published two-volume catalogue raisonne of Church's works housed at Olana: Frederic Edwin Church: Catalogue Raisonne of Works of Art at

Olana State Historic Site, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge U. Press, 1994).

131 Carr refers to this photograph in Frederic Edwin Church: Catalogue Raisonne, vol. 1, 344.

132 For example, Kelly makes this comparison to Cole's painting in his essay, "A Passion for Landscape: The Paintings of Frederic Edwin Church," in Kelly, Stephen Jay Gould, James Anthony Ryan, and Debora Rindge, Frederic Edwin Church (Washington D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1989) 67.

133 Church to John D. Champlin, 11 September 1885, Archives of American Art, Albert Duveen Collection, roll DDU 1, frames 115-16. A typescript of this letter is also housed at the Olana Archive.

134 Scholars have recorded that Church most likely used photographs when he painted The Parthenon. See, for example, Kelly's essay, "A Passion for Landscape," in Frederic Edwin Church, 75 footnote 166. Given the requirements of completing this study, I have not been able to see the photographs in Church's collection at the Olana State Historic Site.

135 Carr discusses these two works at length in Frederic Edwin Church: Catalogue Raisonne, vol. 1, 340-44.

136 Carr, Frederic Edwin Church: Catalogue Raisonne, vol. 1, 343.

137 Novak, in Nature and Culture, refers to Cole when she uses this metaphor to describe these artists's ambivalence over nature and culture. She writes: "Yet Cole, caught like all his contemporaries between nature and culture, was willing to admit that 'the cultivated must not be forgotten, for it is still more important to man [than wilderness] in his social capacity'" (161).

138 For example, in separate conversations I had with both Ryan (Friday, November 18, 1994) and Toole (Wednesday, November 23, 1994), each scholar underscored that in manipulating his land Church was not always "ecologically correct."

139 Quoted in Dow, The State Reservation at Niagara, 12.

140 Church to Isabel (Downie) Church Black, 28 August 1894, typescript, Olana Archive.

141 Church to Erastus Dow Palmer, 4 October 1894, typescript, Olana Archive.

142 Church to Erastus Dow Palmer, 5 June 1884,  
typescript, Olana Archive.

143 James Jackson Jarves, The Art-Idea, ed. Benjamin  
Rowland, Jr. (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 1960) 287.

Church's landscape garden and his paintings can be  
viewed as works of art that reflect Church's pre-Darwinian  
world view. At Olana, for example, Church utilizes the  
natural style of gardening with its Transcendental undertones  
until the end of the century. By this time, more flamboyant  
Victorian planting schemes had replaced the natural style,  
but Church's gardening was not affected by these new  
approaches. Toole discusses Church's "pre-Civil War"  
conception of his garden in "Master Restoration Plan: The  
North Road" 13.

144 Toole and Lesser, "Master Restoration Plan: The  
Mansion Environs" 12.

145 Church to Isabel (Downie) Church Black, 22 January  
1896, typescript, Olana Archive.

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