Eden

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Above: Soon after the Kuhns House was completed in 1964, Richard Neutra visited to help with interior paint selections, recalled the young daughter, then Laura Kuhns. With his wife Dione, Neutra often visited his houses and clients; here he is looking up at the house from the hillside below. Photo by John Lary Kuhns, courtesy Laura Kuhns Moody and Scott Moody.

Eden

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The Grace Miller residence in Palm Springs, 1937. The flagstone pavers temper the irrevocable boundary between "Die Wüste," as Neutra referred to the native desert, and the (very!) suburban lawn, imported from the East Coast. Julius Shulman photographer. © J. Paul Getty Trust. Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles (2004.R.10).

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"The Landscape Architect Cannot Come Later!"

Richard Neutra's Faith in Landscape

DR. BARBARA LAMPRECHT

In *Mystery and Realities of the Site,* Neutra wrote that "the living space sweeps on through and reaches out for miles until finally it is closed off by the mountains. At the Tremaine House in Montecito, the mountain, indeed, is the back wall of this stupendous living room." Note the two "Boomerang" chairs on the elegant terrace, chairs Neutra designed in 1942 for the low-cost wartime housing known as Channel Heights and later introduced for the "do-it-yourselfer" in *Woman's Day* in April 1942. Julius Shulman photographer. © J. Paul Getty Trust. Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles (2004.R.10).

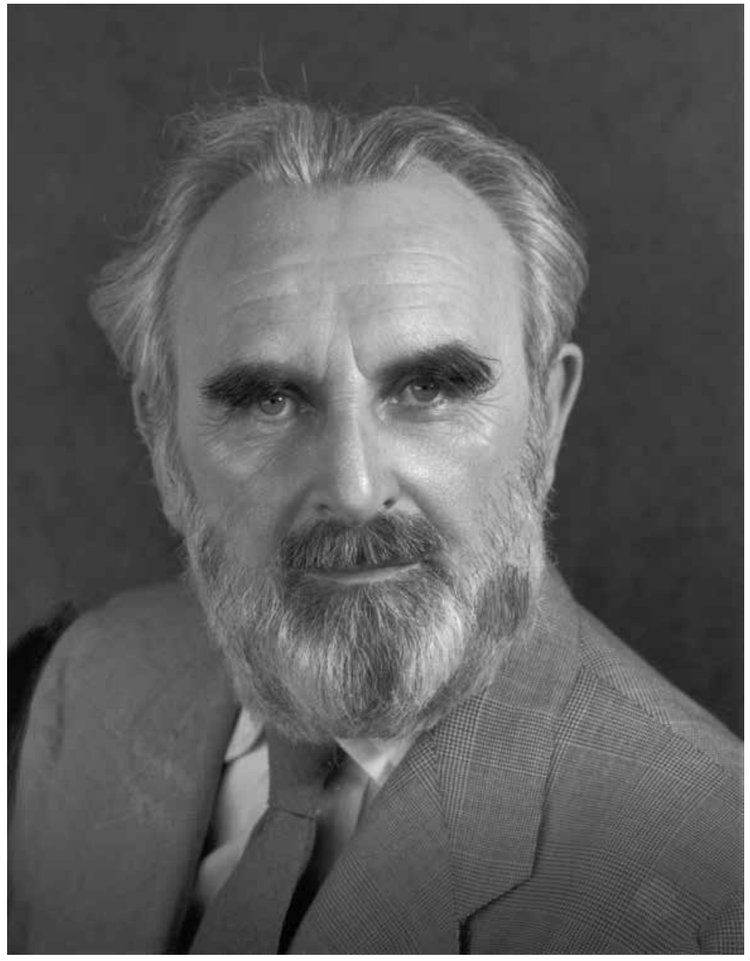
Today there is overwhelming evidence that environments containing qualities of nature foster human well-being. Richard Neutra fused his early training in gardening, landscape design, and especially nineteenth-century landscape theory with his lifelong study of evolutionary biology, neuroscience, Gestalt aesthetics, psychology, and especially "experimental psychology," disciplines that proved a quantitative relationship between the senses and the environment.[1] Neutra's genius was in recognizing that these two disciplines were often saying the same things from vastly different places. His architecture harnesses that convergence. While his cool, sleek forms are canonically Modern, his is an ideology of biology. This essay illuminates his work in Southern California, including a gallop tour of his early training in Europe that framed and fed his exquisite approach to "the site."

Neutra's Faith in Landscape

Less than three months before his death, with the very first words of his inaugural speech to the annual meeting of the American Society of Landscape Architects (ASLA) on January 24, 1970, Richard Neutra (1892–1970) linked ancient settings with the work of contemporary landscape architects.2 "Why," he asked his audience, "is Uganda, this country in central East Africa, important to landscape architects? Because as we now know, from Mr. Leakey and Ardrey and others, this is the country of origin of the human species … Humans came down from the crowns of the trees, walking over the meadows of Uganda."3 Neutra was referring to what is known as the Savanna Hypothesis, which argues that components of the landscape on which humans evolved are part of our genetic ancestry. That landscape, which included broad, open views extending to the horizon line, copses of trees, expanses of brush and grasses and bodies of water, was associated with survival. According to some evolutionary biologists, cognitive neuroscientists, and landscape theorists, because our brains and bodies retain that ancestry, such qualities must appear in contemporary settings in order to realize our full humanity and to harness all our senses. Neutra ardently believed this to be the case and sought to incorporate such qualities in his work.

At that same 1970 lecture to the ASLA, Neutra urged landscape architects to take more responsibility for human well-being.[4] For example, while "living walls" are quite fashionable today, Neutra ushered nature into the office corridor a half-century ago, calling for "building living walls, hydroponic walls." Notably, these walls were not just to be *visually* alive with greenery "drowning in chlorophyll," but to also release oxygen and to appeal to the

Above: Neutra came to California for many reasons, chief among them that it embodied an "ancient anthropological memory [of its] "salubrious African incubator." (Nature Near, 1982, 30.) The savanna included the horizon, copses of diaphanous trees, bodies of water, and grasslands: nature near, mid-range, and distant.



Right: Neutra sporting an unusual – and temporary – ornament: a beard. Julius Shulman photographer. © J. Paul Getty Trust. Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles (2004.R.10).

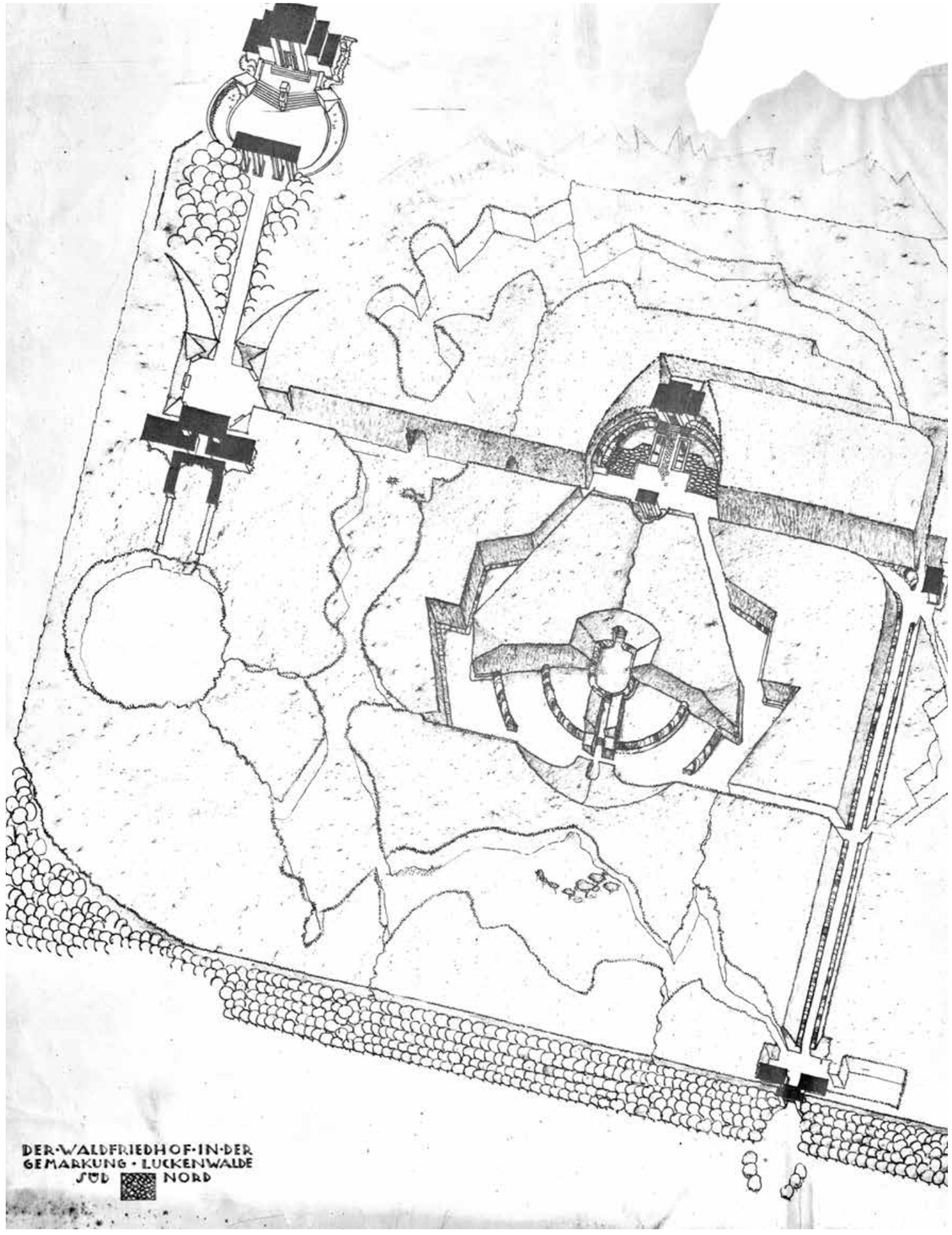
Opposite: The first and last time Neutra employed a literal image (a scarab beetle, popular during the Egyptian Revival of the 1920s) to develop a site plan. Plan, Richard Neutra, Luckenwalde Waldfriedhof, Luckenwalde, Germany, 1921. Courtesy Neutra Institute for the Survival Through Design (NISTD); Courtesy Richard and Dion Neutra Papers, Library Special Collections, Charles E. Young Research Library, UCLA.

ear. With "the auditory sounds of twittering birds and insects—they are very interesting too—they make pedestrianism possible, plausible … Even the walk to the bathroom should be pleasant."[5]

Neutra knew something about this, having presented that very suggestion to the administrators of his Orange County Courthouse, Santa Ana, 1967.[6] He also urged the administrators to enrich spaces typically overlooked as secondary, such as stair landings, in order to facilitate spontaneous conversations. Landings would become "wonderfully colourful, over-greened galleries …"[7] By making these "mere passageways" more meaningful, valuable, and psychologically and physiologically refreshing, Neutra was also "stretching space," not just visually, as when he would extend the eye into the landscape and out to a horizon line, but in providing more and different habitable spaces to use and explore. (Although he vigorously made his case for the positive "various behavioral and biological issues involved," the courthouse administrators declined.[8])

Neutra's speech to American landscape architects crowned a long relationship with the discipline. In a 1937 exhibition, "Contemporary Landscape Architecture and its Sources," the San Francisco Museum of Art explored the possibilities of a new, Modern intimacy between architecture and landscape architecture.[9] Neutra was one of just five individuals (and only three architects) invited to contribute his thoughts for the accompanying catalog. As was his wont—in his assumption that everyone was as cosmopolitan as he—he began by blithely noting an obscure poem on the Alps written by naturalist and botanist Albrecht von Haller (1708 – 1777) and the call of "back-to-nature" of one of his heroes, Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712 - 1778.)[10] Brushing away the "sentimental romance" of the British, and the garden as the "formal plaything" of the French, he firmly realigned the entire purpose of landscape, as a "biologically minded appreciation of the soil, in which all life is rooted and must remain rooted, to succeed."[11] Citing the Japanese approach to landscape (his preference since his triumphal visit to Japan in 1930), he notes that the "planting of the often tiny yards offers a glimpse of the biological universe …" Neutra concluded his fiery little essay with advocating gardens with plants not "assembled like a masquerade garden;" but rather, that would be *realistic* in acknowledging soil conditions, climate, and, above all, in conferring "biological decency."[12]

Neutra died on April 16, 1970. In May, an unidentified eulogizer, possibly his wife Dione, wrote, "Here starts a new architecture that tried to understand the plant and the natural setting … ."[13]



TAFEL DER AUF DEN WALDFRIEDHOF BESTIMMTEN PFLANZEN+

KONIFEREN

1 ZWERGKIEFERN DUNKLE BENADELUNG
PINUS PUMILIO BAISON
PINUS PUMILIO HAENCKE

2 BERGKIEFER- KNIEHOLZ
PINUS MONTANA

3 LANGNADEL-KIEFERN
PINUS FLEXILIS

4 NORMALE KIEFERN
PINUS SILVESTRIS
PINUS BANKSIANA

5 WACHOLDER GRAU U. GRÜN, BREIT U. HOCH
JUNIPERUS COMMUNIS
JUNIPERUS CHINENSIS PFITZNERI
JUNIPERUS VIRGINIANA
JUNIPERUS SABINA
JUNIPERUS TAMARISCIFOLIA

6 WEICHÄSTIGE TANNE ALS BREITER STRAUCH
TSUGA CANADENSIS.

LAUBHÖLZER

7 HELLVERFÄRBTES LAUB
ACER NEGUNDO FOLVAR. ARGENTEA/BUNT/
SAMBUCUS NIGRA FOL VAR. ARGENTEA
KERRIA JAPONICA FOL VAR. AUREA.
CORNUS ALBA ARGENTEIMARGINATA

8 HELL-SILBRIGES LAUB.
POPULUS ALBA NIVEA ALS BUSCH
HIPPOPHAEA RHAMNOIDES
ELAEAGNUS ARGENTEA

9 ALS FUSSDECKEND AN LILIEREN U BÄUMCHEN
DUNN BEERENTRAGEND ODER BUNTES HERBSTLAUB
COTONEASTER PYRACANTHA
BERBERIS VULGARIS ATROPURPUREA
BERBERIS STENOPHYLLA U. THUNBERGII
PRUNUS SEROTINA
ILEX AQUIFOLIUM U. MAHONIA
ILEX PYRAMIDALIS
SPARTIUM SCOPARIUM BESENGINSTER
SPIRAEA VAN HOUTEI
SPIRAEA FILIPENDULA

10 LAUBHÖLZER IN BLÜTE WIRKEND
GELB:
SALIX CAPREA ZUR BIRKE
FORSYTHIA SUSPENSA
LABURNUM WATERERI
CARAGANA JUBATA
CARAGANA ARBORESCENS PENDULA
COLUTEA ARBORESCENS
RÖTLICH:
TAMARIX TETRANDA

11 BASTARDALPENROSEN
WEISS BIS BLASSLILA
RHODODENDRON T.J.R. SEIDEL
BISMARCK
EMIL
GENOVEVA
HUMOR
MRS. JOHN CLUTTON
ALBERT
CAESAR
DOLLAR
FARNESE
HYMEN
GLORIOSUM

12 RHODODENDRON HYBRIDE
CUNNINGHAMS WHITE

13 AZALIEN
WEISS U. RAHMFARBEN
AZALEA PONTICA
AZALEA DAVIESI

ROSEN

14 POLYANTHA GELBLICHROSA
GRUSS AN AACHEN
ORLEANSROSE.
JESSIE ROT

15 RANKROSE
DOROTHY PERKINS

16 WILDROSEN
ROSA CANINA

BODENBEDECKUNG NIEDR. STRÄUCHER
17 CALUNA VULGARIS
ERICA CARNEA U. CARN. ALBA
ERICA HERBACEA

STAUDEN

18 TEPPICHE
VINCA MINOR
SEDUM SPURIUM
SEDUM CAUCASICUM
STACHYS LANATA WEISSER FILZ
CERASTIUM
ARMERIA
DIANTHUS PLUMARIS
AUBRIETIA
HYPERICUM
OENOTHERA
ERYNGIUM
ALPINE ARABIS

19 GRÄSER
HOLCUS LANATUS
BROMUS ERECTUS
FESTUCA OVINA

20. BLÜTENSTAUDEN VON EINIGER HÖHE
GYPSOPHILA, WEISSER BLÜTENSCHLEIER
ASTER ERICOIDES 'HERBSTMYRTE'
ASTILBE GUREN ALEXANDRA
ANCHUSA MYOSOTIDIFLORA
ANEMONE NEMOROSA
ANEMONE JAPONICA
LUPINUS RITRO
ECHINOPS SPHAEROCEPHALUS
THALICTRUM AQUILEGIFOLIUM
ERIMURUS ROBUSTUS
CHIONODOXA LUCILIAE
SAPONARIA OCYMOIDES

21 ZWIEBELPFLANZEN
IRIS HISPANICA
CROCUS VERNUS
LEUCOJUM VERNUM
NARCISSUS WEISS
LILIUM CANDIDUM

22 SCHLINGGEWÄCHSE
HUMULUS LUPULUS AUREUS
CLEMATIS VITALBA
GLYCINIA WISTERIA
LONICERA CAPRIFOL U ROSEN).

ALLGEMEINE GESICHTSPUNKTE: DIE GRADLINIGEN WEGE WERDEN IN BUNTER ABWECHSLUNG BESÄUMT NACH ABSATZ 1, 2, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 14, 16, 17, 18, 20 /-/-/ DIE LICHTUNGEN WERDEN MÖGLICHST EINHEITLICH MIT HELLVERFÄRBTEN LAUBSTRAUCHERN EINGEFASST. NACH ABSATZ 7, 8, /-/-/ DIE REGELMÄSSIGEN LICHTUNGEN DES MITTELTEILS BEKOMMEN AUSSERDEM EINEN DURCHGEHENDEN HECKENSAUM VON PRUNUS SEROTINA. /-/-/ SOLITÄRBÄUME, BAUMGRUPPEN U. BAUMKETTEN WERDEN NACH ABSATZ 1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 14, 16, 17, 18, 20, 21. UNTERPFLANZT ODER VON SCHLINGGEWÄCHSEN ÜBERSPONNEN ABSATZ 15, 22. /-/-/ ALLE NICHT BETONTEN FREIFLÄCHEN MIT TEPPICHEN NACH ABSATZ 17 /-/-/ IN WIESENFLÄCHEN WIE AUF DER KAPPELLENLICHTUNG WERDEN ZWIEBELPFLANZEN U. ANEMONEN IN FAMILIEN EINGESTREUT. ABSATZ 20, 21. /-/-/ DER FUSS VON GEHÖLZGRUPPEN WIRD MIT STAUDENGÜRTELN UMGEBEN, DESGL. MIT POLYANTHAROSEN. ABSATZ 14, 20 /-/-/ AM STEINBORDEN UND STUFEN KOMMT EIN SILBERNER BESATZ VON CERASTIUM U. STACHYS LANATA. ABSATZ 18 /-/-/ IM SCHATTEN BILDET SEDUM SPURIUM TEPPICHE +

Opposite: Neutra designed peaceful clearings for the graves; other markers sheltered by the forest trees. Photo by author.

Left: Neutra's "Tafel," or table of designated plants for the forest cemetery. He also created maintenance plans for the gardening staff. Courtesy Neutra Institute for the Survival Through Design (NISTD); Courtesy Richard and Dion Neutra Papers, Library Special Collections, Charles E. Young Research Library, UCLA.

Genius Loci: Recognizing the Latent Qualities of the Site

This drawing of attention to both ancient landscape and to a contemporary human's natural surroundings is best expressed in Neutra's book, *Mystery and Realities of the Site*. Published in 1951, the slender book is the antithesis of *Survival Through Design,* whose academic prose is dense with science's potential for architecture. By contrast, *Mystery and Realities of the Site* is a layperson's primer. Short on words and generous with images, it is an homage to the natural setting, encouraging the reader to seek out a site's "peculiar physiognomy" and *genius loci*. Neutra writes of those "elaborate conciliatory rituals" early humans went through to propitiate their gods when they chose a locus. He muses on contemporary culture's spiritual loss in its carelessness in site consideration. Filled with poetical allusions, Neutra consistently champions the same factors—the opposition to formal solutions and the embrace of real conditions—that he raises in *Survival Through Design:*

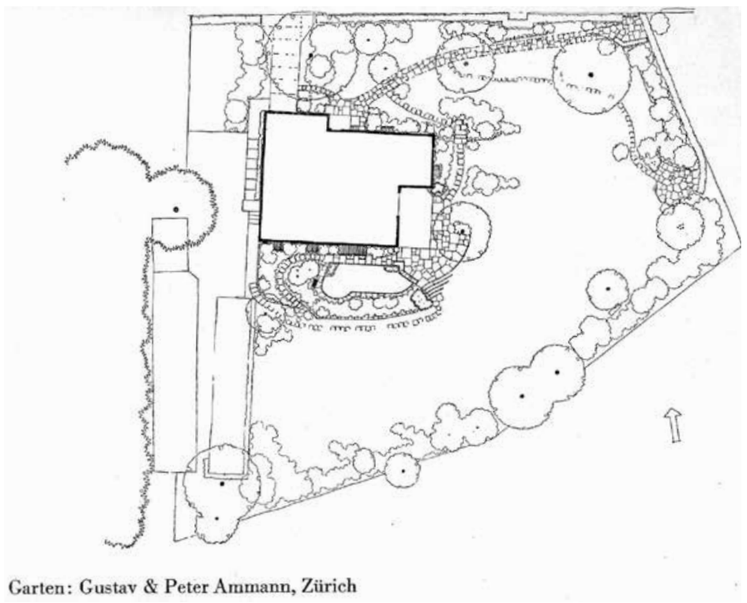
> "My experience, everything within me, is against an abstract approach to land and nature, and for the profound assets rooted in each site … Are we engaging, perhaps, in a sentimental reversion to primitive animism and in superstitions which block the glorious traffic of our technological civilization, given over to harder facts? There are no harder or more forceful facts than those of biology and survival.'

Thus, just like the "primitives," Neutra called for an equally sacred attitude to the site. However, such reverence was not based on appeasing the gods but on exploiting a site's potential to respond to human biological needs. His next book, with his architect son and partner Dion Neutra and published posthumously in 1974, was titled *Pflanzen Wasser Steine Licht* [Plants Water Stone Light.] Their images are a revelation in the earthy but exquisitely crafted role of materials in forging the intimacy between building and site. The volume conveys the unusual porosity of Neutra's composition, that is, the building melded with the landscape and nature in many ways. That porosity rests on two factors: his convictions about the timeless neurological relevance of ancient human settings, but also, and more practically, simply because he learned about plants, gardens, site design, and emerging landscape theory just after World War I when there was little work for starving architects.

Neutra's First Design Project: A Forest Cemetery

In 1958, Neutra was interviewed as part of a University of California at Berkeley study exploring creativity in famous architects.[15] One question was, "When did you feel you had arrived as an architect?" Neutra named two projects.[16] One, predictably, was the Kaufmann Desert House, Palm Springs, 1946. The other, however, took me aback. "When I did this cemetery in Germany."[17]

The cemetery, a quiet forested setting located thirty kilometers southwest of Berlin, is called Luckenwalde Waldfriedhof. Luckenwalde is a small 12th-century feudal city; Wald means "forest" and "Friedhof" literally, a place of peace. The new job, that also included housing, followed his first paid work as a lowly assistant in a nursery, the famous Froebel Nursery.[18] The lead gardener was a man named Gustav Ammann (1885 – 1955.) Now beloved as one of Switzerland's finest twentieth-century landscape architects, Ammann was not just a great nurseryman but embodied the mid-nineteenth century shift from plant husbandry and upscale garden design to the new discipline of landscape architecture. (He was also kind; giving the poor veteran the roam of his vegetable garden, and years later, loaned him money to help his protégé get to America.)[19] The "microscopically paid apprentice job" was to serve Neutra for the rest of his life.[20] Ammann tutored him in the soil requirements for trees and shrubs. On his knees, Neutra made cuttings and placed them in little wooden boxes. He made "very detailed space-time drawings" and learned to organize plants according to growth, size, color, and season of bloom.[21] He built plywood contour maps,



Garten: Gustav & Peter Ammann, Zürich

joined in theoretical discussions, and visited Zurich's Botanical Gardens.

Amman actively participated in emerging theoretical discussions on the ethics of landscape architecture for a new century of servantless, middle-class households, and in turn shared them with Neutra. Amman's colleagues in this fertile dialogue included land economist and urban planner Werner Hegemann (1881 – 1936); the American park designer and planner Charles Eliot (1859 – 1897) who wrote articles for *Garden and Forest* and worked for Frederick Law Olmsted and later became a partner in a new successor firm Olmsted, Olmsted, and Eliot; Karl Foerster (1874 – 1970), horticulturist, plant breeder, and designer of naturalistic gardens;[22] gardener, and landscape architect, and zealous polemical theorist Leberecht Migge (1881 – 1935.) Each of these figures promoted the role of the physical landscape as a factor in human well-being, a concept that Neutra later explored himself, finding additional rationales based in modern theories of environmental psychology and evolutionary biology.[23]

Docking in Liverpool to begin a restorative English walking tour, Olmsted's rambles led him to Birkenhead Park, Merseyside, 1847, after a baker begged him not to miss the new park. Its "constant varying surface," views, and the park's feeling of naturalness shocked the young journalist, his profession at the time.[24] Nothing was static. Parks for *hoi polloi,* it seemed, were not to be an afterthought but refreshing; with copious notes on all he saw, Olmsted took that epiphany home and into the parks he later designed with Calvin Vaux. Landscape architectural historian Noel Vernon notes that the landscape gardener and horticulturalist Adolph Strauch (1822 - 1883), the greatest of the landscape designers associated with the development of Spring Grove Cemetery in Cincinnati, employed openness, groups of trees, lakes, and undulating surfaces into his landscape design.[25] Ever the avid researcher, and seeking persuasive precedents, Neutra in turn cited Strauch's cemetery in his persuasive little document presented to the Luckenwalde city fathers, complete with a maintenance plan. Decades later (and apparently having no knowledge of Olmsted's own writings on Birkenhead Park), Neutra used almost the same phrase, "constant subtle change" "to describe the needs of the human nervous system as evolved in ancient landscapes."[26] As many studies have shown, beginning with the geographer Jay Appleton's 1975 book, *The Experience of Landscape* and hundreds of other researchers such as leading psychologists James A. Wise and Rachel and Stephen Kaplan, humans perform best in environments that are fairly reliable, open and easily visible to spot food, mate, or foe, while other parts of the environment may change abruptly. Our brains need that backdrop of stability in order to use cognitive functions to address more urgent changes that might mean life or death, such as a sudden change in the grasses that portended a predator. That dialectic of stability and change was part of the Savanna Hypothesis. Thus, for evolutionary biologists, distant views were not a luxury for rich aristocrats as they had been before public parks became popular, but a means of assessing an environment's potential for survival.

