

Comprehensive Endnotes for *Central Park, An American Masterpiece* by Sara Cedar Miller, Harry N. Abrams, Inc., New York, 2003.

Note: Online additions to the text are in **boldface** type.

CHAPTER 2

1. Calvert Vaux, *Villas and Cottages: A Series of Design Prepared for Execution in the United States* (New York, 1857; 2nd ed., 1864, rpt. New York, 1970), 43. See *Country, Park and City*, Chapter 5, for the most complete description to date of the carvings, their execution and their possible sources. “The Heart of the Park” was first used in *The Central Park: Photographed by W. H. Guild, Jr. with Descriptions and A Historical Sketch by Fred. B. Perkins* (New York, 1864), 16.
2. David T. Van Zanten, “Jacob Wrey Mould: Echoes of Owen Jones and the High Victorian Styles in New York, 1853–1865,” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 28 (1969): 41–57.
3. The first mention of Mould is as draughtsman, paid \$70.50 on December 3, 1858, BCCP, *Second Annual Report* (1858), 46 (first illustration of the Terrace), 58. **He was later given the title of assistant architect. Mould and Vaux also worked on the home of Park commissioner John A.C. Gray: Vaux designed the structure; Mould designed the interior.**
4. See BCCP, *Sixth Annual Report* (1862), 62–65.
5. The plan is signed “C. Vaux,” leaving no uncertainty that he is the author. Cook notes that “busts of distinguished Americans” were also intended for the Terrace, *A*

Description, 48. When this was proposed is not specified, but it was never mentioned in any of the commissioners' annual reports.

5A. “Ruskin’s two most acclaimed books...education,” Andrew Jackson Downing, Vaux’s mentor, practiced his principles and passed Ruskin’s aesthetics on to his partner, who would have been exposed to Ruskin’s theories as a young English architect. Mould’s 1860 design for New York’s Trinity Church Parish School—a work contemporary with the Terrace—is credited as being “the first canonical Ruskinian High Victorian building erected in the United States.” Quoted in Van Zanten, 45.

6. Stephen Jay Gould, “Church, Humboldt, and Darwin: The Tension and Harmony of Art and Science,” Franklin Kelly, et al., *Frederick Edwin Church* (Washington, 1989).

97. As noted in the Introduction, Humboldt’s bust greeted visitors as they entered the Park at Scholar’s Gate from 1869 until it was moved to Central Park West and 77th Street in 1982.

7. For Humboldt’s influence on Vaux’s mentor, Andrew Jackson Downing, see Judith K. Major, *To Live in the New World: A. J. Downing and American Landscape Gardening* (Cambridge, 1997), 139–40. **Kowsky suggests that Ralph Waldo Emerson, also an influence on Vaux through Downing, had a “strong impress” on Vaux’s formation of his Terrace program, *Country, Park and City* 126-127. This is indeed another source, though it does not discount Emerson’s possible reliance on Humboldt. Emerson called Humboldt “a universal man,’ proclaiming his faculties ‘all united, one electric chain, so that a universality, a whole French Academy, traveled in his shoes,’ “Humboldt,” in *Miscellanies* (1878, Boston, 1904, 457), quoted in Angela**

Miller, *Empire of the Eye*, 173. John Ruskin, who also subscribed to the unity of nature, rather defensively side-stepped Humboldt's influence in his own work, "Many people will suppose that for several ideas in the chapters on landscape I was indebted to Humboldt's *Kosmos*. Of Humboldt's *Kosmos* I heard much talk when it first came out, and looked through it cursorily; but thinking it contained no material (connected with my subject) which I had not already proposed myself of, I have never since referred to the work. I may be mistaken in my estimate of it, but certainly owe it absolutely nothing." John Ruskin, *Modern Painters*, Volume 3, Appendix, (London, 1856), 34.

8. Alexander von Humboldt, *Cosmos: A Sketch of A Physical Description of the Universe*, translated by E. C. Otté, vol. 2 (New York, 1850; rpt. Baltimore, 1997), 98.

9. See, Ellwood C. Parry III, *The Art of Thomas Cole: ambition and imagination*, (Newark, DE, 1988), 226, for possible literary sources for Cole's cycle, **including the Bible, John Bunyan's popular *Pilgrim's Progress*, and such contemporary poets as Lord Byron, Shelley, Wordsworth, Coleridge and William Cullen Bryant.**

10. Howard S. Merritt, *Thomas Cole* (Rochester, 1969), 35.

11. According to the commissioners' annual reports for the years 1860 through 1868, the first carvings, completed about 1860, were those that featured abstract ornamentation on the facades of the arcade under the 72nd Street drive, also known as Bridge #1. By January 1862 the carvings on the staircase balustrades, their terminal piers, and the screen of piers grouped across the Terrace esplanade were completed. The four large seasonal panels at the top of the stairways were completed by 1867, and all of the Terrace carvings were finished by 1868.

