

THE USEFUL AND THE BEAUTIFUL: AN AMERICAN ANALOG TO PÜCKLER'S AESTHETIC

Daniel Nadenicek
Clemson University

Yet the beautiful advances it [the welfare of mankind] in a far higher and greater degree; therefore among useful things the beautiful is the most useful of all.

— Prince von Pückler-Muskau

What work of man will compare with the plantation of a park? It dignifies life. . . . I do not wonder that they are the chosen badge and point of pride of the European Nobility. But how much more are they needed by us, anxious, over driven Americans, to stanch and appease that fury of temperament which our climate bestows.

— Ralph Waldo Emerson

Prince Herman von Pückler-Muskau visited several English parks and intently studied the work and philosophy of Humphry Repton. Despite those influences, the prince's design work was fundamentally different from that of the English landscape gardener. Repton had written about the superiority of the park as compared to the farm and suggested that objects of utility and convenience should be hidden from view. In contrast, the "Garden Prince" developed an approach to design that elegantly paired the useful and the beautiful.

For Prince Pückler, farming operations and related facilities were to be integrated with naturalistic design and thus were linked to the park rather than deemed inferior. Objects of utility were often highlighted such as at Branitz, where a long view is terminated by a greenhouse. In some cases, unique aesthetic moves emerged from everyday and practical engagements with the landscape. The multi-stemmed trees at Muskau Park serve as an example. The origin of those forms is likely linked to firewood harvesting techniques of the common people. Pückler also neatly fit design moves with the natural condition of the landscape. Again at Muskau, the lay of the landscape influenced the placement of plants and objects to optimize views and vistas, ravines suggested efficient and aesthetically pleasing paths, and an abrupt change in topography served as an obvious boundary for the park.

While Pückler was closely influenced by the practical necessities of management, maintenance, and economics, his ideas about the useful and the beautiful were also driven by a rich association with some of the

best philosophical and literary ideas in Germany. Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, for example, welcomed and wished to highlight changing technologies. Pückler read and met with Goethe.

A similar pairing of the useful and the beautiful developed in the United States during the mid-nineteenth century. The influences that led to that development were comparable to the German influences—that is, Americans, too, gleaned their ideas from the practical and the poetic. Landscape designers in America looked to lessons found in the practice of scientific farming, but they were also influenced by the work and philosophy of American Transcendentalists. Interestingly, American Transcendentalists, in turn, looked to German Romanticism for inspiration.

Intellectual Milieu

An eccentric, energetic, and enigmatic cadre of poet philosophers known as the Transcendentalists gathered in Concord, Massachusetts, during the first half of the nineteenth century to re-envision the human relationship to nature and the place of God (the oversoul) in the world. Ralph Waldo Emerson, the leading figure and sometimes figurehead of the group, was joined at various times by Henry David Thoreau, Margaret Fuller, A. Bronson Alcott, Elizabeth Palmer Peabody, and several others. Since the late nineteenth century, sophisticated analyses and studies of the Transcendentalists and Transcendentalism have filled library shelves, and numerous scholars have made the subject their life's work. Despite such voluminous work, American Transcendentalism remains an enigma to all but the most devoted students of the subject. Perplexity grows from the fact that it was both an American development and an international phenomenon. Transcendentalism has also been viewed at various times as an ethereal and nebulous philosophy and as an immensely practical guide to life. Henry Wadsworth Longfellow (1807–82) reflected that befuddlement in a journal entry he made after attending one of Emerson's lectures in 1838. In the entry, Longfellow discussed a friend who after attending the same lecture "said a sharp thing, . . . when asked if he could understand Emerson. His answer was 'No I can't but my daughter can.'"¹

American Transcendentalism emerged during the first half of the nineteenth century but was in many respects the culmination of a longer period of intellectual awakening in New England and an underlying movement toward Unitarianism. Tied to that awakening was an insatiable thirst for new European concepts and philosophical theories that might be best adapted to conditions in the United States. German Romanticism and idealism seemed particularly germane to this evolution of thought. Edward Everett (1794–1865) and George Ticknor (1791–1871) studied at the University of Göttingen and brought German intellectual

ideas to Harvard and consequently inspired a generation of students and others to travel in Europe, study the German language, and embrace the ideas of various German writers and philosophers, including Goethe and Johann Christoph Friedrich von Schiller.²