The weaving and interweaving continue. Eliot advocated for the viewing of scenery because of its positive psychological and hygienic effects for urban dwellers.[27] Neutra concurred, urgently so, but as a believer in science, he sought quantifiable evidence for this assertion; in any case, access to nature was important because it resonated with needs of our primal nervous systems, not especially because it was romantic!

In his acclaimed *Ein Parkbuch: Amerikanische Parkanlagen [A Park Book: American Parks],* Hegemann considered Olmsted's design for the 527-acre Franklin Park. He marveled at the view "*toward forms further away* [author's italics], thus awakening a satisfying feeling of *the endless* [Hegemann's italics]," that could counter the insularity of urban life.[28] He emphasized the desire to "experience *depth* as a sublime expansiveness" rather than the preciousness of the pastoral picturesque tableaux."[29] Here Hegemann's observations about "the endless" and the physical experience of "depth," and the resultant emotional quality of the sensorial satisfaction of a "sublime expansiveness," were exactly Neutra's objectives. Neutra, however, grounded his preference for "endless views" on the importance of the horizon in the eastern African landscape and the tenets of the Savanna Hypothesis.

Migge, Ammann, and Neutra all extended walls of varying heights into space, that is, into the landscape, as masonry *Zwischenglieder* [literally, a between-link, or interstitial link.] As landscape architecture historian David Haney notes:

> The penetration of the building envelope was of course a primary focus in Migge's architectural discussion. The in-between spaces, or Zwischenglieder, provided spatial connections between interior and exterior (e.g., sliding glass doors, bay windows, etc.). Glass was conceived as a "substitute for the south, the sub-tropical, the spiritual; paradise, the practical: the winter garden of the common man."[30]

Instead of using walls conventionally (that is, to fence off property), they championed

Opposite top: Gustav Ammann devoted a chapter to "Water in Gardens" in his 1955 book, writing that the "mirror-like pool of water brings a touch of magic to the garden and landscape." Gustav and Peter (son) Ammann, *Blühende Garten*, "Water in the Garden," 141. Undated.

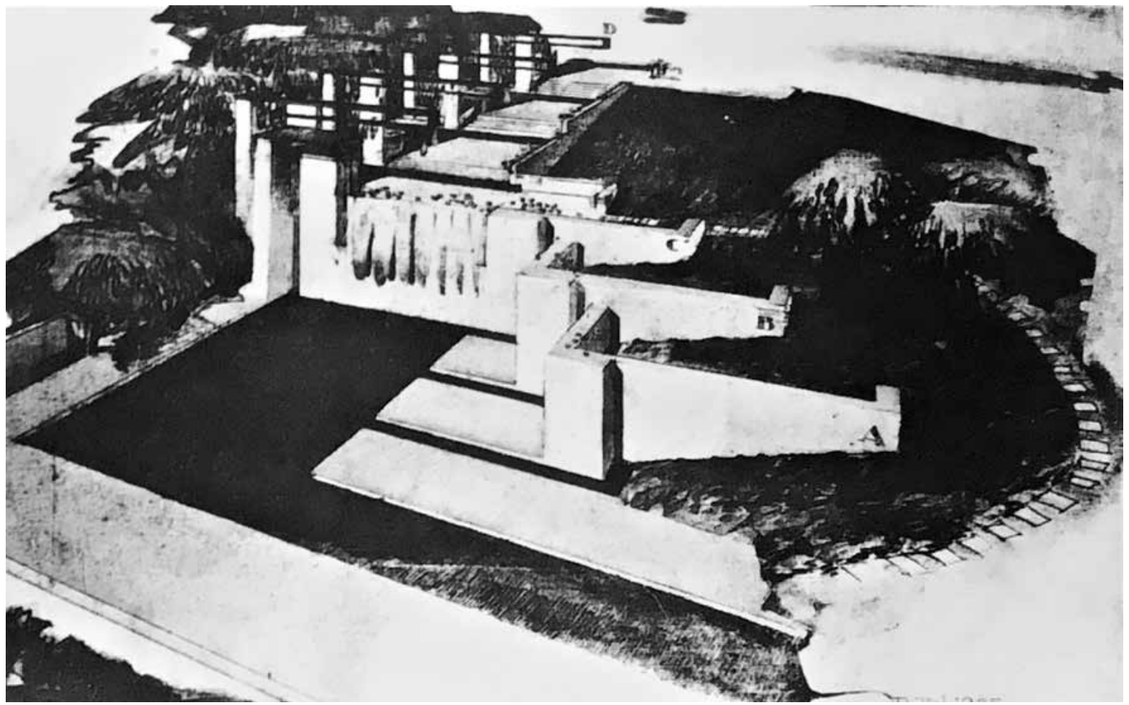
Opposite bottom, left: Gustav Ammann, 1885 – 1955.

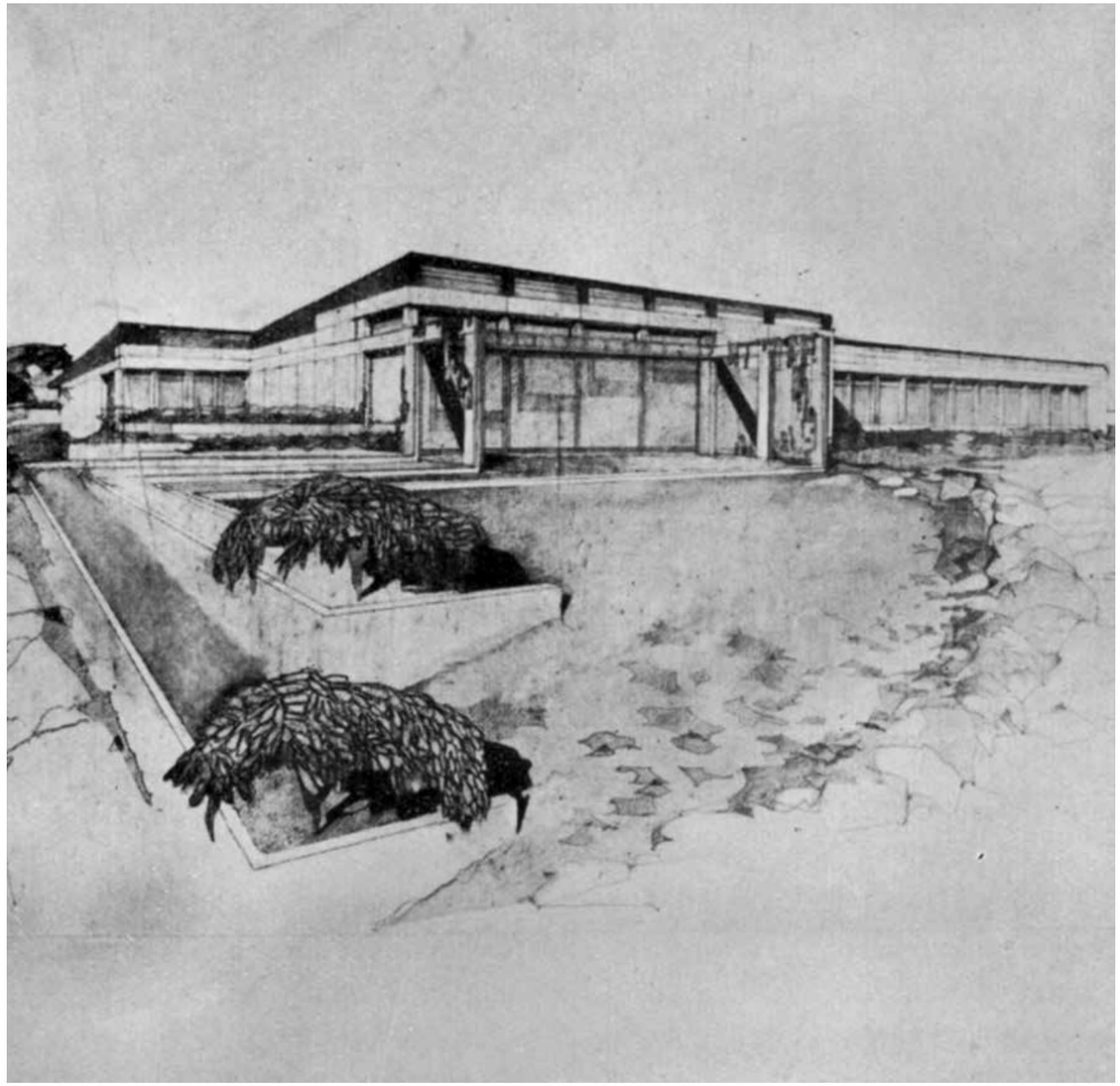
Opposite bottom, right: Begun in 1942 on the grounds of a factory, Gustav-Ammann-Park, Oerlikon, Zurich, Switzerland, Gustav Ammann focused his landscape on the relaxation of the staff, not appearance. Known as a "welfare garden," it is now a protected monument.

the wall for its plasticity and interstitial ability to meld indoors and outdoors, part of an overall rational ordering system for the site, integrating landscape, hardscape, and building.[31] It is clear that this "extension" enjoyed support on both sides of the Atlantic. Using virtually the very same words as employed in the introductory catalog to the 1937 San Francisco Museum of Art exhibition noted earlier, Ammann wrote in his 1955 book, *Blühende Gärten* [Flowering Gardens.] "The garden of the private house is an extension of the living area into the open air." [32]

While Ammann (who had worked for Migge) emphasized a similar wish for continuity between indoors and out, Migge's note of the "sub-tropical" is quite startling because Neutra came to Southern California believing it was as close as one could get to a sub-tropical climate in the West, made complete with a modern infrastructure and transportation system. Thus, the region was the perfect venue in which to realize a new architecture that invited a primal connection to Nature. Neutra's own "penetration of the building envelope" was demonstrated in scores of buildings in which landscaping, building components, or water are continued indoors and out. Migge's work is further relevant to Amman's, and ultimately to Neutra's thinking, in that Migge advocated paying attention to the realities of human nature: his characteristic exploitation of *Trampelpfade* (paths trampled randomly over time by users) in his hardscape designs acknowledge human realities and habits rather than dictate to them. Neutra emphasized this idea repeatedly in his philosophy of *biorealism*, seen, for example, in the sometimes startling number of options for paths of travel that he provided for users of his buildings.[33]

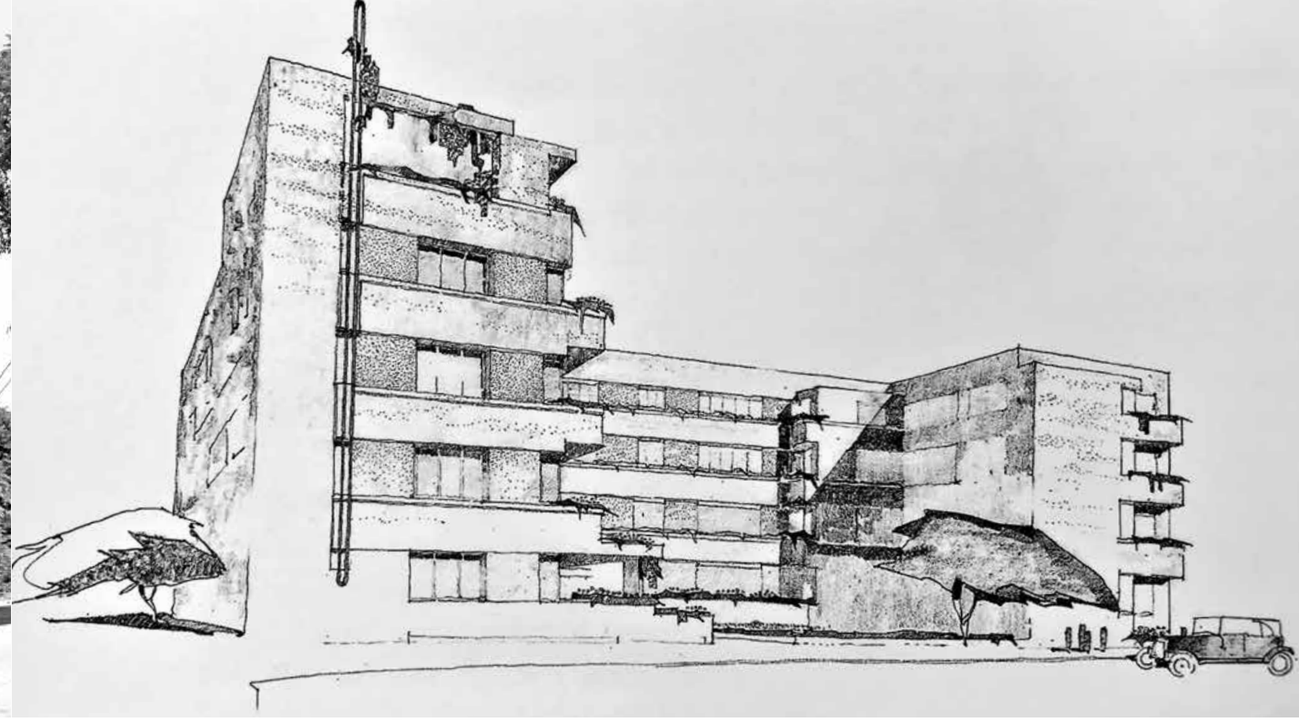
Foerster provided Neutra with new ways of thinking about plants. Neutra recounts Foerster's assertion that plants play two roles with discreet identities: first, that humans attribute specific cultural "associations" to certain plants, for example a plant often seen "in peasant or castle gardens" may be identified with that social standing or building type.[34] Secondly, the plants themselves convey "their own primary natural biology" (their "peculiar physiognomy") that in turn communicates specific physical settings or the ecosystems surrounding a plant, such as a "moisture-laden habitat, or a dry sandy spot …"[35] Neutra enlarged on Foerster's idea, suggesting that plants could also convey an emotional "association," arguably using the word in the sense it was used in the nineteenth century, relating such "associations" to the disciplines of physiological psychology and aesthetics, especially the quality of *Einfühlung*, translated as "empathy." In short, empathy could be employed not





Opposite: Neutra's design for the wading pool at the "Hollyhock House" features stepped sequential retaining walls that tie the pool's hardscape right into the landscape. R.M. Schindler, Barnsdall House, Los Angeles, 1925, Neutra, pergola and wading pool. Source: *Richard Neutra and the Search for Modern Architecture,* Thomas S. Hines, 1982, 61.

Above: The architect continued that theme of stretching, of reaching out into the landscape, with stepped retaining walls, in one of his earliest hypothetical designs, the "Diatom House," named for the diatomaceous earth he specified for the structure's exterior panels. Neutra, Experimental Diatom House, unbuilt, early 1920s. *Richard Neutra, Buildings and Projects 1923 – 1950*, Girsberger, 1951, 120.



Opposite: Berms in front of the How House, 1925, provide privacy from the street. Rudolf M. Schindler, architect. 2006 Photo by Michael J. Locke

Above: Now endangered as of 2020, the spare International Style Jardinette apartment building served as workforce housing from 1929 to 2017. Each balcony was to be adorned with plants; each flat featured plenty of cross ventilation and clever layouts for new "garden living." *Richard Neutra and the Search for Modern Architecture*, Thomas S. Hines, 1982, 74.

just in terms of emotional feelings that buildings might elicit in a user, but that empathy could be extended to include the human relationship to landscape and the environment.

Always the designer, Neutra was keenly sensitive to the tectonic role that arrangements of plantings could evoke. In architectural parlance, Neutra's lyrical words below refer to volume, plane, and line. Writing in German to his (then) fiancée Dione, who later edited and translated this passage:

> … If you could have listened to me, you must understand that a forest cemetery can be as magnificent as wonderful music or a piece of art, underneath the sky with a colorful and silver gray carpet of plants; its terraces, redberry bushes, and junipers on its slopes; clearings planted full of heather; and a symphony of a thousand individual plant voices with their through-vistas, spaces, trees, paths.
>
> And
>
> … bright lines of silver, crocuses, copper beeches, irises, wild roses, and groupings of conifers …"[37]

Flat, broad terraces and carpets of plants are contrasted with the sudden interjections of horizontal paths and "bright lines of silver" on the ground. Vertical lines of conifers enliven the compositions. "Space" is treated as a void that is necessary to the composition; "through-vistas" recall the biological, genetic need for the ability to see far, see through, see beyond.[38]

Additionally, in these and other excepts from his letters Neutra combines the cognitive and physical act of employing many senses simultaneously to form emotions and to experience a sensation of beauty. Notably, he suggests *listening* to the forest and plantings with their "thousand individual plant voices," thus introducing the senses of hearing and speech into the experience of the forest. This conflation of design sensibilities, whether applied to building or to landscape, underscores his sustained inclusion of the setting as an equal partner in design.

Early Garden Designs in Europe and America

When Neutra arrived in Los Angeles in February 1925 after a five-month tenure at Spring Green, working for Frank Lloyd Wright at Taliesin, his Wisconsin studio and farm, Neutra's garden career continued. He and Dione moved into Rudolf and Pauline Schindler's house on Kings Road in West Hollywood. Schindler, whom Neutra had met in 1912 as a fellow architectural student in Vienna, was responsible for a number of additions to Aline Barnsdall's Wright-designed Hollyhock House, Los Angeles, 1921. He invited Neutra to help him in the design of a wading pool and pergola for the estate in 1925. Neutra's gestures here anticipate his famous "spider leg," in which a beam extends beyond a roof line and terminates at a free-standing supporting post. This interstitial space and its terminus may be interpreted as the liminal extension from a tree out into its sheltering canopy, recalling Migge's *Zwischengleider*. Here at Hollyhock, Neutra's signature spider leg strategy, extending "tentacles of structure in surrounding nature,"[39] is evident in the series of three monumental concrete retaining walls that step rhythmically down the hill, each plane stretching out a little longer than its neighbor, the group bracketing the orthogonally aligned planes that outline a wading pool.[40] Soon after, Schindler commissioned Neutra to design the landscaping for the How House, Los Angeles, 1925, in which a variety of techniques—a banked hill and shrubs and trees ranging in size—provide a dynamic yet serene environment, creating a variety of views and landscape experiences in a compressed urban space. Fronting a narrow street, the frontage and extensive shrubbery provide a transition from the street to entrance. By contrast, behind the house a flat lawn opens to a view of the city beyond. A year later, Neutra designed a simple landscape for the miniscule site allowed for landscaping at Schindler's seminal Lovell Beach House, Newport Beach, 1926.[41]

Neutra and Schindler also designed the Jardinette (garden) Apartments, Los Angeles, in 1928, a four-story reinforced concrete 42-unit apartment building. *The Christian Science Monitor* reported that:

> The balconies will soon be overflowing with thousands of flowering plants adapted to the mild climate of the Southwest. The occupants of these apartments may look out upon masses of overhanging vines and breathe in the fresh scented air and experience a new feeling of relaxation from the daily work in the big city.[42]

The Jardinette Apartments provided several amenities for its clientele. The emphasis on light and cross-ventilation, the inclusion of cantilevered balconies with built-in planters for home gardening, the views to the San Gabriel Mountains, and a communal roof-top garden were *luxe* features for this building intended for second-tier Hollywood/Industry workers and starlets. Thus, the apartment house exemplified the egalitarian social ideals of both Modern architecture and Modern landscape architecture, bringing nature into dense urban conditions.

1930: Neutra in Japan

Although the opening of the Lovell Health House, Los Angeles, 1929, was a huge media event, new paying clients were nowhere to be seen. Taking the opportunity to lecture, Neutra went on a round-the-world tour.[43]

Above: Underneath a subtly arched bridge at the Goldman House, a cascade of pools provides a calm yet animated setting. Julius Shulman, photographer. © J. Paul Getty Trust. Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles (2004.R.10). S. Hines, 1982, 74.

Opposite: The recently restored hardscape of the Goldman House features a staggered sequence of turns enroute to the front door, recalling similar treatments in vernacular Japanese settings. Richard Neutra, *Mensch und Wohnen | Life and Human Habitat,* Alexander Koch GmbH, 1957, 54.

According to the dates of the letters he wrote to Dione, Neutra spent approximately two weeks in early June visiting the cities and regions around Kyoto, Osaka, and Tokyo, departing for Marseilles from Yokohama on June 15, 1930. His trip was sponsored by *Kokusai-kenchiku*, a prominent Japanese architectural magazine that was devoted to Modernism. Neutra made this connection through a young Japanese couple, architects Nobu and Kameki Tsuchiura, wife and husband, whom the Neutras befriended at Wright's Spring Green compound, where the fledgling architects all worked in the same high-ceilinged stone studio.[44]

After this trip, Neutra's approach to site design did not immediately change. His own response to Japan was one of admiration and confirmation, not revelation: in the foreword to *Japanese Gardens of Today*, he wrote, "A generation ago, when I accepted my first invitation from Japan to express my ideas on a biological, naturalistic approach to design, upon arriving there I suddenly felt as if I were coming home." In his autobiography *Life and Shape*, he noted the Japanese attention to the senses in "seeing, hearing, smelling a scent from the tiny garden court, enjoying one's inner senses of position and muscle strain in following a zigzag path and gently climbing a bridge over a lotus pond." [46]

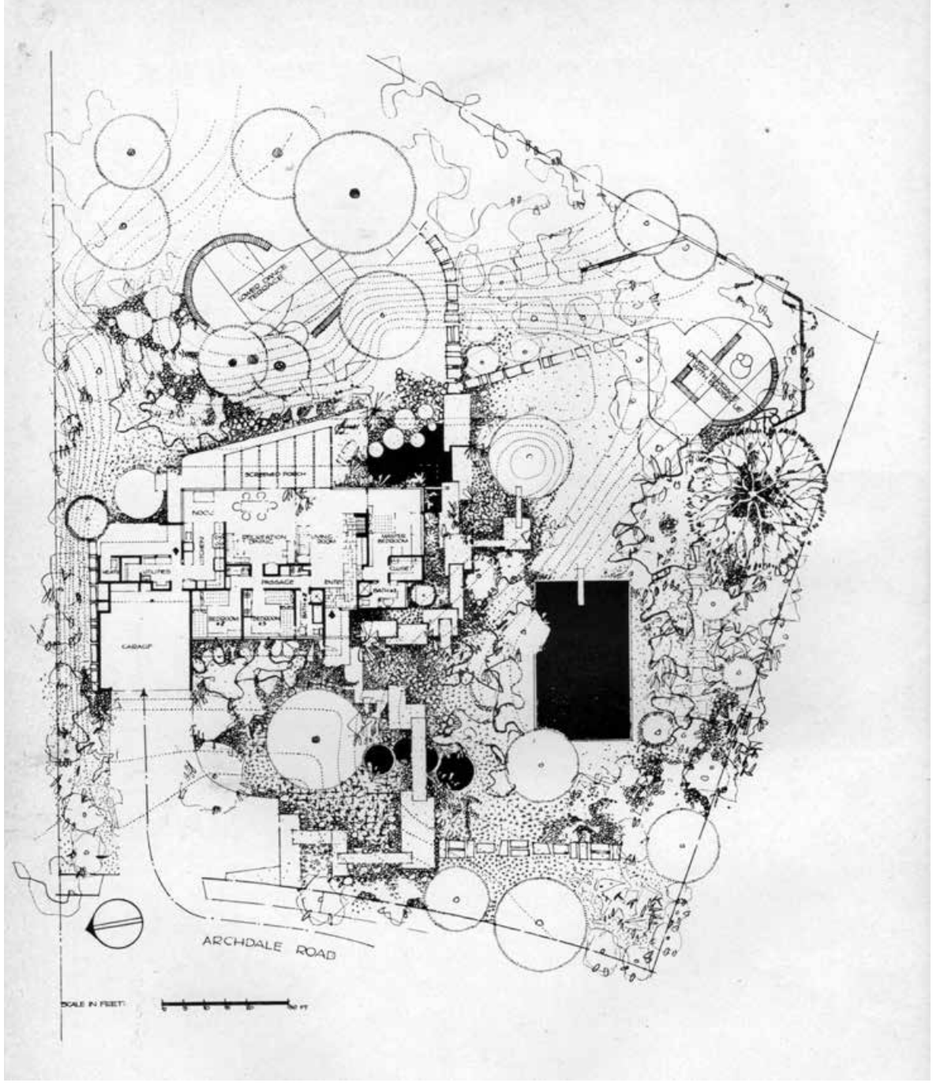
Japanese-Influenced Strategies in Neutra's Work

Vernacular Japanese buildings and Neutra's architecture share an apparent simplicity of composition. While the details in both Japanese and Neutra's work can be quite complex, the effect is one of clarity rendered in strong, uninterrupted planes and lines. However, the time and labor required to devote to such apparent simplicity was ameliorated by refining a standard set of details and also by typically employing a restricted palette of commonly available materials. One such is wax-rubbed tempered Masonite, smooth and silky to the touch. Often used for sliding cabinet and closet fittings, the boards of pressure-molded wood fibers provided a rich brown warmth to interiors akin to dark Japanese woods, softening any potential cold or industrial ambiance.

In addition to apparent simplicity and *engawa* (the extension of the floor into the outdoors, often wrapping the house as a pathway), the traditional Japanese house is renowned for its openness to the outdoors by means of post-and-beam construction that negates the need for load-bearing walls or *shoji* (full-height sliding wood doors with translucent paper panels.[47] The Neutras had experienced this at Schindler's revolutionary Kings Road House, Los Angeles, 1922; such devices are ubiquitous in Neutra's later work, first seen in his custom sliding window walls beginning in 1932 at the VDL Research House I and later with his full-height sliding window walls that became more readily obtainable beginning in the early 1940s. Like Migge's *Zwischenglieder*, Neutra's interstitial spaces are characterized by broad overhangs and the extension of terraces, sometimes radiantly heated, thus extending one's total comfort in cold climes as well. In many Neutra compositions, whether public or private, the quality of this liminal space, this kinetic frisson between indoors and outdoors, is reinforced by maintaining the same material for wall, ceiling, and floor planes. Neutra also regularly employed "borrowed landscape," in which Japanese landscapes and gardens incorporate surrounding distant mountains and scenery (a type of view known as *shakkei*, whereas nearby views, or experiences of landscape in small interior courtyards, are termed *tusbo niwa.*[48])

While Neutra often sited a building around a striking feature such as a tree, he also made good use of boulders in his site design, a typical feature of Japanese landscapes, most famously exemplified in Julius Shulman's photographs of the boulders percolating throughout the setting of the Kaufmann Desert House. Neutra often chose or located such boulders, carefully orienting them in the landscape to present a particular "face" to the viewer. Many of the boulders he used are particularly gnarled or pocked, appearing aged or eccentric. *Pflanzen Wasser Steine Licht* includes many images of such boulders either as a group cascading down a slight incline or used as individual objects in the landscape. This "landmarking" strategy not only recalls Modern landscape design's use of solitary trees as sculptural objects such as Eckbo did at Orange Coast College in the early 1950s, but is a concept in contemporary neurological research into the environment's role in creating and retaining memory.[49]

While Neutra does not link ancient landscapes to his use of boulders in this text,



his use of the word *Steine* in the book's title underscores their role in recalling an older, primordial Nature. One example is the lawn flanking the east elevation of the former Garden Grove Community Church, Garden Grove, 1962, known as the world's first "drive-in church," a building type that could have probably only emerged in Southern California's car culture.[50] Here the largest and most eccentric boulders, some collected in the Holy Land by the church's pastor, the Rev. Robert Schuller, were located just below the outdoor projecting balcony where the flamboyant minister preached to those sitting in parked cars, adding visual "landmarks" of ancient origin to this very modern church. Such landmarks are helpful neurologically: being in the setting helps us remember what we did there. We not only park our cars there, but our memories as well.