12. See, Michael Wilson, *William Kent: Architect, Designer, Painter, Gardener 1685–1748* (London, 1984), 214.

13. Suggestions to the author that the pentagram might be connected to the Masonic order have been considered. I am grateful to Thomas Savini, Director of the Chancellor Robert R. Livingston Library and Museum, Masonic Hall in New York for confirming that the configuration of stars on the Terrace is not an emblem of the Masonic order.

14. BCCP, *Eighth Annual Report* (1864), 25.

15. For illustrations that show the changes to the plan see: BCCP, *Second Annual Report* (1858), 58; BCCP, *Third Annual Report* (1859), 38. In June, 1860 Olmsted reported that the archway of the Terrace “should be very simple . . . [and] could possibly be built for \$7000 or \$7500,” a probable indication that the commissioners were interested in a less elaborate design, BCCP, *Minutes* (June 8, 1860), 7. By January 1863 when the *Sixth Annual Report* was published, the board of commissioners recognized the Terrace as “the central and main architectural structure of the Park, to which all others were intended to be subordinate, and being, with its connections, the principal place for pedestrians, it seemed fitting that an expenditure should here be made commensurate in some degree with the important relative position that this structure was to hold,” BCCP, *Sixth Annual Report* (1862), 33. A request for the freestanding seasonal sculptures are mentioned in BCCP, *Minutes* (Dec. 11, 1862), 49. The models are described by Mary Garland, Stebbins’s sister, as “Studies ordered by the Park Commissioners of the Seasons to be placed on the pedestals arranged for such figures, on the steps descending from the ‘Mall’ on the Central Park,” in the Emma Stebbins Scrapbook, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC.

16. Burrows and Wallace, *Gotham*, 876.

17. A photograph by W. H. Guild in *The Central Park* shows an American flag flying atop Vista Rock from the wooden tower that predated Belvedere Castle. **In his 1867 rendering of Belvedere Castle (see Chapter 5, p. 162) Vaux also depicted an American flag on the highest tower. Vaux had “strong Union sentiments. At one point he wanted to volunteer to fight. He was also a member of the new Union Club.” I am grateful to Frank Kowsky for this information from personal correspondence, Aug. 15, 2002.**

18. CV to Cook, June 6, 1865, FLOP. **During his work on the Park Vaux had a mentally debilitating episode. In August, 1862, he became delirious, perhaps the result of physical illness—he later referred to the incident as the “infernal typhoid typhoon.” He took several months to recover, and did so at the Bloomingdale Asylum: see *Country, Park, and City*, 160-161.**

19. Ibid.

20. Richard Morris Hunt, *Designs for the Gateways of the Southern Entrances to the Central Park*, Chapter III: [W. Hoppin], “A Letter to the Commissioners of the Central Park,” 1866, 16. Hunt’s conception was most likely influenced by the plan of H. Noury, the eighth entrant to the design competition, whose monumental gateways were very similar (see *Description of Plans*, no. 8).

21. **From June, 1860 through March, 1861, Olmsted and Vaux complied with the commissioners request to draw up designs for the 59th Street entrances at Fifth and Eighth Avenues. By April 1861, the attack of Confederate troops at Fort Sumter tabled the project. Two years went by until February 1863, when the commissioners**

again turned their attention to the two main entrance gates on 59th Street. Several unsigned drawings of the 59th Street gates are in the Municipal Archives. Though attributed to Calvert Vaux, they are not signed or dated. Mould probably would not have entered the competition in support of Vaux. In 1860 in a letter to Chairman Henry Stebbins, Olmsted wrote in a postscript to his letter, “Am I wrong to feel in the least annoyed by the apparent want of confidence of your Committee in bringing ‘professional talent’ on the park without letting me know the motive?” Stebbins assured Olmsted that a member of the Committee, Charles H. Russell, merely wanted his expert advice and that it would subsequently be passed on to Vaux.

See *PFLO*, vol. III, note 13, 271.

22. BCCP, *Seventh Annual Report* (1863), 10.

23. Montgomery Schuyler quoted in Van Zanten, “Jacob Wrey Mould,” 41, note 7.

Olmsted took a temporary leave of absence from his work on the Park during the Civil War to become the Secretary of the U.S. Sanitary Commission, though he returned periodically to work with Vaux. In 1863, he left Washington to manage the Mariposa Mines in California and did not return to New York until November 1865.