The Transcendentalists drew specific lessons from that larger body of German literature. Emerson maintained a long friendship and lasting correspondence with the British essayist Thomas Carlyle. Carlyle had introduced American readers to German philosophy and literature and discussed related topics in letters to Emerson. In an 1835 letter to Emerson, Carlyle made mention of Prince von Pückler-Muskau.³ Further mention of Prince Pückler can be found in Emerson's journals, and Emerson's good friend A. Bronson Alcott quoted passages from Pucklers' published correspondence in his writings.⁴ Margaret Fuller, too, intensely studied German literature and was drawn to the feminism she saw inherent in Goethe's writing. Elizabeth Palmer Peabody, in editing and publishing the *Aesthetic Papers* (1849), was impressed by the German approach to aesthetics, which she believed to be focused on the disinterested and universal qualities of art.

Broad Influences of Transcendentalism

From that milieu and the creative minds of the Transcendentalists themselves came an American philosophy said to have influenced travel writers, nature writers, wilderness advocates, modernist architects, Prairie School designers, and poets.

While many claim an influence in the realms of architecture, landscape architecture, and design aesthetics, the extent and detail of the influence is difficult to evaluate. American modernist and Prairie School architects claimed an affinity for Emerson's work during the twentieth century. Frank Lloyd Wright was particularly enamored with Transcendentalism and included a portion of Emerson's essay "Farming" in the appendix to his book titled *The Living City*. But that application of Emerson's words carries a retrospective, even nostalgic, tone somewhat similar to the "nature love" perspective that inspires the lifting of Thoreau quotations from their context in support of an environmentalist agenda.⁵

American landscape architecture embraced a similar anachronistic vantage during the second half of the twentieth century, when the profession was influenced by the environmental movement.⁶ That perspective—the Transcendentalists loved nature and so do we—is shallow when compared to the depth of influence that the philosophical movement had on the emergence and early development of the profession.

Much has been written about the influence of Transcendentalism on the development of a wilderness ethic and its relationship to broad-scale

environmental preservation. John Muir studied Thoreau and was an avid reader of Emerson. Those same perspectives certainly influenced the development of landscape architecture as it advocated for national parks and the protection of valued wilderness landscapes in America during the first decades of the twentieth century.

Transcendentalism and Landscape Architectural Design

The question of how Transcendentalism might have influenced the development of a useful aesthetic theory and resultant design strategies (specific moves in landscape architecture) is much more complex. Certainly, Andrew Jackson Downing knew of Transcendentalist writing and theories. However, he was more influenced by his reading of the English theory, which he abstracted and simplified for popular consumption.

While Frederick Law Olmsted was influenced by Emerson's writings, pioneer landscape architects Robert Morris Copeland, and Horace William Shaler Cleveland were more directly influenced by the Transcendentalists in their actual design work. As a result of those influences Copeland and Cleveland, more so than Olmsted, developed a philosophy of design that linked the useful and the beautiful in a somewhat similar fashion to Pückler's design work and philosophy.

Olmsted

As a young man Olmsted attended Emerson's lectures with friends, discussed numerous Transcendentalist perspectives with Elizabeth Baldwin, and was eventually asked to join the Saturday Club (Emerson had been a charter member) in 1883.⁷ Emerson's older brother Judge William Emerson was Olmsted's neighbor, friend, and confidant when the two resided on Staten Island. Like Everett and Ticknor, William Emerson had studied at the University of Göttingen, where he developed an appreciation for German Romanticism and the work of Friedrich Schleiermacher, Schiller, and Goethe.

Irving Fisher's *Frederick Law Olmsted and the City Planning Movement in the United States* suggests that German ideas and Emerson's Transcendentalism as filtered through William Emerson clearly influenced Olmsted's intellectual development. Some of the interaction may have been even more direct because the Concord Emersons frequently visited William at his Staten Island home, where Olmsted was a regular guest.⁸ Fisher makes a compelling case that Olmsted was influenced by Emerson's writing on the role of the artist in society.⁹ In *Nature* and other works, Emerson wrote that the elements of nature communicated to humans at various levels. While the landscape was like a great book to be

read, individuals were equipped to understand the lessons of nature to lesser or greater degrees. The artist according to Emerson was a “seer and sayer.” The artist, he suggested, “must work in the spirit in which we conceive a prophet to speak or an angel of the lord to act.”¹⁰ Olmsted, therefore, saw it as his responsibility to affect the minds and emotions of spectators through the artistic manipulation of nature.