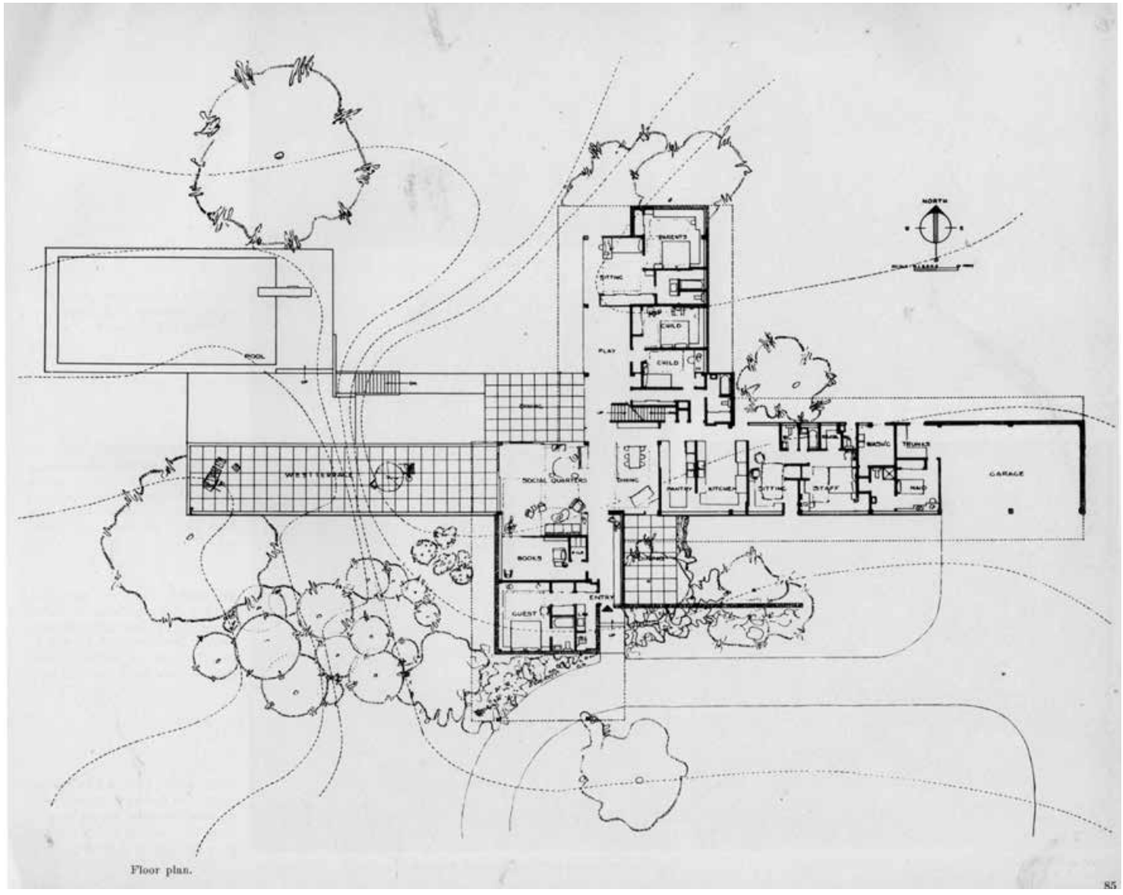
European-Influenced Strategies in Neutra's Work

Neutra's own strategies in landscape build on the ideas of Amman, Foerster, and Migge, especially the search for a genre, or type, of plant with a desired shape, mature height, or leaf size and the maintaining of existing contours where possible. Throughout his career, Neutra performed various duties on behalf of the site, from making plant choices early in his career to complete landscape designs. Later, he relied on local growers to know which species would be hardiest in specific regions, for example at the Connell House, Pebble Beach, 1957, a house in Northern California overlooking the ocean. "… Mr. Neutra is very interested in contacting a very good nurseryman in this area to see what can be planted that will grow tall enough to alleviate [a lack of privacy]," an office letter stated.[51] During these later decades he also shifted to general instructions and plant heights. These would be indicated on plans through a series of circles, each containing a number for the height, such as two, four, and six feet tall, and then entering the circled numbers in areas where the material was to be planted, seen at his drawing for the Hailey House, Los Angeles, 1958. This increasing emphasis on "types," recalling Migge's own search for "types" in plants, paralleled Neutra's constant refinement of his standardized architectural details. By the 1950s, he had created a seven-page "Suggestive [sic!] Plant List," with the following categories: "Tropical and Tropical Effects," "Wind Breaks and Screens," "Trees," "Natives," "Dry Spots – Poor Soil," "Seasonal Changes," "Vines," "Color Spots," "Ground Covers," "Desirable Shrubs," and "Accent Plants, or Spots."[52] Under this last category Neutra included rock groupings, pools or water in the garden, "succulent or rock gardens," garden seats, fallen logs, and rustic redwood round steps. Many plants are followed by brief descriptions or an occasional requirement for care; all include the height at maturity, permitting him to designate groups of plants according to their full-grown heights. Sometimes he used only the popular name, such as "wood ferns" or the voluptuous

Opposite: Outside the master bedroom of the Goldman House, concrete roundels are stepping stones, offsetting the home's strong rectilinear lines. Now rehabilitated using Neutra's original scheme that was detailed by Garrett Eckbo. In the larger scheme, the solid roundels at the rear of the house play a game of Gestalt aesthetics with the "voids" of the circular pools in the front. Julius Shulman, photographer. © J. Paul Getty Trust. Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles (2004.R.10).

Above: From small houses such as the spirited little Hailey House to one of Neutra's masterpieces, the Kaufmann Desert House, the eccentric shape of large boulders energize a site and invoke a primal contrast to twentieth century interventions. Julius Shulman photographer. © J. Paul Getty Trust. Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles (2004.R.10).

Right: Neutra placed boulders here that the Rev. Robert Schuller brought home from the Holy Land. Long missing or misplaced, the award-winning rehabilitation of Neutra's campus of the former Garden Grove Community Church, now part of Christ Cathedral, included the reinstatement of the boulders according to photographs by Julius Shulman. 2014 photo by author.



Opposite: The pinwheel plan, also developed as the "Four-Courter Plan" to permit different uses in the four quadrants, is stretched to the extreme at the Tremaine House. *Richard Neutra, Buildings and Projects 1923 – 1950,* Girsberger, 1951,

"Elephant Ears." In other cases, he employed only the Latin name, such as *Xylosma senticosa*, a malleable evergreen shrub with a shiny, dark-green leaf that Neutra describes as "neat – always clean looking." Neutra lists barberries (*Berberis thunbergii and B. vulgaris*), which he included in the landscape design for Luckenwalde Waldfriedhof so many years before. Popular for its small dark green leaves and yellow or red berries, he described it as an "all-season performer." New Zealand Flax (*Phormium tenax*, a tough, fibrous plant with slender, long leaves) is noted for its "strong vertical lines." The hardy *Fatsia japonica,* or Japanese aralia, was one of Neutra's favorite mid-twentieth century plants. Apart from its reference to its Japanese origin, the rounded triangularity of its large-lobed leaf provided a curvaceous contrast to his rectilinear buildings. Notably, a few "un-Modern" plants, such as roses, are included as well.[53]

Despite this move to generalization, he still relished intense discussions about plantings with those clients who were interested, or even more actively, he designed specific plans, such as the landscape design he provided gratis for Lary [sic] and Pauline Kuhns. His specifications for this 1964 house, sited on a steep slope in Woodland Hills, amplified the existing pepper tree and coast live oaks with four varieties of eucalyptus trees; pepper and bottlebrush trees, and Carolina cherry.

Another of his strategies was to exploit existing topography. At the Tremaine House, Neutra's role as site designer was key to the subsequent garden designs by Lockwood de Forest, Jr. and Ralph T. Stevens. Neutra did not clear the site "of its vegetation so that the building would appear as a pristine sculptural object, [which was] typical of modernism at the time," noted the magazine *Pacific Horticulture.*[54] Instead, Neutra gently inserted the pinwheel-plan building into the irregular 16-acre grove of native coast live oak and California sycamore trees (Neutra especially valued the latter, along with the eucalyptus tree, for the dappled patterns of its bark.) This siting was crucial in permitting each wing that extended from the pinwheel plan to participate in different aspects of Nature. For example, when standing in the master bedroom, nestled below grade into the rising slope of the hill, one can see the nearby roots of the surrounding oak trees as well as distant mountain views.

Other examples abound. In order to maintain the existing hilly topography for the wartime Channel Heights Housing Project, San Pedro, 1942, overlooking the Pacific Ocean and characterized by sharp, short, ravines, he minimized the grading required to create terraces in varying configurations for the two hundred and twenty-two units. In the manner of Migge's *Trampelfade,* Neutra also designed informal "trails" between the community center and residences to decrease pedestrian exposure to his nemesis, "rolling traffic, when designing for the public."

Acknowledging existing conditions also recalls Neutra's emphasis on the "profound assets rooted in each site" that he discussed in *Mystery and Realities of the Site*. However, as can be seen in the Kaufmann Desert House and the Miller Mensendieck House, 1937, both in Palm Springs, the landscapes immediately surrounding the dwellings include a conventionally suburban green lawn amidst their arid desert backgrounds, deliberately emphasizing the quality of "foreignness" of both the building and its setting. Arguably, this emphasis does not deny but reinforces Neutra's appreciation for the larger desert context as an opportunity to achieve a "thrilling dialectic," as he called it, in other words the heightened appreciation for the spectrum from human-made to the naturally encountered. In enlisting the setting itself on behalf of calibrating excitation and calm and inserting a bit of the ancient "savanna" into the setting, Neutra demonstrates its importance in the composition. However, in contrast, for example, to Le Corbusier's Villa Savoye's equally "foreign" insertion into its setting—a building raised on *piloti* to hover above the ground—Neutra populated both Palm Springs settings with careful transitions on the ground plane between house and *die Wüste* (German for wilderness, or badlands), exemplified by the border of jagged flat stones between the grass lawn and the desert rocks at the Miller Mensendieck House. The border melds desert to the house, wilderness to domesticity.

However, the plucky little Miller Mensendieck House differs from the Kaufmann residence—and most Neutra dwellings—in an important way. Small as it is, this ultra-Modern pueblo was both a private home and a public studio for Grace Lewis Miller's rich clients learning the Mensendieck exercise method of body posture. While most of those who know the house have always regarded the prominent silver-painted door facing the street as the primary entrance, in reality the "front door" is around the corner and through the screened patio and giant glass slider that opens into the

living room. The silver door is actually the door to the studio. It was a business entrance.

Examining Neutra's landscape plans for the path leading to this "real" front door, he envisioned something quite different to the more familiar desert motif plantings elsewhere on the property.[55] Flanking the path, he specified an exciting riot of color: the deep purple-red (and extremely poisonous) castor bean, *Ricinus communis;* the brilliant red Poinsettia (*Euphorbia pulcherrima*); the pink-purple-white California native, desert sand verbena, *Abronia villosa;* and *Encilia farinosa,* whose brilliant yellow flowers rise from a silvery base on slender green stems. These plants would have prevented a visitor's gaze into the desert landscape to the south, or in any case at least distracted them. It would also have created a sense of "excitation" for that same newcomer enroute to her appointment. ("Excitation" is a special term, a term Neutra knew well from his studies of physiological psychology. Established by one of the discipline's founders, Wilhelm Wundt, in the mid-nineteenth century, "excitation" was to be balanced by calm, a parity Neutra sought in all his work.)

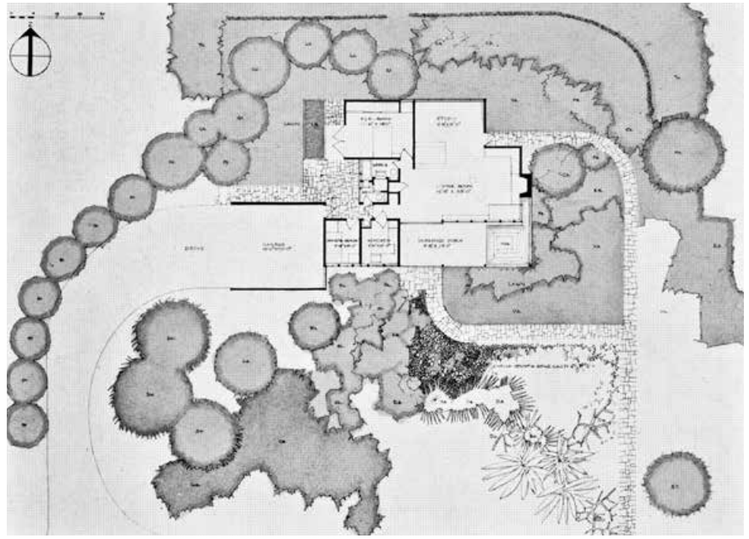
A Lamp Unto My Feet: the Claremont United Methodist Church

The Claremont United Methodist Church, Claremont, 1960, designed by Neutra and architect and urban planner Robert E. Alexander (1907 – 1992, Neutra's partner at the time), exemplifies both the Japanese strategy of a borrowed landscape and Ammann's call to integrate indoors with outdoors. Behind the chancel, full-height glazing immediately beyond the window permitted not only a view of trees and a tall bird-feeder (long gone now) as well as a picture-perfect vista of distant Mt. Baldy, an imposing peak in the San Bernardino mountains that is snow-capped much of the year.

While providing such a grand view of a special natural feature is a standard strategy for any architect, another move here was not. A long horizontally oriented strip of one-foot-tall windows, whose base is located at floor level, runs the length of the bottom of the west wall. This extraordinary location not only illuminates one's path during daylight, it permits a visitor an unusually intimate view of the growing moss, fallen leaves, and the roots of plants and trees. The move upends the typical understanding of a church nave as sealed from the world, besides, glimpses of earthy and earthly detritus are not often considered desirable.[56]

Projects that are not well known, modest in cost, and rarely published reflect the same devotion as well-known projects with lavish budgets. This is the case with the San Bernardino Medical Group, San Bernardino, 1953 and the former VDL Research House II, Los Angeles, 1966.[57]

Beginning with the Lovell Physical Culture Center, Los Angeles, 1927, and concluding with the La Veta Medical Building, City of Orange, 1966, Neutra completed nine medical complexes, including prototypes for rural health centers and hospitals for an impoverished Puerto Rico during World War II.[58] Compared with the better known and more upscale Mariners Medical Arts Center, Newport Beach, 1963, the San Bernardino Medical Group was a far more modest endeavour. From the street, the complex is a rambling, introverted series of volumes that nonetheless is permeable to its surroundings. While the composition is asymmetrically Modern, the heritage of the plan and section is essentially that of a medieval cloister or a Roman atrium.



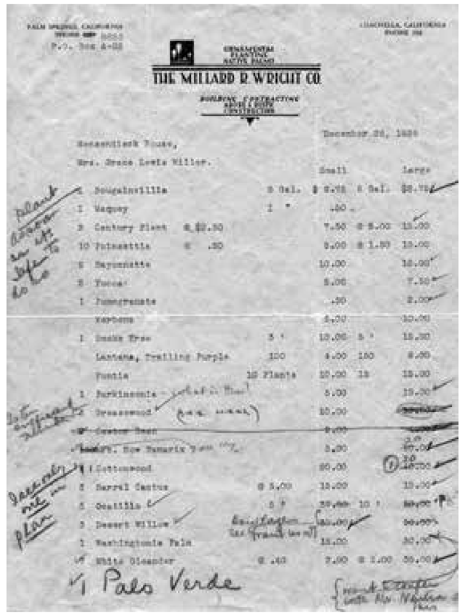
Opposite: Neutra paid homage to the "genius loci" of the tree just outside the master bedroom of the Tremaine House by cutting out a place for its growth in the roof overhang, a deference Le Corbusier also employed at the *Pavilion de l'Espirit Nouveau* in Paris, 1925. Julius Shulman photographer. Courtesy Getty Research Institute.

Left: Neutra and Grace Lewis Miller worked out the site and landscape plan together, mixing native, desert, and non-native plants. From *California Arts & Architecture* magazine, February 1937.

Here, a restricted palette of low-cost materials is used for the one-story asymmetric arrangement of interconnected stucco boxes of varying sizes. What he lacked in the construction budget for finishes, Neutra made up in the generous footprint of wings stretching into the landscape, ensuring that virtually every room had at least one and often two elevations with views of nature and that patients were especially privileged. To create this high degree of porosity, he introduced a large, unroofed, and irregularly shaped orthogonal lawn bordered with plantings and trees into the center of the complex. Broad hallways with almost full-height glass surround much of this courtyard lawn. Vertical aluminum louvers attached to south- and west-facing overhangs reduce solar gain and glare for the vulnerable human as well as the plantings located near the buildings.

The choice of plants also demonstrates an attention to the interaction of building and site. Archival evidence shows that a local landscape firm provided a proposal of over twenty plant types, many of which were Neutra standards. Notables include trees such as olive, wild plum (*Harpephyllum – sp.*), *Corymbia* (syn. *Eucalyptus citriodora* [a lemon-scented ornamental tree]) and *Pittosporum tenuifolium* (pittosporum trees or shrubs have simple, leathery leaves and small, fragrant flowers.) Shrubs included *Juniper torulosa* (an upright type of juniper almost geometrically pyramidal in outline); *Agave americana,* the so-called century plant (a desert plant with tall, broad, grey-green leaves; it is so named because it takes decades—if not a century—to produce a flower); *Alpinia nutans,* commonly known as a dwarf cardomon, it is a variegated shrub with long, thin leaves and a gingery aroma known for its medicinal properties in reducing blood pressure; *Aralia sieboldii* (similar to *Fatsia japonica*); flax, *Phormium tenax* (mentioned earlier); and *Papyrus antiquorum,* papyrus sedge (widely distributed in Africa, it is characterized by its long stems and feathery sprays of spiky blooms.)[59] While these plants share the common attribute of articulated, distinctive sculptural forms, notably many are also aromatic, engaging the sense of smell. *Vision alone could not communicate nature's sensory range.*

Neutra always required details and strategies to do "double duty" to earn their daily living, and plants were no exception. Here in San Bernardino, they also threw strong patterns against the unadorned white walls. Creating a moving, crisply outlined play of light and shadow, they introduce rhythm and visual interest, i.e., "excitation." The three rectangular, glass-walled surgical waiting rooms abut outdoor space. Projecting into the quadrangle, the location of these rooms thus ensures long diagonal views. This view is across the "savanna" of the courtyard lawn in the quadrangle, which in turn leads to a secondary but still generously sized landscaped area, affording an even longer view. Notably, this luxurious view, recalling Hegemann's delight in the "endless view" that he witnessed at Olmsted's


THE MILLARD R. WRIGHT CO.

Mrs. Grace Lewis Miller.

		Small	Large
Bougainvillia			
Century Plant		7.50	15.00
Poinsettia			15.00
Pomegranate			2.00
Lantana, Trailing Purple	100	4.00	8.00
Barrel Cactus		15.00	15.00
Ocotillo			
Desert Willow			
Washingtonia Palm		15.00	30.00
White Oleander		7.00	

1 Palo Verde

Franklin Park, was designed *not* for the clinical staff but for patients. Additionally, this vista is not conventionally functional: it does not, for example, assist the staff in overseeing patients as did older hospital templates.

The gardens and landscape at the Neutra Studio and Residences were redesigned in 1966 on the footprint of the original house destroyed in a fire three years earlier. Just as both new and old buildings were dedicated to experimental materials and spatial relationships, the new landscape was also intended to be research-oriented. The redesign was to address the specific question of how to develop a sensual setting appropriate to dense urban environments, essentially "moving the suburban scene to a small city lot."[60] Titled "Research for Beauty," the article in a 1966 issue of Landscape Design and Construction notes that Neutra and his architect son Dion, Richard's partner during the 1960s, "exerted considerable influence on the design, techniques, and materials" in collaboration with three prominent landscape architects.[61] (Neutra was further lauded in the issue as "a famed landscape architect [who] conducts studies of landscaping techniques and design."[62]) He commented that:

> Some of the techniques that are employed here are: arrangement of sizes and species of plants to create the illusion of depth in a shallow garden; the blending of various colours, texture and shapes to create the feeling of great variety; proper lighting and silhouetting of plant material to change the moods and emotional experience of the individual as he moves through the garden at night; the use of reflection pools, stream beds, and waterfalls on a limited scale to excite one's perspective and add to the depth of feeling a sudden relaxation of within the same short span of time; … and hanging baskets to underscore the view surrounding the home.63

The quote is interesting in recognizing how the arrangement of plants can "create the illusion of depth": for Neutra, the manipulation of perception was reality. "Stretching" space was not a matter of square footage but how one arranged views.

The Neutras' ambitions for the garden were not wholly realized. In reality the plantings in the inner courtyard "never seemed to prosper," according to Raymond Neutra, Richard's youngest son, a physician.[64] There are no waterfalls or stream beds. However, several key features were implemented, including the addition of five reflecting pools. For a brief time, even the roof of the 1939 one-story guest house at the rear of the property, which survived the fire, featured a reflecting pool to be viewed from the upper floor of the main dwelling at the front of the property. The strategy underscores the Neutras' determination to imbue this compact site of sixty by seventy feet (18.3 x 21.3 meters) with as much nature as possible, whether real or reflected.

Each pool is different, adding the variety promoted by Ammann. On the ground level, a curved pool located between the house and Silverlake Boulevard offsets the orthogonal elements elsewhere; a round pool was in the lower interior garden. At the middle level, a small rectangular pool, filled by a roof drain from above, flanks the outdoor living room. On the top level, a rimless L-shaped reflecting pool wraps the penthouse. This pool is particularly important because this was intended to visually join the lake and the large Silverlake reservoir as "borrowed landscape" in order to create a strong horizon line and a sense of unbridled expansiveness. The connection was to be experienced by sitting on the carpeted penthouse's floor. Here a border of cushions is mounted about one foot above the floor on two sides of the glass wall. These unusual furnishings ensured comfortable viewing of the reservoir and the distant hills beyond, embodying a fairly complete experience of the qualities of the savanna. Additionally, the pools act as a microclimate that cools the house while also introducing a sensual experience in the smell of the water and the texture of its sound.

Other designed landscape elements were constructed as well. The short bridge of concrete leading from Silver Lake Boulevard and over the curved reflecting pool articulates a spatially condensed transition from street to house. While short, this bridge still serves its purpose in aiding the psychological transition from busy public street to quiet private domicile.

Working with Landscape Architects

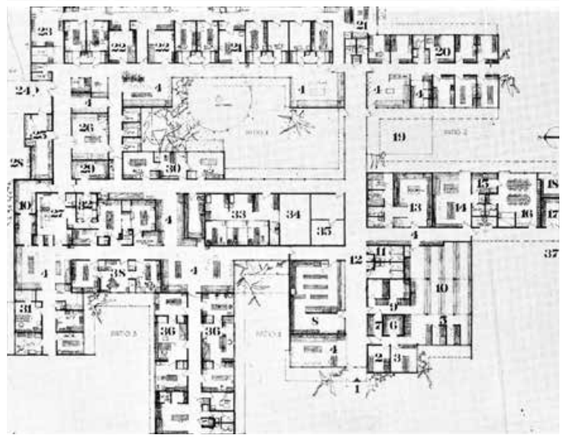
While Neutra worked with many landscape architects, many famous in their own right, typically he never abandoned his primary task of positioning the building to permit the experience of nature at various scales and perspectives. Within those parameters, landscape architects could design with considerable freedom. For example, Garrett Eckbo's 1948 landscape for one of the owners of the Johnson/Stafford houses, Los Altos, 1939 (one of three tiny redwood-clad houses

Opposite left: The locally well-known Coachella Valley nurseryman, garden designer, and contractor Millard R. Wright was responsible for the installation of the landscape at the Miller House. Courtesy, Stephen Leet (author, *Richard Neutra's Miller House,* 2004).

Opposite right: Neutra's client Grace Miller sent this photograph to Neutra and inscribed this on the back: "This is one of my dear favorites. Breakfast, lunch or dinner. This is your favorite place, and spells for me the best you can ever find in Palm Springs. It is Palm Springs for me. Every specimen in the cactus garden was specially chosen and set with study as you set the objects in a still life composition. All the trees & shrubs had singular attention — encilia, etc. For instance, to get three fine ocotillos. I bought a load of ocotillos since 1937. I never saw as good specimens anywhere for sale." Julius Shulman photographer. © J. Paul Getty Trust. Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles (2004.R.10).

Left: Mirrors, a favorite Neutra device, reflected landscape while it also "stretched space" as he would say. Miller House, 1937. Julius Shulman photographer. © J. Paul Getty Trust. Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles (2004.R.10).

Below: Psalms 119:105 "Your word is a lamp unto my feet and a light unto my path." Neutra's windows at the base of the wall illuminates not only one's path, but the roots and detritus of the trees and plants outside. Claremont United Methodist Church, 1960. Photo by "Schaf," aka Stephen Schafer.



Above, site plan: Plan, San Bernardino Medical Group, San Bernardino, California, 1953. General view of the sprawling site. Note areas labeled "4" describing glass-walled patient waiting rooms that abut directly into the inner landscaped courtyard *Richard Neutra Buildings and Projects 1950 – 1960*, Frederick A. Praeger, 1959, 112.