24. BCCP, *Eighth Annual Report* (1864), 26–27.

25. [Daniel Wise], *Little Peachblossom: or Rambles in Central Park* (New York, 1873), 40.

26. “God is light, and in Him is no darkness at all. The love of light is more instinctive in the human heart than any other desire connected with beauty.” John Ruskin, *Modern Painters*, vol. 2 (1873), 26. See also William Howitt, *The Book Of The Seasons, Or,*

***The Calendar of Nature*, 1831; Susan Fenimore Cooper, *Rural Hours*, New York, 1850, republished Athens, Ga., 1998.**

27. **“But what about the farmer’s house? ‘Those may be taken for symbols of agriculture or industry.** In placing the grain and the cottage near the spade and the scythe, the artist may have meant to say that from industry come plenty and comfort,” [Wise], *Little Peachblossom*, 40–41.

28. Burrows and Wallace, *Gotham*, 873.

29. Paintings such as Winslow Homer’s *Veteran in a New Field* and George Inness’s *Peace and Plenty*, both painted in 1865 and both in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, reinforce the wheat field as a symbol of the North’s victory over the South as well as the abundance of America and the return to the work of peace time.

30. “[T]he Bible, lamp, and hour glass, obeyed in time secures us a happy life forever. A beautiful thought whether the sculptor meant it or not.” [Wise], *Little Peachblossom*, 40.

31. Quoted in Roger B. Stein, *John Ruskin and Aesthetic Thought in America, 1840–1900* (Cambridge, MA, 1967), 73.

32. John Ruskin, *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* (1880; rpt. of 2nd edition, New York, 1989), 4. **The seven lamps refer to the seven lights of the Jewish menorah in Solomon’s temple of Jerusalem. Michael Wheeler, *Ruskin’s God*, (Cambridge, 1999), 73.**

33. Burrows and Wallace, *Gotham*, 749. **The holiday also marks the time that this world and the netherworld came together, and the dead could return to the places they used to inhabit. The Celtic god of fall/winter, also the lord of the dead, was often depicted as an antlered stag, and the Halloween celebration was often**

accompanied by cakes in the shape of, or decorated with, antlers. The sculptures on the upper and lower Terrace seem often to relate in some way; in this instance, an antlered stag appears directly below the “Night” pier on the lower Terrace.

34. I am grateful to Rita Powell for suggesting this interpretation.

35. Mould had a particular interest in folklore; as a poet and lyricist, he had set his poem, “The Sea King’s Bride,” about the Scandinavian water-king Necken to music by Jakob Ahlstrom.

36. In 1864 the Board announced it would depart from “its general determination not to make any considerable expenditure in the purchase or procurement of statuary or works of art. See BCCP, *Eighth Annual Report* (1864), 7.

37. Much of Stebbins’s work is lost, but a scrapbook of her work in the Archives of American Art of the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC, contains photographs of a variety of sculpted angels that she had created, such as *Sandalphon*, a “child’s angel.”

38. The printed announcement is in the Stebbins Scrapbook; see also, DPP, *Third Annual Report* (1873), 8.

39. According to J. E. Wrigley, *Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. B, “Bethesda,” 347, (Washington, DC, 2003), “Excavations have revealed the outlines of a large, oblong pool provided with five porches, 4 lateral and a fifth central to divide the pool into two parts.” Wrigley’s entry also cites J. T. Milik [*Revue Biblique* 66 (1959) 347–48] who believes that “Bethesda” is from byt’ šdtyn in the reading of the Copper Scroll (11.12) found among the Dead Sea Scrolls, which he translates as “a rectangular double reservoir.” On nineteenth-century excavations, see W. D. Davies, Eric M. Meyers, and Sarah Walker Schroth, *Jerusalem and the Holy Land Rediscovered: The Prints of David Roberts (1796-*

1864) (Durham, NC, 1996), 116. **In 1841 Edward Robinson, an American explorer and founder of Biblical Archeology, published a guide to Jerusalem that was instantly popular in English and German. “The Pool of Bethesda,” Robinson says that the measurements of the real Jerusalem Pool are incompatible with the Biblical measurements in Scripture. Jerome and Eusebius speak of a *piscina probatica* shown in their day as Bethesda, a double pool. “The eagerness of the early monks to give scriptural names to every prominent feature of Jerusalem has affixed the title ‘Pool of Bethesda’ to the reservoir on the north of the great mosque.” Edward Robinson with Reverend Eli Smith, *Biblical Researches in Palestine, Sinai, Arabia, Petraea and Adjacent Regions*, 1841, 42. In 1851, a Broadway Georama opened in New York City featuring pictures of John Banvard’s *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the Holy Land*, information that would have been accessible to Stebbins.** In the submissions by H. Hoffman and C. Wehle to the design competition, the authors proposed “a high monument representing a figurative image of the Croton river pouring water on the city,” for a location between the two reservoirs; see *Description of Plans*, “The New York Central Park, According to the Design of H. Hoffman and C. Wehle,” entry no. 31, 9.