While Fisher covers a great deal of theoretical ground in his discussions of Emerson and German Romanticists, he does not substantiate a cause and effect relationship between those ideas and Olmsted’s actual design work particularly at the site level. In fact, Olmsted may have developed more directly useful design thinking from Ruskin. Fisher correctly asserts that Olmsted’s “copious use of Ruskin” was particularly adapted for “tactical purposes.”¹¹ For Olmsted, it is likely that Ruskin’s concepts such as repose, unity, and infinity were more easily translated into specific design moves than more ethereal vantages on the human relationship to nature.

Copeland and Scientific Farming

Copeland and Cleveland established a Massachusetts partnership in “landscape and ornamental gardening” in 1854.¹² Both designers knew Emerson personally. Copeland knew Emerson well enough that years later he listed the Transcendentalist leader as a character reference when he attempted to vindicate himself after receiving a dishonorable discharge as an officer in the Union Army during the Civil War. Cleveland was a lifelong friend of Emerson’s cousin George Barrell Emerson and from childhood knew Elizabeth Palmer Peabody, Emerson’s Transcendentalist compatriot. In 1855, both designers were employed by the Concord Cemetery Committee, which included Emerson as a member.

Like many New England towns, Concord held an annual lyceum lecture series. In 1855, Simon Brown, editor of the *New England Farmer*, managed the series. On January 10, 1855, Copeland delivered a lyceum address titled the “The Usefull [sic] and the Beautiful.” While notes from the lyceum do not exist, the subject matter was likely similar to an article of the same title Copeland had published in the *New England Farmer* in 1854.¹³ He had also published an entire series of articles on the subject of landscape design in the same periodical that year as well.

In order to place those articles in context, it is important to understand the relationship of scientific agriculture as it was practiced in the antebellum period in America to the development of landscape architecture. Copeland, Cleveland, and Olmsted were all scientific farmers before becoming landscape architects, who combined practical and aesthetic perspectives in writing for various agricultural and horticultural journals.

All of them also explored and communicated a new perspective on the relationship of the practical arts to beauty. Of the three, Copeland is the most recognized for his writing about scientific agriculture. In 1859, he summarized years of experiment on the subject in his book titled *Country Life*. Emerson, too, had a practical side—he raised pears in his home landscape and traveled in horticultural and scientific farming circles. Emerson commented on the importance of scientific farming in his essay titled the “Young American,” where he praised those individuals who “withdraw from cities . . . [to] cultivate the soil.”¹⁴

Copeland’s writing as it was influenced by Emerson’s work and the study of scientific farming provides an understanding of the useful and the beautiful American style. For Copeland, the relationship of the useful to the beautiful should be considered at two levels. At a basic level, the argument is much like the opening quotation by Pückler; the beautiful is useful in that it elevates the mind and the spirit. As Copeland wrote in *Country Life*, “the economy which feeds the body well at the expense of starving the mind is wretchedly short-sighted.”¹⁵

There is also a deeper perspective on the relationship of the useful to the beautiful found in Copeland’s writing with a direct relationship to Transcendentalism. In several short articles published in the *New England Farmer* during 1854, the year that he and Cleveland formed their partnership, Copeland offered both vantages on aesthetics and utility. In the “Useful and the Beautiful,” he commented on English theorists and designers such as William Gilpin, Uvedale Price, Richard Payne Knight, Humphry Repton, and J. C. Loudon.¹⁶ In a series of articles titled “What a Garden Should Be,” he traced the development of landscape design through the ages with mention of the ancient, Renaissance, and nineteenth-century eras.¹⁷

He suggested that it is important to understand the “mind and spirit” of designers and designed places but that the work should not be blindly applied in America.¹⁸ Because of the newness and unique characteristics of the American landscape, the “home spirit should be clearly carried out” in landscape design and “suited to our circumstances, not theirs.”¹⁹ In America, beauty should arise from a true understanding and clear interpretation of utility. Those ideas as expressed by Copeland are clearly linked to Transcendentalist theory.

