Muddy River, Boston, 1920, view up-stream from Longwood bridge, 28 years after construction. © T. Ellison, Boston, photo album 00930-02-ph71. Courtesy of the United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Frederick Law Olmsted National Historic Site.

Landscape architecture according to Olmsted: beyond purifying the air, pacifying the mind

BY CATHERINE MAUMI

Although the works of Frederick Law Olmsted – such as Central Park, Prospect Park, Franklin Park, Riverside – are today widely recognized and appreciated, some of them having, in fact, been the object of important restoration work, the thinking which engendered them is much more unfamiliar, notably due to its complexity. The mission of landscape architecture, as it is defined by Olmsted, is above all social: to improve the living conditions of the population, beginning with the most unfavored. It is not just a matter of providing breathing spaces, but of allowing people to experience places capable of appeasing their minds.

Frederick Law Olmsted (1822-1903), whose life spans the 19th century, is an important witness to the major transformations to have metamorphosed both the cities and the countryside in America. He also proves to be one of the essential actors: he tries to anticipate their evolution and, in order to do so, elaborates an original body of thought that is still up-to-date today. A man of his time, his thinking translates both the contradictions proper to American society of the day and, as well, his unshakeable faith in progress as a vector of democracy. For him, the advance of urbanization signifies a concomitant advancement of civilization. He thus regards positively – *a contrario* to some of his contemporaries – the aggrandizing influence of the urban world on the territory of the United States, while considering, with an always particularly critical eye, how this imposes by the way of great metropolises and industrial cities. In fact, their growth comes with an increment of all sorts of pollution, with a density that only generates insalubrity and stress, of which the first victims are the most fragile and impoverished populations. In each of the reports accompanying the proposed projects, Olmsted never fails to mention the special focus that should be given to the populations of women, children and invalids. The essential mission of the landscape architect consists, according to him, of inventing a new environment capable of assuring the physical and mental well-being of the American population as a whole. His vision is social and sanitary. It is up to the landscape architect to anticipate and organize the unavoidable movement of urbanization in order to offer healthier living conditions to the inhabitants of the great metropolises. Nor does he forget the inhabitants of the countryside, for whom large wilderness reserves are also established. Parks, Parkways, Park Systems, Suburbs and Natural Reserves, representing as many devices conceived with a view to improving the quality of life of the American family and, in this way, its health, both physical and mental.

Such an acceptance of landscape, and of the mission of the landscape architect, cannot be understood without considering Olmsted's political and social commitment. Above all, it was important to him that his work contributed to the basis of democracy in the United States, i.e., that the whole of the population be assured the conditions of life and livelihood worthy of a democracy.

Parks, parkways, park systems and suburbs, to battle the insalubrity of the big city

It is in the name of such commitment that Olmsted rejoins the American Social Science Association, to whom he delivers, in 1870, his paper "Public Parks and the Enlargement of Towns", having a very large influence. He is convinced that scientific and social progress go hand in hand with the dissemination and sharing of the scientific data and discoveries made. Olmsted had, by the way, always sought to surround himself with the best specialists in their fields. As such he regularly solicits the counsel of the engineer George E. Waring Jr. (1833-1898) who had become, ever since their first collaboration on the drainage plans for Central Park, an expert in the field.[1] One of the sciences to particularly influence his practice was medicine. The War of Secession (the American Civil War) had led him to rub shoulders with numerous reputable and committed doctors – such as Elisha Harris (1824-1884) and John H. Rauch (1828-1894) – with whom he remained very close. Therefore, he is perfectly familiar with their works on the conditions of hygiene and salubrity in cities, the maladies caused by fouled air, the sullied waters, but also the excess of stress, of constant noise and of crowding in the streets, progressively obliterating "our ability to maintain a temperate, good-natured, and healthy state of mind".[2]

In fact, the influx of new inhabitants to the big cities most often results in an increase in density, amplifying, in great measure, the sanitary problems. One of the disastrous effects pointed out by Olmsted has to do with the heavy concentration of artificial elements, becoming ever more prejudicial with the increase in compactness because

