

INTRODUCTION TO THE REPRINT EDITION

by William H. Tishler

Between 1859 and 1866 Robert Morris Copeland saw the issue of six editions of *Country Life*, published by at least five and perhaps six different firms: in 1859 by John Jewett of Boston; in 1860 by John Jewett and H. P. B. Jewett of Cleveland; again in 1860 by John Jewett and Saxton, Barker of New York City; then in 1866 the fifth (slightly revised) edition, with a brief new postwar preface, by Dinsmoor of Boston; apparently the same year a reprinting by Dinsmoor and Moore of New York; and the same year by Dinsmoor for the sixth, expanded edition (source of the present reprint). This last edition was reprinted in 1867 by Orange Judd & Co.¹

In addition to the new preface carried from the fifth edition, two notable changes mark the sixth: for reasons unknown the author's name is changed on the title page from R. Morris Copeland to Robert Morris Copeland,² and, more substantially, the author has added a 95-page Supplement with index, thus increasing the book's length from 814 to 912 pages. The new material, comprising ten chapters, is intended to bring readers up to date on changes in American horticulture and farming since the Civil War. And it includes two chapters on an entirely new subject, the city.

One feature of the supplemental material is the inclusion of the names of correspondents who, one realizes, were among Copeland's earlier readers. Obviously Copeland had received substantial commentary on the prior editions, thus providing new material (such as that included in a long chapter on grape culture); and he generously ascribes to these various people much of the new information in the Supplement. In this way the sixth edition incorporates evidence of the success of the earlier editions.

The most interesting additions are the two chapters on the city. In chapter 8 he examines with a critical relish Boston Common and the Public Garden, lamenting the aesthetic opportunities that were missed. He calls the common “mutilated” and the garden “ugly,” taking the designers and implementers to task for their handling of footpaths (perversely straight in the hilly common, curved for no apparent reason in the flat land of the garden); for an unfortunate regularity in tree planting and the lack of variety of species; and in the garden for shabby and common flowering stock. Also he offers advice for the artistic design of the still incomplete Commonwealth Avenue, including the suggestion that ornamental effects be carried right up to the properties of the houses. In chapter 9 he presents various specific design layouts for such residential properties including rooftop gardens, and he recommends cooperative design, urging that neighbors join together and landscape multiple contiguous properties as though they were one (in the earlier pages of *Country Life* he likewise says the secret to improved farming is “association”).

Copeland had been thinking about city design matters before this. With Horace William Shaler Cleveland (1814–1900), his partner in landscape gardening for six years, he had worked on Boston’s Back Bay area and Commonwealth Avenue; the two had published astute remarks on the planning and design needs of New York’s Central Park in 1856; and in 1858 Copeland had entered in the Central Park competition two separate plans.³

But certainly the inclusion of material on the city in a book called *Country Life* was also a recognition that following the Civil War social and physical change would accelerate, that America would become more an urban than a rural nation, and that concentrated attention should be paid to making cities, with their growing problems of sanitation, crime, and poverty, somehow as livable as the country. One of the first, along with Frederick Law Olmsted, to articulate and address this need, Copeland in 1872 would put together an elaborate city plan for an improved Boston with much new and accessible open space.

Copeland notes in the new 1866 preface that “this long war” has absorbed much of the country’s labor, raised costs, and increased

the pressure on farmers. Especially it stimulated dramatic improvements in mechanical devices such as reapers, and he suggests that in order to be competitive farmers will have to adapt quickly to the new machine age. A main theme throughout the book, reiterated here, is the stubbornness of farmers and their habitual attachment to the ways of their fathers and grandfathers; Copeland wishes to encourage their self-education and their recognition that farming, as a productive engagement with the natural world that demands resourcefulness and sensitivity, can be an ennobling profession rather than the “drudgery” that many consider it.

In suggesting the radical nature of recent technological change and the need for immediate adjustment, Copeland may also have been thinking of the dramatic economic effects of the railroads, which were driving up prices of farm goods shipped from the West, with the costs of transportation over long distances. And no doubt he remained concerned about the inferiority of American farm practices—especially repetitive soil-depleting monoculture that led farmers to give up and head west, their land played out. American farmers are where English farmers were forty years before, he asserts, and one can more or less confirm this view by comparing it with that of another scientific farmer, Olmsted, in *Walks and Talks of an American Farmer in England*, in the many passages on farming written during his trip to England in 1850.⁴

The Civil War changed everything—farming and technology and urbanism, and also race relations, economy, foreign relations, domestic politics, the American frontier. For Copeland the war had large personal impacts. The outlines of his war experience, recounted below, give us pointers to what kind of person he was: principled; conscious of the advantages of his class and given to taking the initiative; occasionally impulsive, even impetuous; persistent; and passionate about democracy.

CITIZEN SOLDIER

Copeland enlisted in April 1861 upon Lincoln’s call for volunteers, and he was appointed quartermaster of the Second Massachusetts Infantry—one of the first Union regiments organized in



Maj. Robert Morris Copeland (seated, right) appears with fellow Union army officers Lt. Col. James Savage (seated, left), Lt. Robert Gould Shaw (standing, left), and Capt. H. S. Russell (standing, right). Massachusetts Commandery, Military Order of the Loyal Legion, and the U.S. Army Military History Institute.

the country. Five months later he was detailed as an aide-de-camp to Major General Nathaniel Banks, a former U.S. congressman and Massachusetts governor, and in November he was appointed assistant adjutant general to Banks and promoted to the rank of major. Early the following year, he participated in four skirmishes as Union troops moved into Virginia and up the Shenandoah Valley in pursuit of Stonewall Jackson's forces.

Copeland was a committed abolitionist;⁵ but beyond that—he later wrote—“I had been fully convinced that the best hope of success lay in enlisting the black Americans in our armies, and frequently advocated it.”⁶ After a long talk with General Banks “about making use of the negroes against the Secessionists,”⁷ Copeland wrote to Secretary of War Edwin Stanton requesting permission to raise a “colored regiment.” Receiving no reply, he was given leave

of absence to go to Washington with his friend Lieutenant Robert Gould Shaw to appeal to officials including the Massachusetts congressional delegation. They discouraged the plan, assuming that nothing could be done about it because of the prejudice that prevailed at the time. Also, it was widely believed that Negroes would not become reliable soldiers.

Copeland's devotion to this cause led to events that he could not have anticipated. When he sought out Stanton in his office, the secretary completely rejected the idea. Then Stanton inquired about General Banks's situation and the prospects for his success against Stonewall Jackson's troops, and Copeland pleaded that Banks's troops were greatly outnumbered and confronted with an immediate disaster unless they received reinforcements. This contradicted the secretary's erroneous assessment and greatly irritated him. Copeland, though, had read the situation correctly, as Jackson's overwhelming forces soon attacked and decimated Banks's 7,000 troops, forcing them to retreat to the Potomac and endangering Washington. Meanwhile, because of a critical mismanagement decision, Federal troops held in reserve were not called up to help. The retreat alarmed Massachusetts governor John Andrews, who called for more Massachusetts men to defend Washington.

Copeland hastily wrote an appeal to the people of Massachusetts noting the poor judgment that had resulted in the rout and aiming to raise more volunteers for the Union cause. He sent it to his brother-in-law Charles F. Dunbar, editor of Boston's leading newspaper, the *Daily Advertiser*; the headlines read "Repulse of Gen. Banks' Column, Retreat to the Potomac, The Enemy in Pursuit."⁸ The text was heated, and indeed Copeland later wrote that he regretted he had acted too quickly. A flurry of editorials critical of the administration and its war policy under Secretary Stanton followed in many Northern newspapers, and Stanton concluded that Copeland was sending Dunbar information for those editorials. In August 1862, as a result of Stanton's suspicions about this and a second communication with Dunbar, Copeland was dishonorably discharged, without explanation and without a hearing, and despite his outstanding service record.⁹

In his exposition of events surrounding his discharge,

Copeland wrote, "I was struck to the earth, disgraced as deeply as an officer could be, with an undefined charge of which I had never heard or received the slightest premonition . . . without trial, examination, or even notice."¹⁰ He appealed his dismissal through the army's chain of command, and finally was permitted to confer with President Lincoln. The president accused Copeland of being a troublemaker and refused to revoke the decision. Copeland's friends sent a petition to both Lincoln and Massachusetts senator Charles Sumner, which was signed by twenty-one prominent Massachusetts character references, including Ralph Waldo Emerson, Jared Sparks, James Russell Lowell, and Henry W. Longfellow. In spite of the strong support, the matter was considered closed for fear of offending Stanton.