Transcendentalism and Aesthetic Theory

Emerson developed a sophisticated Transcendentalist theory of aesthetics in concert with Horatio Greenough, an American sculptor. Horace Cleveland also knew Greenough, who had been a classmate of his older brother Henry Cleveland. Greenough developed his aesthetic thinking in tandem

and sometimes ahead of Emerson. While the two aesthetic theories are slightly different, they are similar enough that no distinction will be made here. Both theorists began to develop their ideas in the 1830s. Greenough and Emerson likely first met during the mid-1830s, and Emerson read Greenough's first article on aesthetics titled "American Architecture" published in the *United States Magazine and Democratic Review* a few years later.²⁰ The evolution of Emerson's aesthetic thinking can be traced in a series of lectures and essays including one titled "Beauty" and two titled "Art."²¹ A few years after those initial forays into aesthetic theory, Emerson and Greenough shared their ideas in a correspondence. In 1852, a few months before Greenough published *The Travels, Observations, and Experiences of a Yankee Stonecutter*—the most detailed discussion of his aesthetic concepts—he and Emerson met in Concord.

There were numerous facets to the Transcendentalist aesthetic theory developed by Emerson and Greenough. They both saw the ability and responsibility of the artist in similar fashion to Olmsted. Emerson likened the artist to a lightning rod: as the lightning rod linked to the heavens to then transfer the force of the lightning along the ground, the artist was to translate an ethereal understanding of the world to the mass of society. Other parts of the theory include the need for a truly American art, the organic aesthetic, and a general disapproval of artificial embellishment.

An American Aesthetic

Because the American landscape was being made anew, Emerson thought deeply about the development of the nation. In the "Young American," he commented on the unique qualities of America: the fact that change was inevitable, and that in time we would make the entire "face of the nation" a garden. In considering the formal structure of that which we were about to build, he critiqued the blind acceptance of European art forms and aesthetic theories. Also in the "Young American," he suggested that the neoclassical forms in Europe were likely born of the natural world at one time but that those forms had been altered over time with unnecessary artistic layers in a way that had nothing to do with America. He was critical, too, of the mercenary focus of commerce in the United States, suggesting that the drive toward profits was often linked to the timeworn forms of old Europe specifically as a symbol of wealth and power.

For both Emerson and Greenough, a new American aesthetic would be one clearly tied to the new land. They both articulated the need to find inspiration on the western side of the Atlantic. Already in 1836, Emerson had laid out the basic tenets of the appropriate human relationship to nature in his essay titled "Nature." He wrote, "why should we not also

enjoy an original relation to the universe." At one level, that relationship to nature was spiritual while at another level it involved study and observation of its physicality. Both Emerson and Greenough argued that beauty and pleasure could be found arising from America's natural forms.

Organic Aesthetic

The need was for something uniquely American and the source of that aesthetic was America itself. The organic aesthetic conceived by Emerson and Greenough provided the substance for how that need would be fulfilled. To Emerson, beauty was not fixed or static but rather dynamic and flowing like the numberless phenomena of nature itself.²² The artist's task was to interpret those phenomena through art undeniably true to that which was observed. It is in this context that Emerson's continuous linking of beauty and truth can best be understood. True beauty in any work of art was about the honest fulfillment of purpose.²³

Greenough developed strikingly similar ideas through a critical analysis of architecture and other arts. He used the words form and function in his writing foreshadowing the use of those words by Chicago School and modernist architects several years later. For Greenough, function and form were concepts analogous to the useful and the beautiful. He described the design of a ship to serve as an illustration: "Mark the majestic form" as it "rushes through the water, observe the graceful bend" of the "body, the gentle transition from round to flat, the grasp . . . [of the] keel, the leap of . . . [the] bows, the symmetry and rich tracery of [the] . . . spars and rigging, [and] those grand wind muscles . . . [the] sails."²⁴ For Greenough, the ship depicted the appropriate relationship of the useful to the beautiful, the best design arising from a rich understanding of the environment—wind and water. For Emerson and Greenough, the organic aesthetic must emerge and be nurtured in the deepest understanding of the natural world.