> *A man's eyes cannot be as much occupied as they are in large cities by artificial things, or by natural things seen under obviously artificial conditions, without a harmful effect, first on his mental and nervous system and ultimately on his entire constitutional organization.*[3]

Changing the structure of cities was, therefore, an urgent necessity for these men, who were equally motivated by the idea that the interests of the public should prevail from then on. "… if Boston continues to grow at its present rate even for but a few generations longer", stated Olmsted, the same going for all major American cities, "more men, women, and children are to be seriously affected in health and morals than are now living on this Continent."[4] Parks, Parkways, Park systems, and suburbs are thus imagined by Olmsted so as to combat the densification at work by proposing a new urban morphology, much more open and aerated, providing the whole of the population with easier contact with the natural elements. Numerous observations confirm then that the visiting of a park provides continued pleasure and wellness, resulting

> *from the feeling of relief experienced by those entering them, on escaping from the cramped, confined and controlling circumstances of the streets of the town; in other words, a sense of enlarged freedom is to all, at all times, the most certain and the most valuable gratification offered by a park.*[5]

Such results are only attained, however, if the park offers an environment that is agreeable and in perfect contrast to that of the cities, permitting visitors to forget the daily constraints and stress.

The mission of the landscape architect is thus that of organizing the inevitable progression of urbanization to come, by combining the natural qualities of the site (which it is important to enhance) with the progress in terms of transport and communication, then access to all of services and commerce that simplifying household tasks, without forgetting "the sewers, gutters, pavements, crossings, sidewalks, public conveyances, and gas and water works."[6] In other words, what Olmsted means by landscape architecture is just as much akin to the future science of urbanism as it is to regional planning in some cases. This is evidenced by the impressive "*Report to the Staten Island Improvement Commission of a Preliminary Scheme of Improvements*" (1871), elaborated with the doctor Elisha Harris, the architect Henry Hobson Richardson (1838-1886) and the civil engineer J. M. Trowbridge, in addition to the assistance of several specialists responsible for providing detailed studies on geological and sanitary conditions, wildlife health, soil composition, water quality, etc. Their proposal consisted of major drainage works to clean up the soil and fight against malaria, which would have the effect of enhancing the quality of the land thus improved. A system of water collectors and reservoirs was also suggested with a view to better management of flows and to constitute sufficient reserves for supplying the population of the island. The other great concern was the improvement of transportation, namely towards Manhattan, so that the suburbs to come would be perfectly connected with the rest of the metropolis. Finally, they proposed to provide the island with an efficient network of routes and *parkways*, so as to transform it into "a city of detached dwellings, with only such shops, stores, factories, and buildings for other purposes, as may, advantageously or inoffensively to the great body of the residents, be associated with them." [7] It is important, explains Olmsted, that the houses be

> *so far apart, that the air of each shall be absolutely free from contamination arising from any other or from the highways; the highways must be so far apart, so spacious, so furnished or flanked with trees that organic waste can not be carried from them, to an injurious extent, into the houses between them; that the air passing across them shall be quickly disinfected or screened of whatever it takes up that is filthy.*[8]

The project for Staten Island was never realized, but Olmsted had the opportunity to deploy his expertise in the matter on several occasions, namely at Boston with the improvements of the Back Bay Fens and that of Muddy River. The question of drainage of the land proves to be primordial for Boston, the city having never stopped claiming land from the ocean waters and the estuary of the Charles River. The viability of the vast intertidal zone of Back Bay remained a crucial problem during the 1870s, most particularly in its western part, known by the name of Back Bay Fens. Essentially consisting of regularly flooded marshes, its brackish waters were polluted by contaminated flows discharged from Muddy River and Stony Brook. For Olmsted, the site proved to be unsuitable for a park such as the inhabitants of Boston wanted. The innovation that he defended held precisely with the fact that he did not propose the creation of a park, but rather a layout focused on regulating the waters and depolluting them. To do so, he conceived, with the aid of the town engineer Joseph P. Davis (1861-1903), an ingenious arrangement that controled the rise of the waters of the Charles River due to tides. The Back Bay Fens were, in this way, transformed into salt marshes. The whole was bordered by trees and bushes, giving the illusion of a park when seen from the town. Flood-gates situated at the mouths of Muddy River and Stony Brook, as well as a new network of sewers and collectors, governed the discharge of used waters into the two waterways and the marsh.[9] In Olmsted's view it was, above all, a matter of sanitary engineering works that were indispensable for such a site to finally become a healthy one. The plants chosen corresponded to the only types capable of resisting and prospering in this hostile wetland environment. According to Anne Whiston Spirn (1947-),