As a last resort, in 1864 Copeland published a fifty-two-page pamphlet on the events surrounding his dismissal, *Statement of R. Morris Copeland*, complete with exhaustive documentation including correspondence. He concluded by stating, "This careful record of all the facts and evidence known to me fails to show anywhere any breach of trust, or violation of confidence . . . all I ask, and will ever pray for, is an open trial, where I may confront my accusers."¹¹ He never received the trial, which likely would have embarrassed the government. In 1870, well after the damage had been done, his dismissal was officially revoked.

Copeland did see eventual success in his aim to bring Negro troops into the army, though the final outcome must have grieved him deeply. Early in 1863 the War Department authorized Governor Andrews to raise an infantry regiment of African Americans. This first all-black volunteer unit was placed under the leadership of Robert Gould Shaw, who was promoted to colonel. In its second engagement, the men of the Fifty-fourth attacked and attempted to seize Fort Wagner on Morris Island in South Carolina. Confronted with an almost impossible mission, and in spite of their bravery, the regiment was virtually annihilated and Colonel Shaw was killed. Their gallant conduct persuaded the Union that African American men could become excellent soldiers and would fight for their freedom. A monument by Augustus Saint-Gaudens to Robert Gould Shaw and the Fifty-fourth is located on

Boston Common, and the award-winning 1989 movie *Glory* portrayed the development of the unit and the battle to seize the fort. Had Copeland not been dismissed from the Union army, he might well have led the Fifty-fourth Regiment rather than Shaw.

Copeland's last writing about the war came in 1869 when *Putnam's Magazine* published his story about his experience with a courageous black servant, Antony, during Copeland's 1862 service near Harper's Ferry, Virginia (now West Virginia).¹² The piece explores conflicts within the Union army as a result of the Fugitive Slave Laws, which made it a federal crime to assist a runaway slave; to Copeland the more conservative officers did not want to see the slaves freed and did not consider that they were waging war to advance that purpose. The piece, although flawed by the use of formulaic black dialect, is direct and absorbing, and has been used by at least one recent writer on John Brown as confirming evidence about the prelude to the 1859 attack on Harper's Ferry.¹³

EARLY CAREER

Copeland was born on December 11, 1830, in Roxbury, Massachusetts, the third of four children born to Benjamin Franklin and Julia Fellows (Ruggles) Copeland.¹⁴ Benjamin was a merchant (after the war he was appointed deputy collector of the Port of Boston by President Lincoln)¹⁵ and one of the founders of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society along with H. A. S. Dearborn, a good friend and mayor of Roxbury. Around the time of Copeland's birth, Dearborn was intimately involved in the design and construction of the first public-space rural cemetery associated with a city in the United States, the famous Mount Auburn.¹⁶ That cemetery (which included an experimental garden for the study of horticulture) became a celebrated touchstone of the natural style in landscape design, which Copeland early came to favor, and no doubt he visited it and heard it discussed during his youth. He attended Roxbury Latin School, and entered Harvard in 1847, studying for a Bachelor of Arts degree. Before graduation, aided by a letter to Harvard from his father, he took time to study agriculture with Reverend Morrill Allen, a noted innovator, at Allen's progres-

sive school in Pembroke, Massachusetts.¹⁷ He joined the Horticultural Society in 1853 and began producing landscape and estate designs, which brought him quick notice in the society.

In 1854 he married Josephine Gannett Kent. Their first child, Frederick, was born the following year.¹⁸ In the year of Copeland's marriage he became a partner in landscape design with Horace Cleveland, whom he may have met through the Horticultural Society or through family connections. They opened an office in the Webster Bank Building in Boston, and their promotional flyer for "Landscape and Ornamental Gardening" offered "the laying out and improvement of Cemeteries, Public Squares, Pleasure Grounds, Farms and Gardens. . . . Also, plans and estimates for every kind of underdraining, for the construction of tanks for liquid manures and irrigation, or any operations connected with Agricultural Engineering."¹⁹

Cleveland had recently returned from twelve years of operating a scientific farm in New Jersey, concentrating on pomology. One of the partners' earliest efforts, which would seem to have called particularly on Cleveland's scientific farming experience, was a series of forest planting experiments for the educational reformer and botanist George Barrel Emerson (a cousin of Ralph Waldo Emerson). In 1837 Massachusetts governor Edward Everett had chosen Emerson to spearhead a major scientific survey of the Commonwealth, and Emerson himself had written the *Report on the Trees and Shrubs Growing Naturally in the Forests of Massachusetts* (1846). At Emerson's estate on a promontory in Boston Harbor the three men planted numerous European and American species and monitored their adaptability to the loamy and windswept conditions of the site.²⁰ (In 1873 Cleveland would write an essay on tree planting on the Great Plains, beginning with a lengthy quote from Emerson's book about deforestation in the Northeast.)²¹

One of the earliest of the firm's commissions was to design the grounds for the Massachusetts State Farm, a reformatory for boys at Westborough. Copeland and Cleveland addressed the challenge of designing ornamental grounds that adjoined agricultural land, and simultaneously they attempted to improve the land and, by

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Flyer announcing Copeland and Cleveland's landscape and ornamental gardening practice. *Landscape Architecture*, January 1930.

extension, the character of the boys who resided there—believing that a beautiful landscape could be a force for moral good, a principle endorsed by many and specifically recommended by the leading horticultural theorist of the day, A. J. Downing. Later Copeland would also design the grounds for a girls' school and another property that would become a boy's school.

Further early commissions included several rural cemeteries in Massachusetts: the Wyoming Cemetery in Melrose, Oak Grove in Gloucester, and Mount Feake Cemetery in Waltham—where, as part of Copeland's pay, he selected a burial lot close to the Charles River.²² The most celebrated cemetery the partners were engaged to design was Concord's Sleepy Hollow in 1855, where some of the great literary figures of the day—Emerson, Thoreau, the Alcotts, Hawthorne—would be buried. Like the famous Mount Auburn, Sleepy Hollow was intended as a landscape for the living—a public park including an arboretum and spaces for civic events—as well as a cemetery. Emerson's address to Concord residents at the consecration of Sleepy Hollow emphasized that public aspect strongly, as well as both the spiritual and the natural continuity between the living and the dead.

The cemetery was set in a natural amphitheater, and the part-



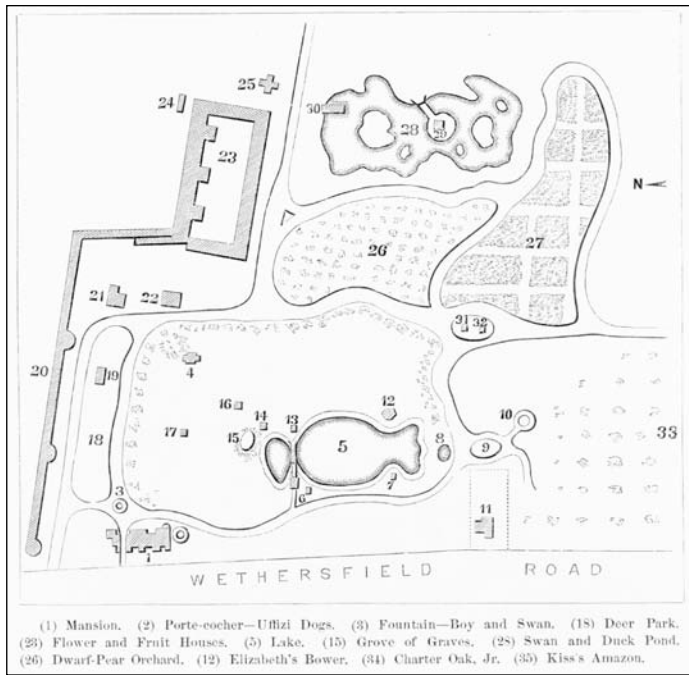
Natural Amphitheater at Sleepy Hollow Cemetery, designed by Copeland and H. W. S. Cleveland, ca. 1870. Concord (Mass.) Free Public Library.