The Disapproval of Artificial Embellishment

Following the logic underlying that parsimonious aesthetic could only lead to the conclusion that unnecessary decoration would detract from the purity of form that the artist sought. Emerson wrote "forsaking the design to produce effect by showy details is the ruin of any work."²⁵ And echoing Emerson's maxim, Greenough wrote, "these extraneous and irrelevant forms invade the silence which alone is worthy."²⁶ Just as nothing in nature is superfluous, decoration should not come from an external source but rather should emerge directly from the place or object under

observation. Emerson and Greenough used words such as “fitness” and “appropriateness” to describe that design imperative. Here, Emerson and Greenough’s arguments once again returned to the neoclassical forms of Europe as the most egregious example of superfluous decoration. They believed that the application of such forms in America would only reveal the attempt of an infant civilization to inaptly claim an inappropriate level of maturity. The theorists were convinced that only elegant economy grounded in nature could benefit America.

Theory to Form

Emerson as a poet and philosopher probably did not fully understand what his Transcendentalist aesthetic concepts might mean to actual works of art. Even Greenough, who was an artist, struggled when it came to application, such as with his famous George Washington in a toga sculpture, originally commissioned to be placed in the rotunda of the United States Capitol. In *English Traits*, Emerson wrote that Greenough’s “tongue was far cunninger [sic] to talk than his chisel was to carve.”

With Emerson, it seems likely given his close observations and contemplations of nature as well as his association with early landscape architects (Copeland and Cleveland) that he might have had a better idea of how his aesthetic concepts could be incorporated in landscape art than in other arts. In the “Young American,” he wrote that landscape design is the “fine art which is left for us now that sculpture, painting, religious and civil architecture have become effete and have passed into second childhood.”²⁷

Proof in Design

Evidence for Cleveland and Copeland’s close affinity for Emerson’s aesthetic concepts is found in the design of Sleepy Hollow Cemetery. In 1855, the two landscape architects designed the cemetery, which today serves as the final resting place for a number of the Concord Transcendentalists as well as other well-known writers and artists. On September 29, as work in the cemetery was nearing completion, Emerson delivered “An Address to the Inhabitants of Concord at the Consecration of Sleepy Hollow.” There, Cleveland and Copeland had fulfilled the role of Transcendentalist artists as they offered spiritual and moral lessons to the community through their design. In his “Address,” Emerson called the cemetery a “garden for the living,” suggesting that the meaning of the landscape was intended for the generations of living people who would come to quietly contemplate the juxtaposition of the ephemeral and the perpetual.²⁸

Emerson told the audience that they could not “jealously guard a few atoms under immense marbles, selfishly and impossibly sequestering [them from the] . . . vast circulations of nature, . . . [which] recomposes for new life [each] decomposing particle.”²⁹ Emerson further commented on the fleeting nature of human life by comparing humans to trees: “The life of a tree is a hundred and a thousand years; its repairs self-made: they grow when we sleep, they grew when we were unborn. Man is a moth among these longevities.”³⁰

But in keeping with Emerson’s Transcendentalism, there was also an optimistic undercurrent offered in the landscape of *Sleepy Hollow*. That optimism would come from the visitors’ realization that they were part of the dynamic flux and perpetual forces of nature. Emerson said, the being that “can share thought and feelings so sublime is no mushroom.”³¹ The story of perpetuity would also be offered through the generations. Again, Emerson spoke to the Concord community: “When these acorns, that are falling at our feet, are oaks overshadowing our children in a remote century, this mute green bank will be full of history; the good, the wise, and the great will have left their names and virtues on the trees, . . . will have made the air tunable and articulate.”³² While each individual life is finite, humanity as a part of nature would endure.