Above, photos: Plants have to do double duty, too! For this large complex with a modest budget, Neutra chose plantings not only for based on their appearance (whether in sun or in creating dappled shadows on the plain white walls, for example) as well as for their fragrance. This use displayed his concern for addressing all the senses, especially those, in this case, that could benefit anxious patient or busy staff. His layout, centered on a large patio with "fingers" of lawn elsewhere, emphasizes the patient population's special need for an intimate relationship to nature. Elsewhere, walkways overlook Nature, Julius Shulman photographer. © J. Paul Getty Trust. Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles (2004.R.10).

whose owners pooled resources to hire Neutra), is strongly angular, geometric, and dense with a concentrated variety of plants and outdoor paths and "rooms." While more ornate than Neutra's own landscape designs, Eckbo's long angled redwood wall does continue the longest view line, the diagonal view extending from a mitered glass corner of the living area. By contrast, Brazilian landscape architect Roberto Burle Marx's design for the DeSchulthess House, Havana, Cuba, 1956, featured lush, rounded and banked areas of colorful plants whose gentle, painterly effects offset the architecture's crisp rectilinear lines and planes.

Marx was an especially close friend of both Richard and Dione and appreciated Neutra's goals for the setting. In his introduction to *Pflanzen Wasser Steine Licht,* Marx wrote movingly of his friend's thinking:

> Conversations with Neutra were especially meaningful, how clear and precise the individual elements in the buildings and garden systems had to be worked through, in space, the body, and surfaces, indoor and outdoor, as a single unity … the design of gardens, of green surfaces, and outdoor areas [were] to him always good to carefully study and nurture as areas of architectural endeavour, that mediate the change from surprise to surprise. He loved these altered states, these changes, and protected the dynamism of the garden against the statics of the building. These through the exchange from day and night, from open and covered skies, through light and shadow, in these achievable gardening experiences he was resourceful, and incorporated them into his plans. In dry areas he used water as a life-giving element. That also served him well in creating places for contemplative reflection, provoking stimulating reflections in defining space and expanding perspective.[66]

In conclusion, it is clear that Neutra capitalized on the emerging discipline of landscape architecture through his fortuitous interactions with Ammann, Foerster, and others, and brought them to Southern California. Neutra was exposed to progressive and new ideals, most importantly that garden or landscape design was a part of the overall composition of the setting and had to be designed *with* rather than *after*. As he wrote in an unpublished essay titled "The Landscape Architect Cannot Come Later!" the landscape architect "comes in right from the start … [after all,] the landscape is here from the beginning, in fact, long before we think of threatening it with a building."[67]

Above: Designed by Dion Neutra with his father, the rooftop water of the Neutra Studio and Residences (formerly the VDL Research House II, 1966) was intended to visually join the water of the Silverlake Reservoir, 600 feet to the west. Note that on the right, beyond the range of the image and inside the "penthouse," as it was named, low cushioned backrests signal the viewer to sit on the floor to obtain the melding of the two bodies of water, an experience not accessible otherwise. (His widow, Dione, would often invite visitors to that very experience, listening intently as the people above in the penthouse-- sometimes awkwardly--lowered themselves to floor level.) Julius Shulman photographer. © J. Paul Getty Trust. Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles (2004.R.10).

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Dr. Lamprecht is the author of *Neutra: Complete Works* (Taschen, 2000), *Neutra* (Taschen 2004), and *Richard Neutra Furniture: The Body and the Senses* (Wasmuth, 2015). She earned an M. Arch. at California State Polytechnic University, Pomona and her PhD. at the University of Liverool. Her dissertation explored Neutra's late nineteenth and early twentieth century roots in neuroscience and landscape especially concentrating on his work linking the body, the senses, and the environment as synthesized in his philosophy of *biorealism*. Dr. Lamprecht also contributed a chapter for *William Krisel's Palm Springs: The Language of Modernism,* 2015. She is a "qualified architectural historian" per the NPS, and regularly prepares nominations and Mills Act contracts for historic properties.

The author wishes to thank Dr. James A. Wise for his unfailing support, intellectual generosity, and insights into the connection among ancient humans and habitats, our contemporary minds and bodies, and Neutra.

Endnotes

1 When established in the mid-nineteenth century, the new discipline exploring the quantitative impact of an environmental stimulus on an organism was called "experimental psychology," now known as physiological psychology, a term established by one of Neutra's primary early influences, Wilhelm Wundt (1832 – 1920.)

2 Until the mid-nineteenth century, the design of large, expansive areas of land was the domain of garden designers, horticulturalists, plant nursery owners and others. The term "landscape architect" was coined in 1828 by Scottish estate owner Gilbert Laing Meason (1769 – 1832), who employed it in the context of art history in his book, *On the Landscape Architecture of the Great Painters of Italy.* However, in the nineteenth century and early twentieth centuries, new concerns arose such as the need for public parks, questions of land use, ecology, and preservation. In addition to the continued influence of the popular genre of landscape painting, these new factors collectively created the need for a more comprehensive profession with criteria for membership. "Landscape Architect" was first used as a professional title by erstwhile partners Calvert Vaux and Frederick Law Olmsted; the new profession of landscape architecture followed that of architecture: the American Institute of Architects (AIA) was established in 1867 and the American Society of Landscape Architects in 1899, 32 years later. Despite its distinguished history in garden design and in landscape architecture, the (British) Landscape Institute, known as the LI, was not founded until 1929, 95 years after the Royal Institute of British Architects, RIBA, was established in 1843.

3 Neutra, Tape Recording 60, No. 1, recorded 24 January 1970, UCLA, Box 8. Neutra is referring to Louis B. Leakey (1903 – 1972), paleoanthropologist and archaeologist who sought to prove Charles Darwin's hypothesis that the human originated in East Africa, and playwright and science writer Robert Ardrey (1908 – 1980), a close friend of the Neutras, and, important to this discussion, the author of *African Genesis*, 1961 (part of Neutra's book collection) and the *Territorial Imperative*, 1966. Notably, this exact quote reveals that Neutra did not check his facts, as Louis Leakey's findings were first located in modern-day Tanzania's Olduvai Gorge. Tanzania borders Uganda on the north; both countries are part of East Africa, which Neutra often referred to when writing about human origins.

4 In fact, at one point in the lecture Neutra became irritated when he learned no press were in attendance, chastising the large audience for overlooking the opportunity to use his presence to further their agenda of landscape.

5 Neutra, tape recording, ibid. See also the description of a traditional Japanese toilet and its surroundings in the experience of place amidst nature in Junichuro Tanisaki's *In Praise of Shadows*, first published in 1933, which includes a hauntingly poetical description of one's "procession" to the outhouse.

6 Designed with local architecture firm Ramberg & Lowrey.

7 Ibid. See also Meredith Banasiak's well-researched essay, "When Nature Calls: The Importance of Restroom Design to Support Cognition," London: Journal of Science-Informed Design, ISSN 2633-0687 DOI:10.33797/SIDE.19.0002, 27 August 2019, https://theccd.org/article/when-nature-calls-importance-of-restroom-design-to-support-cognition/

8 Neutra, *Nature Near*, 69.

9 The exhibition was held February 12 – March 22, 1937. My thanks to Steven Keylon for bringing this exhibition to my attention.

10 Haller is considered one of the "fathers of modern physiology," that science that became paramount to Neutra in his urgent quest to highlight the intersection of body, brain, and environment.

11 Notably, Neutra's most famous book is titled *Survival Through Design*. To "succeed" we must design according to our biological needs and capabilities.

12 Neutra termed his approach to design as *biorealism*.

13 Richard and Dion Neutra Papers, UCLA, Charles E. Young Research Library, Special Collections. Unpublished unbylined letter.

14 Neutra, *Mystery and Realities of the Site,* 14.

15 Architect and historian Pierluigi Serraino alerted the author to this study, done under the auspices of the Institute of Personality Assessment and Research, University of California, Berkeley.

16 I did not include this project in my *catalogue raisonné*, published in 2000. It is an error I wouldn't make today, especially having learned of its great meaning to him and his deep belief in the connection between a building and its environment.

17 "Architects' [sic] Personal History and Professional Field Interview II," Biographical and Performance Data, Institute of Personality and Social Research Archives, UC Berkeley, 4. Interview conducted by S. Mednick [no first name supplied] under Donald W. MacKinnon, 3 December 1958.

18 A friend recommended Neutra to the well-known Zurich landscaping firm and nursery owned by Otto Froebel (1878 – 1966), son of the equally renowned garden designer Theodor Froebel (1810 – 1893.) Thus, Neutra's first postwar job was not indoors in a drafting room but outdoors as a garden assistant, albeit in a renowned nursery.

19 Thomas S. Hines, *Richard Neutra and the Search for Modern Architecture* (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), 26.

20 Neutra, *Life and Shape*, 138.

21 Neutra, *Life and Shape*, 139.

22 Neutra worked under Foerster and possibly Ammann on the landscaping of the Einstein Tower, Potsdam, 1922, designed by Erich Mendelsohn, Neutra's employer at the time. Neutra and Mendelsohn were both Jewish; Foerster is especially compelling because he kept his Jewish employees working as long as he could and defied the Nazi regime that insisted on banning "foreign" plants. For Foerster, the idea that plants could be forced into a political allegiance was ludicrous, preferring to assess a plant's natural characteristics and context.

23 Other early important figures in this lineage include the landscape architect and social critic Frederick Law Olmsted Sr. (1822 – 1903) and before that, Andrew Jackson Downing (1815 – 1852), the landscape gardener and author of books including *Cottage Residences*. Downing introduced Olmsted, Sr. to architect and landscape architect Calvert Vaux (1824 – 1895) whom Downing brought to America from England to collaborate with Downing in his design office at Newburgh, New York (hence the firm Downing and Vaux). Olmsted was a frequent visitor at Downing's home on the Hudson at Newburgh, where he met Vaux. After Downing's death in 1852, Vaux continued to work in architecture and landscape architecture in the U.S. Later, in 1856, Vaux and Olmsted collaborated on the design of Central Park.

24 In his 1852 book *Walks and Talks of an American Farmer in England*, Olmsted relates how he fell into conversation with a baker, who begged him not to miss their fine new park. Olmsted agreed, and was awestruck by what he saw at Birkenhead Park, the first publicly funded park for the public, and designed by none other than the architect of the Crystal Palace, Sir Joseph Paxton. Olmsted took copious notes, not only moved by the quietly undulating, natural-looking and diversified spaces but by the diversity of the visitors themselves.

25 Email correspondence, landscape architectural historian-Noel Vernon to author, 6 December 2014.

26 The phrase is also related to contemporary hypotheses in environmental psychology, which assert that environments that contain properties of variation are superior to static environments.

27 David H. Haney, "Bringing the Americanized Pückler Back to Germany: Charles Eliot and the German Park Reform Movement." *Bulletin of the German Historical Institute.* Supplement 4 (2007), 89–110, 93, underline added, 94-95. Dr. Haney is the author of *When Modern was Green: Life and Work of Landscape Architect Leberecht Migge* (London and New York: Routledge, 2010.)

28 Haney, "Bringing …" 93, underline added.

29 Haney, 94. Underline added.

30 Haney, "Bringing the Americanized Pückler …", 154. Notably, in his list of citations for his paper, Haney includes the title of a 1932 Migge book, *Die wachsende Siedlung: nach biologischen Gesetzen*, [The Growing Settlement: Towards Biological Principles], indicating a possibly even deeper affinity between Migge and Neutra than discussion permits here and is a promising direction for future research.

31 Weilacher, ibid.

32 Gustav Ammann, *Blühende Gärten* [Flowering Gardens] (Erlenbach-Zurich: Verlag für Architektur, 1955), 25. Underline added. Several Neutra projects were included in Ammann book.

33 Ibid.

34 Neutra, *Life and Shape*, 139.

35 Ibid, 139, 40.

36 Richard to Dione Neutra, date illegible, Scan 33, letters given to author by Raymond Neutra. The quote appears to be part of a letter dated October 1921 that Dione Neutra published in *Promise and Fulfillment*, 51. Her translation for the book is slightly altered from another, earlier translation.

37 Family letters given to author by Raymond Neutra.

38 Notably, in his presentation renderings, Neutra typically included trees near the home, trees that are strikingly similar in appearance to the acacia trees that are native to the savannas of Africa. Neutra's trees, like the acacia, have a high drip line, permitting clear views out to the horizon from inside the house. The acacia tree is regarded by many evolutionary psychologists as the most "preferred" tree; that is, consistently evoking positive emotions above other tree forms because of its diaphanous quality and distinctively umbrella-like canopy.

39 *Mystery and Realities of the Site*, 39.

40 The outdoor display panels for an arts exhibition commissioned by Aline Barnsdall and designed by Schindler for the California Arts Club's first meeting at the Barnsdall home (Hollyhock House) shares the same spatial organization as the design for the wading pool and pergola described above. More research is required to clarify the contribution of each architect to this design. See John Crosse, http://socalarchhistory.blogspot.com/2011/02/neutra-schindler-california-art-club.html [retrieved April 2011] citing "Art Club Opens Home Tonight; Poster Display Will Feature Formal Ceremonies," *Los Angeles Times*, 31 August 1927, Section I-5.

41 Hines, 59.

42 "The Garden Apartment House," *The Christian Science Monitor*, 12 July 1928.

43 See Barbara Lamprecht, "Neutra in Japan, 1930, to his European Audiences and Southern California Work," *Southern California Quarterly*, Fall 2010, 215 – 242.

44 The Tsuchiuras apprenticed with Wright from April 1923 to October 1925. Richard and Dione came to Taliesin in late October 1924 and left in late January 1925. During their mutual time there, the Tsuchiuras and the Neutras shared picnics, musical evenings, and other activities on the weekends. In Wright's studio, Nobu's drafting table was to Neutra's immediate left, while Kameki sat directly behind Neutra. Both Neutra and Tsuchiura both worked on textile block designs and on the unexecuted National Life Insurance Company building, and the families spent Christmas together in 1925. Nobu became Japan's first female architect. The Tsuchiuras became lifelong friends of the Neutras, corresponding with them even throughout the hostilities of World War II, with letters containing personal news and professional observations.

45 Richard Neutra, Foreword, *Japanese Gardens for Today,* David H. Engel (Tokyo and Rutland, Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle, 1959), xii, xiii.

46 Neutra, *Life and Shape*, 229.

47 See Kurokawa Kisho, *The Philosophy of Symbiosis* (London: Academy Editions, 1994.)

48 A *tsubo* is equal to two *tatami* mats. Each mat is three feet by six feet, making a *tsubo* about 36 square feet (3.24 square meters.)

49 Richard and Dion Neutra, *Pflanzen Wasser Steine Licht* (Berlin and Hamburg: Verlag Paul Parey, 1974.)

50 Part of the former Crystal Cathedral's expansive grounds, the sanctuary, now called The Arboretum, is part of Christ Cathedral, owned by the Roman Catholic Diocese of Orange County. Neutra's entire campus complex was restored by the Diocese, garnering many awards. The hard-working sanctuary now is the venue for 30 masses per week.

51 Neutra via lead project architect John Blanton to the Connells, 3 June1957. UCLA, Box 1660, Folder 1.

52 "Suggestive Plant List" provided to author, September 2014, by the Kambara family, then owners of the Neutra-designed Kambara House, part of the ten Neutra homes comprising the famed grouping called the Silverlake Colony..

Left: To access the two quite different front doors (one glass, the other, perpendicular to it a more rustic redwood), one crosses a short bridge that acts as an interstitial element mediating the bustling Silverlake Boulevard and the privacy of the studio and residential compound. Each of the three levels offered a water element ... just as Gustav Ammann had prescribed. Julius Shulman photographer. © J. Paul Getty Trust. Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles (2004.R.10).

53 In 1921, back in Berlin and working on the occasional project under his close friend, architect Ernst Freud (son of Sigmund; the Freuds and Neutras were friends), Neutra designed a garden that precipitated a conflict between the owners' wish for a decorative garden with flowers for cuttings, such as roses, and Neutra's preference for a more "functional" garden that included fruits, vegetables, and herbs such as the hardy *Erika*, a fragrant rose-pink heather plant often used as a massed ground cover.

54 Susan Chamberlin, "The Tremaine Garden: A Mid-Century Modern Classic," *Pacific Horticulture*, October 2001, http://www.pacifichorticulture.org/articles/tremaine-garden-a-mid-century-modern-classic/.

55 The author is indebted to Steven Keylon for his insight into the significance of this shift in the Miller House's plantings.

56 The views of Nature near and distant in this church bring two passages from the Bible to mind: Psalms 119:105, "Your word is a lamp unto my feet and a light unto my path," and Psalm 121:1, "I will lift up mine eyes unto the hills, from whence cometh my help."

57 Now a National Historic Landmark, the complex has been renamed the Neutra Studio and Residences

58 The Lovell Physical Health Centre was commissioned by Philip Lovell to house the chiropractor's office. Neutra remodelled its interior.

59 UCLA, Box 103, Folder 7.

60 "Research for Beauty," *Landscape Design and Construction*, January 1966, 27.

61 *Independent Star-News*, Pasadena, California, 15 November 1964, 54. Dagmar Braun was the head of the California Association of Landscape Designers, CALD. Klaus Hess was the owner of Valley Crest Landscaping, and Paul Smythe, a CALD associate. The newspaper announced a conference for the California landscape industry; speakers and moderators included Dion Neutra, Braun, and Hess.

62 "Research for Beauty," ibid.

63 Ibid.

64 Dr. Raymond Neutra, e-mail correspondence with author 18 October 2014.

65 Landscape architect, educator, and historian Rhett Beavers was helpful in illuminating Eckbo's objectives for the Clayton Stafford garden design.

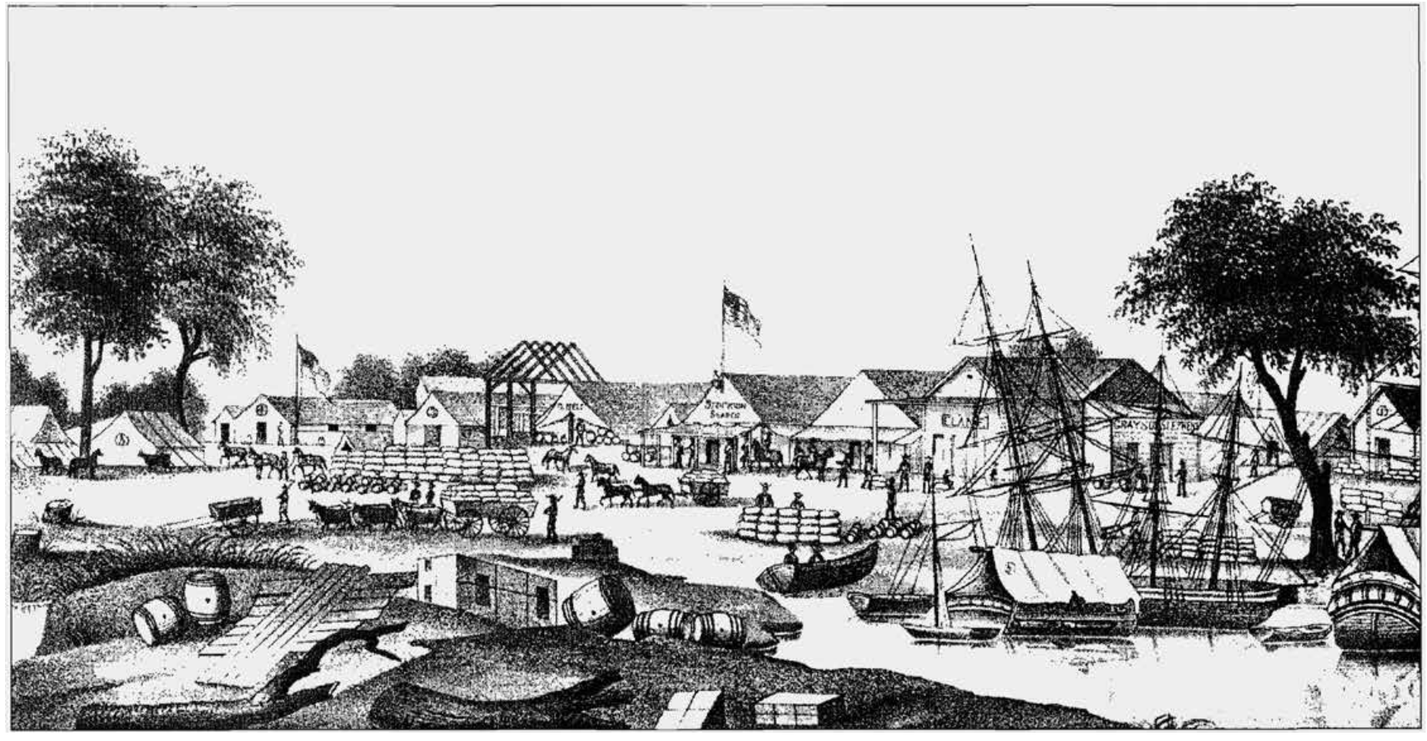
66 Roberto Burle Marx, introduction, Richard and Dion Neutra, *Pflanzen Wasser Steine Licht*, 6, 7. Marx's text in German translated by the author. Underline and bold face added by the author. "Surprise to surprise" recalls Wundt's idea of "excitation."

67 Neutra, "The Landscape Architect Cannot Come Later!" unpublished essay, UCLA, Box 162, Folder 10.

WILLIAM HAMMOND HALL:

Still the Unsung Father of Golden Gate Park

CHRISTOPHER POLLOCK



The first installment of this essay was published in the Winter 2020 issue of Eden and was titled "Sand into Gold." It discussed the creation of one of America's best urban parks from sand dunes. This second installment is focused on William Hammond Hall (1846-1934), the man who created Golden Gate Park. On April 4, 2020, the City and County of San Francisco's Recreation and Park Department launched a year-long celebration commemorating the sesquicentennial of the city's premier playground: Golden Gate Park. In this essay, Hall is given the recognition that eluded him for 150 years.

Ask almost any Bay Area resident today about the legacy of William Hammond Hall, and a blank stare may follow. Ask the same person to name the father of San Francisco's Golden Gate Park, and the response might be John McLaren (1846-1943), or maybe Frederick Law Olmsted, Sr. (1821-1903) of Olmsted, Vaux and Company, the designer (with Calvert Vaux) of New York's Central Park. Neither of these is correct: a complicated history, played out over decades, hid the contributions of William Hammond Hall —the park's engineer, designer, and first superintendent—behind those of other more renowned figures. Hall served the park in various roles for its first nineteen years. However, there is no public lawn, glade, dell, valley, road, playground—nothing named for Hall anywhere in San Francisco. Only Golden Gate Park itself stands silently as a memorial to his genius.

The Forgotten Man

Editor — As the celebration of the centenary of Golden Gate Park approaches, it seems appalling that the park's original planner, a man named William Hammond Hall has not been honored or even remembered in San Francisco.

It was he, a young civil engineer, who planned the park, at that time considered an impossible dream. Later, as consultant to the S.F. Park Commission, he suggested the appointment of another young man named John McLaren to carry out the job.

We all love and admire John McLaren for his wonderful work in developing the park. But he has been honored in many ways. As far as I know, there is no street named for Mr. Hall anywhere in the city, nor any form of memorial in the park.

I hope this neglect will be corrected this year.

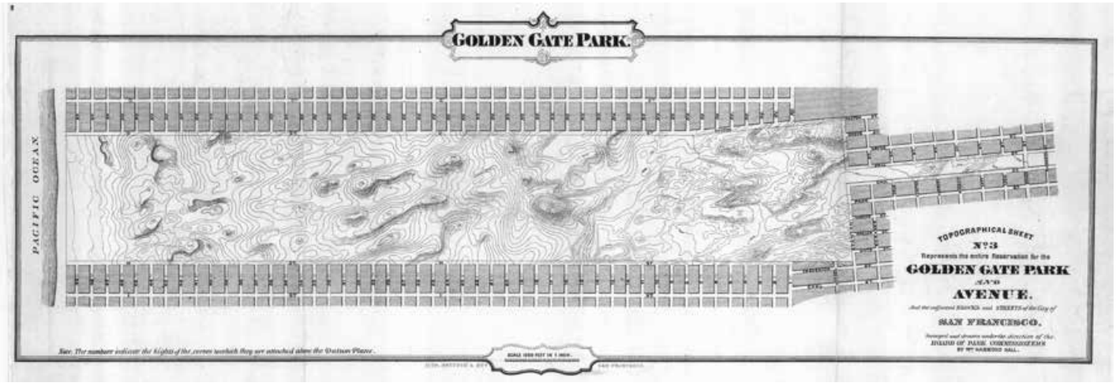
ALBERTA M. PRUETT.

San Francisco.

Above: Drawing of the newly founded town of Stockton on the San Joaquin River in 1849 shortly before Hall's family moved there.
Source: Gilbert, Frank T. *History of San Joaquin County.* Oakland: Thompson and West, 1879.

Far left: Portrait of William Hammond Hall that was taken about the time he started work on the Golden Gate Park project.
Source: *Overland Monthly,* "Golden Gate Park" Richard Gibson, vol. XXXVII, no. 3, March 1901, 759.

Left: The writer was Alberta Rosa (de Morbio) Pruitt (1901-1979) who was a granddaughter of Adolph Sutro. Sutro was an inventive mining engineer, and the 24th Mayor of San Francisco from 1895-1897. Sadly, we did not grow the wiser in the intervening fifty years since Pruitt wrote this note to the *Chronicle newspaper's* editor.
Source: *San Francisco Chronicle,* March 27, 1970, 42.



Above: Topographical map of Golden Gate Park by William Hammond Hall. None of the adjacent streets were built yet, the entire illustration shows what was surveyed and was intended to be constructed.
Source: *First Biennial Report of the San Francisco Park Commissioners 1870-71.* San Francisco: Francis and Valentine, 1872.