Path between rows of pine
at the edge of Sleepy Hollow
Cemetery. Concord (Mass.) Free
Public Library.

ners designed the lots and drives to follow the existing contours of the land, planting with native and familiar species. Copeland and Cleveland also envisioned links between the cemetery and other community spaces, to bind town and country and provide extensive public walking courses—an approach that would later characterize Copeland’s plan for Boston, and which Cleveland would employ in his designs for the Minneapolis park system.²³

About 1856 Copeland and Cleveland designed the elaborate grounds for the expansive Italianate stone mansion of the arms manufacturer Samuel Colt, on the Connecticut River in Hartford (now part of Colt Park). Ten years later Henry Barnard, in a book on Colt, described the results of their work as “beyond description, and almost equally beyond engraving.” “Looking from the



Copeland plan for Armsmear, the Samuel Colt estate, in Hartford, Connecticut, published in Henry Barnard's *Armsmear: The Home, the Arm and the Armory of Samuel Colt: A Memorial* (1866). Baker Library Historical Collections, Harvard Business School.

mansion," wrote Barnard, "the eye reposes upon the broad lawn, flanked on the left by the deer-park, with nothing between but an invisible fence, and, on the right, by a verdurous wall of flowers that rise to shrubs and trees, closing the view streetward. Toward the south, this lawn is bounded by clumps of trees, glades between opening glimpses of water;—toward the east . . . it dips down to the river."²⁴

Also in 1856 Copeland and Cleveland worked with the architect Arthur Gilman on the layout of Boston's Back Bay and Commonwealth Avenue.²⁵ They saw the avenue as a recreational

amenity to adjoining neighborhoods but most importantly as a link to connect Boston Common and the Public Garden with recreation spaces at the edge of the city—comparable to their vision of spaces linking Sleepy Hollow and Concord.

In New York City by the mid-1850s land had begun to be acquired for Central Park, and landscape gardeners, architects, engineers, and others were eager to obtain the commission to design it. Copeland wrote to Henry Longfellow in June 1856 requesting a letter of introduction to members of the park's newly established consulting commission.²⁶ The following month Copeland and Cleveland published *A Few Words on the Central Park*, a timely and informative pamphlet with many sensible suggestions for the new public space, which emphasized the importance of early preparation of an overall master plan. The park's significance, it said, was "not for to-day or for this generation,—but for centuries,—in fact, for all future time."²⁷ They suggested that the plan for the park should be implemented over a long period of time, and that it should be flexible to meet future needs and make provisions for "popular amusements, military parades, public exhibitions, houses of refreshment, conservatories, aquariums, fish ponds, [and] dwellings for the directors and laborers." "Above all," they maintained, "it is in an aesthetic view that the design assumes its highest importance." They wrote that working with the site's natural features—its cliffs, moss-covered rocks, and the graceful forms of its hills and fields—required "not only the power of appreciating the sublime, the picturesque and the beautiful, but the practical skill to select and plant, in their proper positions, the trees and shrubs and vines which are to produce the desired effect."²⁸

The partners also described how the design should be implemented. "Improving such a tract as this, embracing an area several miles in extent," would be similar, they wrote, to "the execution of great military operations, embracing the direction of vast bodies of men over widely extended tracts of country." They noted that while an engineer had already been appointed to oversee the construction of roads, paths, ponds and "all the operations connected

with alterations upon the surface of the ground, and a proper drainage of the whole,”²⁹ the park needed a competent landscape gardener “whose province it is to arrange and direct . . . all agricultural, arboricultural and botanical arrangements.”³⁰ They concluded by suggesting the general order for proceeding with early work on the park, starting with surface drainage considerations and ending with measures for collecting trees, storing them in an on-site nursery, and determining factors to consider when planting them.

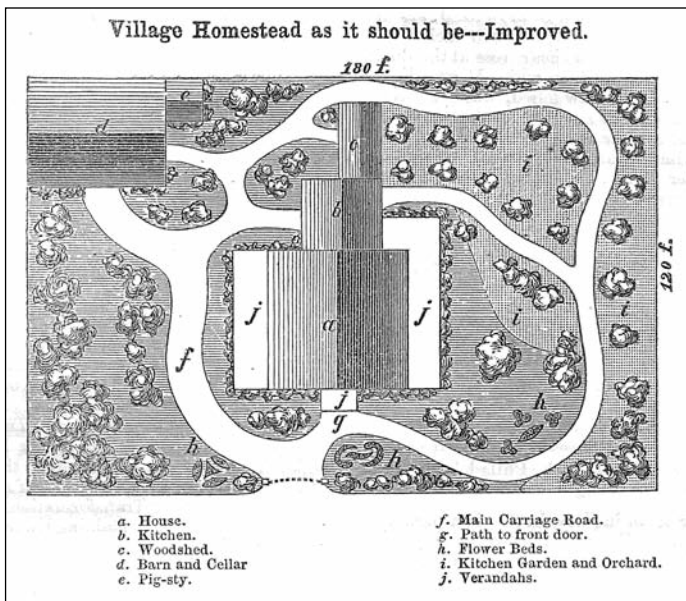
In 1857 the commission appointed Olmsted the park’s superintendent and decided to hold a public competition for the design of the park. The prize for the winning entry would be \$2,000. Thirty-three plans were submitted by the due date of April 1, 1858. The index to the plans indicates that entry number 15, submitted under the pseudonym “Rusticus,” consisted of a design drawn in ink “accompanied by [its] description,” plus a “working plan of same in portfolio,” and a “plaster model of same.” “Copeland of Boston,” was handwritten on the left margin of the index to the plans.³¹ Another entry, number 19, consisting of a “design in ink and sepia with description,” and with the title “Sigma,” also had a handwritten marginal note identifying the designer as “Copeland of Boston.”³² One of Copeland’s plans was placed on exhibit for several weeks, along with nineteen others, but the winning entry was the “Greensward” design by Olmsted and his partner Calvert Vaux.

Copeland and Cleveland amicably disbanded their partnership a short time after the Central Park competition, and in 1869 Cleveland moved to Chicago to continue his practice there (eventually moving to Minneapolis, where he produced his greatest work in the urban park system of the Twin Cities).

In 1857, soon after the Central Park designs were submitted, Copeland purchased an 80-acre farm known as Beaver Brook in Waltham, Massachusetts, where he farmed and wrote *Country Life*. Given the book’s length and diversity of detail, one imagines him working during the day on various farm and garden projects and writing about them well into the evening. It was just two years

until the book was published, so one assumes he must have got a start on it before his family settled in at Beaver Brook.³³

Certainly he had by this time written a good deal about gardening and horticultural subjects for *New England Farmer*. In addition to articles on farming such as “Shade a Fertilizer” and “Time for Cutting Grain,” especially notable was a five-part series in 1854 on the history, styles, and practice of the garden, titled “What a Garden Should Be.” These pieces reveal a remarkably broad knowledge, for such a young man, of the artistic and scientific aspects of landscape gardening as well as larger landscape planning issues. The first article is a historical overview of gardens, in which he notes that the garden was “the birth-place of man,” and that throughout the history of civilized nations “all refinement sought its expression in some connection with the garden.” He empha-



Copeland plan for an ideal farmstead. *New England Farmer*, May 1854.
Steenbock Memorial Library, University of Wisconsin Madison.

sized the importance of natural beauty in one's surroundings and its significance in shaping human character. The second part again discussed gardens of antiquity, and it noted with some irony that people often "produced at enormous expense in their cultivated grounds nearest home . . . the very opposite of that [wild nature] they so much loved." Copeland stressed the desirable results of the "natural style" of gardening, devoid of rigid geometric lines and patterns, reflecting his early preference for a landscape design philosophy that would come to dominate American practice. A plan that he called a typical "Village Homestead as it is unimproved" illustrated the "before": a half-acre village lot with straight paths, borders, and rows of trees, and rectangular kitchen and flower gardens. In the third article, "What a Garden Should Be," he illustrated a "Village Homestead as it should be—Improved." Here he makes a point that would be characteristic throughout his work, that the plan be "arranged with an eye to both convenience and beauty." The fourth article, on planning, constructing, and planting residential flower gardens, included a detailed list of plant possibilities. His fifth and final article, suggesting that gardens must feed both body and mind, was about the kitchen garden.³⁴

Copeland wrote several more articles for *New England Farmer*, including an especially perceptive piece in October 1854 whose title reflected his central philosophy—"The Useful and the Beautiful." This was the title he gave his address to the Concord Lyceum four months later.³⁵ Though no text remains of the speech, we may assume it addressed the same issues as the article, especially given that Simon Brown, editor of *New England Farmer*, published the first and, as organizer of the Lyceum series, invited the second. In the piece Copeland took issue with an earlier article in which the contributor had harshly criticized "American books and works" about landscape gardening; he argued that "we do not want English books, or men who make it one of their recommendations that they know how things are done abroad."³⁶ In effect, Copeland advocated the development of a style of landscape gardening appropriate for America and its land, and one that took into account the practical matters of utility and frugality.