01 Lithographer Julius Bien, artist after John Bachmann, publisher Edmund Foerster & Co, Central Park, New York, 1865, summer. © Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1947, Metropolitan Museum of Art digital collection, public domain.

"Boston's Fens and Riverway were built over nearly two decades (1880s-1890s) as an urban 'wilderness,' the first attempt anywhere, so far as I know, to construct a wetland." According to her, they would have "anticipated by nearly a century the introduction of 'ecological' planning and design in landscape architecture in the 1960s, the recent appreciation of urban 'wilds', and the 'new' field of landscape restoration."[10]

The project for the improvement of Muddy River (1880) – or Riverway – was, in fact, the logical follow-up to that of the Back Bay Fens. It involved restoring the banks of the river, replanting them, rectifying its course at certain spots and depolluting its waters sullied by the discharge of sewage and regulating its flow to avoid floods. It was, therefore, an important sanitation project that sought to improve the valley and transform it into an agreeable place of promenade, whether one traveled by carriage, on horseback or on foot. A new "natural" river landscape was thus invented, conceived as a green corridor linking two stages of the journey: the Back Bay Fens and Jamaica Pond. This corridor in some places runs along marshes and ponds, some of these playing the role of retention basins at times of rising waters so as to prevent floods. What later became known as the Emerald Necklace led to the centerpiece of the "necklace": Franklin Park, laid out at West Roxbury.

The dual curative dimension of the tree

That trees would make the air in cities healthier no longer needed to be demonstrated to the hygienist doctors of the time, who mobilized in numbers for the creation of public parks in large American cities.

> *...it will appear obvious to everyone that tree-planting would not only break the force of the wind, supply warmth in winter, and coolness in summer, and thus moderate the extremes of temperature, but at the same time absorb to a considerable extent, the noxious gases which are generated in every populous city, – supplying oxygen, and thus contributing to the public health*

affirms the doctor John H. Rauch about the city of Chicago, before adding "So intimately are trees associated with man, and so much do they contribute to his happiness and comfort, that their culture should everywhere be encouraged."[11] He believed that their effect is measured at the scale of the entire city and not only at that of the neighborhoods endowed with trees. The works at Riverside were going on while Rauch drafted his essay *Public Parks: Their Effects upon the Moral, Physical and Sanitary Conditions of the Inhabitants of Large Cities; With Special Reference to the City of Chicago*. Such improvements could only receive his approval. On referring to the plans established in 1868 by Olmsted and Vaux, the doctor considered that:

> *Here are to be combined the comforts of the city, in the way of gas, water, drainage, with all the beauties of landscape gardening; and I have no doubt, judging from the report of the architects to the owners, and the work already accomplished, that it will be made one of the finest suburban parks in the country and one of*

the most pleasant and healthful places of residence in the neighborhood of the city.[12]