William Hammond Hall was born in Hagerstown, Maryland, on February 12, 1846, to John Buchanan Hall (1820-1906), a successful lawyer, and his wife Ann Maria (neè Hammond, 1818-1896)[1], known as 'Mollie'. John Hall had been caught up in the Gold Rush hysteria of 1848. Traveling by ship around Cape Horn, he landed in San Francisco in August of 1850.[2] Along with two partners, Hall established the law firm Huggins, Hall, and Mudd with an office on Montgomery Street. The Great Fire of 1851—which consumed nearly three-quarters of the city—destroyed Hall's office and prized library. Shortly thereafter, Hall became legal advisor to Charles M. Weber, the founder of the Central Valley town of Stockton, which was the gateway to the southern gold mines. Mollie and their then 9-year-old son William traveled west to join John in late spring 1853.[3]

In Stockton, William (known as 'Ham') entered a private academy in 1858, with the intention of attending the military academy at West Point as others in his family had done. However, with the commencement of the Civil War in 1861, his parents revised this plan, and William remained at the Stockton Seminary until 1865.[4]

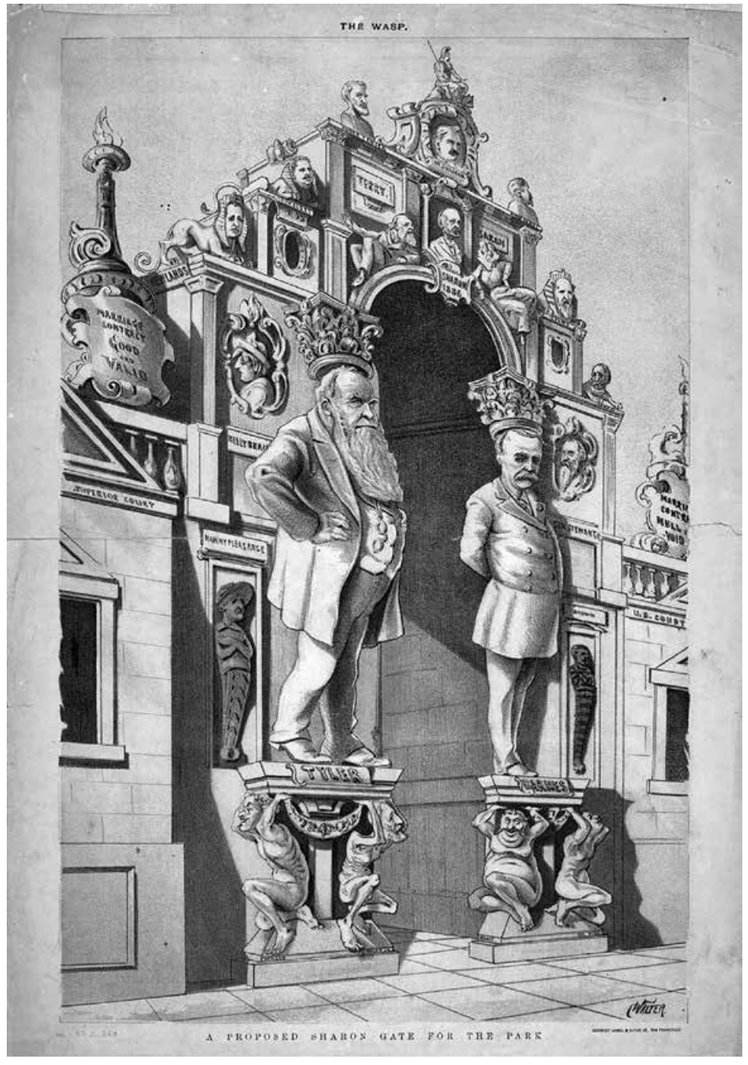
Living in Stockton, young William would have learned a crucial lesson about the forces of nature. Stockton was located in the San Joaquin River Delta to the west of the great California Sierra drainage basin. The winter of 1861-62 saw a series of immensely destructive floods that overflowed the San Joaquin's banks and sloughs, providing him an eyewitness experience of what uncontrolled water can do. Bridges floated away and boats became the vehicles of choice in everyday transportation.[5]

Hall also had a strong affinity with plants. One of the few intimate insights into his life comes from a journal Hall kept for less than two months in early 1865. About to turn 20, he often mentioned working in the family garden, noting roses, a pear tree, and the care and upkeep of other plants in the garden. His entries also include descriptions of the weather and the height of river water, located close to the family residence. This awareness of details became part of his life-long ethos.[6]

Hall's professional civil engineering career started in 1866 when he apprenticed as a draftsman and surveyor for the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers. He conducted the first survey for a shipping canal to bring deep-sea vessels into Stockton's inland port.[7] Hall advanced quickly, surveying West Coast land from San Diego northward to Washington state—including around San Francisco Bay—for the U.S. Coast Survey. His work with the Corps included learning about the science of sand dune reclamation along San Francisco's western coastline. Here, under General Barton S. Alexander, he studied an area known as San Francisco's 'Outside Lands,' gaining knowledge that would serve him well in the future. Additionally, Hall worked on mining engineering projects in California and Nevada.[8]

The year 1870 was a tremendous crossroads in Hall's life: he was 24. That year he married Emma Kate Fitzhugh in San Francisco. Over the years, they had three daughters, Anna Hammond, Margaret Fitzhugh, and Katherine Buchanan Hall. That same year, a large urban park was about to be built in San Francisco. The city had evolved quickly from a gold rush town to a thriving port. The transcontinental railroad had been completed in 1869, further securing its promise of a bright future. This great San Francisco park would become Hall's greatest task and finest achievement.

The park's genesis lay in the new city's concern for breathing space, combined with San Francisco's desire to be the West Coast's metropolitan star. Earlier efforts to develop such a park had not been successful.[9] In order for the City to initiate the building of its much-desired open-space, Governor Henry H. Haight appointed a locally-based three-person Board of Park Commissioners on April 19, 1870.



An editorial satire on the proposed Sharon Memorial Gate, which is pointing out the many indiscretions of William Sharon. With Sharon in the symbolic keystone position, readers of the day could probably identify all the 20 individuals that were shown and what they represented in Sharon's tumultuous life.
Source: *The Wasp,* vol. XVI, no. 496, January 30, 1886, 8.

Once established, the board solicited bids for a topographical survey of the selected tract in the Outside Lands, a tract of mostly sand on the west side of the San Francisco Peninsula. Based on his prior experience with the site and with the support of his ex-boss, the influential General Alexander, Hall won the contract on August 8, 1870. His proposal, chosen from those submitted by several bidders, was for $4,860. He completed the basic task in six months. The commissioners intended to stage a competition for the next phase, the park's design.[10] However, Hall foresaw this hurdle and created, at his own expense, a preliminary park plan. The commissioners were impressed enough with what Hall presented to hire him to continue through the project's development phases. Having proved himself, Hall was appointed park superintendent on August 14, 1871, at a salary of $250 a month.[11] For such an enterprising and courageous young man, this was a major professional coup.

Both Hall and the commissioners met great opposition from naysayers who derided the Herculean task of turning San Francisco's sand dunes into an English pastoral landscape like that of New York's Central Park. Among many criticisms, one public comment compared the site to "The Sahara, that is to be by some magical process not yet explained transformed into a park…".[12] Some of these critics had their own agendas, wanting to line

Above: Hand colored presentation drawing by William Hammond Hall from July 1888 showing the Sharon Building and the landscape layout for the Quarters for Children. The circular element remains as the carousel location to this day. Source: San Francisco Recreation and Park Department.

Left: The Norman Medal, bestowed upon Hall in 1895 by the American Society of Civil Engineers. Source: https://www.icollector.com/1872-Norman-Medal-Julian-AM-9-PR60-Uncertified-Gold_i6557068, accessed February 15, 2020.

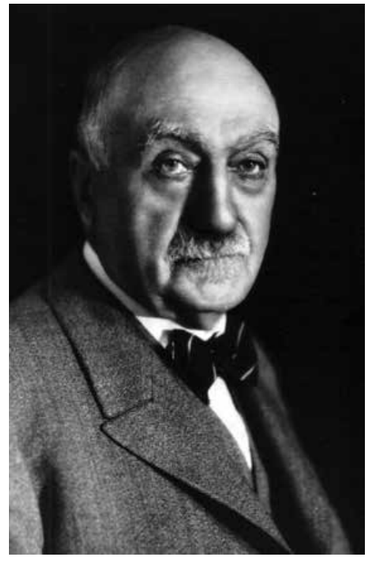
Opposite left: Portrait of landscape architect Frederick Law Olmsted. Source: *The World's Work,* vol. VI, New York: Doubleday, Page and Co., 1903, 3938.

Opposite right: Portrait of Superintendent John McLaren Source: author's collection.

their own pockets by having the park located elsewhere on the peninsula. Fortunately, the commission prevailed.

With no formal training or background, Hall had to focus on the problem with a dedication that few can appreciate. Otherwise, he would have failed in his first large commission and been ridiculed for the rest of his career. Seeing beyond the sand—touted as a wasteland at the time, Hall understood the various elements involved (such as the site's geography, geology, hydrology, and vegetation)—and the dynamics amongst them—in a way that was not generally recognized at the time. Having done work around the perimeter of the San Francisco Peninsula, Hall had gained a technical understanding of water resources and the roles played by fog and wind. Additionally, he recognized how the sand acted as insulation against evaporation.

But a knowledge of the site did not lead immediately to a viable park design. For this, Hall went to the experts. He sought out and read many books on park design. With the park project underway, Hall wrote his first letter to Olmsted, on August 22, 1871,



expressing his admiration of the famous landscape architect's work and asking for his advice. This began a mentoring correspondence that would last for decades. Hall started out his work with a project that flew in the face of Olmsted's pragmatic advice against a green park sited in the middle of arid sands. But the city was investing in the future and Hall was convinced that he could meet the city's expectations.

Through intensive study, Hall learned about the basic components involved in creating the proposed park. He wrote in the *First Biennial Report of 1870-1871*: "there is an abundance of water to be had throughout the eastern portion of the Reservation, at a depth of twenty-five to thirty-five feet below the surface of the ground in the valleys. Under the clay formation, at the western end of the Avenue, it is even nearer the surface."[13] Early on, he recommended that an on-site nursery be established to provide plantings for the park. It was carried out initially near where McLaren Lodge stands today.

With three years of the park's construction behind him, Hall submitted a report titled "Influence of Parks and Pleasure-Grounds" that was originally published in the *Report of the Park Commissioners 1872-73* and simultaneously published in the highly respected *Overland Monthly* magazine.[14] In it he laid out his systematic views on the social value of parks writing that "primarily, they are intended to provide the best practicable means for healthful recreation for people of all classes, and the influence which they thus exert upon society can scarcely be overestimated."[15] In this, he was influenced by the writings of American landscape designer Andrew Jackson Downing (1815-1852) as well as Olmsted, and the European landscape garden designers Sir Humphrey Repton and John Loudon. Indeed, Hall was an apt pupil of the many landscape architectural considerations in great detail, from both cultural and technical standpoints.

In his efforts to stabilize the dunes, Hall carried out (and recorded for posterity) experiments held within the park between December 1872 and the following January. Afforestation, the development of sand into a growing medium for plants, shrubs, and trees, sounds like alchemy. In fact, the known scientific phased approach of plant succession (described in the first of these two Eden articles) was used to convert the sand dunes into an arable landscape. The first sequence included two members of the deep-rooted native lupine family, *Lupinus arboreus* and *Lupinus albifrons*, that were mixed with faster-growing common barley, which shielded the developing and slower growing, but longer-lasting, lupine.[16] Serendipity played a part in the experiment: while Hall was surveying the Outside Lands' dunes on horseback with colleagues, some horse feed spilled onto the sand. Upon finding sprouted seedlings soon after, he determined that barley would be an answer to the problem of arresting the sands.[17]

As the project advanced, many supporters were on board with the development of the park. However, there were detractors, too. One wrote, "Of all the elephants the city of San Francisco ever owned, they now have the heaviest in the shape of "Golden Gate Park." A dreary waste of shifting sandhills, where a blade of grass cannot be raised without four posts to support and keep it from blowing away."[18] It took vision to see beyond the popular thoughts of the untrained mind. Hall and the park commissioners bucked the tide of popular thinking with tenacity and a scientific approach.

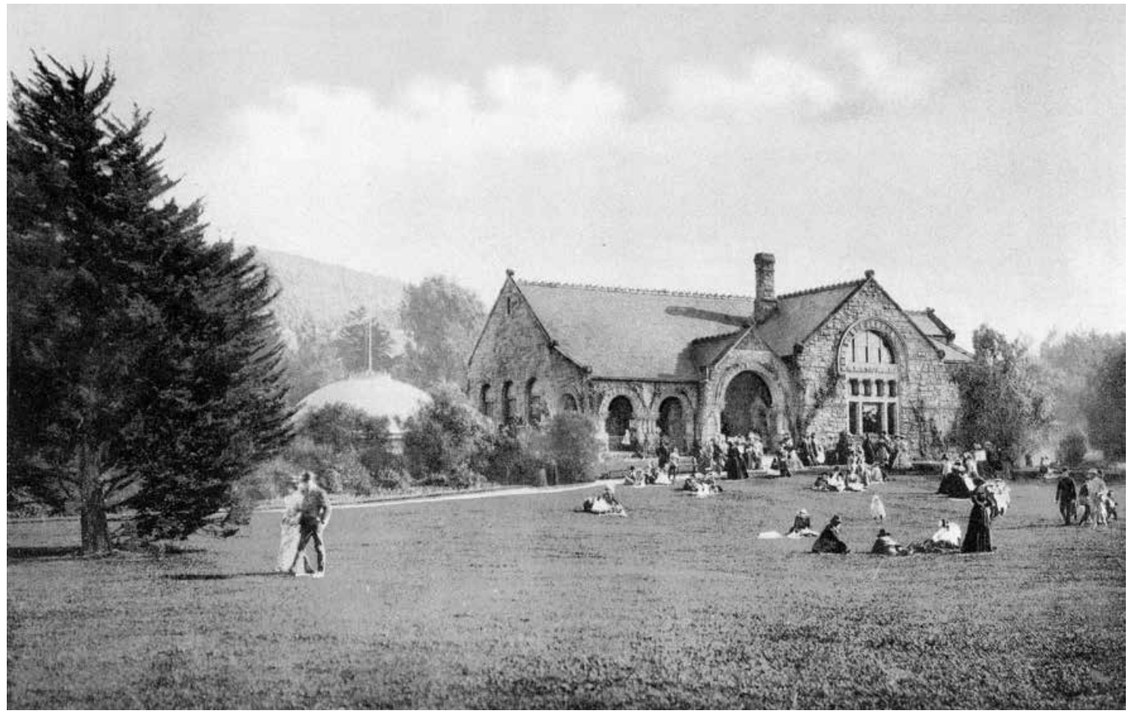
Hall wisely grasped the global picture of what was at stake. In 1873, he made a profound statement for the time that easily resonates today. Hall was discussing the park in relation to the much larger picture of land reclamation across the continents. In his broad-ranging essay he wrote:

> Vast areas of the earth's surface have been stripped of the natural forest clothing through the medium of the axe and fire-brand in the hands of man, who, thus removing a most potent element in the problems of evaporation and precipitation, has caused great irregularity in the rain-fall in these districts, resulting in alternate drought and flood, and the formation of arid deserts or denuded wastes of primitive rock.[19]

He was setting the stage for his work and informing the reader that he left no stone unturned to make sure this effort was a success in every aspect.

In its essence, Hall's proposed plan for Golden Gate Park was ultimately carried out. For the most part, the park was built as a pastoral landscape, just as the city wanted, despite its inappropriateness to the site's climate, hydrology, native vegetation, and soils. The roads and paths meandering amongst the rolling natural and designed landscape reproduced the desired pastoral feeling. Hall imbued the site with the same romantic Nineteenth-century landscape ethos that it evokes today.[20]

Hall worked on another major project, while also serving as Golden Gate Park's superintendent, designing what has become an important layer of the University of California, Berkeley's campus plan. Olmsted himself had developed an earlier plan for what was then called the College of California in 1864-65. However, Olmsted's personal involvement with the campus was limited. Moving forward, the nascent university's Board of Regents chose to hire Hall, who prepared a plan and a report, published in 1874. Hall's plan for the campus, including the botanical garden and what would become the Campanile Way, continued to inform development for the next 25 years.[21] As of the early 1900s, however, with the university growing at a rapid pace and the emergence of the Beaux-Arts era, John Galen Howard's axial campus planning and neoclassical style buildings shifted the focus



Above: Looking south over the Conservatory of Flowers in 1891. This shows some the many elements of Hall's intended design of the well-developed eastern end of the park. Included is the Garfield Monument with floral plaques set into the lawn, on the left, and in the distance are the white travertine Francis Scott Key Monument with the Sharon Building directly behind that behind that. Out of view and to the right is the Bandshell and Deer Park. All this is set among a variety of plantings that was sand just 20 years earlier. Source: Western Neighborhood Project: wnp37.00388, photographer: Isaiah West Taber.

Opposite: The Sharon Building and its adjacent Children's Quarters were an outcome of Hall's suggestion of how to spend the robber baron's ill-gotten gains on something usefull to the community, rather than edifying Sharon. Source: *Twentieth-Eighth Annual Report of the Board of Park Commissioners of San Francisco for the year ending June 30, 1899.* San Francisco: Brunt Press: 1899. Photograph: Britton & Rey.

away from Hall's predominantly picturesque landscape design approach. Nevertheless, inherited from Hall's era, the picturesque Strawberry Creek areas remained along with many mature trees. The 2004 Landscape Heritage Plan produced by Vonn Marie May and Noel Vernon states, "as of the 1930s, no other campus in the United States appears to have achieved UC Berkeley's combination of beaux-arts neoclassical architecture set primarily within a picturesque landscape."[22]

The next phase of Hall's life would garner unwanted publicity, which slowed the progress of both Golden Gate Park and Hall's career. Hall became a victim of political revenge by former blacksmith-turned-State Assemblyman D.C. Sullivan. The backstory was that Hall withheld payment after Sullivan padded his bill for a commission as a blacksmith to the park. Later, when in the position of state power, Sullivan retaliated by accusing Hall of wrongdoing and had him investigated on several charges. This included the cutting of nurse trees, those excess trees that were planted to help a new forest grow, and then be cut by design. But somehow a special committee from Sacramento—a committee that Sullivan chaired—turned this into a fracas about stealing wood. In 1876, early in the investigation, Hall (who felt hounded) submitted a statement with the counter-accusation that "I have been brought up before a Committee, which had been stuffed in secret investigation with the tales of the sore-headed scoundrels."[23] Although none of the charges stuck, an insulted Hall resigned on April 30, 1876, in disgust when his salary was cut in half; he was not alone, as the entire park board resigned as well. The last straw was when the park's budget was severely diminished: the state legislature abolished the sale of park bonds and based the park's income on local property taxes.[24] Sullivan was one behind the retaliatory scheme, and work on the park slowed to a minimum.

Post-Golden Gate Park (first time)

Following his departure from Golden Gate Park, Hall and his expertise were in demand. From 1876 to 1878, Hall served as chief engineer for several major irrigation projects in the state, including the West Side Irrigation Commission, at that time one of the largest single irrigation studies in California. Hall may have found some solace in 1878, given the previous turn of events, when he was appointed the first State Engineer of California by Governor Irwin.[25] His salary was $6,000 per year.[26] In 1884, he was accepted as a member of the American Society of Civil Engineers,[27] and he continued to serve as State Engineer until the office was abolished by the state legislature in 1889. At the forefront of water use in arid California, Hall produced a wide-ranging body of work that included fundamental recommendations. During that time, he was the first to propose an integrated flood control system using a combination of levees, weirs, and bypass channels in the Sacramento River Valley. Additionally, he recommended navigational improvements for river commerce, compiled research on the devastating environmental impacts (that concept did not yet have a place in the thinking of the day) of hydraulic mining. This practice devastated the gold field's topography and had downstream effects even as far away as the entrance to San Francisco Bay. Hall was instrumental in laying the foundation for arid California's future, which depended on water; without it, the state would founder.

Never giving up on Golden Gate Park, Hall continued to consult on its behalf *pro bono*. During Hall's official absence, three superintendents came and went without being able to provide any real contribution due to the poorly-funded park coffers. Years later, an all-new park commission board was installed in 1886, which included Hall's well-respected and politically connected relative Maj. Richard P. Hammond as its president. It's probably no accident that Hall regained an official park title when the new governor, George Stoneman, appointed him consulting engineer to Golden Gate Park that same year.

One of Hall's important influences was to provide a shining public legacy for the park. Robber baron William Sharon died in 1885 and left a bequest of $50,000 to the park with no specific direction as to its use.[28] In the spirit of the times, the Sharon Estate trustees initially chose to build a memorial to Sharon that could not be missed as it would be located right at the main entrance to the park, at Stanyan Street and Main Drive (now JFK Drive). Designed by architect John Gash, it was to be a massive white marble gateway, with overall dimensions of 190 feet wide and 60 feet high.[29] Tongues wagged about the memorial. An 1886 issue of the politically influential weekly satire magazine, *The Wasp*, lampooned the gate's notion by printing a scathing two-page color illustration labeled "A Proposed Sharon Gate for the Park" that showed twenty prominent personalities, an allegory recounting Sharon's many peccadilloes that took place during his tumultuous life. The magazine's article was written by its very political editor Frank M. Pixley, who was appointed by the governor as a member of the park commission, which in turn appointed him its president.[30]

Hall had other ideas about how the funds should be used and submitted a report to the Park Commissioners detailing his reasons why the funds should be used for the direct benefit of children.[31] His report swayed the powerful trustees of the estate to build another kind of memorial—the Sharon Quarters for Children, one of the earliest U.S. playgrounds for *public* use. Although construction had already begun on the much-ballyhooed archway entrance, the estate trustees agreed to scuttle it.[32] The playground as a place for child development was a new social idea. This was another example of Hall studying and implementing cultural trends that were coming to the public eye. The Sharon Quarters playground opened on December 22, 1888, along with a companion building, and the playground continues to provide family activities today as the Koret Children's Quarter.

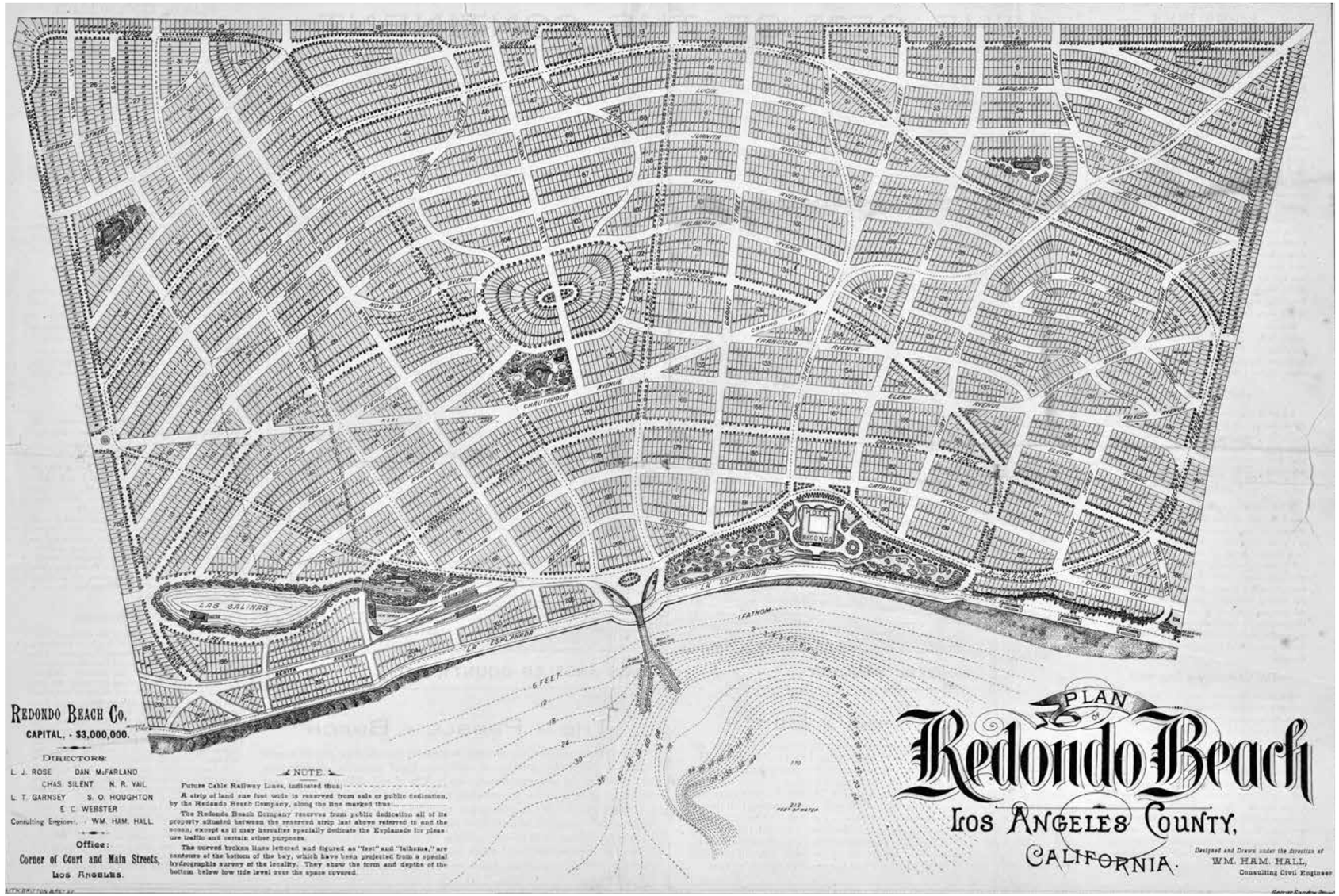
Thinking about the future of Golden Gate Park, Hall used his time to search for and find just the right person to carry on as superintendent. He recommended, and the

Park Commission hired landscape gardener John McLaren, whose *resumé* included work on San Francisco Peninsula estates. As assistant superintendent, McLaren was initially assigned the job of landscaping the Sharon Children's Quarters, designed by Hall. With some time under his belt, McLaren was designated park superintendent in 1889. Thus Hall's official work with the park was completed. He went into private practice in 1890 as a civil engineer.

Post-Golden Gate Park (again)

Hall had taken on another crucial commission in 1887: he was hired by speculators to create a plan for the city of Redondo Beach near Los Angeles, which was initially intended by its backers to be just a "watering-place and seaside residence town."[33] But Hall suggested a broader scope to look beyond the client's intentions and investigate the site's possibilities as a stop for large ocean going vessels. Hall conducted soundings offshore and the data revealed a deep canyon leading to Redondo's development as a potential port; it turned out that the town was advantageously located for deep-sea commerce, allowing for passenger ships and freighters to dock at the shoreline. Redondo Beach flourished as a recreation playground from the 1890s through the 1920s, an outcome well beyond the investor's original intentions.

Family connections can sometimes be advantageous or sometimes not. Hall had an advantage in the form of family connections that certainly helped his career. His lawyer father was well connected in the civic and political arenas, but it was his mother's side of the family that had clout. His illustrious cousins were the well-known mining engineer John Hays Hammond (1855-1936) known for his work in South Africa with Cecil Rhodes, and West Point graduate Major Richard Pindell Hammond Jr. (1859-1900), brother to the former, who was Surveyor-General of California and then to the U.S. as well as being President of the Park Commission from 1887 to 1890. An unfortunate situation came about however, in 1893, when an uproar occurred involving his brother-in-law, William M. Fitzhugh. Fitzhugh was Surveyor for the City and County of San Francisco. The Sewer Commission was proposed to be abolished, and it was opined in the *San Francisco Chronicle* that the action would ultimately further Hall's finances due to his assumed influence.[34] Hall had to distance himself from the matter by making a public statement that he had no impact on the decision.[35] In the end, Hall was absolved, but once an accusation is publicly stated, it's hard to get it back in the box.