By way of his father, the Horticultural Society, Harvard, and

other connections, Copeland was friends and acquaintances early on with some of the most important thinkers and artists of that time: Ralph Waldo Emerson; George Emerson; Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, his teacher at Harvard; Jared Sparks, president of Harvard; his sister's husband Charles Franklin Dunbar, who edited the *Boston Daily Advertiser* and became Harvard's first professor of economics; James Russell Lowell; Charles Hale; Louis Agassiz. Especially important for his artistic, philosophical, and practical development was his absorption of the Transcendentalist philosophy of Emerson, Horatio Greenough, and others. The aesthetic behind this philosophy was strongly informed by place, through the conception of nature as holy and eternal. Transcendentalism was in large part an effort to develop an American philosophy that expressed humans' relation to nature—specifically American nature. The philosophy shaped Copeland's design work and it speaks from many pages of *Country Life*.³⁷

COUNTRY LIFE

Not only the length but the organization of *Country Life* reveals a good deal about Copeland's large intentions. It is structured temporally, beginning in September, with a chapter devoted to each of the subjects in each month as the year unfolds—farming, flower and vegetable gardening, conservatory, greenhouses, orchard, ornamental grounds, grapery, and others. Thus as the months pass Copeland gives advice about the tasks required for each activity at particular times of the year. (There is a flexible character to the book, though, and this structure is not adhered to absolutely.) So *Country Life* is, first, a book for use, a manual or handbook (as indicated in the subtitle), the appropriate sections to be consulted as the farm year elapses. Second, it is a panoptic view of animal farming, gardening, woodlot management, fruit growing, greenhouse culture, and ornamental planting and design; third, a temporal drama of the human management of natural systems as the seasons progress and change; fourth, a working treatise on, and attempt to inculcate, rural self-education; and fifth, a passionate argument, often explicit, for farming as a superior way of life.

Practically, it provides detailed guidance on an extremely wide range of subjects: greenhouse construction, manure and crop rotation, building of earthen banks, varieties of flowers and their care, preferred types of animal stock, creation and maintenance of winter gardens, drainage and irrigation, growth and use of root vegetables as animal feed, handling of water sources (including not only ponds and streams but the ocean) in landscape design, and many others. It may be the most comprehensive book on farming to be published during Copeland's lifetime.

Obviously so encompassing a book by so young a writer must be grounded in more than direct experience. Copeland was a wide reader and noted many of his sources, English and American. He cites, for example, Stevens's *Book of the Farm*, McIntosh's *Book of the Garden*, the landscape gardeners Loudon and Price, English agricultural societies, and in America *The Textbook of Agriculture*, *The Muck Book*, *The Working Farmer*, the writers Dana, Browne, Hovey, Shedd, and others. "There are many things within this wide range of which I have had small personal experience," he says, and so he has relied on the "best authorities" (p. vi). At various points in the book he insists that farmers' prejudice against "book farming" is misguided, as books on farming are simply the experience of others organized in readable form.

The book emerged during a time when scientific agriculture had become more available to farmers, and a time when the Morrill Land Grant Act allowing the creation of state agricultural schools was passed (1862), the National Grange was founded (1867),³⁸ and a self-conscious identity was developing on the part of farmers. Soon there would be agricultural extension services established by the land grant universities, and agricultural experiment stations. The book was a notable expression of the age, as well as of the particular interests of Copeland, and it further stimulated those national currents already in motion.

The book's technical point of view is that of scientific or "high" farming. By this Copeland meant, broadly, farming informed by the recent advances in agricultural chemistry and the study of horticulture, especially in England and Europe but more and more in America as well; more specifically, he meant the use of intensive

manuring, drainage, irrigation, and crop rotation in order to improve the soil, increase the yield, and maintain fertility. For one thing, the New England soil in many regions required this approach; for another, Copeland wanted to show farmers how it was possible to live a good life without cutting down all the trees, exhausting the soil, and eventually having to move somewhere else, in a constant round of impermanence.

Also he wanted to prevent farmers from abandoning the land and moving to cities; he felt, like Jefferson, that the rural life fostered morality in a way that city life did not—in Copeland's case owing to the influence of nature but also, as Jefferson had it, owing to the social life lived there, a particularly democratic form of society issuing from farmers' important social and economic functions and their special brand of independence. The book was aimed, it must be noted, not at gentlemen farmers, men of leisure who could afford to experiment, but at those of "small fortunes, as our country must always be principally inhabited by this class" (p. 1)—an echo here of Jefferson's yeoman farmer. In addition both Copeland and his partner Cleveland were keenly aware not only of the destructiveness of current farming methods but of other ecologically harmful practices sometimes related to farming, such as deforestation. Moreover they both had refined aesthetic sensibilities and spurned physical ugliness, which apparently many farmers could not or did not care to overcome. In many ways, then, *Country Life* was intended as a book of rescue.

The book's moral or ethical points of view are that the self-education inherent in farming and country living in general made it a superior way to live; that the assistance from books and other farmers could bring one both satisfaction and profit, and yet instill an adventurous spirit; and that the matter of beauty was central to country life—both an educational and a religious matter. In the original preface, in chapter 1, and again writing of flowers in chapter 32, Copeland makes this last matter explicit:

The *spirit* in which one should deal with his farm, his flowers, his grounds . . . should be that of reverential friendship, not of cold and superficial business relation. This com-

plex, and beautiful mystery, which we call Nature, surely offers us something more than food and clothing. (p. viii)

[An error to which Americans are especially prone is] the sacrifice of the beautiful for the practical, as though the two things are incompatible. . . . It is a mistake to wish to deprive agriculture of the pleasure which nature throws about it. (p. 4)

God . . . is the Beautiful. . . . Every flower that blooms . . . is a proof positive of the presence and all-pervading influence of God. . . . Teach children to love flowers, waters, trees, skies; open their hearts early to all the powerful and subtle influences of nature. (p. 233)

Perhaps it is accurate to say that Copeland was, in a sense that few other advocates of that religious view could claim, a *working* Deist.

Beauty was a key linkage between farming and landscape gardening. In an unpublished essay on the impact of scientific farming on landscape gardening, Daniel J. Nadenicek singles out Copeland as one of the important figures linking the two professions.³⁹ Like A. J. Downing, whose work also joined farming and aesthetics, Copeland certainly subscribed to the moral imperative that informed the practices of scientific farming—the aim of human improvement. He also saw in the rural scene a manifestation of divinity, and the duty to re-create the beauty of nature in ornamental planting and design was one he both adopted as a professional landscape designer and recommended through his writing to farmers. Beyond these lofty aims there was the practical goal of assuring that farming remained healthy, profitable, and adequate to feed the nation. As Nadenicek says, early landscape architects gleaned from their scientific farming experience not only aesthetic sensitivity and a social imperative but technical prowess.