Emerson’s address reveals a great deal about the design and design intent at *Sleepy Hollow*. In the landscape, the designers worked true to place in keeping with the organic aesthetic established by Emerson and Greenough. They also carefully avoided artificial embellishment. Emerson said the cemetery only brought out the “natural advantages” of the site and that “the lay and look of the land” informed the design.³³ The cemetery was carefully set into a natural amphitheater and Cleveland and Copeland used native and familiar plants. As a consequence of that sensitivity to place, Emerson was pleased that *Sleepy Hollow* had not been “deformed by bad art.”³⁴ Emerson went on to comment on the close integration of human use and natural condition:

The beautiful night and the beautiful day will come in turn to sit upon the grass. Our use will not displace the old tenants. The well-beloved birds will not sing one song the less, . . . [They will] find out the hospitality . . . of this asylum, and will seek the waters of the meadow, and in the grass, and by the pond, the locust, the cricket, and the hyla, shall shrilly play.³⁵

Cleveland’s Career

Horace Cleveland more fully developed and promoted this Transcendentalist view of aesthetics throughout a career that extended to the end of

the nineteenth century. He and Copeland amicably severed their partnership prior to the Civil War, and Copeland died in 1874. Cleveland moved west in 1869, settling first in Chicago and later in Minneapolis. During those years, he continued to write about the importance of landscape design appropriately connected to place to the development of American civilization. In *Landscape Architecture as Applied to the Wants of the West* (1873), he critically commented on the problems of “mere extraneous ornament.”³⁶ In 1888, he wrote the *Aesthetic Development of the United Cities of St. Paul and Minneapolis*, where he contrasted a fitting design informed by place to a design of “pretentious appearance, with elaborate and costly display of artificial decoration and with corresponding ostentatious effort in ornamentation.”³⁷

The most striking evidence of Cleveland’s affinity for the Transcendentalist aesthetic can be found in his many built landscapes at various scales. In 1872, he worked with his son Ralph to design Eastwood Cemetery for his hometown of Lancaster, Massachusetts. There he envisioned burial sites set amid natural vegetation far away from the more formal entry area. During the same period, he worked with his new partner William Merchant Richardson French on a community design for Highland Park, Illinois, where lots and roads were designed to incorporate the drama of existing ravines on the edge of Lake Michigan. In the mid-1880s, he designed a system of paths and roads for Natural Bridge, Virginia, and, concerned with a need for forest regeneration, suggested the development of a forestry school nearly a decade earlier than Olmsted’s vision for a great forest at Biltmore in North Carolina. In 1883, Cleveland began work on the crowning achievement of his long career, the Minneapolis Park System. And in the late 1880s, he worked to preserve and then design a park for the landscape surrounding Minnehaha Falls. Cleveland designed that landscape made famous by Longfellow’s book-length poem *The Song of Hiawatha* with a light hand. The falls, he felt, should be viewed in a landscape clearly reflecting the existing conditions of the site.

Cleveland moved back to Chicago in the 1890s and died there in 1900. But his legacy lived on. Osian C. Simonds following in that wake incorporated many of Cleveland’s principles in the early development of the Prairie School style. Noteworthy were Simonds’s use of native and common plants and the inspiration found in the direct observation of the landscape.

Cleveland’s life spanned most of the nineteenth century, and his ideas certainly evolved over time. In the Midwest, many of his decisions were driven as much by the rapid pace of technological and industrial change as by any philosophical considerations. Nevertheless, his work and career is arguably the clearest and most direct appropriation of Tran-

scendentalist aesthetic thought in landscape design that can be found during the second half of the nineteenth century.

Emerson, too, had desired practical application of his theories. Why else did he hope that the American landscape might be designed to “stanch and appease that fury of temperament which our [Americans] climate bestows?” For Emerson, the beautiful was indeed useful.

Coda

The aesthetic principles developed by pioneer American landscape architects during the nineteenth century were remarkably similar to many of the ideas expressed in Pückler’s writings and design work. By and large, the similarities cannot be traced to any direct influence but rather were related to analogous circumstances and a shared Romanticism that led to an aesthetic approach that melded utility and beauty. In both cases, practical realities underlain with sophisticated philosophical explorations led to a design aesthetic wonderfully connected to place.

Notes

¹ Samuel Longfellow, *Life of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow* (Boston, 1886), I, 288–89.