Olmsted was all the more familiar with Rauch's work because they corresponded at length whilst the doctor drafted his essay.[13] It is therefore not surprising to find, in the text of his lecture "Public Parks and the Enlargement of Towns", a tone and even a vocabulary similar to Rauch's. Taking up the doctor's aguement regarding the virtues of vegetation and sunshine, Olmsted insisted even more specifically on another dimension that, to him, seemed fundamental: beyond purifying the air, trees pacified the mind. Yet if it was enough to plant trees to combat miasmas, it worked differently insofar as mental appeasement was concerned. Therein lay the mission of the landscape architect: to create a landscape capable of influencing the mental state of a person without necessarily being *conscious* of it. According to Olmsted, forms of recreation fitted into two categories: those that encouraged activity, physical or mental, and those that provided pleasure and well-being without one engaging in any conscious act. Chess and sport entered into the first, in the order of *exertive* recreation, with music and fine arts belonging to the second, which is the *receptive* division.[14] So, although it proved relatively easy to conceive recreational spaces that provided the exhausted, oppressed, tormented inhabitants of cities with *direct* benefits (*exertive*) to their health, it was not the same in terms of the *indirect* benefits (*receptive*). The latter were, however, the most important in Olmsted's view, and the landscape architect had a duty to pay particular attention to these places of relaxation which act in an *unconscious* manner on the constitution of the individuals who experience them. The specificity of Olmsted's thought had to do precisely with this point, which would prove particularly difficult for its author to explain and for his fellows to grasp. According to Charles E. Beveridge (1935-), Olmsted created

a comprehensive body of theory about landscape design that was so original that few of his contemporaries grasped its full meaning. His emphasis on the psychological effects of scenery gave his design principles a firm base independent of the "battle of the styles". Not esthetic theory but the very health of the human organism became the touchstone of his art.[15]

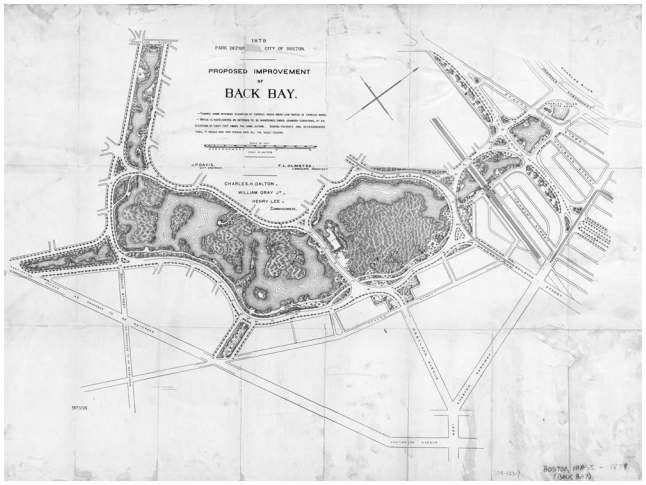
Although an author of numerous works, Olmsted never assembled his thinking on landscape into just one book or treatise, as did many of his contemporaries. It was expressed progressively, within the essays and articles that he wrote throughout his life.

Such a conception of landscape encounters the reigning esthetic theories and the "taste" of the period, which favored, through the infatuation for horticulture, exotic plants and flowers, astonishing the eye with their singular beauty. However, this work of "decoration", of composition of "objects" selected for their exceptional shapes or colors, popularized in Europe and the United States, had nothing to do with landscape architecture for Olmsted, but at its best, with gardening and horticulture. He remained faithful in this to the teachings of William Gilpin (1724-1804), Sir Uvedale Price (1747-1829) and Humphry Repton (1752-1818), by then very much forgotten. Landscape architecture was, according to Olmsted, in search of a different beauty, not perceptible at first glance, or not at all in a *conscious* way. It had nothing to do with imagining a "décor" but rather an overall project making sense over time, as the different species gradually grow and unfold in the space. Such a concept had its origin in the long walks taken during his childhood, in his reading, in his discovery of the landscapes of England. He never stopped defining it, as in the article "Trees in Streets and in Parks", published in 1882 in the *Sanitarian*. If the title seems banal, the contents are less so.