Occasionally the chapters barely address the technical matters and slide over into the broadly philosophical. For instance the chapters dealing with the farm in the low months of Decem-



Advice on laying out a country place. *The Horticulturist*, March 1850.

ber, January, and February (35, 41, and 45) read like a three-part essay on farming as a way of life. Copeland's purpose was to convince the skeptical among farmers and others that the farming life is a unique and potent opportunity. In the first part he laments that farmers are often considered nothing but raw material for other occupations, and are often pitied. But that, he says, is a false conception, for "a little calculation will show that there can be no better investment for a steady and enterprising young man, than to buy a few acres of land" (p. 271). Copeland concludes, upon consideration of land cost and investment, that "if he be ex-

peditious, careful, and energetic, over a lifetime he will accumulate \$10,000 to \$15,000 in money or improvements, besides educating his family and living well” (p. 272). In the second part of the essay his theme is that “Education is the watchword of New England” (p. 334), and he follows with the opportunities for self-development that a life on the farm affords. After running off a litany of subjects the farmer may learn, he tries to anticipate the readers’ objections. “You will say, ‘How absurd a picture this is! To find a farmer earnest and enthusiastic, poet, artist, and naturalist, is as rare, as impossible, as to invent perpetual motion” (p. 336). But remove the bandage from your eyes and *see*, he exclaims, and begin to learn about the growth of plants, about geology and soil, about animals—and indeed about the pleasure of seeing. “Remember that the purpose of your lives is to develop your mental and moral natures” (p. 345). The third section of the essay encourages association—it is the secret, he says, to improvement in farming. Join a club or group to exchange information. Give up your unreasoning exclusive attachment to the ways of your father and grandfather. And once you have done that, you will have to admit that the so-called book farming you have despised is hardly distinct from such association, both being the sharing of knowledge.

Chapter 64 (misnumbered 44, pp. 580–86), especially pertinent to Copeland’s main career, contains a discussion of the necessary qualifications one must have as a landscape gardener—it is a kind of credo. (At the time of publication he had been a professional designer for over five years, in partnership with Cleveland, and he had obviously thought hard about what it was they did.) He says he would not attempt to indicate the “most essential” qualities of a landscape gardener, because “the man is not to be found who possesses them all”—and then he launches into a rendition of those qualities: he must love nature and glory in its beauties; he must have innate good taste; he must have executive abilities; he must have a good practical education including geology, botany, chemistry, and engineering; and have a knowledge of architecture and a genuine sense of “fine pictures.” Yet, Copeland says, with all these gifts a man would be unfitted for the work unless he realized

that grounds are designed for living in. Though “the forces of nature are under his control,” if he does not have the “true home spirit” of those for whom he is working, whether “the village carpenter” or “a retired merchant,” he will fail. Grounds must be “well adapted for use and enjoyment,” and beauty alone will not serve. Finally the good designer must have a keen visual memory and be a “good draughtsman.”

Indications of Copeland’s style of designing appear in scattered details and commentary throughout the text, and they are well illustrated in the book’s visual layout of a model sixty-acre farm, including woods and roads as well as fields, gardens, greenhouses, barns, and house. In chapter 70 he shares specific advice for anyone intending to hire a landscape gardener, especially regarding the need for plans and surveys, and he identifies in order the highest-priority elements to address: the entrance; water and drainage; flower gardens and kitchen garden; greenhouse and conservatory; and drives and walks. In chapter 81 he discusses in some detail tree planting, hedges, and the use of woodland, and he gives extensive attention to designing with different types of water, from brooks, ponds, and falls to the seaside.

In the supplemental chapter 10, on planting trees, Copeland takes a dark view of the future of the profession. “Landscape-gardening in America will never attain the position it deserves,” he writes, because of owners’ neglect, “the accidents of time,” or the “necessities of a growing population,” which will “compel the destruction of places laid out with cost and skill.” No doubt the war has undermined his sense of continuity. Also it is plain that Copeland—now and then given to asperity in the book—resented those who fraudulently passed themselves off as professionals or were willing to do jobs conveniently or cheaply without a spiritual investment in the work. For the “rare opportunity” to produce “the best result nature will permit,” the landscape gardener “must wait, content in the mean while to do whatever he can to improve the public taste” (p. 897).

Copeland saw farming as a whole, a unified endeavor, and he developed a deep understanding of the ways in which its activities are linked together. Farming was an “endless chain” (p. 527) in

which matter was neither created nor destroyed but all was transformed. His various discussions of types of manure and means of land reclamation inculcate this idea both poetically and practically. Green manure, human waste, root vegetables as feed for animals, crop rotation—all are part of the chain. Both the structure and content of *Country Life* attest to this living, changing ecological view.

Serious though he was, Copeland had a spontaneity of mind that took sometimes humorous turns. There are some fine light touches in the book, including chapter 40 on village-gardens, in which he descants on the stubborn and unresponsive neighbor who owns the wandering hens—destroyers of gardens—and the seeming inevitability of the gun being loaded and fired after many attempts to alter the situation with words and reason. Of the harvest time, October, when the barn and the larders are full, he canily writes, “Go to a farmer at such a time if you wish him to contribute to any worthy cause, and you will scarcely be refused” (p. 162).

Copeland’s book received glowing praise in the agricultural literature. In a lengthy front-page column, the *Country Gentleman* wrote that it was “one of the most attractive books . . . that we have met with,” and that it contained “such an amount of valuable suggestion and useful information, that every country resident who reads and thinks about rural culture, will desire to have it upon his table.”⁴⁰ The *Atlantic Monthly*, emphasizing the important role of beauty to rural life, suggested that “its title might have been ‘Rural Aesthetics for Men of Limited Means, or the Laws of Beauty considered in their Application to Small Estates.’” Noting Copeland’s qualifications for writing the book, the magazine stated that he had “a true enthusiasm for the cause he advocates, and a hearty delight in out-of-doors-life. He writes with the zeal and warmth of a reformer,” and “his book will justify a warm commendation.”⁴¹ The *American Agriculturist* would say of the enlarged edition that “there is scarcely a topic relating to the management of gardens, green-houses, orchards, and all the matters pertaining to small farms and country places, that is not intelligently and pleasantly treated.”⁴² The *Gardener’s Monthly’s*

obituary for Copeland remarked simply that he “has been familiarly known to the horticulturists of the United States as author of *Country Life*.”⁴³

FINAL DECADE

After the Civil War Copeland resumed his design business, operating out of an office in Barristers Hall in Boston, where he was close to his associate Samuel Minot and also to J. Herbert Shedd and Edward Sawyer, both civil engineers whose work included landscape engineering and drainage. One of his first jobs, in 1866, was to design the grounds for Trinity Hall in Washington, Pennsylvania, near Pittsburgh, probably a private residence at that time, but which evolved into a boy’s military academy.⁴⁴

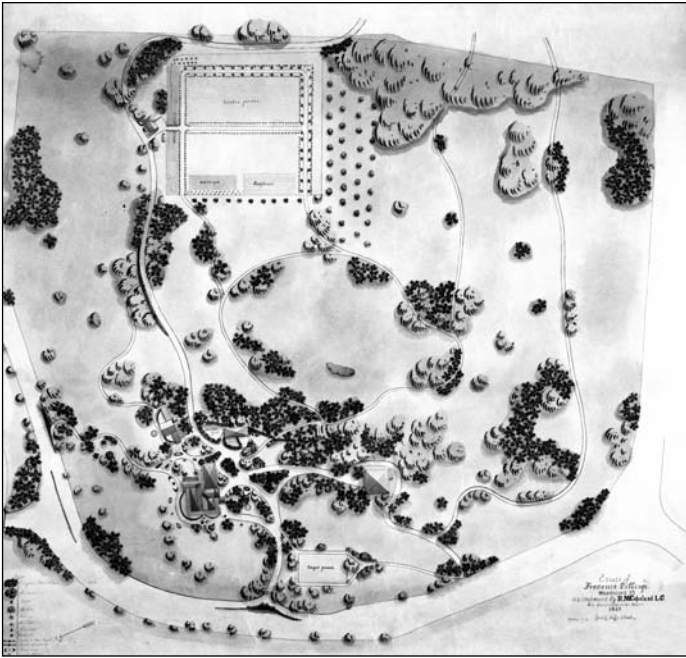
The same year he was hired by New York City developers who wished to create a summer community on Martha’s Vineyard, adjacent to Nantucket Sound and to a Methodist campground known as Wesleyan Grove. The community, called Oak Bluffs, became a particular success; it included eight parks spread throughout the subdivision, each larger than any of the building lots. After initial development the owners purchased more adjoining land, and Copeland completed three additional plans for the enlarged subdivision. Vineyard historians claim that Oak Bluffs was the first planned residential community in the United States, preceding Olmsted’s Riverside, in Chicago, by three years.⁴⁵ Several years after his work at Oak Bluffs, Copeland produced a plan for the nearby village of Katama. Ellen Weiss writes that this design (though never implemented) was a “free and lovely work that suggests a maturation of Copeland’s style when compared to the more intricate early Oak Bluffs plan, and an even more important place for its author in the emerging history of American landscape design.”⁴⁶