Hall's site plan of the Redondo Beach development centered on its deepwater pier located adjacent to the tourist focal point of the Hotel Redondo, access which is unusual for any coastal resort. Another focal point is the centrally located and symbolic Lamp of Learning shape that is formed by the street layout and next to the lamp's base is the Chautauqua assembly area. The Chautauqua movement, an adult education advancement included some moral and spiritual guidance and continued until the 1920s. Southern California cadastral and tract maps collection, Courtesy Library Special Collections, Charles E. Young Research Library, UCLA.

Water Resources and Development

Today, Hall's more substantial impact on California's residents lies in his later work with water resources within the state and abroad. His influential work laid the foundation for today's water systems in California. The guide to Hall's professional papers in the California State Archives asserts that "Hall's examinations still serve as the most extensive study of California's water systems to date, the scale of which, is likely never to be matched."[36] Hall's exhaustively detailed and voluminous reports, with maps, provided the authorities with a wide range of data useful to the interpretation of the state's water resources, combined with solutions to problems that affected all the public's welfare.

Hall's achievements in California's water system's development were recognized in 1895 when he was awarded the prestigious Norman Medal by the American Society of Civil Engineers. The medal, instituted in 1872, identified a singular paper that contributed to practical or research aspects of engineering. The award continues to be bestowed today by the nationally recognized organization.

Another of Hall's more important consultations was for the 51-mile-long Panama Canal, an essential maritime conduit across the Isthmus of Panama for trade started by France in 1881, which fell through due to many technical problems with the massive undertaking in difficult conditions. The U.S. took it over in 1904, and in 1905 Hall was drafted to examine the situation and present a critical report about engineering problems and potential solutions.[37] The upshot of the study was that

U.S. Senator George C. Perkins advocated the lock system, which was constructed, instead of a sea-level canal.

Although he sometimes was wronged unfairly, Hall was far from perfect. At one point, due to his knowledge of the natural resources available versus those required in the future, he was thought to have personally acquired part of a watershed area of the Tuolumne River known as Cherry and Eleanor Creeks. This was a valuable component in what would eventually become part of the Hetch Hetchy water supply serving San Francisco.[38] Hall presciently foresaw that water would control the state's development. For decades it was believed that Hall was singularly behind this purchase and that he made a considerable six-figure profit from it. However, in 1999, author Gray Brechin revealed a new look at the situation and concluded another scenario—no less embarrassing for Hall, however. Brechin writes that Hall, who was used to serving as a go-between for magnates and their dynasties, had been employed as a front to acquire the desirable property—but that he did not profit directly from it.[39] According to Brechin, "in 1910, [Hall] demanded and received a secret ten thousand dollar settlement from PG&E in exchange for his silence."[40] It may be no coincidence that, after living in a rented house at 324 Haight Street since at least 1895, he had a new residence built in 1912 at 3855 Jackson Street in the desirable Presidio Heights District. It featured air conditioning, an intercom, and an earthquake shelter as part of its amenities: all way ahead of their time.[41] He would live there with his family the rest of his life.

Hall as an Author

Although not working for the park commission, Hall's interest in Golden Gate Park continued. In 1911 one serious proposition was to locate part of the massive 1915 Panama-Pacific International Exhibition in Golden Gate Park. Hall responded to the fair commission's executive committee with a 15-page booklet, printed at his own expense, which discussed points why this was not a sound idea.[42] Ultimately the fair was held on a single site in what today is San Francisco's Marina District.

In 1913 the *San Francisco Call* published an article about Hall, which stated that he was about to publish "a volume of vast interest." Its content was to be a history of the early days of Golden Gate Park's development.[43] However, the manuscript titled "The Romance of a Woodland Park" never saw the ink of a printing press, and its typed pages reside in U.C. Berkeley's Bancroft Library's archive with Hall's personal papers. Hall dedicated his book to Frederick Law Olmsted, Sr., a tribute to an early source of Hall's education in landscape design. Hall's youngest daughter Katharine wrote in 1957 that the manuscript probably should not be published because by the time he finally got around to finishing it "he was an old man, not in good health, and weighed down with care and sorrow. Thus, he was not able to finish his manuscript exactly as would have been done under different circumstances."[44] She went on to say that "the whole value of the narrative would, one believes, or fears, become greatly lessioned [*sic*] or obliterated."[45]

As Hall penned his manuscript for *The Romance of a Woodland Park,* he was keenly aware that time and his profession had put him aside. One page sums up his thoughts. "Hence, except where expressly written to the contrary, the planning and improvement of Golden Gate Park as told of in this volume was accomplished before Mr. McLaren's advent upon the work." The next paragraph states: "This plain statement of the main facts of Golden Gate Park's planning and control of construction is here written because very much gross error as to them has found its way into print."[46] He goes on to say: "… about a year after I took up the work as consulting engineer (1887), on my initiative and recommendation, the Commission employed Mr. John McLaren, a landscape gardener, as superintendent. This was in the seventeenth year of Golden Gate Park development, and near the end of the twelfth year of my planning or supervision of it."[47] The overall tone, which is very formal, is bitter in places. In this proposed book, Hall clearly is trying to undo what he believes to be an injustice to himself and his legacy.

At age 80, in 1926, Hall let loose upon others about the issue of anyone remembering his time in Golden Gate Park. By then, McLaren had been in service for 37 years as superintendent. Ten years earlier, McLaren, then 70 years old, had received special dispensation to remain on staff, even though he had reached retirement age. Over the years, many accolades had come McLaren's way—including subtle, but lasting comments about *his* parentage of the park. In 1926 an editorial appeared in the *Chronicle* titled "You Owe Far More Than This Bit to John McLaren." The title referred to a salt-water artificial lake intended to be built in McLaren's honor where Golden Gate Park's soccer fields exist today. As part of the fund raising campaign there was a large public event held at the Tanforan Race Track in San Bruno where popular child movie star Jackie Coogan was also present; he was in the area filming the silent MGM movie "Johnny Get Your Hair Cut" at Tanforan.[48] (Soon after the lake idea was abandoned, and the Outer Mission District park was named for McLaren instead.)

After the initial publicity, a three-paragraph editorial appeared in the *Chronicle*. Its opening stated: "Nearly forty years ago a strip of sand dunes in the then outskirts of San Francisco was turned over to John McLaren, a gardener dottle [*sic*] enough to think it would make a park. Out of this waste, McLaren created Golden Gate Park, now by common consent the finest public park in North America."[49] In an immediate reaction, Hall penned a scathing two page "open letter" response that same day by enumerating seven items and preceding each item with an underlined "it is not so."[50] It is known that copies were sent to important civic leaders, including City Engineer Michael O'Shaughnessy. Beyond any jealousy, Hall pointed out that McLaren, to begin with, was not present for the beginning of the park; he did not arrive at the park until 17 years after the reclamation work was started.

The next year a similar incident happened after Hall read the 1924 edition of McLaren's only book, first published in 1908, titled "Gardening in California: Landscape and Flower." McLaren included a chapter about the process of sand reclamation in Golden Gate Park. It never mentions who started the project. The reader would probably infer incorrectly that McLaren had done this, and Hall wanted the story set straight. Hall sent a two-page, single-spaced letter to McLaren. One of the closing paragraphs said: "John McLaren, if you were in your right mind when you wrote and published the above paragraphs quoted from your book, you must have known that you were LYING in a way which might well work grave injury to the record of those who had been Park Commissioners long before your time, and in a way such as might be used as a basis for building up a specially credible, but false, record for yourself as Park Superintendent."[51] It is unknown what McLaren's reaction was.

Hall died at age 88 on October 16, 1934, in San Francisco; his wife had died less than a year before. The *Chronicle* carried a simple announcement of his death; it did not include any information beyond listing the members of his family.[52] There were few follow-up mentions about his legacy in any print sources for many decades to come.

Father of Golden Gate Park?

The first recorded mention of the idea that Hall was the "father" of the park was in a handwritten manuscript by Hall's daughter Katherine Buchanan Hall in 1957. In it, she, as any dutiful daughter might, waxed eloquent about her father's accomplishments. She says that "he strove unendingly to lead an honorable life and that his work should be done efficiently. Not only for his own benefit but above all for the benefit of others."[53] This obscure writing was left to languish until a 1970 *San Francisco Examiner* article finally started to pierce McLaren's long tenure as its creator.[54] Its provocative title "William Hammond Hall: The Real Father of GG Park?" finally put forth to the general public that there should be a review of the unsung hero's influence upon the park. It was Golden Gate Park's Centennial year. But McLaren was still on people's minds. This was only amplified by a four-page flyer issued by the Centennial Celebration committee that included a photo of McLaren on the front, and no mention anywhere of Hall.

In 1978 there was an attempt to boost Hall's presence by a new organization: the William Hammond Hall Society. It was, by 1981, cited as a group of 300 consisting of horticulturalists, gardeners, botanists, and others who were interested in the city's greenery and open space.[55] The society seems to have faded away not long after its incorporation.

At about the same time, news columnist Jack Rosenbaum stated his case for Hall's recognition in a 1979 article titled "The Forgotten Man.[56] This was closely followed by a publication having the most significant impact about Hall: activist Raymond Clary did his best to inform the public in his two-volume park history, the first detailed history written about the park. The first volume, published in 1980, laid out Hall's extensive involvement in the park. This was combined with Clary's constant badgering of the press and authorities to recognize the historical significance of Golden Gate Park and its original creator.

Hall's lack of recognition and appreciation was further held up to the light when publicity came in the form of a mock trial. On January 7, 1981, a Court of Historical Review was convened by San Francisco Superior Court Judge Harry Low. "The mock court, an extra-judicial undertaking metes out historical justice and gives people at City Hall something to do during the odd lunch hour."[57] This session was put on the docket to look at the reputation of Hall who was forced to resign as superintendent of Golden Gate Park for spurious reasons. With testimony from various "witnesses," the court deemed the resignation to be politically motivated.[58]

In 1989 another article in the *Chronicle's* This World magazine section touted the same 1970 headline "The Real Father of GGP" but there was one major difference in punctuation this time: here was no question mark at the end. It was making an explicit statement, rather than asking.[59] Since 2009, the William Hammond Hall Award is given to worthy Recreation and Park gardeners or horticulture professionals in an annual ceremony. This is co-sponsored by the Laborer's International Union of North America Local 261.

More Opinions and Accolades

Natural resources historian Donald Pisani wrote of Hall in his 1984 book that his was "A career filled with promise (that) foundered in the 1880s and after, both because Hall was ahead of his time and because of flaws in his character."[60] California State Librarian and historian Kevin Starr reflected in 1990 that Hall was "a complex man…neither a pure public servant nor a pure entrepreneur, William Hammond Hall nevertheless achieved the first consistent act of foundational thinking regarding the future California might have through water. In this act of water prophecy, Hall made an enduring contribution."[61] Historical geographer and author Gray Brechin summed up Hall in 1999 by saying that "his long and eventful career was simultaneously aided by family connections and handicapped by outspokenness and an irascible temperament unable to suffer fools."[62]

Indeed, the tide has turned for Hall. *Pioneers of American Landscape Design* (2000)—the first book in a three-volume biographical encyclopedia celebrating the foremost men and women who shaped America's iconic landscapes—included an entry on Hall by David Streatfield, in which the author lauds Hall's accomplishments and compares him to Olmsted, Sr.[63] A 2014 article in the *Scientific American* said: "Writing in 1890, William Hammond Hall—the first State Engineer of California and an early commenter on Western water policy—lamented the lack of knowledge, organization and capital being invested to capture and best use the waters of California."[64] Biographer Justin Martin devoted a paragraph to the issue of Hall in his 2011 biography *Genius of Place: The Life of Frederick Law Olmsted.* In it he said "people often mistakenly credit Golden Gate Park to Olmsted and Vaux. The design is all Hall's. It's more accurate to view Olmsted as a kind of mentor, offering encouragement, suggesting pertinent books, steering talented employees Hall's way. Olmsted is the man behind the man who created Golden Gate Park."[65]

Hall's persistence in drilling into the facts and providing smart and viable solutions, even today, keeps on giving to California. His ground-breaking work in flood prevention was remembered in 2017 when a draft of the Central Valley Flood Protection Plan was drafted, which was the culmination of over two decades of flood management reform. It stated that "Sacramento and other Central Valley communities were and are at greater risk of catastrophic flooding than New Orleans (referring to Hurricane Katrina in 1997)."[66]

In summary, Hall rightly deserves to be remembered for his astounding achievement

Above: The floral plaque in front of the Conservatory of Flowers celebrates Golden Gate Park's 150th anniversary in 2020. Photo by the author.

in developing the framework of Golden Gate Park and the water infrastructure of California that we all benefit from today. This is the time for a lasting and permanent tribute to a public servant who contributed so much of himself. This is not to ignore McLaren's, let alone Olmsted's influence, but to bring Hall into the rightly deserved spotlight, just in time for the sesquicentennial of the masterwork he created from the sands of the Outside Lands: San Francisco's crown jewel, our Golden Gate Park.

Biography for Christopher Pollock

In 2016 Chris was tapped by the San Francisco Recreation and Park Department to be their first Historian-in-Residence for all of the city's parks. With this, Chris brings a layer of history to the department. His initial project was to research and record the history of the department's some 230 holdings.

With the 150th anniversary of Golden Gate Park in 2020, he will launch the latest version of his book, first published in 2001, *San Francisco's Golden Gate Park: A Thousand and Seventeen Acres of Stories*. The publication by Norfolk Press is a hybrid of a history and tour guide of the park's many features. This was preceded by another book, *Reel San Francisco Stories: An Annotated Filmography of the Bay Area*, published in 2013, which is about some 650 movies filmed in the Bay Area since the beginning of talkies.

Chris started his career as a designer specializing in interior architecture. With this experience, he changed gears to focus on historic preservation, specializing in historic research. A native of Connecticut, Chris has resided in San Francisco since 1979.

NOTE

The author would like to acknowledge the generous support by Terrence Young of Cal Poly Pomona, who authored *Building San Francisco's Parks 1850-1930* in 2004. Terry's review and thoughtful suggestions on this essay helped to flesh out William Hammond Hall.

Endnotes

1 *Press Reference Library, Notables of the Southwest.* (Southwest Edition) Los Angeles: Los Angeles Examiner, 1912, 121.

2 *An Illustrated History of San Joaquin County, California.* Chicago: Lewis Publishing Co., 1890, 43. Williams, Thomas John Chew. *A History of Washington County, Maryland. Hagerstown, Md.:* J.M. Runk and L.R. Titsworth, 1906, (v. 1) 283.

3 They were not traveling alone as relative Maj. Richard P. Hammond was also listed as being on the ship as a fellow passenger. (*Daily Panama Star*, May 1, 1853). Hammond, an established resident as the Collector of the Port of San Francisco, also laid out Stockton, which became the county seat. Williams, Thomas John Chew. (*A History of Washington County, Maryland. Hagerstown, Md.:* J.M. Runk and L.R. Titsworth, 1906, (v. 1) 283.)

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8 "Golden Gate Park, San Francisco, Cal. July 4, 1888" Twelve-page program for dedication of Francis Scott Key Monument, July 4, 1888. No publisher indicated.

9 Olmsted, Vaux, and Co. had submitted a "Preliminary Report in Regard to a Plan of Public Pleasure Grounds for the City of San Francisco" dated March 31, 1866. The proposal called for a series of connected spaces with a variety of uses. None of these included the site that became Golden Gate Park. The plan was not implemented due primarily to issues with lack of enabling legislation and funding as well as a local preference for the lush green landscapes of parks such as Central Park. The Report is included in full (along with text, notes and citations from related correspondence) in The Papers of Frederick Law Olmsted,Volume V: The California Frontier, 1863-1865, ed. by Victoria Post Ranney, Gerard J. Rauluk and Carolyn F. Hoffman. Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990 (517-546).

10 *San Francisco Municipal Reports for the Fiscal Year -1870-71, ending June 30, 1871.* San Francisco: Cosmopolitan Printing Company (Board of Supervisors), 396.

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Washingtonia filifera in situ, reconnaissance photos, ca. late 1920s. Mode Wineman, naturalist photographer

The California Fan Palm:

Living on the French Riviera

VONN MARIE MAY
CULTURAL LANDSCAPE HISTORIAN

On a family trip in January of 2017, six of us pooled our money and journeyed to the south of France on a pilgrimage.

We were fortunate enough to stay in a very special place, an Airbnb my chef daughter Sarah found, *La Pitchoune*, the country home of master chef Julia Child. Fondly referred to as "La Peetch", this treasure is nestled in a rural area near Chateau-Neuf,[1] within the Lagrasse commune, just north of Nice and only twenty-five miles west of the Mediterranean Sea.[2] A pair of enlightened foodies had recently acquired it and had begun a program of restoration and adding creature comfort furnishings. For a week we were immersed in the retreat (and kitchen) that Julia and her husband Paul created . . . *paradis temporaire*.

My daughter prepared *Beef Bourguignon* in Julia's kitchen in the evening, and my grandson made crepes in the morning. We were fully aware of the significance of it all. Not being a cook by any stretch, I took many walks around the house and admired the informally landscaped grounds. The property was a former terraced olive (*Olea europaea*) grove, purchased by a dear friend and peer of Julia, Simone Beck, and built out by Paul and Julia Child in the early 1960s, a perfect site to build their country home.

I was amused to find a very familiar tree palette dotting the French landscape, e.g., *Platanus acerifolia* (European sycamore), *Cupressus sempervirens* (Italian cypress), and *Schinus molle* (erroneously called "California" pepper), to name a few. It was not surprising to see these trees since Southern California shares a similar climate in the range of 30°-55° north and south latitudes. Although the *Cupresssus* and *Platanus* are actually from that region, the graceful pepper is from Peru, not the Northern Hemisphere, not North America, and certainly not California. As plant growers know, this global temperate zone includes the Mediterranean, Australia/New Zealand, north and south Africa, parts of Asia, and of course California. We felt very much at home in the eclectic Old-World landscape of the French countryside.

In Southern California we host botanicals from other continents and hemispheres as well. Their presence can be directly traced back to the sweeping Victorian era of global botanical collection and study. California played a significant role in the introduction of exotic (non-native) species in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, and it continues to do so. The rich history of our two California botanical conservatories of the era, the San Francisco Conservatory of Flowers (1879) and the San Diego Panama-California Exposition Botanical Building (1915) both introduced and exhibited horticulture, floriculture, and agriculture as viable commercial industries for California during this experimental time. We are accustomed to these familiar trees that have acculturated themselves into the California landscape, albeit as involuntary émigrés.

On a day trip in the region we drove to the seaside resort town of Cannes, a somewhat contemporary city that still holds lovely historical character within. However, each spring, Cannes transforms itself into the white-hot international Cannes Film Festival and the Palme d'Or awards ceremony: January is an excellent time to travel if you prefer a level of normalcy. We walked along the *Boulevard de la Croisette,* but—when my group turned to walk toward an inviting village core—I myself, for some reason, continued along the shoreline of the Mediterranean. I came upon a small park central to the village that seemed to be overwhelmed by a stand of tall palms. It was such an opaque mass of trunks that little daylight could be seen between them, and I thought it odd how poorly placed they were.

The closer I came to the park it seemed that they resembled our native California fan palm, *Washingtonia filifera*. How ridiculous was that? Did I only see what I know and not what was actually there? I thought maybe there was an Old-World palm species similar to ours.

As I looked closer these towering palms appeared quite mature, near senile, and were definitely the worse for wear. Have you ever thought about plants that have evolved in one part of the world, been kidnapped and brought to another region? How do they assimilate, what foreign environmental cues must they respond to? Does the *Coriolis* effect alter their growth patterns from one hemisphere to another? Are they crying out, "why am I here?" Foolishly, I wonder about such things. To date there are no academic studies on the longevity of exotic plants which have made similar trips.

After returning home to the U.S. and pursuing some targeted research, I confirmed that I actually did see a huge stand of mature California fan palms, planted circa 1895 in France, along the Mediterranean. The information came from the seminal encyclopedic *Garden and Forest Magazine: A Journal of Horticulture, Landscape Art, and Forestry (1888-1897),* initiated by author Charles Sprague Sargent, author and founder of the Arnold Arboretum of Harvard University. It was my great good fortune to inherit the 10-volume set from my cousin, master biologist Mitchell Beauchamp.

> One of the rarest of our trees, and found only in a few remote cañons on the desert slopes of the coast ranges in the extreme southern part of the state, the California Palm has shown itself wonderfully adaptable to cultivation and specimens nearly as large as any of the wild trees are now found in several California gardens . . . as well as in those of the French and Italian Riviera, where this tree has been grown with great success.[3]

Botanists of the period collected exotic plants like others would have collected art. The hunt for "genus and species" was a similar passion. These languishing palms must have looked rare and exotic in their juvenile form at the time and were probably spaced appropriately. Although I can't help but wonder who came to the desert canyons of the Greater Colorado Desert, in Southern California, in the late nineteenth-century? Who collected the seeds or plants and transported them some 6,000 miles from where they evolved? The California species *Washingtonia filifera* (Alta) and *W. robusta* (Baja), thrive in single-digit atmospheric humidity, oppressive heat, and in desert canyons where permanent groundwater is available year-round.

> The California fan palm occurs in widely scattered groves in alkaline places in the Colorado Desert, east to western Arizona and south into Baja California, always in areas where the roots can reach a permanent source of water. Many stands are found along seepage areas of the San Andreas Fault. A member of the desert oasis community, it is found at elevations below 3500 ft.[4]

Right: "La Peetch Group Photo," Julia & Paul Child's Country Home, Chateau-Neuf, France. January 2017.

Opposite: "Small Park w/ California Fan Palms," Cannes, France. Photo by Author. January 2017.

The French Riviera along the Northern Mediterranean isn't quite the environment in which these transplants could thrive long term. Consequently, the stand I was honored to experience did not age well. There is a vast difference between desert palms and tropical palms—atmospheric moisture, or the lack thereof, being the most obvious. But who knew? Only a mild temperature range was necessary and universally accepted for worldwide plant introductions.

Washingtonia filifera is not just indigenous to Southern California, it is endemic and found nowhere else, having evolved in the desert environments of the western Colorado Desert of Coachella Valley, Palm Springs, Borrego Springs, and spilling over into southwestern Arizona.

> The original California fan palm oases were important gathering and habitation sites and were indicative of important [freshwater] springs, usually located along earthquake faults.[5]

The native Cahuilla Indians of Southern California, whose tribal lands mirror the range of *W filifera,* depended on the species for food, beverage, construction and apparel materials. During the hottest months groves of mature palms provided shade.

The first American-period documentation of the California Fan Palm happened even before California statehood.

> This plant was first observed in November of 1846 near the head of Carriso [sic] Creek, close to the southern boundary of the state, but was not named until thirty-three years later when Major W. H. Emory conducted his expedition in "Reconnaissance from Fort Leavenworth to San Diego.[6]

While in his late 70s and early 80s, George White Marston (1850-1946), San Diego's most significant city father, led the campaign to secure state park status for a desert park in Borrego. As usual, he had to endure all levels of roadblocks: land speculators, wildlife hunters, state bureaucracies, and of course it all came down to financing. Being a master at sorting out predictable barriers his entire life, Marston succeeded in one of his last tasks between the years of 1927 to 1933.

Marston first consulted with Guy L. Fleming, a San Diego Museum of Natural History Fellow, who had conducted his own "examinations" of the Borrego desert.

> He [Fleming] catalogued the varied physical features reaching from the pine forest in the mountains; through the deep canyons and gorges with native palms, sycamores, and alders; down to the desert floor with their own forests of ocotillo, creosote, and cactus.[7]

The concept of a state park system for California began as early as the 1860s when the preeminent landscape architect Frederick Law Olmsted, Sr. was summoned by Governor Leland Stanford to assist in creating a protective

framework for the Mariposa Grove in Yosemite and, incidentally, a Stanford University campus. One of the many resulting recommendations from Olmsted's consequential time in California was the beginning of a template for detailed surveys of natural state parks. Years later, building on his father's legacy, Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr. produced several surveys and foundational reports for the state of California. Olmsted, Jr. was assigned by the California State Park Commission to survey all of California for potential state parks.

> California's state legislature had established a state park commission in 1927 to plan and develop a state park system. The commission hired Olmsted in 1928 to conduct a survey identifying lands for the California park system. Olmsted divided the state into twelve districts and gathered more than 100 volunteers and experts to help him. The final survey identified 125 potential parks. In the process, Olmsted created a master plan for saving the remaining five percent of California's magnificent redwoods, the vast lands of today's Anza-Borrego desert, and many other important California landscapes.[8]

Resistance to a desert park continued but Olmsted would not be deterred. As he surveyed the palm canyons, desert mountain escarpments, and the unique *Washingtonia filifera* groves, his commitment to a desert park continued unabated.

> The real boost to the Borrego project came as a result of Olmsted's survey, submitted on December 31, 1928. Olmsted fully sanctioned the idea of a desert sanctuary, stating "Certain desert areas have a distinctive and subtle charm, in part dependent on spaciousness, solitude, and escape from the evidence of human control and manipulation of the earth, a charm of constantly growing value as the rest of the earth becomes more completely dominated by man's activities."[9]

The Anza Borrego Desert State Park in San Diego County was founded specifically for the protection of this endemic species and its host environment of surrounding mountains, and desert flora and fauna.

All ended well because of early-century, far-sighted naturalists. But there will always be those who feel and act differently. A disconcerting trend specific to the California Fan Palm is the thrill some feel when watching them go up in flames. Recently, in January of 2020 a

Opposite: "The California Fan Palm" In situ. *Garden and Forest.* Vol. VIII. 1895. P. 472 & 475.

Above: "Under the Palms." Ca. 1924. Edward S. Curtis photograph. Courtesy Library of Congress.

Boy Scout troop was camping at the popular trailhead to Palm Canyon when a natural stand of palms was lit up.[10] This destructive fad was also popular in the 1970s with off-road enthusiasts as well, but apparently it isn't a new phenomenon. In Mary Marston's family chronicle compiled in 1956, she wrote.

> Vandals were burning trees for the pleasure of seeing their torchlike flames . . . The only way to preserve this region of rare beauty and of great interest to the naturalist was to make a park of it.[11]

Marston's Borrego Desert Park ultimately changed its name to the Anza Borrego Desert State Park to include California's Spanish period cultural history, specifically the circa 1775 expedition of Spanish explorer Juan Batista DeAnza. This desert park achieved its status in 1933, and today remains the largest park in the state park system. The Marston family was credited for its efforts on behalf of the park. Mary Marston writes,

> In October of 1945 father received a personal letter of thanks from Governor Earl Warren in appreciation of his work for the state in making Borrego Park possible.[12]

Postscript: Had my daughter not made a career change and pursued her passion for the Culinary Arts, I would not have had the opportunity to observe material evidence of ambitious botanists who introduced exotics all around the world. Bon Appétit!