Taking the example of trees lining the streets of a village,[16] which he found "beautiful", he changed his mind whilst reading a book by Charles Blanc, which stated, as explained by Olmsted, "that nature is not beautiful, the word being applicable, in the opinion of the author, only to matters of design."[17] Even if these trees lack the qualities that would serve to define beauty – "order, proportion and unity" – it remained no less true to him that certain among them are of an "extraordinary beauty" rightly due to the "spontaneous growth" that had given them this specific shape, as a result of the richness of the soil. He concluded provisionally: "if the result is not to be called beautiful, it is only because it has more sublimity than beauty."[18] Now, what proved essential was precisely to learn to recognize that plastic quality, specific to the nature of the tree, because it proved to be just as essential to human health as is its capacity to filter the air. He actually deplored the fact that parks were, most often, considered no more than " 'airing grounds,' 'breathing places,' as 'the lungs of London,' and so on", neglecting the fact recognized by "men of science and leaders of public opinion that they were pleasant and useful in other ways, but, until within a few years, these other ways have been considered as of incidental and relatively insignificant value."[19] A park did not just constitute a solution to a sanitary engineering problem – according to an "atmospheric theory"; nor is it just about embellishment. Experience demonstrated, *a contrario*, the erroneous nature of the idea according to which "a park should be but a decorated airing ground, the more decorated at all points the better". Even the public themselves said that they found "in the park something of value not to be thus explained."[20] And this value so difficult to determine proved to be, in Olmsted's view, incompatible with the esthetic choices that are most often favored: "the pursuit of the decorative motive, in planting or otherwise, is in its tendency, destructive of the objects which I claim should be paramount"[21] he affirmed. He explained:

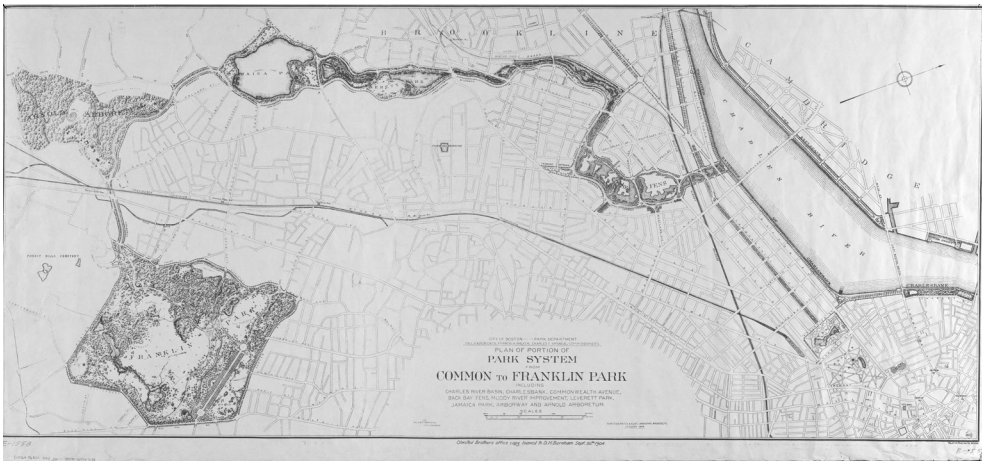
One may go through a park and take account of the decorative value of the trees and all other notable objects in much the same way. But when the inventory is complete, the estimate of the recreative value of the collection will hardly have been begun. In attempting to distinguish the action in the mind, and through the mind upon the entire organization of men, that I suppose should constitute the special recreative and sanative value of large parks,