In 1868 Copeland worked in Exeter, New Hampshire, designing the grounds for the Robinson Seminary for women. William Robinson, a local merchant who died in 1864, left an endowment of nearly \$250,000, but it was earmarked solely for teachers’ salaries, not construction of a building; thus the town had to raise

the money to actually build the school, and to pay for an architect and landscape designer. Working with Minot's topographical survey, Copeland transformed the property around the large, elegant seminary building (which burned in 1961) from a "barren mowing field with only three trees near the pond" into a beautiful property with tree-lined avenues, hedges, orchards, walks, and drives. The orchards were productive and earned income for the school, and one later student recalled that "among the uplifting influences were nature walks around the grounds, identifying the many trees and shrubs." (Amos Tuck, incidentally, one of those who had supported Copeland's attempt to have his army dismissal revoked, was an Exeter resident and on the board of managers of the seminary.)⁴⁷

While Copeland was working in Exeter he probably was hired to design the landscape of the residence of Henry Clay Moses, one of the school's benefactors. As Susan Schnare explains in some detail in her essay on the Exeter work, Copeland's design ideas in chapter 40 of *Country Life* on a "Village-Garden" and his discussion in chapter 70 of the six most important issues for a landscape designer are all illustrated in the Moses design.⁴⁸

One of Copeland's more interesting connections, in 1869, was with Frederick Billings, who hired him to design the land around his estate in Woodstock, Vermont, which is now a National Historical Park and includes one of the oldest managed forests in America. Copeland created curving beds, reconfigured the front drive, and greatly enlarged the front lawn by converting pasture land. The property had once been owned by George Perkins Marsh, who in *Man and Nature* (1864) articulated humans' extensive damage to the land and water and suggested ecological principles to guide further use of natural resources. Billings knew and admired Marsh's work, and in 1869, after having moved back to Vermont, he bought the Marsh family property (he later bought and donated the 12,000-volume Marsh library to the University of Vermont). For many years an influential lawyer and real estate developer in San Francisco (he may have been the first lawyer to handle claims during the Gold Rush), a trustee of the University of California, and later president and part owner of the Northern Pa-



Estate of Frederick Billings, Woodstock, Vermont, as improved by R. M. Copeland, L.G., 1869. This plan depicts the gardens and grounds surrounding the principal buildings at the core of the country estate purchased in 1869 by Frederick Billings (1823–1890). Billings Family Archives, Woodstock, Vermont.

cific Railroad, Billings devoted much of his later life and his resources to conservation, especially reforestation and the scientific management of cattle. He owned a copy of *Country Life* and no doubt saw Copeland as sympathetic to views such as Marsh's. Billings attempted to create a model for safe and low-impact farming and harvesting; his initiatives, carried on by the Vermont farmer George Aitken and Billings's family, had a major influence on forestry and farming in Vermont, and in 1893 his family's farm won first prize at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago. Over the years Charles A. Platt, Ellen Shipman, and Martha



Carriage roads, Marsh-Billings-Rockefeller National Historical Park. Photograph by Carol Betsch, 2008.



View from porch, Marsh-Billings-Rockefeller National Historical Park. Photograph by Carol Betsch, 2008.



Copeland's 1872 plan of the area called Prospect in Shelter Island Heights for the Shelter Island Grove and Camp Meeting Association, Long Island, New York. Shelter Island Historical Society.

Brooks Hutcheson rendered design services on various projects at the estate.⁴⁹

In 1872 the developers of Oak Bluffs, led by Erastus Carpenter of Brooklyn, planned another summer colony, on Shelter Island (Long Island, N.Y.), and they hired Copeland to design it. He and his surveyor, Charles H. Bateman, had completed the plan by midyear. "It encompassed the entire peninsula and included winding roads with over 1,000 lots, mostly very small . . . and some quite large. . . . There are public parks throughout, the most prominent one being the open air amphitheater for a major activity of the resort, religious exhortation." The founding organization was the Shelter Island Grove and Camp Meeting Association of the Methodist Episcopal Church.⁵⁰

Serious attempts to establish other large urban parks like Central Park resumed after the Civil War. Brooklyn was developing Prospect Park, and Philadelphia and Baltimore were also setting aside large tracts of land. In Boston, too, civic-minded citizens began advocating for more parks to supplement the popular Public

Garden and Boston Common. An unsigned editorial in the *Boston Daily Advertiser* on November 2, 1869, referred to ideas for Boston that H. W. S. Cleveland included in his pamphlet *The Public Grounds of Chicago*;⁵¹ in all likelihood it was written by Copeland. Though the Massachusetts legislature passed a park act in 1870,⁵² its implementation was subject to city approval, which did not come.

One month later Copeland outlined a visionary city and metropolitan park network in "The Park Question," published on the front page of the *Daily Advertiser*. In it he proposed a new park within the city, and an ambitious open space network embracing the greater metropolitan area. The concept included three large parks extending from Medford on the north to Newton Corner on the west and Squantum on the south, with additional key sites including the Waverly Oaks and Spot Pond. These would be linked by a wide parkway circumventing the city and extending to the east to what is now Revere Beach and thence to Point Shirley in Winthrop. From there ferries and bridges would run to the islands in Boston Harbor and back to Squantum, forming a contiguous circular system. For the mainland segment, he proposed a parallel railroad connecting to a series of "horse railroads" running into the city, "thus giving cheap and quick communication from one end to the other." The system would serve an area within a twelve-mile radius from the State House. To acquire the lands needed for public use he suggested establishing a new metropolitan park commission.⁵³

But popular sentiment in Boston still favored only a few scattered parcels of land for parks. Copeland continued his efforts in a third piece written for the *Daily Advertiser* the following year. The outlying suburbs, he wrote, "ought to combine now with the city in a comprehensive survey of the country," and cooperate in developing a system to shape the area's future growth. As a result, he maintained, Boston and its environs would become "a homogenous city, with unrivaled attractions as a home for convenience and beauty."⁵⁴

In 1872 Copeland greatly expanded his focus, publishing a forty-six-page pamphlet (supplemented with a large foldout map

of Boston showing the entire proposed park system) titled *The Most Beautiful City in America: Essay and Plan for the Improvement of the City of Boston*.⁵⁵ Remarkable for its boldness, aesthetic sense, and practicality—it attended to the growing traffic and transportation needs of the city's commerce as well as to parks—his plan was one of the earliest metropolitan plans in America. It emphasized “the importance of trying to foresee the city's future necessities, and to arrange its systems of public improvements so that all possible wants might be properly provided for.”⁵⁶ It outlined a vast park and open space system, noting, “As population and business spread, the principle of reserving all the hill-tops for public grounds should be rigidly adhered to, which . . . would dot this whole region with little parks, which would be a present and enduring source of pleasure to that class of population who have neither time nor means to take them to much more beautiful places if they are distant.”⁵⁷ It also urged the acquisition of seaside parks because “every summer . . . people yearn for the sea-shore . . . and yet when they get to the shores they are landed on private property and have no public or individual rights.”⁵⁸

Copeland's essay presented a comprehensive land use plan, proposing areas for residential and industrial use, along with social, economic, aesthetic, transportation, fire prevention, sanitation and drainage considerations. It even suggested an early form of zoning regulation that recommended “restrictions” so that “cheap and comfortable houses” could be built “for the poorer classes” near land chosen for parks. Underlying all of his recommendations was an urgency for speedy action to acquire land, “because the land is reasonably cheap now, and by and by will be very costly.”⁵⁹