² Works by German authors were translated and disseminated to the American public in the *North American Review* edited by Alexander Hill Everett, Edward’s younger brother. For a discussion of Ticknor’s influence on Emerson, see Sigrid Bauschinger, *The Trumpet of Reform: German Literature Nineteenth-Century New England*, Thomas S. Hansen, trans. (Columbia, SC., 1998), 12.

³ Thomas Carlyle to Ralph Waldo Emerson, February 3, 1835, *Correspondence of Emerson and Carlyle*, Joseph Slater, ed. (New York, 1964), 118.

⁴ Bauschinger, *Trumpet of Reform*, 158.

⁵ There are numerous books of this genre published by the Sierra Club and other organizations.

⁶ Daniel Joseph Nadenicek and Catherine Hastings, “Environmental Rhetoric, Environmental Sophism: The Words and Work of Landscape Architecture,” *Environmentalism in Landscape Architecture*, Michel Conan, ed. (Washington, DC., 2000), 141–46.

⁷ Emerson had passed away by the time Olmsted joined the Saturday Club, but his legacy most certainly lived on. Laura Wood Roper, *FLO: A Biography of Frederick Law Olmsted* (Baltimore, 1973), 11, 37, 40, 392.

⁸ Irving D. Fisher, *Frederick Law Olmsted and the City Planning Movement in the United States* (Ann Arbor, 1976), 22–24.

⁹ Fisher, *Olmsted and City Planning*, 60–73.

¹⁰ Ralph Waldo Emerson, *The Complete Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, ed. Edward W. Emerson (Boston, 1904), vol. 7, 48.

¹¹ Fisher, *Olmsted and City Planning*, 77.

¹² Among the list of references found on an early advertisement were George B. Emerson, Emerson’s cousin, and Simon Brown, Emerson’s friend and Concord neighbor.

- ¹³ Robert Morris Copeland, "The Useful and the Beautiful," *New England Farmer*, 6, 10, (October 1854), 475–76.
- ¹⁴ Ralph Waldo Emerson, "Young American," *Nature, Addresses, and Lectures* (Boston, 1893), 354.
- ¹⁵ R. Morris Copeland, *Country Life; A Handbook of Agriculture, Horticulture, and Landscape Gardening* (Boston, 1859), 273
- ¹⁶ R. Morris Copeland, "Useful and Beautiful," 475–76.
- ¹⁷ R. Morris Copeland, "What a Garden Should Be," *New England Farmer*, 1854.
- ¹⁸ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁹ *Ibid.*
- ²⁰ Horatio Greenough, "American Architecture," *United States Magazine and Democratic Review*, 1843.
- ²¹ His first essay "Art" can be found in Emerson, *Complete Works*, vol. 2, and another essay titled "Art" was first published in the *Dial* and was later included in *Complete Works*, vol. 7.
- ²² Charles Metzger, *Emerson and Greenough: Transcendental Pioneers of an American Aesthetic* (Los Angeles, 1954), 33.
- ²³ Vivian Hopkins, *Spires of Form: A Study of Emerson's Aesthetic Theory*, (Cambridge, MA, 1951), 67–70, 91.
- ²⁴ Metzger, *Emerson and Greenough*, 127.
- ²⁵ Emerson, *Complete Works*, 290.
- ²⁶ Horatio Greenough, *Form and Function: Remarks on Art, Design, and Architecture*, Harold A. Small ed. (Berkeley, CA., 1947), 99.
- ²⁷ Emerson, "Young American," 345–46.
- ²⁸ Ralph Waldo Emerson, "Address to the Inhabitants of Concord at the Consecration of Sleepy Hollow," *Emerson Papers*, Houghton Library, Harvard.
- ²⁹ *Ibid.*
- ³⁰ *Ibid.*
- ³¹ *Ibid.*
- ³² *Ibid.*
- ³³ *Ibid.*
- ³⁴ *Ibid.*
- ³⁵ *Ibid.*
- ³⁶ H. W. S. Cleveland, *Landscape Architecture as Applied to the Wants of the West; with an Essay on Forest Planting on the Great Plains* (Chicago, 1873), 16–17.
- ³⁷ H. W. S. Cleveland, *Aesthetic Development of the United Cities of St. Paul and Minneapolis* (Minneapolis, 1888), 12.