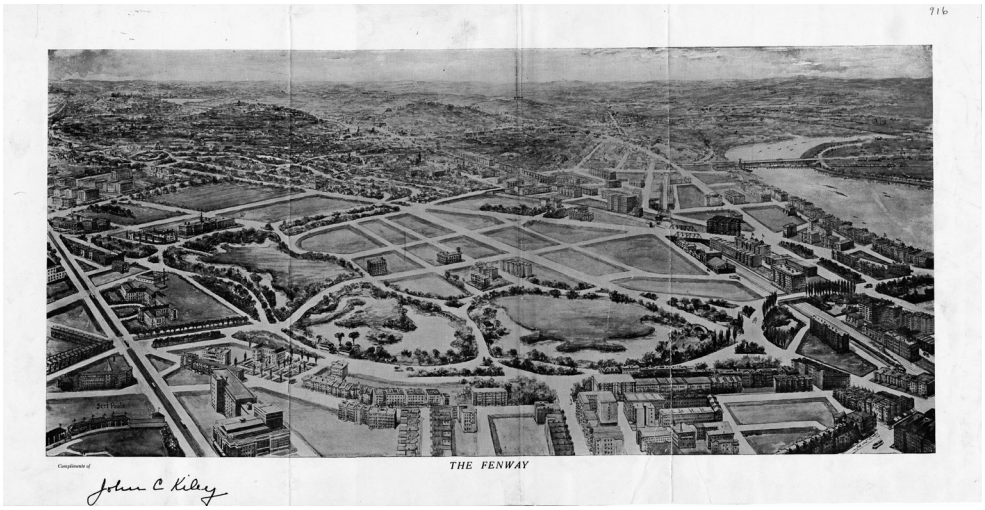
02 Prospect Park, The Long Meadow, Brooklyn, 1902. © (Photographer unknown) photo album 00509-03-ph01. Courtesy of the United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Frederick Law Olmsted National Historic Site.



03 Landscape architect Frederick Law Olmsted; Draftsman Walter Stranders; Engineer J. P. Davis, Proposed improvement of Back Bay, Boston, 1879. © New York Public Library Digital Collections, Lionel Pincus and Princess Firyal Map Division (09-1231).

04 Olmsted, Olmsted & Eliot, Landscape Architects, plan of portion of park system from Common to Franklin Park: including Charles River Basin, Charlesbank, Commonwealth Avenue, Back Bay Fens, Muddy River Improvement, Leverett Park, Jamaica Park, Arborway and Arnold Arboretum, Boston, January 1894. © Boston Public Library, Norman B. Leventhal Map Center.





05 The Fenway, Boston. © John Kiley (date unknown). Courtesy of the United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Frederick Law Olmsted National Historic Site.

I shall be obliged to grope my way in a branch of science in which I have no claim to be adept[22]

This "science" to which he refered reminded him of the readings of his youth. Olmsted had, in fact, been particularly struck by the teachings transmitted in the work[23] of Johann Georg von Zimmermann (1728-1795) *Solitude Considered, with Respect to Its influence on the Mind and the Heart*,[24] in which could be found an interrogation of the ability of nature to act on the mind and to relieve certain troubles of the spirit. Zimmermann attributed this power of landscape over the human spirit to the strength of the imagination. His theory echoed other teaching received from the congregational pastor and theologian Horace Bushnell (1802-1876), close to the Olmsted family,[25] according to whom the human being exerted two kinds of influence: one active, or voluntary, the other unconscious, pouring out of us in an unintentional manner.[26] This second source was unconscious because it was a result of habitual, daily behaviors or gestures rather than intentional or verbal actions; to learn to appreciate it was so much more important in Olmsted's eyes that it is that much more difficult to grasp.

Learning to enjoy the charms of Dame Nature

In this manner, the way in which he observed the spectacle of nature, even his conception of landscape architecture, was not the result "of deliberate intention or by instruction" but rather of unintentional circumstances and the unconscious influence exerted by those around him. These progressively accustomed him to observing and contemplating, for pleasure, rural and picturesque scenery. [27] He liked to remember the silent horseback rides with his father, and his reverential admiration of the nature of New England. "I think that I was largely educated for my profession by the enjoyment which my father and mother (step-mother) took in loitering journeys; in afternoon drives on the Connecticut meadows" he recounted, pointing out that he had thus gained the habit of appreciating the parks and promenades as "an amateur of scenery and so to look upon trees and plants and weeds less from regard to their beauty as such, than from regard to their value as elements of compositions of scenery." [28] This unconscious process between parents and child he was at the time – allowing him ever since to enjoy the plenitude of these landscapes and the well-being they provided – corresponded to that which he tirelessly wished to reproduce, by creating landscapes generating such an *unconscious* emotion, partly mysterious. An emotion similar to that experienced in England, where it was revealed to him that:

Dame Nature is a gentlewoman. No guide's fee will obtain you her favor, no abrupt demand; hardly will she bear questioning, or direct, curious gazing at her beauty; least of all, will she reveal it truly to the hurried glance of the passing traveler, while he waits for his dinner, or fresh horses, or fuel and water; always we must quietly and unimpatiently wait upon it. Gradually and silently the charm comes over us; the beauty has entered our souls; we know not exactly when or how, but going away we remember it with a tender, subdued, filial-like joy.[29]

Landscape architecture, as defined by Olmsted, must provide the American population with the conditions that allow it to live such an experience and to feel a similar joy. Landscape holds a capacity to move someone, analogous to that of music, he believed, if it is conceived with this view in mind. That would suppose excluding from the composition all objects "before which people are called to a halt, and to utter mental exclamations of surprise or admiration" because the effect they have is precisely "to interrupt and prevent, or interfere with processes of indirect or unconscious recreation."[30] The landscape having the maximum wholesome regeneration power was that which aroused the least "conscious cogitation". Thus, a common wildflower amidst other similar ones exerted "a more soothing and refreshing sanitary influence"[31] than that superb rare one coming from Japan. For this reason, the "pastoral" landscape consisting of the arrangement of trees projecting their shadows over vast expanses of grass, or being reflected on the calm surface of the waters, possessed the greatest potential for appeasement according to Olmsted, who insisted:

the circumstances may be recalled that the evil to be met is most apt to appear in excessive nervous tension, over-anxiety, basteful disposition, impatience, irritability, and that the grateful effect of a contemplation of pleasing rural scenery is proverbially regarded as the reverse of this. It is, for example, of the enjoyment of this pleasure, and not simply of air and exercise, that Emerson says, "It soothes and sympathizes," that Lowell says, "It pours oil and wine on the smarts of the mind," and which Ruskin describes as "absolute peace".[32]

These are the conditions of this "absolute peace" that Olmsted strove to create each time in order to pacify, let us say to civilize, the American society of the time.

Note: The topic of this article is being developed into a work to appear soon: Maumi, Catherine, *Frederick Law Olmsted, une poétique du paysage américain*, Editions de La Villette, 2020.

This text was translated into English by Neil Robert Beck.

Notes

1 George E. Waring published, in 1867, the work *Draining for Profit, and Draining for Health.*

2 Frederick Law Olmsted, "Public Parks and the Enlargement of Towns", a paper read before the American Science Association at the Lowell Institute, Boston, 25th February 1870, in Charles E. Beveridge (Ed.), *Frederick Law Olmsted. Writings on landscape, culture and society*, New York, Literary Classics of the United States, 2015, 470.

3 Frederick Law Olmsted, "Notes on the Plan of Franklin Park and Related Matters", Boston, 1886, in Charles E. Beveridge, Carolyn F. Hoffman (Ed.), *The Papers of Frederick Law Olmsted, Supplementary Series,* Vol. 1 "Writings on Public Parks, Parkways, and Park System", Baltimore, John Hopkins University Press, 1997, 475.

4 Frederick Law Olmsted, "Public Parks and the Enlargement of Towns", *op. cit.*, 473.

06 The Muddy River Improvement, Boston, 1890s. © J. G. Langdon, 1892, photo album 00930-01-ph22-02. Courtesy of the United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Frederick Law Olmsted National Historic Site.

07 Franklin Park, Boston. © (Photographer and date unknown), photo album 00918-06-ph143[b] front. Courtesy of the United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Frederick Law Olmsted National Historic Site.