Near the end of his essay, Copeland noted the wisdom of Boston's forefathers who set aside the Boston Common. “Even then,” he wrote, “they foresaw and imagined enough, and planned with sufficient wisdom to give to posterity a common of forty acres, which, relative to the town of Boston of that day was larger than the many acres which are comprehended in the plan which I have described. Shall we have less faith and foresight than they did?”⁶⁰

In 1921, when city planning was in its infancy, an article about Copeland's plan for Boston observed, "In this report we find the idea of city planning and zoning as coming into practice only today, set forth convincingly and clearly in a startlingly modern fashion." That Copeland "anticipated 'regional planning' which is hailed today as the most advanced phase of city planning, is clearly shown in his recommendation that small cities adjacent to Boston . . . ought to be included" in Boston's comprehensive plan. The article concluded, "In his appreciation of parks in the plural, each different in kind and with improvements adapted to the natural character and features of location, yet all inter-related and bound together into a single unified whole, associated in what we designate today as a *park system*, R. Morris Copeland showed vision in advance of his time."⁶¹

The distinguished landscape historian J. B. Jackson also identified Copeland's essay as a pioneering city planning effort. "Copeland in this essay was the first to use the phrase 'city plan' and . . . consequently we indirectly owe to him the phrases 'city planner' and 'city planning.'" Jackson added, "Much more significant was the new meaning he attached to the word 'plan': the *continuing* spatial organization or reorganization of a whole community for its better functioning in the future." While hundreds of "planned cities . . . designed on paper" existed in the United States, Jackson noted, "a city whose future was not so much predicted as provided for—this had not been heard of."⁶²

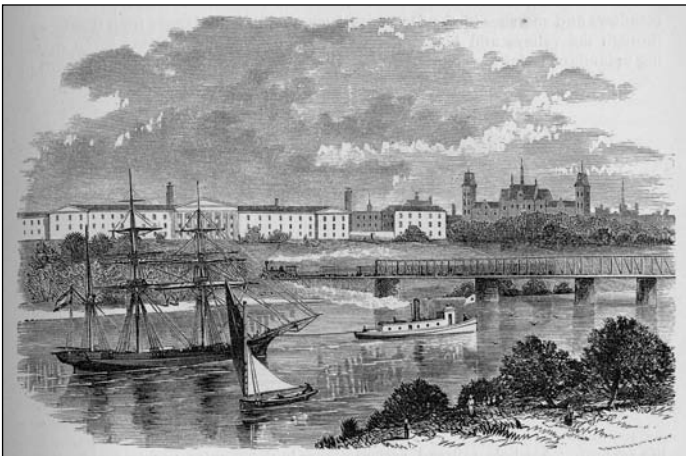
More recently, in his book *The Birth of City Planning*, Jon Peterson noted of Copeland's essay:

An uncanny approximation of a multipurpose, Progressive Era city plan, [it] addressed both core city congestion and industrial location as well as outlying areas, by calling for an inner-city traffic belt and a system of suburban hilltop parks that, by drawing residences to their slopes, would free lowland areas for industrial use. Copeland also proposed a major government center. Neither Olmsted nor Cleveland thought in such terms. Both believed . . . that a city once built could not be redone. Copeland had made a

leap that the dominant figures in his field would not have attempted, even in the heady years preceding the mid-1870s depression.⁶³

Few, however, seem to have remarked certain elements in the Boston essay contrary to what we presently think of as city plans: the relaxed ease of its prose, almost conversational; the geographical tour one receives from a friendly, alert, and concerned tour guide; and the appeal to values throughout. It is a humanistic plan in its conception, its details, and its style. After his death Copeland's assistant Ernest Bowditch pushed these ideas further. Later, many of them were articulated in the Boston planning work of Olmsted, Olmsted & Eliot and reflected in the impassioned political efforts of Charles Eliot, Sylvester Baxter, and others to promote the principles of planned open space.

Following the Boston plan Copeland became further involved in the urban scene when he was engaged by the originators of Ridley Park, a new suburb ten minutes by train from Philadelphia, to come and plan the town. He opened an office in Philadelphia and



An engraving of the Schuylkill River from Copeland's article "From Philadelphia to Baltimore," in *Lippincott's Magazine*, July 1873.

moved his family to Ridley Park, where he became involved both as its designer and planner and one of its earliest residents; he was the first postmaster for the town, and its first Justice of the Peace. Apparently he also wrote a somewhat regular column for the local *Delaware Country Republican* under the pen name “Stoic,” which, through news of the town’s development, managed to encourage the purchase of properties; this effort was important during the financial panic of 1873, when the real estate market became extremely tight.⁶⁴ Engaged in laying out the streets and overseeing the town’s landscaping design (in 1874 *Gardener’s Monthly* called Ridley Park “one of the most beautiful places ever designed”),⁶⁵ Copeland also continued to write articles on a variety of other subjects, for *Atlantic Monthly* and *Lippincott’s*.

In early 1874 Copeland broke his arm in an accident. When the arm would not heal, he traveled to Cambridge to consult with physicians there; it was apparently discovered that he had bone cancer, and on March 28 he died, at the age of forty-three, at the home of his sister Julia and his brother-in-law Charles Dunbar.⁶⁶ His assistant John Smith became superintendent of Ridley Park.

At a vineyard in Portsmouth, Rhode Island, a 5,000-square-foot stable designed and built in 1863 by the architect John H. Sturgis of Boston has recently been restored and converted into the vineyard’s tasting room. On the business’s website announcing this project of “adaptive reuse” is the news that the current family’s ancestor John Barstow designed the nineteenth-century farm, including the stable, as a *ferme ornée* “on the premise of a book by [Robert] Morris Copeland called *Country Life*.”⁶⁷

One wonders how many such farms were developed in the years following the publication of Copeland’s book; and of course one wonders how many farms already in business instituted technical and aesthetic practices he recommended. The number of editions, the reviews, and the obituaries suggest the book’s wide popularity, and the names of early readers included in the sixth-edition Supplement add elaboration on that theme. That Copeland deeply influenced farming is beyond doubt; that he was a key early force in shaping the future of landscape architecture and

city and regional planning is also well established. Perhaps the reprinting of *Country Life* will help to bring a new focus on a man whose brief life burned bright indeed, and on his articulation of the practical ideals of rural life, so much needed in an urban time.



View into meadow near carriage road, Marsh-Billings-Rockefeller National Historical Park. Photograph by Carol Betsch, 2008.

NOTES

1. The publication history here is incomplete and based on visual inspection of several editions, library catalog entries, and bookseller descriptions of various editions. The author has not personally seen several of the editions, nor listings for editions 2–4 except one 1863 edition. It is unclear whether the 1866 Dinsmoor and Moore reprinting was a new edition.
2. Copeland was familiarly known as Morris, according to Susan E. Schnare in “The Exeter Landscape Designs of Robert Morris Copeland,” *Historical New Hampshire* 62, no. 1 (Spring 2008), 31, photo caption.
3. See New York City Central Park Commission, “Description of Plans for the Improvement of Central Park” (New York: n.p., 1858), 3, on microfilm 315 M, New York Public Library. This document contains an index of the entries followed by the brief reports that accompanied many of them. Some entries are missing, and some contain partial descriptions only. The index has handwritten notes on the margin identifying the names of some of the entrants, many of whom used only a pen name. There is no evidence in the documents that Cleveland co-designed either of these two plans. Both are identified in the index “Copeland of Boston,” and payment for exhibition of one of the plans was made to Copeland only.
4. Frederick Law Olmsted, *Walks and Talks of an American Farmer in England*, intro. Charles C. McLaughlin (Amherst: Library of American Landscape History, 2002).
5. His friend Robert Gould Shaw wrote that Copeland’s “sole subject of thought . . . seems to be slavery, and he is always fuming and raging about it.” Robert Gould Shaw, *Letters* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1864), 66.
6. *Statement of R. Morris Copeland* (Boston: Printed by Prentiss and Deland, 1864), 8. Much of the information in this account is taken from this document.
7. Shaw, *Letters*, 66.
8. *Boston Daily Advertiser*, May 26, 1862.
9. Captain Robert Shaw described Copeland thus: “He is universally acknowledged in the regiment . . . to be the hardest worker, and one of the most efficient officers, we have. . . . Some time ago, during our march here, the Colonel asked him if he would take command of a body of men, in case we had trouble. . . . He is . . . capable, energetic, and an excellent manager of men, and perfectly untiring in carrying through the work he begins. I feel sure that, if he has a chance, he will be heard from before the war is over; for he is, without any doubt, a very brave fellow.” Shaw, *Letters*, 68–69.
10. Copeland, *Statement*, 28.
11. *Ibid.*, 44.