Opposite top: A Palm Canyon at Borrego Springs.

Opposite bottom left: "The Harvester," ca. 1924. Edward S. Curtis photograph. Courtesy Library of Congress.

Opposite bottom right: California Fan Palm, *Washingtonia filifera* framed by mature Desert Willow, *Chilopsis linearis.* ca. late 1920s. Mode Wineman, naturalist photographer.

Above: Palms burned at Borrego Springs Palm Canyon trailhead. *San Diego Union-Tribune*. 18 January 2020.

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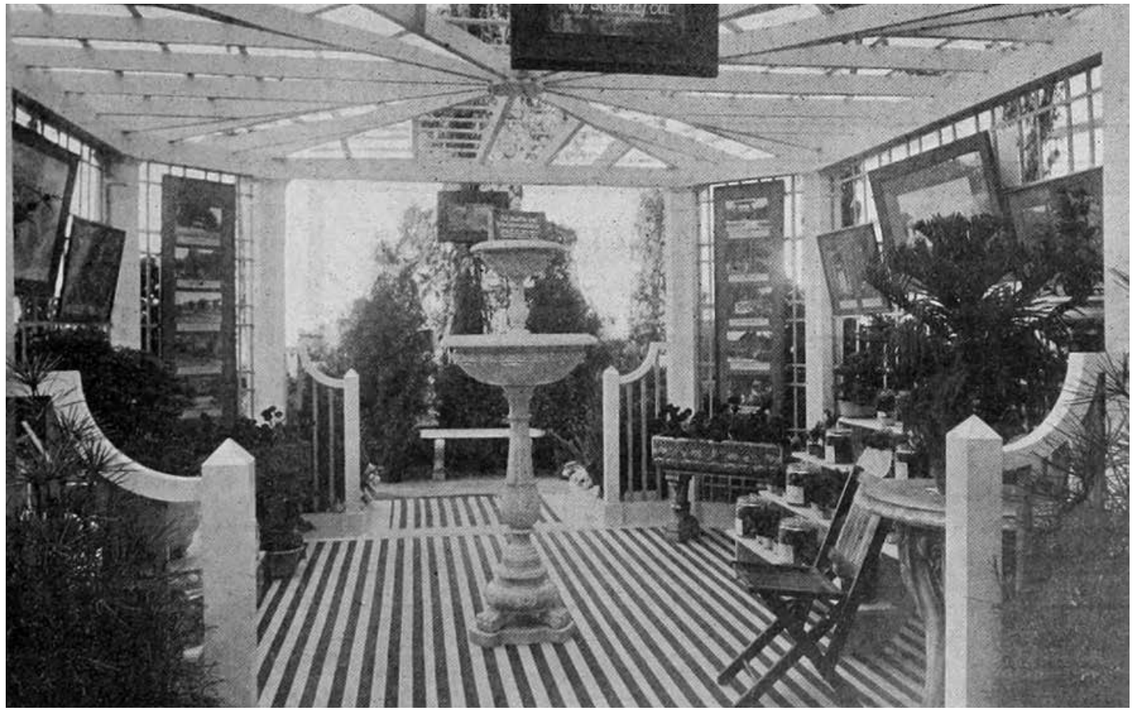
PAUL J. HOWARD'S *Enduring Horticultural Legacy*

Written by ALELI BALAGUER

Research and editorial assistance by CAROLINE RAFTERY
Chattel, Inc. | Historic Preservation Consultants

Mrs. Chauncey Clark is seen in her chauffeured custom-bodied Rolls Royce station wagon at the 1940 opening ceremony of "Paul J. Howard's Flowerland," which was at 11700 National Boulevard in West Los Angeles. Dick Whittington photograph, courtesy "Dick" Whittington Photography Collection, 1924-1987, USC Libraries Special Collections.



Active for nearly seventy years, Paul Joseph Howard (1885-1966) was an influential Southern California nurseryman, horticulturist, and landscape designer. Born into a pioneering horticultural family, Howard opened his own full-service nursery in 1912, offering everything from landscape design to construction. Highly successful from the start, Howard's business drew a high-profile clientele, earning him a reputation as "the most prestigious man in the landscape business."[1]

Howard's most significant innovation was the way he marketed his business, using his nationally-distributed "Flowerland" catalogs as a tool to sell an idealized image of Southern California as a flower-bedecked paradise. After discovering oil on his growing grounds, he expanded his business in 1923 and again in 1940, opening "Paul J. Howard's California Flowerland," which became a destination "famous the world over."[2]

While he was well-known and highly respected in the early to mid-20th century, today Howard's influence and reach is mostly forgotten. As a traditional design-build nurseryman of his day, little documentation had been produced which captured his full story. Recently, Chattel, Inc., a Southern California historic preservation firm, in collaboration with landscape architect and historian Kelly Comras, FASLA, completed a Cultural Landscape Report (CLR) for the J.B. Leonis Estate, a 1926 home and garden in Los Angeles' Hancock Park neighborhood. What began as a series of research questions stemming from the name "Paul J. Howard" handwritten neatly on a conceptual landscape drawing circa 1926 for the Leonis Estate, led to an exciting discovery process of unraveling documentation, following loose threads, and opening doors. Through an exhaustive research process, catalogs, newspaper articles, photographs, aerials, and case studies revealed the scale and breadth of his legacy. What follows is a life narrative of Paul J. Howard, pieced together to provide an introduction to Howard and his "Horticultural Establishment."

PAUL J. HOWARD'S ROOTS

Lauded as pioneering in the field of landscape,[3] the Los Angeles-based Howard family was recognized for their contributions to the horticultural industry. Patriarch Dr. Frederick Preston Howard, born in England and a graduate of the Royal College of Surgeons, married Caroline Huber, the sister-in-law of one of Los Angeles's prominent residents. Together they had twelve children and Paul J. Howard was one of five sons who would dedicate much of their lives to horticulture.

By 1884, the Howard family had a family garden patterned after those Dr. Howard observed in England. As the family grew,

> "… the busy parents had to see to it that each [child] had his own specific duties in maintaining the home. To the three eldest boys, Fred, Edward, and Ozro, fell the duty of tending the garden, to which they had to devote every Saturday.[4]

As the years went by, each brother found his own special niche in the field of horticulture. Arthur was the businessman and became the manager of Howard & Smith. O.W. and Paul achieved distinction in landscape designing, where Fred found his talents in propagation and hybridization. Edward divided his time between his own contracts and those of his brothers…".[5]

By 1890, Fred Howard, the eldest brother, with family friend George W. Smith, established the Howard & Smith nursery in downtown Los Angeles, on Flower Street between 11th and 12th Streets. While versed in many aspects of horticulture, they specialized in flowering plants. Paul J. Howard joined his brother's business and "[cared] for the violets, [made] them into bouquets, and [sold] them." Howard also spent time at the estate garden of attorney Henry W. O'Melveney, gaining landscaping tips that later influenced his practice.[6] By 1897, Howard & Smith moved their nursery to 9th and Olive Streets, where Paul J. Howard assisted them

Opposite top: This 1915 photograph was published in "The Florists Exchange," with the caption: "Exhibit of Paul J. Howard, landscape architect, at a show of the Pasadena Horticultural Society, Pasadena, Cal. The central idea of this unique display was a Summer house, the interior of which was beautifully embellished with photographs, watercolor sketches and blue prints, while the exterior was nicely arranged with plants of various kinds showing proper arrangement and correct principles of planting and selection."

Opposite bottom: Landscape architect Ralph D. Cornell, who was also a talented photographer, took this portrait of nurseryman Paul J. Howard as part of a series of portraits of the leading horticulturists in California, many of which were later published in Victoria Padilla's "Southern California Gardens." Courtesy Ralph Cornell papers, Library Special Collections, Charles E. Young Research Library, UCLA.

Above: In 1923, Paul J. Howard's Horticultural Establishment expanded its headquarters, moving to a 5.5-acre site at 250 S. La Brea Avenue at the corner of W. 3rd Street in Los Angeles. From the 1924-25 Paul J. Howard's Flowerland Catalog.

in the construction of their first lath house and greenhouse. Youngest brother Art served as manager.

In 1905, Howard & Smith purchased thirty acres in Montebello for use as growing grounds. Later recognized as the "world's greatest creator of roses,"[7] Fred received numerous awards, including the Royal Horticultural Society of Great Britain Cory Cup award, and twice won the Gold Medal award for roses at the Bagatelle competition in Paris, France. Fred hybridized over 100 new roses and, after years of experimenting, in 1910 was named "one of the greatest rose producers in the nation"[8] with fields "yielding more than two million roses annually."[9]

Though he was never formally trained, Paul J. Howard's early family life and the experience working with his brothers served as an invaluable informal education. In 1912 he left Howard & Smith to establish his own business, becoming,

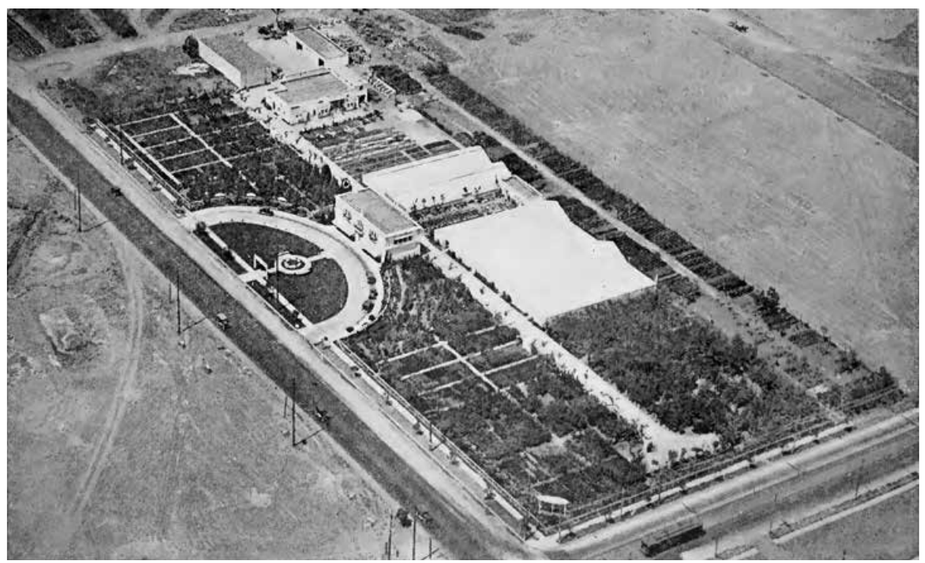
> "…so successful in a few years that he was obliged to purchase land on which to raise the plants he needed for his landscaping contracts. This was a propitious move for, several years later, oil was discovered on this land and the income enabled Howard to expand his horticultural pursuits."[10]

That same year, Howard married Allaseba Bliss (1890-1980) in Saginaw, Michigan. The couple had two daughters—Allaseba "Allie" May (1917-1995), and Carol (b. 1924).[11]

PAUL J. HOWARD'S HORTICULTURAL ESTABLISHMENT

Paul J. Howard's Horticultural Establishment,[12] located at 1321-1521 W. 7th Street in Los Angeles,[13] offered premier landscape design and construction services, in addition to plant material and fine examples of garden pottery and marble statuary.[14,15] Successful from the start, it was noted at the time that, "Mr. Howard makes a specialty of planning gardens, either large or small, and his extended quarters enable him to expand along all lines necessary to the designs he conceives."[16] By 1916, Howard's "horticultural establishment is a busy place. Quite a force is kept employed in the drafting room."[17] Presiding over this drafting room was Howard's chief designer, landscape architect Ernst P. Zimmerman, who had trained in Germany and had a master's degree in landscape design.[18]

As was common for the handful of large-scale nurseries of the time, which also offered design services, Howard likely employed recently graduated students of landscape architecture to do the design work. As landscape architect Archibald Elexis "A.E." Hanson later recalled, in 1915 he briefly apprenticed under Howard[19] after spending a year with native California plants specialist Theodore Payne. Aspiring to become a landscape architect,[20] Hanson sought work with Howard because he regarded him as "better than anyone else



Right: Paul J. Howard's Horticultural Establishment aerial from Flowerland catalog 1924-25.

Opposite: As another indication of Howard's marketing savvy, around 1924 he began the production and national distribution of his Flowerland catalogs, which sought to sell an idealized image of Southern California to his followers.

Designing a Garden as a Part of the Home

The fundamental purpose of all the arts is to give pleasure and comfort to the persons who see or use that which is created. People are affected by their environment, so the garden should be created for the purpose of giving both beauty and comfort.

Landscape Architecture is the art of design; the arrangement of all buildings, drives, walks, gardens, lawns, as well as the plantings in the landscape. The well-planned landscape garden like the master landscape painting expresses and emphasizes some particular thought or feeling. It may express gayety or quietness, it may be extensive or limited, but it will represent a complete picture and not a mere collection of garden objects.

It is not enough to plant; each plant must be in the right place, for mere planting and grading does not constitute a well-planned garden, in fact, they often spoil it. It is the duty of that person who plans and plants a garden to secure from it the most that can possibly be created, giving due consideration to the purpose for which that particular piece of work is designed.

Designing and executing effective Landscape settings for homes of all types has been our specialty for more than a score of years. Our success may be judged by our steady growth from one of the smallest to one of the largest organizations on the Pacific Coast.

We would be pleased to tell you about our Landscape Service.

Paul J. Howard's
HORTICULTURAL ESTABLISHMENT
250 So. La Brea Ave.

in California."[21] Though Hanson hoped to learn more about design, Howard had him primarily "chasing" jobs as a salesman.[22] Even so, Hanson gained an invaluable understanding of landscape construction, which served him well when he started his own firm the following year. Among Hanson's later accomplishments was the design of the 16-acre Greenacres estate in Beverly Hills (1925) for comedian and producer Harold Lloyd.

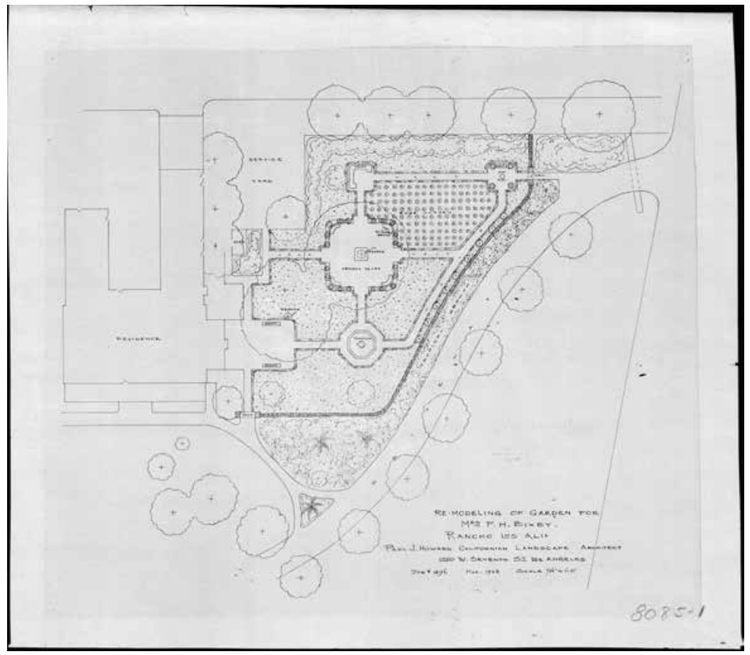
One clever way Howard marketed his business was by finding sales opportunities using published construction notices. Reviewing issues of the weekly-published *The Southwestern Contractor* magazine, Howard made a note of new construction work—the magazine detailed permits, which showed proposed building types, their associated architects, and related costs of each job.[23] Howard would then send his salesmen out to contact the architects, clients, and contractors to obtain new garden commissions.[24]

Howard's first projects ranged from private estate gardens to large-scale work such as the development of a 200-acre residential subdivision, Windsor Square (1911), and a 75-acre, 321 lot subdivision, Wilshire Crest (1920). Noted as "one of the most exclusive residential neighborhoods in the Los Angeles area," Windsor Square boasted an overall park-like design with magnificent gardens and parkway street trees attributed to and planted by Howard.[25] Howard worked alongside civil engineer George W. Tuttle in the planning and design of the Wilshire Crest residential tract[26] owned by the Rimpau family south of Wilshire Boulevard.[27] His work featured sunken gardens "worked out in the Italian style, with stone and cement stairs, balustrades and bridges" planned for about 25 of the largest subdivision lots.

Like the classic Angeleno story, both Howard and Art, the "fabulous rose grower of Montebello,"[28] in 1919 discovered oil on their growing grounds,[29] bringing fortune and further enabling the expansion of their business pursuits. After Howard bought another property in Santa Fe Springs to use as growing grounds, he was able to "start collecting oil royalties before the first blooms appeared on his posies."[30] In 1923, Paul J. Howard's Horticultural Establishment expanded its primary headquarters to a 5.5-acre site located at 250 S. La Brea Avenue on the corner of S. La Brea Avenue and W. 3rd Street. This was used as the main distribution center for Los Angeles and adjacent suburbs. Recognized as "one of the most complete and modern horticultural establishments in the Southwest,"[31] Paul J. Howard's Horticultural Establishment included multiple nurseries with office buildings, greenhouses, and salerooms in Los Angeles, Santa Fe Springs, and Chatsworth. Howard traveled abroad to Europe and brought home species not yet grown in Southern California, such as Italian stone pine and Indian laurel fig.[32] While today it may be considered less desirable to cultivate exotic plantings, Howard's imports came at a time when water was plentiful, as the Los Angeles Aqueduct had just opened in 1913.

"FLOWERLAND" CATALOGS

As another indication of Howard's marketing savvy, around 1924 he began the production and national distribution of his Flowerland catalogs, which sought to sell an idealized image of Southern California to his followers. In addition to the lavish illustrations and helpful design suggestions, Howard's Flowerland catalogs included "a practical knowledge of plants and other garden essentials;"[33] gardening techniques and tips to guide planting by the season; proper methods for watering, seeding, and care to ensure success in any garden. The reach of these catalogs ranged from the average home gardener



Right: Bixby Site Plan: Proposed landscape plan for the Old Garden by Paul J. Howard showing the north drive, fountain, hardscape walkways, and the old pepper trees. Some of this plan was never implemented, such as the "rose garden," archways, and the sundial. Plan #8085-1, "Re-Modeling of Garden for Mrs. F.H. Bixby, Rancho Los Alamitos," March 1923, cyano negative with graphite on paper [print is a Paul J. Howard plan with Olmsted design elements in graphite on verso]. Courtesy of the National Park Service, Frederick Law Olmsted National Historic Site.

Opposite top left: Stearns pepper tree in the Old Garden patio, early 1920s. This California pepper tree (*Schinus molle*) is said to have been planted on the north side of the adobe ranch house in the mid-1800s when Abel Stearns and Arcadia Bandini owned the property. Photographer unknown. (RLA# 99.2.1156) Courtesy of the Rancho Los Alamitos Archives.

Opposite top right: Florence Green Bixby seated on one of the benches under the Stearns pepper tree in the Old Garden patio, September 1938. The odd ovoid-shaped object to the right of FGB is a patented green glazed, ceramic container for ant bait. Photographer unknown. (RLA# 95.5.14) Courtesy of the Bixby Archive, Special Collections, California State University, Long Beach.

Opposite bottom: Florence Green Bixby (Mrs. Fred H. Bixby) in the Old Garden standing next to fountain and lily pond, March 18, 1951. The fountain and pond are just north of the ranch house and easily viewed from the floor-to-ceiling windows of the music room. Florence Bixby hung an original Claude Monet oil painting of water lilies immediately adjacent to one of the windows looking out to her own lily pond. She understood and embraced Southern California's blurring of the boundaries between indoor and outdoor living. Photograph by George Metevier. (RLA# 99.2.253) Courtesy of the Rancho Los Alamitos Archives.

in California to architects, builders, and contractors. They provided consumers a list of practical gardening books of the day; a glimpse of "Paul J. Howard Culture" detailing how bedding plants were methodically grown and strains perfected; and most importantly, they promoted landscape design services substantiated by "men [who] have worked and studied to attain the highest points of efficiency in their chosen profession."[34] Flowerland boasted:

> Having spent a lifetime in the work; also possessing a keen love of it and the good fortune of being a native Californian, with a full appreciation of what CALIFORNIA stands for, namely: A place to live longer; a place where there is more joy; a place to live a more beautiful life. These are some of the reasons why 'the Paul J. Howard kind of landscape work' stands out pre-eminently.
>
> A thorough knowledge of construction and of all the numerous kinds of material required to building (sic) BEAUTIFUL GARDENS. A knowledge of plants adaptable to California; familiarity with soils; the ability to select only the best building material for garden construction, such as is required in the building of Walls, Walks, Tennis Courts, Garden Pavilions, Pergolas, Fences, Swimming Pools, and no end of our appurtenances.[35]

HOWARD'S LANDSCAPE DESIGN PHILOSOPHY

As a native Southern Californian, Howard's intuitive understanding of plant requirements (i.e., shade, sunlight, air circulation) horticulturally informed his designs (i.e., placement, selections, multi-sensory effects). He was strategic in spatially organizing his landscape features, crafting an indoor-outdoor Southern California experience, creating usable spaces, and luring users toward focal point destinations. Howard believed the natural environment should be fully integrated to the built environment, and therefore he designed his gardens to be linked to and planned simultaneously with associated buildings. Howard's designed landscapes represented "a complete picture and not a mere collection of garden objects."[36] Both attractive and practical, a well-planned garden to Howard was fundamental in "*making a home.*"

Howard saw travel as a way to become educated and inspired. In his *Los Angeles Times* article "European Gardens: We Can Borrow a Lot From Them Yet," he celebrates intentional simplicity through the selection of plants that create visual and physical depth. This multi-sensory experience, he believed, would take advantage of "myriad shades of green and

countless forms of foliage to be dealt with." He further proclaimed, "gradations of height must be considered," and rejoiced in "how artfully Nature has tucked into flowers inimitable perfumes!"[37]

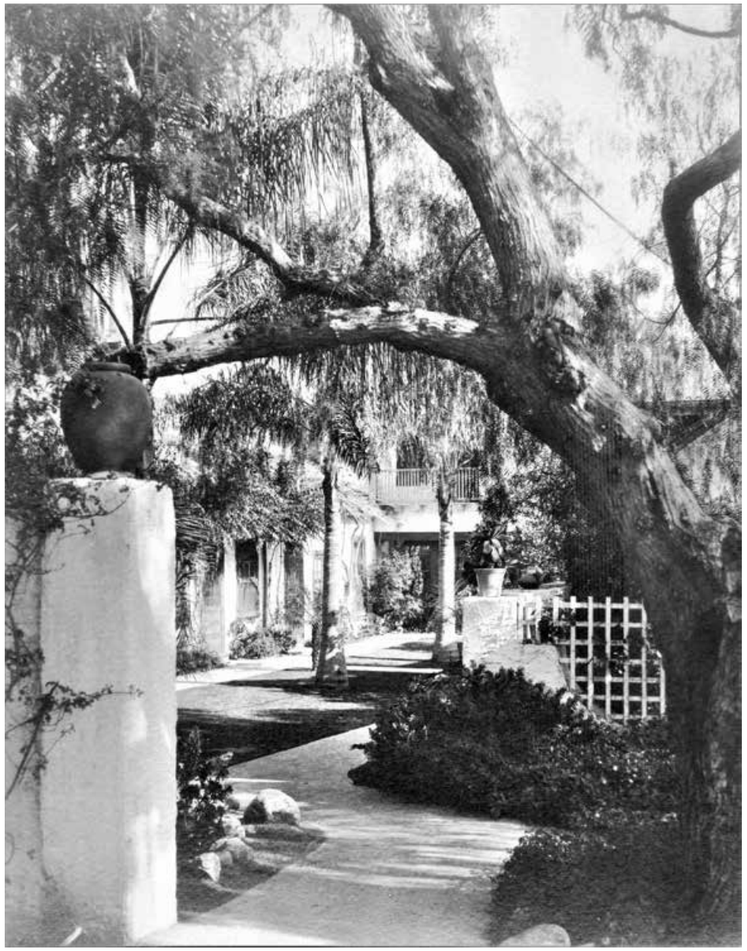
RANCHO LOS ALAMITOS'S FIRST GARDEN COMMISSIONS

Howard's reputation earned him the trust of Florence Bixby. She hired him to develop a master landscape plan and detailed plans for the 7.5-acre Rancho Los Alamitos site, which included the Bixby's historic adobe ranch house (1790-1933).[38] The landscape has been described as an "outstanding example of early 20th century formal landscape planning, exemplifying not only the cultural character of the times but carrying on a tradition of the Beautification Movement of the late 19th century."[39] Immediately following Fred and Florence Bixby's fortunate oil strike at Signal Hill in 1921 (and later at Seal Beach in 1926), Howard was the first of several notable landscape architects, designers, and plantsmen contracted by Florence Bixby to carry out her vision.[40] After developing an overall master plan for the estate, Howard created detailed plans for the formal redesign of the Old Garden (1921) and for the design of the Back Patio (1921).[41] Consistent with his design philosophy, Howard viewed both gardens as extensions of the ranch house, exacting a "quintessential garden patio lifestyle of the region"[42] and creating a sense of indoor amid outdoor space. The Back Patio was functionally designed to separate the ranch house from the barnyard. The Old Garden was organized around an aged pepper tree planted by an early owner, Don Abel Stearns,[43] with an adjacent water fountain surrounded by formal hardscaped pathways delineating quadrants planted with flowering plants and choice shrubbery. Boundary hedging and plantings at varied heights protected the Old Garden from a service road, creating a large-scale outdoor room. Howard selected plantings compatible with Long Beach's Mediterranean climate and soil.

Howard's work immediately surrounding the ranch house reflected Florence Bixby's initial outward-facing attitude. His gardens set the stage for later gardens that reflected a changing inward-facing attitude as Florence Bixby responded to encroaching urban development surrounding the Rancho.

Using Howard's initial master plan for the garden, different landscape architects carried forward some of his concepts in their detailed plans for different sections. In 1922, Florence Yoch designed the Geranium Walk. The Olmsted Brothers were called in later to develop the hilltop (1926), with Howard's early planting plan likely inspiring their design of the Jacaranda Walk (1927) connected to the Tennis Court, and the formal Rose Garden (1928).[44]

In 1981, Rancho Los Alamitos was listed in the National Register of Historic Places and, in 1991, all of the gardens save one underwent an extensive restoration per the Rancho



Los Alamitos Master Plan executed by the Rancho Los Alamitos Foundation, Board of Trustees and Key Staff (under the direction of Pamela Seager - Executive Director and Project Manager). The Old Garden remains the single garden area at Rancho Los Alamitos, still awaiting historic restoration. (Subject to pending funding for historic research, garden restoration plans, and execution.)