5 Frederick Law Olmsted, VAUX, Calvert, "Preliminary Report to the Commissioners for Laying Out a Park in Brooklyn, New York: Being a Consideration of Circumstances of Site and Other Conditions Affecting the Design of Public Pleasure Grounds", 24th January 1866, in Charles E. Beveridge, Carolyn F. Hoffman (Ed.), *op. cit.*, 83.
6 Frederick Law Olmsted, "Public Parks and the Enlargement of Towns", *op. cit.*, 466.
7 Report to the Staten Island Improvement Commission of a Preliminary Scheme of Improvements", 1871, in Albert Fein, *Landscape into Cityscape. Frederick Law Olmsted's Plans for a Greater New York City*, New York, Van Nostrand Reinhold Company, 1967, 251.
8 *Ibid.*, 199.
9 Nancy S. Seasholes, *Gaining Ground. A History of Landmaking in Boston*, Cambridge, The MIT Press, 2003, 215 and following.
10 Anne Whiston Spirin, "Constructing Nature: The Legacy of Frederick Law Olmsted", in William Cronon (Ed.), *Uncommon Ground. Rethinking the Human Place in Nature*, New York, W. W. Norton & Company, 1996, 104, 108.
11 John H. Rauch, *Public Parks: Their Effects upon the Moral, Physical and Sanitary Conditions of the Inhabitants of Large Cities, With Special Reference to the City of Chicago*, Chicago, S. C. Griggs, 1869, note 79.
12 *Ibid.*, 31.
13 Bonj Szczygiel, Robert Hewitt, "Nineteenth-Century Medical Landscapes: John H. Rauch, Frederick Law Olmsted, and the Search for Salubrity", *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, Vol. 74, No. 4, hiver 2000, 729.
14 Frederick Law Olmsted, "Public Parks and the Enlargement of Towns", *op. cit.*, 476.
15 Charles E. Beveridge, Paul Rocheleau, David Larkin (Ed. by) *Frederick Law Olmsted: Designing the American Landscape,* New York, Universe Publishing, 1998, 30.
16 Probably Brookline, in the Boston area, where he lived from then on.
17 Frederick Law Olmsted, "Trees in Streets and in Parks", *Sanitarian*, September 1882, 513-518, in Ethan Carr, Amanda Gagel, Michael Shapiro, (Ed.), *The Papers of Frederick Law Olmsted,* Vol. 8 "The Early Boston Years, 1882-1890", Baltimore, Johns Hopkins university Press, 2013, 60. The work mentioned by Olmsted is that of Charles Blanc, *L'art dans la parure et le vêtement*, Paris, 1875; it was translated into English in 1877 with the title *Art in Ornament and Dress.*
18 *Ibid.*, p. 61.
19 *Ibid.*, p. 62.
20 *Ibid.*, p. 63.
21 *Ibid.*, p. 63.
22 *Ibid.*, p. 64.
23 Cf. Charles E. Beveridge, "Frederick Law Olmsted's Theory of Landscape Design", *19th Century*, Vol. 3, No. 2, summer 1977, 39-40.
24 Translated and published in English in 1807.
25 Cf. Andrew Menard, "The Enlarged Freedom of Frederick Law Olmsted", *The New England Quarterly*, Vol. 83, No. 3, Sept. 2010, 508-538.
26 Horace Bushnell, *Unconscious influence, A Sermon*, London, Partridge and Oakey, 1852, 4.
27 Letter from Olmsted to Mariana Griswold van Rensselaer, 11th June 1893, in David Schuyler, Gregory Kaliss, Jeffrey Schlossberg (Ed.), *The Papers of Frederick Law Olmsted,* Vol. 9 "The Last Great Projects, 1890-1895", Baltimore, Johns Hopkins university Press, 2015, 645.
28 Letter from Olmsted to Mariana Griswold van Rensselaer, 18th June 1893, *op. cit.*, 654.
29 Frederick Law Olmsted, *Walks and Talks of an American Farmer in England*, New York, George P. Putnam, 1852,155.
30 Frederick Law Olmsted, "Trees in Streets and in Parks", *op. cit.,* 65.
31 *Ibid.*, *op. cit.*, 65.
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