

BOOK OF
LANDSCAPE GARDENING

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BOOK OF LANDSCAPE GARDENING



FRANK A. WAUGH

Introduction by
LINDA FLINT MCCLELLAND

University of Massachusetts Press / Amherst
in association with
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PREFACE

The ASLA Centennial Reprint Series comprises a small library of influential historical books about American landscape architecture. The titles were selected by a committee of distinguished historians and practitioners who identified them as classics, important in shaping design, planting, planning, and stewardship practices in the field and still relevant today. Each is reprinted from the original edition and introduced by a new essay that provides historical and contemporary perspective. The project was initiated by the Library of American Landscape History to commemorate the 1999 centennial of the American Society of Landscape Architects and funded by the Viburnum Foundation.

The names and achievements of many early twentieth-century landscape practitioners have become familiar to students of American landscape history, but information about Frank A. Waugh (1869–1943) has been slow to emerge, in part because Waugh’s influence came primarily through writing and teaching rather than design. His significance is illuminated here by Linda Flint McClelland, who sees in Waugh’s life’s work unswerving advocacy for consideration of “the whole outlook,” as he put it, “the country landscape with all its hills, valleys, streams,

lakes, forests, and cultivated fields—a commodity which . . . is of the very greatest importance to all our civilization.”

In Waugh's view, the landscape architect was first and foremost an artist “capable of seeing, feeling, and understanding . . . the beauties of the landscape, and capable, too, of interpreting these beauties to others.” In 1902 he founded the department of landscape architecture at Massachusetts Agricultural College (now the University of Massachusetts Amherst), where he taught students to analyze landscape forms by studying Corot and to understand the music of a rushing stream by playing his flute for them beside it. Among the practitioners he trained through these unconventional methods were several who became prominent in the profession: John Noyes, Stephen Hamblin, Earle Draper, A. D. Taylor, John W. Gregg, and Conrad Wirth, the director of the National Park Service from 1951 to 1964.

Despite his romantic ideas about the transformative effects of landscape beauty, Waugh was also a realist, a passionate advocate of land use planning in an era of explosive development. For many years he also served as a consultant to the U.S. Forestry Service, where he advised on the design of roads, campgrounds, headquarter sites, trails, and viewing points. Waugh's 1935 *Landscape Conservation: Planning for the Restoration, Conservation, and Utilization of Wild Lands for Parks and Forests* reflected insights gained through ecological studies he conducted in the late 1920s and was republished as a training manual for the Civilian Conservation Corps.

Like Wilhelm Miller, also born in 1869, Waugh was a prolific and versatile author, publishing on a variety of topics, from pomology to horticulture to forestry to design. As did many of his colleagues (including Miller), Waugh felt a duty to teach new American homeowners how to make their properties orderly and attractive through the application of sound landscape principles. This was the impetus behind his *Book of Landscape Gardening*, first published in 1899, revised in 1912, and expanded in 1926, when Waugh added several photographs, including many he took himself. Among the new images were tree-lined streets in Amherst, the royal palace at Koblenz on the Rhine, new gardens in California, and ancient gardens in Japan.

McClelland's essay traces the changes in the subsequent editions of the book, noting Waugh's shift in emphasis from village improvement toward conservation. Aiming the last edition at the widest possible audience, the landscape architect wove in several inspirational epigraphs, including passages by O. C. Simonds (whose book, *Landscape-Gardening*, published in 1920, covered many of the same topics) and verse by the Chinese poet T'ao Ch'ien. Among the more than three hundred articles, essays, pamphlets, and books that Waugh produced over the course of his richly productive life, *Book of Landscape Gardening* is his most comprehensive statement on the art of landscape architecture. McClelland's introduction provides a thorough overview of this important work as it deftly situates Waugh in the context of his time and the new profession.

Her essay and extensive bibliography—the first published compendium of Waugh’s writings—offer critical information about this influential figure.

Robin Karson, Executive Director
Library of American Landscape History
Amherst, Massachusetts

LALH

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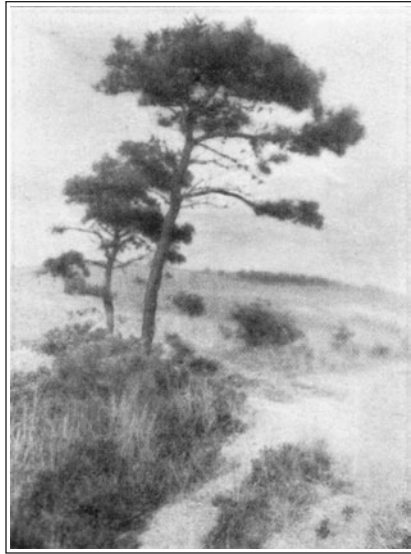
Frank A. Waugh. UMass Special Collections.