12. *Putnam's Magazine* 3 (April 1869), 444–55.
13. Louis A. DeCaro Jr., *John Brown, the Cost of Freedom: Reflections of His Life and Letters* (New York: International Publishers, 2007).
14. Warren Turner Copeland, *The Copeland Family: A Copeland Genealogy* (Rutland, Vt.: Tuttle, 1937), 646; Schnare, "Exeter Landscape Designs," 22.
15. Schnare, "Exeter Landscape Designs," 22.
16. See Blanche M. G. Linden, *Silent City on a Hill: Picturesque Landscapes of Memory and Boston's Mount Auburn Cemetery* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press and Library of American Landscape History, 2007).
17. Schnare, "Exeter Landscape Designs," 23.
18. Josephine bore six children, including two who died early, one in infancy and the other at one year. She survived her husband by thirty-three years, dying in 1907. Frederick attended MIT, and Ella, born in 1859, became a botanist; in 1961 one of Copeland's grandsons, Frederick W., wrote a centennial account of Copeland's Civil War experience for the *Atlantic Monthly*. Copeland, *Copeland Family*, 646; Schnare, "Exeter Landscape Designs," 31, photo caption; Frederick W. Copeland, "The Righteous Major," *Atlantic Monthly* 207, no. 3 (March 1961), 69–74.
19. Included in Theodora Kimball Hubbard, "H. W. S. Cleveland: An American Pioneer in Landscape Architecture and City Planning," *Landscape Architecture* 20 (January 1930), 92–111.
20. Daniel J. Nadenicek, "From Scientific Farming to Landscape Architecture," unpublished paper, 9.
21. H. W. S. Cleveland, "Forest Planting on the Great Plains," in *Landscape Architecture, as Applied to the Wants of the West*, intro. Daniel J. Nadenicek and Lance M. Neckar (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press and Library of American Landscape History, 2002), 95–147. Emerson had known the Cleveland family since 1817, when, on graduating from Harvard, he was hired to teach at Lancaster Academy, operated by Richard and Dorcas Cleveland, the landscape designer's parents.
22. Schnare, "Exeter Landscape Designs," 23.
23. Copeland's 1855 address to the Concord Lyceum may have been partly responsible for his and Cleveland's commission to design the cemetery (Simon Brown, the Lyceum series organizer and editor of *New England Farmer*, had published Copeland's original article), though the associations of both men were longstanding to Emerson, who gave the consecration address, and others involved with the cemetery.
24. Henry Barnard, *Armsmear: The Home, the Arm, and the Armory of Samuel Colt: A Memorial* (New York: n.p., 1866), 75, 72.

25. See the "Queries" column of the *Catalog of Landscape Records in the United States* (New York: Wave Hill, Fall 1989), 1.
26. Robert Morris Copeland to Prof. H. W. Longfellow, June 14, 1856, Longfellow Letters, Houghton Library, Harvard University. The commission included, among others, such dignitaries as Washington Irving, Charles A. Dana, and Charles F. Briggs.
27. Copeland and Cleveland, *A Few Words on the Central Park* (Boston: n.p., 1856), 1. Note that Copeland is first author.
28. *Ibid.*, 4.
29. *Ibid.*, 5.
30. *Ibid.*, 6.
31. New York City Central Park Commission, "Description of Plans," 4.
32. *Ibid.*, 40. Also see note 3.
33. According to the Belmont (Mass.) Town Historian, Copeland sold the farm in 1862. See www.town.belmont.ma.us/public_documents/BelmontMA_WebDocs/townreports/2002/gengovt/historian. He moved to West Castleton, Vermont, soon after he was dismissed from the army. See Ellen Weiss, "Robert Morris Copeland's Plans for Oak Bluffs," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 34, no. 1 (March 1975), 60.
34. Robert Morris Copeland, "What a Garden Should Be," *New England Farmer* 6 (February 1854), 87–89; (April 1854), 193–95; (May 1854), 208–9; (June 1854), 282–83; (July 1854), 332–33.
35. See Daniel J. Nadenicek, "Emerson's Aesthetic and Natural Design: A Theoretical Foundation for the Work of Horace William Shaler Cleveland," in *Nature and Ideology*, ed. Joachim Wolschke-Bulmahn (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1997), 64.
36. *New England Farmer* 6 (October 1854), 475.
37. See Daniel J. Nadenicek, "The Useful and the Beautiful: An American Analog to Pückler's Aesthetic," *GHI Bulletin* Supplement 4 (2007), 135–47, in which the author identifies Copeland and Cleveland as particular and original American incarnations of Transcendentalism in the landscape design field.
38. One of the founders of the Grange was a noted landscape gardener from Philadelphia named William Saunders, a designer of the new Graceland Cemetery in Chicago, the Gettysburg National Cemetery, and other sites including city parks and private residences. The connection between Saunders's horticultural and design skills and his interest in establishing a national farmers' organization seems further to confirm Daniel Nadenicek's view of the close relation

- between scientific farming and the emergence of landscape architecture as a profession.
39. Nadenicek, "From Scientific Farming to Landscape Architecture," 6–11.
 40. *Country Gentleman* 14 (July 1859), 9.
 41. *Atlantic Monthly* 4 (September 1859), 384–85.
 42. *American Agriculturist* 26 (January 1867), 10.
 43. *Gardener's Monthly* 16 (May 1874), 146.
 44. On the Boston office, associates, and Trinity Hall, see Schnare, "Exeter Landscape Designs," 24.
 45. For an account of Copeland's work on Martha's Vineyard, and details of his career, see Ellen Weiss, "Copeland's Plans for Oak Bluffs," 60–66. For a recent court decision on the Oak Bluffs parks, see mvtimes.com/news/2006/04/06/crystal_lake_lots.php.
 46. Weiss, "Copeland's Plans for Oak Bluffs," 66. The Katama design and two Oak Bluffs designs are included in Weiss's article.
 47. Schnare, "Exeter Landscape Designs," 20–22. Amos Tuck was a founder of the Republican Party, and a naval officer when Copeland was contesting his dismissal from the army. Tuck signed the petitions to the government in Copeland's behalf.
 48. *Ibid.*, 28–30.
 49. See the National Park Service website, www.nps.gov/mabi/.
 50. Quote from www.shelter-island.org/prospect/copeland.html, which includes Copeland's plan.
 51. Horace Cleveland, *The Public Grounds of Chicago: How to Give Them Character and Expression* (Chicago: Charles D. Lakey, 1869).
 52. Cynthia Zaitzevsky, *Frederick Law Olmsted and the Boston Park System* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1982), 37.
 53. *Boston Daily Advertiser*, December 2, 1869.
 54. *Boston Daily Advertiser*, March 12, 1870.
 55. Robert Morris Copeland, *The Most Beautiful City in America: Essay and Plan for the Improvement of the City of Boston* (Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1872).
 56. *Ibid.*, 6.
 57. *Ibid.*, 19.
 58. *Ibid.*, 41–42.
 59. *Ibid.*, 21.
 60. *Ibid.*, 43.
 61. "Park and Garden Pioneers II, R. Morris Copeland," *Park International* 2, no. 1 (January 1921), 49, 52.

62. John Brinckerhoff Jackson, *American Space* (New York: Norton, 1972), 134.
63. Jon A. Peterson, *The Birth of City Planning in the United States, 1840–1917* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), 53.
64. See www.ridleytownshiphistory.com/ridley_history.htm.
65. *Gardener's Monthly* 16 (May 1874), 146.
66. *Boston Daily Advertiser*, March 30, 1874.
67. See www.greenvale.com/restoration.asp. The concept of the *ferme ornée* (ornamented farm) was originated by the Englishman William Shenstone and popularized in America by A. J. Downing.