ESTATE GARDENS

By the late-1920s, Howard's repertoire of work expanded to include commissions for large estate gardens for southern California's elite. Howard was one of many nurserymen and horticulturalists contracted by the newly wealthy in early 20th century Los Angeles seeking to project their romanticized self-images through elaborately designed estate residences and gardens. As a self-made businessman himself whose growing grounds for roses and exotic plants sprouted oil, Howard became part of this elite and was no stranger to their vision. He designed estate gardens at residences by renowned architects. One of these was the Sweeney Estate in Los Angeles (1927),[45] designed by architect A. F. Leicht for City of Vernon industrialist Morgan L. Sweeney.[46] Another was the Wild Estate at Fremont Place in Los Angeles (1930),[47] which the architect Elmer Grey designed for Charles John Wild, builder and owner of the Warman Steel Casting Company.[48] In 1938, Howard collaborated with architect Roland E. Coate, Sr. on the design of the Hornblow Residence, Los Angeles,[49] for film producer Arthur Hornblow, Jr. and his wife, actress Myrna Loy.[50]

In 1926, Howard was commissioned to design the garden for the estate of City of Vernon co-founder and banker J. B. Leonis in the Hancock Park neighborhood of Los Angeles. His design complemented the two-story Mediterranean/Italian Renaissance Revival-style residence designed by master architect Richard D. King. In 2019, Chattel, Inc. collaborated with Kelly Comras, FASLA, on the creation of a Cultural Landscape Report for the rare double-lot property. The following description of the Leonis garden is adapted from that report:

From its inception, the Leonis Estate was designed as a cohesive site, with a unified architectural character in a park-like setting. The garden was organized around formal axes, most with terminus points with architectural or other garden features, such as a pergola, birdbath, sundial, or benches. Many of these terminus features were situated within the embrace of paved or otherwise defined half-circles. The formal aspects of the plan were offset by asymmetrical placement of different garden amenities, such as a vegetable garden and, by necessity, accommodated an irregular

Opposite top: Entrance to Back Patio looking East towards the ranch house, November 1928. Photo by Albert Cawood. (RLA# 94.10.844) Courtesy of the Rancho Los Alamitos Archives.

Opposite bottom: West End of Back Patio showing succulents and cacti planted around pond. Pygmy date palms (*Phoenix robellini*) and queen palm (*Syagrus romanzoffiana*) in the lawn. One of the motivations for creating the walled Back Patio was to create separation between the residence and the nearby barnyard. November 1928. Photo by Albert Cawood. (RLA# 94.10.842) Courtesy of the Rancho Los Alamitos Archives.

This page: West end of Back Patio showing pond and wall fountain, as well as early planting of succulents. Pygmy date palm (*Phoenix robellini*) in the foreground, c. 1925. Photographer unknown. (RLA# 68.1.10527) Courtesy of the Rancho Los Alamitos Archives.

property line to the east, as well as illustrating the inclusion of a deep setback in the front yard that aligned with the front facade of the residence. Trees and shrubs were planted with the long view in mind, including cedar, bottle palm, arborvitae, bougainvillea, and Chinese juniper; Design emphasis was placed on open and sweeping views of the garden and the formal strolling paths were intended to also organize the spatial relationships between foreground, middle ground, and background.

The primary north-south axis line is intersected at 90-degree angles at four points. The secondary east-west axis joins the pergola at an enlarged intersection, extending west to an orchard laid out in two squares with a precise arrangement of 9 fruit trees per square, and terminating at a small seat and a background of plantings. East of the pergola intersection, the path extends across a panel of lawn with a central circle and bird bath and terminates in a crescent-shaped alcove with a seat, encircled with shrubbery at the eastern border of the garden.

A tertiary east-west axis links the fountain courtyard and rose courtyard quadrangle with a central sundial. Formally arranged paths enframe and intersect the quadrangle. The path continues west and terminates in a large, half-circle paved area with a wood structure to support vines. Another tertiary east-west path begins at the wall that screens views of the street from the garden, crosses in front of the fountain courtyard, and leads towards the rose quadrangle / orchard area, without substantial terminus at either end. A third tertiary path runs east-west at the furthest southern edge of the property. West of the pergola, an area adjacent to the squares of the orchard is set aside for growing vines.

Primary features of the front garden include an expansive front lawn, set deeply back to the facade of the residence, as was consistent within the context of adjacent residences; substantial groupings of foundation plants; a thickly planted perimeter southern border; and a semi-transparent boundary of plantings along the front wall adjacent to the sidewalk. These included six "sets" of arborvitae and Chinese juniper, spaced equidistant apart to provide some screening from the street while preserving open views across the gently sloping lawn to the setback. The cadence and symmetry of these evergreen sentinels are consistent with design principles used by Howard throughout the site.[51]

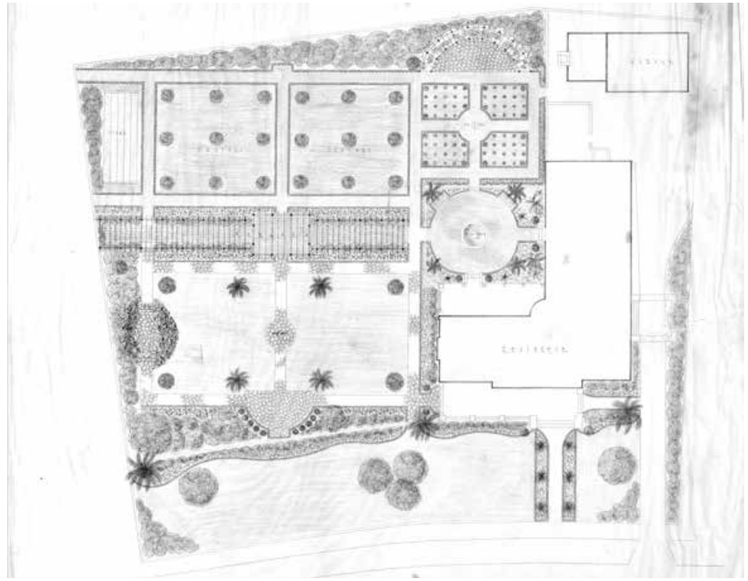
CALIFORNIA FLOWERLAND

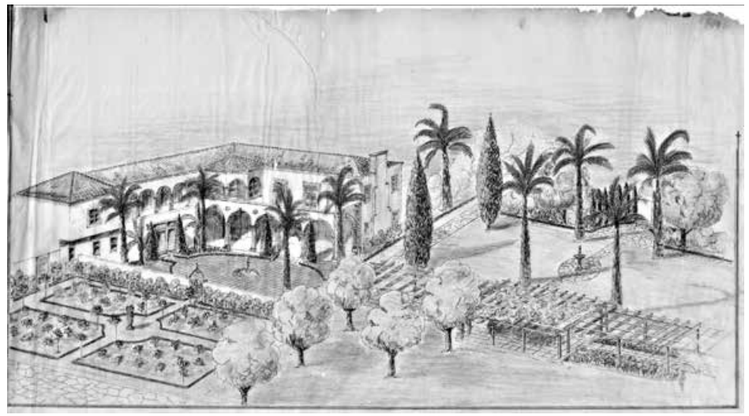
By 1927, the expansion of commercial rose growers outside the old established rose-growing companies was evident; his brother Fred's Howard & Smith nursery was no longer standing by this time.[52] Howard's growing business, design commissions, and continuance into the early-1930s exhibited his lasting relevance and adaptation to changing national cultural and consumer trends.

In June 1940, Howard opened California Flowerland, "The Gateway to Better Gardens," a 40-acre nursery located at 11700 National Boulevard in the Mar Vista neighborhood of Los Angeles that sold various plant types while also providing opportunities for landscape education and high-quality customer service. Visitors and customers from across the state and overseas would stroll or buy at Flowerland,[53] one of California's largest retail flower and plant nurseries at the time. Flowerland served as a destination, offering a multitude of landscaping options from rare cultivars to rose bushes to dahlias, deciduous evergreens to citrus, grasses to annuals "reminiscent of a giant flower show."[54] The interactive nursery included display gardens, a "Garden of a Thousand Roses" that contained over 1000 plants of approximately 250 varieties, and areas for experimental demonstrations.

In 1949, the Paul J. Howard Company developed the 22-acre Flowerland Park subdivision,[55] a residential tract and adjacent business area with public landscaping and infrastructure provided by his company,[56] located immediately south of California Flowerland. "In keeping with the superb beauty of the landscaping on the adjoining nursery grounds,"[57] the tract was to be supplied and planted with unusual flowering trees lining its parkways. Evidence of this subdivision today exists in a business and shopping center at the four corners of National Boulevard and Barrington Avenue,[58] with adjacent business frontage on National, all "developed by the Howard Company along Colonial lines of architecture."[59]

Following the decrease in the number of large estate gardening commissions, there came a decline in Paul's Flowerland business.[60] After an impressive reign of 43 years, Paul J. Howard's Horticultural Establishment and California Flowerland nursery closed three





Right: Hand-drawn plan by Paul J. Howard of the J.B. Leonis Estate, rendered in colored pencil on tissue paper, c. 1926. Significant as a rare double-lot property, the J.B. Leonis Estate Garden exhibited Paul J. Howard's thoughtful approach to spatially organize the garden around formal axes with terminus points, sweeping views, and strolling paths. Courtesy of the J.B. Leonis Estate Archives.

Below: Hand-drawn axonometric perspective sketch by Paul J. Howard of the J.B. Leonis Estate Garden, rendered in colored pencil on tissue paper, view northeast of the estate garden (unrealized), c. 1926. Typical of landscape designs of the time, what was realized differs slightly from what was drawn. The design intent remained consistent: formal axes from the central fountain courtyard with a curved wood pergola enforcing the axes, a node or terminus of Italian cypress trees, rose gardens, and a hierarchy between a formal viewing garden and semi-formal use. Courtesy of the J.B. Leonis Estate Archives.

Bottom: Aerial photograph of the J.B. Leonis Estate, view northeast of the estate garden (as-built), 1931. Consistent with his drawings, Paul J. Howard intended for views from the residence and fountain courtyard to sweep across the entire garden with a primary axis and separation of uses. Courtesy of The Benjamin and Gladys Thomas Air Photo Archives, Spence Collection, Department of Geography, UCLA.

Opposite left: J.B. Leonis Estate Garden, original wood pergola, view southeast, 2019. The original curved wood pergola offers an impressive terminus to the view from the fountain courtyard. Courtesy of Cy Carlberg.

Opposite right: J.B. Leonis Estate Garden, original wood pergola, view southeast, date unknown, circa 1935. Courtesy of the Leonis Family Archives.

Following page left: J.B. Leonis Estate Garden, bottle palms (*Beaucarnea recurvata*), view east, 2019. According to arborist Cy Carlberg, the "most interesting and rare botanical specimens" at the J.B. Leonis Estate Garden today are the two bottle palms (*Beaucarnea recurvata*) adjacent to the original courtyard. Native to southeastern Mexico and "exceptional in size," their prominent location in the garden was well thought out by Paul J. Howard. Courtesy of Cy Carlberg.

Following page right: J.B. Leonis Estate, west elevation, fountain courtyard, view east, 2019. Consistent with courtyard drawing by master architect Richard D. King, Howard's inclusion of a water element as central to the formal paved fountain courtyard aligns with Paul J. Howard's belief in bringing the natural environment into his garden. Courtesy of Chattel, Inc.

months after his death in April of 1966, and was replaced two years later with another subdivision.(63)" Update FN 63: "Distant Vistas: Exploring the Historic Neighborhoods of Mar Vista" PDF at http://www.marvistahistoricalsociety.net/. Howard was a leader in the California nursery and gardening industry for 68 years.[61] His Flowerland was "famous the world over for its stock of native plants and shrubs as well as exotic specimens collected from throughout the world,"[62] with visitors from across the state and overseas viewing and purchasing stock.[63]

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA AS FLOWERLAND

Paul J. Howard was a California nurseryman, horticulturist, and designer whose business acumen and pioneer branding extended well beyond his name. Through his reputation, trusted quality plantings, and nationally-distributed catalogs,[64] Howard strategically marketed Southern California as a destination. Because of this, visitors and customers, homeowners, architects, and builders traveled to Flowerland from across the United States and overseas to stroll his fields, commission his services, and purchase his plants. High-profile "carriage trade" clientele sought his work, and young landscape graduates sought to work under him.

While Howard is responsible for greening the streets of Los Angeles's most exclusive residential neighborhoods and for realizing estate gardens representing romanticized self-images of prominent Angelenos, his existing body of work is mostly unrecognized. Following its recent sale by the Leonis family in 2018, this estate remains a private residence whose garden has been altered to accommodate its new family's changing needs. His work at Rancho Los Alamitos, on the other hand, is open to the public Wednesday-Sunday 1-5 PM,[65] since Fred and Florence Bixby's heirs donated the Rancho to the City of Long Beach in 1968. Presently operated by the non-profit Rancho Los Alamitos Foundation as a historic site, Rancho Los Alamitos has restored all but one of its historic gardens. As a tribute to the late Pamela Seager (founding Executive Director, 1985-2019), the Rancho Los Alamitos Foundation is accepting donations toward the restoration of Howard's Old Garden, the last of the Rancho's historic gardens to be restored.

Paul Howard's cultural and horticultural influence are irrefutable. His branding of Southern California as a destination, as a 'Flowerland' of horticultural opportunity, and the range of plants dispersed across the region, are evidence of his lasting legacy.

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Aleli Balaguer holds a Master of Urban and Regional Planning degree from UCLA and a B.A. in Architecture from UC Berkeley. With a background and interest in the social and cultural factors of design and architecture, Aleli's career pursuits have led toward historic preservation, and its intersection with the built environment and cultural heritage. Of the Philippine diaspora, Aleli was born and raised in San Diego and now resides in Los Angeles.

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Endnotes

1 A.E. Hanson, *An Arcadian Landscape*, (Los Angeles: Hennessey & Ingalls, 1985), 4.

2 Wuttken, "Urbanization, Founder's Death Signal End for Flowerland: Paul J. Howard's Colorful West Los Angeles Nursery Closes Doors After 43 Years of Southland Service," WS1.

3 Padilla, Victoria. *Southern California Gardens: An Illustrated History.* (Santa Barbara: Allen A. Knoll Publishers, 2000), back cover.

4 Padilla, *Southern California Gardens*, 174-175.

5 Ibid, 177.

6 Ibid, 176.

7 Sayer, "Where Roses Bloomed Oil Is Likely to Spout," A5.

8 Padilla, *Southern California Gardens,* 180.

9 Ibid.

10 Ibid, 177-178.

11 "Paul Howard, Horticultural Pioneer, Dies," *Los Angeles Times,* 1966.

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13 "Article 5 – No Title," *Los Angeles Times,* Advertisement, December 16, 1917: III3.

14 "Garden Marbles and Plants on Display," *Los Angeles Times,* June 13, 1920: III26.

15 "Paul Howard, Horticultural Pioneer, Dies," *Los Angeles Times,* 1966.

16 "Garden Marbles and Plants on Display," III26.

17 *The American Florist,* December 2, 1916, p. 1043.

18 Hanson, *An Arcadian Landscape*, 4. Zimmerman began working for Howard as early as 1913 before opening his own design office by the 1920s.

19 Birnbaum, Charles A. *Shaping the American Landscape.*(Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2009), 127.

20 The Cultural Landscape Foundation, "A.E. Hanson (1893-1986)," The Cultural Landscape Foundation, https://tclf.org/pioneer/ae-hanson (accessed November 2019).

21 Hanson, *An Arcadian Landscape,* 4.

22 Ibid, 5.

23 Ibid.

24 Ibid.

25 Wallach, Ruth. "Miracle Mile in Los Angeles: History and Architecture." (Charleston: The History Press, 2013), 32; Office of Historic Resources, "Windsor Square HPOZ Preservation Plan," City of Los Angeles, Department of City Planning, July 2019, 8. Windsor Square was designated a City of Los Angeles Historic Preservation Overlay Zone (HPOZ) in 2007. Jointly developed by the Windsor Square Association and the City of Los Angeles Bureau of Street Services Street Tree Division, the HPOZ has a City-approved Master Plan of Parkway Trees (2000) "dedicated to Paul J. Howard's memory." [Windsor Square Association, "The Trees of Windsor Square in the City of Los Angeles," Windsor Square Association, http://www.windsorsquare.org/wp-content/uploads/2009/03/the-trees-of-ws1.pdf (accessed December 2019)].

26 The Wilshire Crest residential tract was identified in SurveyLA, the City of Los Angeles' citywide historic resource survey, as the potential Wilshire Crest-Mullen Park Residential Historic District, significant as an excellent collection of Period Revival residential architecture from the 1920s and as an excellent example of an early automobile suburb.

27 "To Develop Fine West End Tract: Wilshire Crest Will Be Name Of Subdivision," *Los Angeles Times,* September 26, 1920: V2.

28 Sayer, "Where Roses Bloomed Oil Is Likely to Spout," A5.

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31 "La Brea Nursery Opened." *Los Angeles Times.* September 16, 1923.

32 Howard, Paul J., "European Gardens: We Can Borrow a Lot From Them Yet," *Los Angeles Times,* February 28, 1932, p 16; Paul Howard, Horticultural Pioneer, Dies," *Los Angeles Times,* 1966.

33 Paul J. Howard's Horticultural Establishment. *Flowerland*. Los Angeles: 1929. Exhibition catalogue.

34 Paul J. Howard's Horticultural Establishment. *Tidy Tips from 'Flowerland', Season 1924-1925.* Los Angeles: 1924-1925. Exhibition catalog.

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36 Paul J. Howard's Horticultural Establishment. *Flowerland: Bulbs, Plants, Seeds, 1928-1929.* Los Angeles: 1928-1929. Exhibition catalog.

37 Howard, Paul J., "European Gardens: We Can Borrow a Lot From Them Yet," *Los Angeles Times,* February 28, 1932, p 16.

38 Sanquist, Nancy J., Bixby Ranch Company. "National Register of Historic Places Nomination Application for Rancho Los Alamitos." Washington: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1981. https://npgallery.nps.gov/GetAsset/3a843445-401e-40c3-b9e8-3796a708305c.

39 Rachman, Fred. "Historic American Landscapes Survey for the Gardens of Rancho Los Alamitos." Washington: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 2012. 1. https://cdn.loc.gov/master/pnp/habshaer/ca/ca4000/ca4055/data/ca4055data.pdf.

40 Paul J. Howard's contributions alongside those of notable landscape architects Florence Yoch, the Olmsted brothers, botanist William Hertrich, native plant expert Allen Chickering, and Paul's brother, Ed Howard, collectively established the cultural significance of Florence Bixby's gardens.

41 Paul was also responsible for designing the pathways in the Native Garden, based on archival landscape plans. Early concept drawings by Paul J. Howard in 1921 and 1923 also indicate plans for a rose garden within the Old Garden, a Jacaranda Walk pergola pathway, and adjacent Tennis Courts. Execution of the Tennis Court, Jacaranda Walk, and formal Rose Gardens are later attributed to the Olmsted Brothers (1926-1928).

42 Jurmain, Claudia; Lavender, David; and Meyer, Larry L. *Rancho Los Alamitos: Ever Changing, Always the Same.* Berkeley: Heyday Books, 2011. 175.

43 The pepper tree's death led to its later removal.

44 Jurmain, Claudia; Lavender, David; and Meyer, Larry L. *Rancho Los Alamitos: Ever Changing, Always the Same.* Berkeley: Heyday Books, 2011. 184.

45 "House of Morgan Sweeney, Los Angeles," *Architectural Digest* 6:3 (1927): 96-99.

46 "Group hears aims of industrial development association," *Los Angeles Times*, February 26, 1928: E7.

47 "Residence of Mr. and Mrs. Charles J. Wild, Los Angeles," *Architectural Digest* 8:3 (1931): 4-12.

48 Fremont Place Association, "History of Fremont Place," Fremont Place Association, http://fremontplace.org/abouthistory/ (accessed October 2019).

49 "Estate of Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Hornblow (Myrna Loy), Los Angeles," *Architectural Digest* 10:1 (1938): 43-49.

50 Online Archive of California, "Maynard L. Parker negatives, photographs, and other material: Finding Aid, The Huntington Library," Online Archive of California, http://www.oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/kt6k4034m6/ (accessed October 2019).

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53 Wuttken, "Urbanization, Founder's Death Signal End for Flowerland: Paul J. Howard's Colorful West Los Angeles Nursery Closes Doors After 43 Years of Southland Service," WS1.

54 "Southland Garden Enthusiasts Bidden to Opening of 'California Flowerland,'" *Los Angeles Times,* June 28, 1940.

55 "Nursery Firm Will Open Flowerland Subdivision," *Los Angeles Times,* September 19, 1948: D2.

56 "West LA Subdivision Will Be Launched Today," *Los Angeles Times,* 1949.

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58 Three corner buildings planned by Paul were identified in SurveyLA as the potential Colonial Corners Commercial Historic District, significant as a cohesive collection of postwar neighborhood commercial development in Mar Vista, constructed between 1948 and 1962. The potential Barrington Multi-Family Residential Historic District and the potential Westdale Residential Planning District were also identified in SurveyLA as significant, with both districts' overall plans and landscape features designed in collaboration with Paul and his plantings from his nearby nursery.

59 "Nursery Firm Will Open Flowerland Subdivision," *Los Angeles Times,* September 19, 1948: D2.

60 Wuttken, Burt, "Urbanization, Founder's Death Signal End for Flowerland: Paul J. Howard's Colorful West Los Angeles Nursery Closes Doors After 43 Years of Southland Service," *Los Angeles Times,* August 7, 1966: WS1.

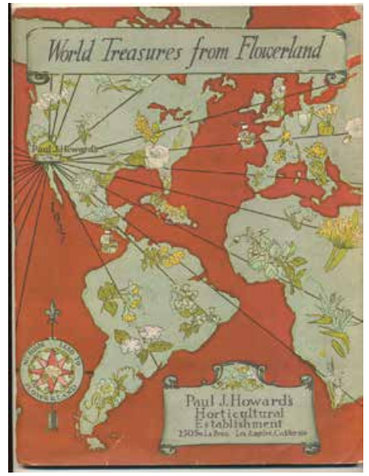
61 Sayer, "Where Roses Bloomed Oil Is Likely to Spout," A5.

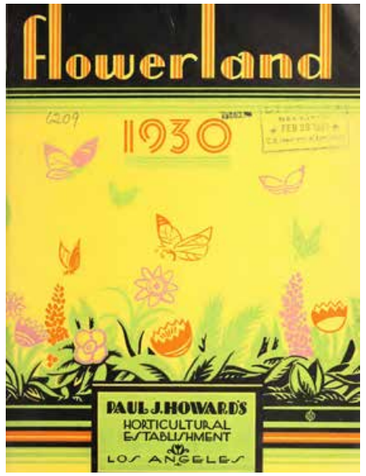
62 Wuttken, "Urbanization, Founder's Death Signal End for Flowerland: Paul J. Howard's Colorful West Los Angeles Nursery Closes Doors After 43 Years of Southland Service," WS1.

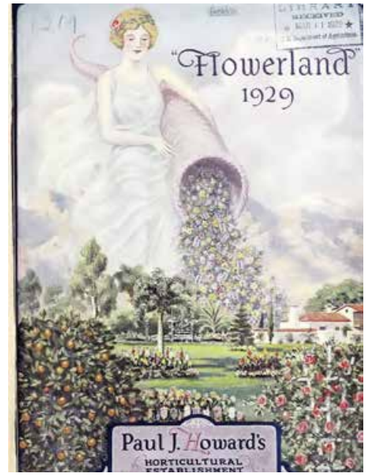
63 http://www.marvistahistoricalsociety.net/pdf/Distant_Vistas.

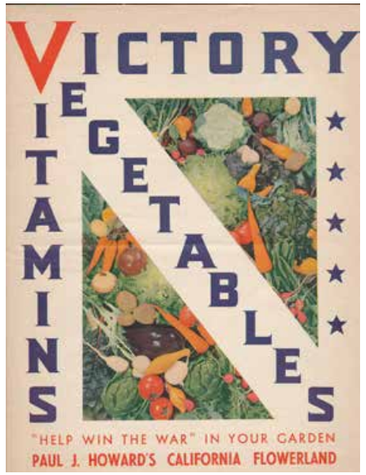
64 Archived Flowerland catalogs available for free viewing and download here: https://archive.org/search.php?query=creator%3A%22Paul+J.+Howard%27s+Horticultural+Establishment%22.

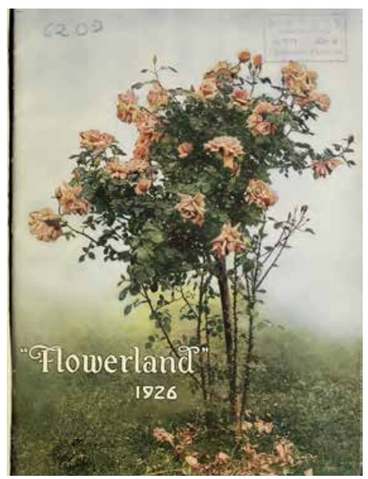
65 For more information, visit www.RanchoLosAlamitos.org.

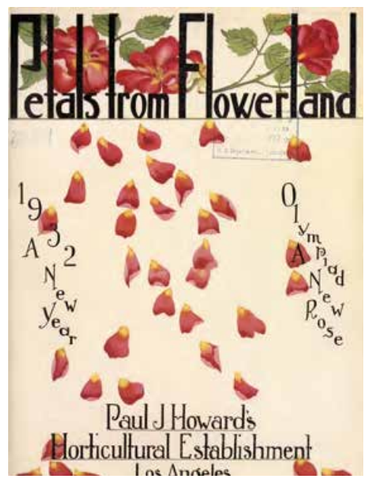












CALIFORNIA GARDEN
& LANDSCAPE
HISTORY SOCIETY
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Address Correction and Forwarding Requested

Front Cover:
The entrance to the Kaufmann Desert House, Palm Springs. Julius Shulman photographer.

Back Cover:
Rare photo of Grace Lewis Miller relaxing in front of her screened porch. Brittlebrush, ocotillo and yucca adorn the forefront of the scene. Fritz Block Kodachrome taken ca. 1940. Courtesy Neutra Institute for the Survival Through Design (NISTD). Architecture and Fine Arts Library, USC.