INTRODUCTION TO THE
REPRINT EDITION

by *Linda Flint McClelland*

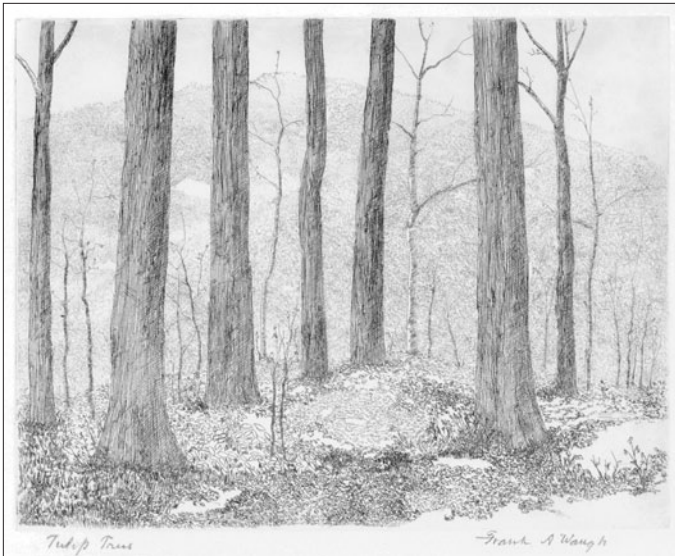
Frank A. Waugh (1869–1943) had grown up on the plains, in McPherson, Kansas, the son of homesteaders who were expected to cultivate the earth and grow a forest in return for their land. His family’s difficulty in growing trees in a climate plagued by heavy drying winds, lack of rain, and temperature extremes made a lasting impression on Waugh and seems to have stimulated his interest in a career in horticulture. Indeed, in 1895–96, in three issues of *Garden and Forest*, Waugh wrote about the successes and failures of timber culture in his home district of McPherson, drawing attention to the suitability of the Osage orange, black walnut, and cottonwood for western planting. With some authority, he also pointed to the sycamores, Norway maples, and silver maples as the best street trees for the western plains.¹

After Waugh’s move to the richly forested Northeast—Burlington, Vermont, in 1895 and then Amherst, Massachusetts, in 1902, where he remained for the rest of his life—trees became a central, lifelong focus and theme. He soon became a noted pomologist, writing books and articles about peaches, plums, and apples, and he also wrote



“Pine Trees, Cape Cod.” *The Landscape Beautiful* (1910).

about roadside trees, trees for farm woodlots and small home grounds, trees that enveloped and screened garden rooms and outdoor theaters, and trees preserved in national and state parks and forests. Throughout his life Waugh’s interest in trees would reflect a striking dichotomy between practical, down-to-earth, and scientifically based knowledge and an almost romantic, poetic sense of beauty. In 1905 Waugh told readers of *Country Life in America* how to plant a tree, while five years later he wrote: “A single tree is beautiful in itself—the symmetry of the perfect elm or pine or palm satisfies the eye like the symmetry of a Greek temple.”² More than twenty years later he would provide instructions for dressing the edge



Tulip Trees, etching, 1942. UMass Special Collections.

of a forest with informal groupings of trees and shrubs that blended into nature's garden.

This poetic sense led Waugh to write admiringly of the beeches in Berlin's Tiergarten, to photograph the dappled rays of sunlight penetrating a deep forest (*BLG*, 48), and to find beauty in a solitary pair of pines fighting for survival on a windswept dune. A heightened awareness of the "landscape spirit" as expressed in trees remained with him, eventually finding its way into the etchings he created in the last eight years of his life—many having as their topic a single tree or cluster of trees. In these images Waugh was able to convey the gentle sway of barren branches, riveted character of aging bark, and elongated

shadows of winter; such images evoke an extremely restful and at times almost mystical mood.³

To Waugh, trees were “the most indispensable of materials for landscape making,” and in the *Book of Landscape Gardening* trees are the first plants to be considered among the gardener’s materials and are given the most thorough treatment in the text.⁴ They predominate thematically in the photographs that illustrate the third edition, many taken by Waugh himself. What distinguished Waugh’s treatment of trees from the handling of the topic in the popular garden writing of his time was an emphasis on landscape design and straightforward, practical advice, often conveyed in relatively few words. “In any save the smallest places the trees form the framework of the plantings,” he wrote, noting that selection, placement, and care in growing plants must all be closely attended to or “the whole composition is apt to fall to pieces” (*BLG*, 163).