40. Susan E. Cayleff, *Wash and be Cured: The Water-Cure Movement and Women’s Health* (Philadelphia, 1987), 2.

41. A bottle of Bethesda Springs water is on exhibit at the New Orleans Pharmacy Museum. The label depicts an angel hovering over a round basin of water with the cupola of a building in the background.

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42. Marilyn Symmes, *Fountains: Splash and Spectacle: water and design from the Renaissance to the present* (New York, 1998), 88.
43. FLO to John Olmsted, Nov. 15, 1860; quoted in Laura Roper, *FLO: A Biography of Frederick Law Olmsted* (Baltimore, 1973), 151.
44. Henry James, *William Wetmore Story and His Friends* (Boston, 1903; rpt. New York, 1957), 257.
45. Lillian Faderman, *Surpassing the Love of Man: Romantic Friendship and Love between Women, from the Renaissance to the Present* (New York, 1981), 16.
46. Elizabeth Milroy, “The Public Career of Emma Stebbins: Work in Marble,” *Archives of American Art Journal* 33, no. 3 (1993): 4 and note 14, 11–12.

Looking back after Cushman’s death, she compared herself to “a soft-shelled crab, before his new integument has hardened, very vulnerable, but I have been that all my life, forced by circumstances into hard-shelled positions;” quoted in Elizabeth Milroy, *Work in Bronze*, 11.

47. **Despite the sculpted breasts, a character in *Little Peachblossom* refers to the angel as male, “How prettily the water bubbles up at his feet. He seems to be pointing to the water,”** [Wise], *Little Peachblossom*, 202. A photograph of the pedestal for Stebbins’s bust of Cushman in the Stebbins Scrapbook reveals that the artist placed a bas-relief of an angel embracing personifications of “Comedy” and “Tragedy”—the traditional symbols for actors—directly beneath the bust of the actress.

47A. “In 1870, in Rome.” According to Jane Markus, *Across an Untried Sea: Discovering the Lives Hidden in the Shadow of Convention and Time* (New York,

2000), “the heroic treatment” that was only vaguely described by Emma Stebbins in her memoir of Charlotte Cushman was not a mastectomy but a lumpectomy of her left breast. In 1870 Marcus describes the tumor as having reappeared in that same breast (p. 257). Marcus’ text describes in great detail Cushman’s treatments and suffering.

48. “She has adopted for her subject the appropriate and beautiful idea of the Angel of the Waters, hallowed to the Christian’s imagination by the miracle beside her pool of Bethesda,” Henry T. Tuckerman, *Book of the Artists: American Artist Life* (New York, 1867), 603.

49. Milroy, “The Public Career of Emma Stebbins: Work in Bronze,” *Archives of American Art Journal* 34, no. 1 (1994): 11.

50. A poem by Oliver Wendell Holmes written in 1861, just after the attack on Fort Sumter, uses the metaphor of healing water for a broken country:

**“Our union is river, lake, ocean and sky,
Man breaks not the medal, when God cuts the die!
Though darkened with sulphur, through cloven with steel,
“The blue arch will brighten the waters will heal.”** See *Empire of the Eye*, 10.

In 1980, the newly established Central Park Conservancy fittingly adopted the fountain as an appropriate logo for the healing of Central Park.

51. Vaux, *Villas and Cottages*, 43.

52. Ruskin, *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*, 217.

53. DPP, *First Annual Report* (1871), 15–16. No photographs of the flooring and ceiling together are known to exist, though there is a reference to them in DPP, *Minutes* (May 29, 1878), 54. In 1986, during routine maintenance by the Central Park Conservancy, a few broken pieces of floor tile were uncovered at the northern threshold of the arcade,

though their design was not similar to the one on the ceiling. The Central Park Conservancy will begin the complete restoration of the entire ceiling in 2004.

54. Historian John Howat states that the statue was on exhibit in the Park's Mount St. Vincent Museum; see John K. Howat, "Private Collectors and Public Spirit: A Selective View," *Art and the Empire City: New York 1825–1861* (New York, 2000), 102–03, from information in Tuckerman, *Book of the Artists*, 313; The commissioners comment, however, that "The Statue of Flora, by Crawford, presented by the late R. K. Haight, Esq., has not been delivered at the Park," in BCCP, *Ninth Annual Report* (1865), 42, and there is no mention of the sculpture in any subsequent annual report. It is presumed that the sculpture was never presented to the Park after Haight's death.