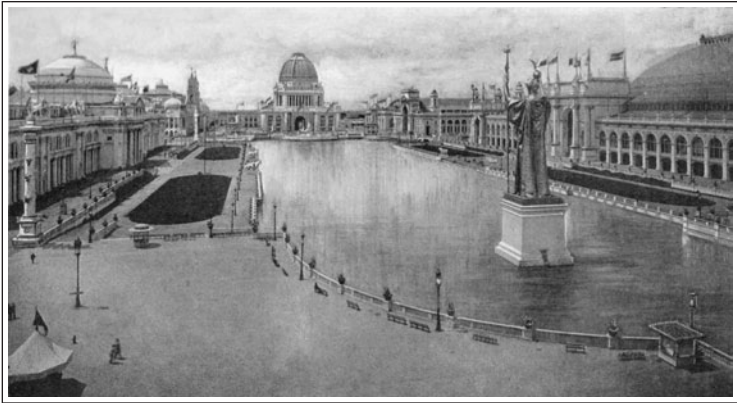
The *Book of Landscape Gardening*, one of more than twenty books Waugh wrote on a wide variety of subjects (along with more than 300 technical bulletins, reports, pamphlets, and magazine articles), is notable among contemporary titles in landscape architecture for having been issued in three editions over a span of twenty-seven years—the first in 1899 when Waugh was barely thirty, the second, lightly revised, in 1912, and the final one, revised and slightly expanded, in 1926. The publisher, Orange Judd Company, a well-respected house, considered the book a commercial success in the first two editions, which aimed to help students of landscape gardening and horticulture, park managers, estate owners, teachers,



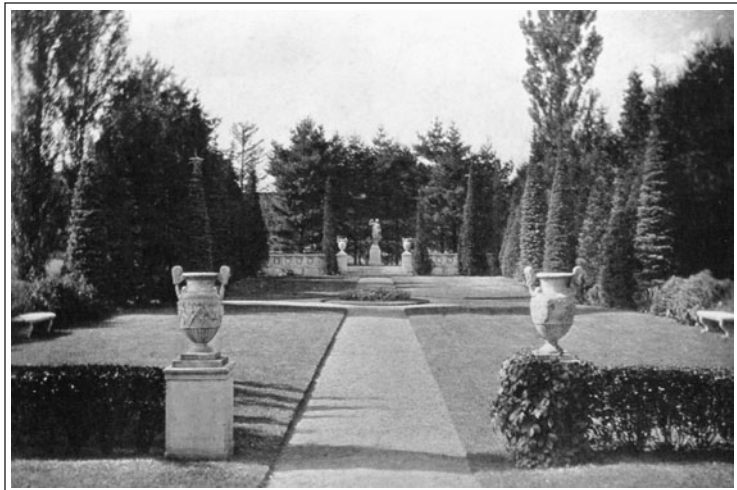
Naturalistic steps up Hagbourne Hill, designed by F. L. Olmsted for Boston's Franklin Park, in the 1912 edition of *Landscape Gardening*. Photograph by George King.

and garden club members. The third edition was even more popular, attracting readers among the swiftly increasing number of new suburban homeowners in the decade following World War I.

To promote good design practices, Waugh emphasizes the art of landscape gardening, and he discusses in separate chapters each of the formal principles that should guide the artist's work: unity, variety, character, propriety, motive (or theme), and finish (good care of individual plants). Following these he describes what were, in his view, the three major styles of this fine art: 1) natural—the Olmstedian style, derived from English landscape and parks, which had come to dominate landscape architecture in America, and regional variations of it such as the so-called prairie style developed by Jens Jensen; 2) formal



Court of Honor at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition, as illustrated in the 1899 and 1912 editions of *Landscape Gardening*. Photographer unknown.



Formal garden of Emma Dakin in Amherst, Massachusetts. *Formal Design in Landscape Architecture* (1927).

or “architectural”—inspired by the 1893 Columbian Exposition and the work of architect-artist Charles Platt, whose *Italian Gardens* of 1894 spurred many American designers to emulate the great villas and palaces of Europe; and 3) Picturesque—derived from late eighteenth-century English writings about forest scenery and the sublime in nature and, by 1926, equated in Waugh’s mind with the symbolic depiction of nature in Japanese landscape gardening. Unity being the first requirement of artistic design, Waugh cautioned readers that the styles should almost never be mixed in a single composition.

The book also contains practical advice on a variety of “general problems” such as street planting, improving farm and school yards, the handling of water in landscape designs, and laying out suburban home grounds. In the final sections it includes plentiful resources on plant materials (many genera of trees, shrubs, perennials, annuals, bulbs, and vines), and it points readers to what Waugh considered the essential books for beginners.

Waugh’s annotated list of thirty-two books included some of what he considered the world’s greatest literature, including *L’Art des Jardins* (1879) by French landscape architect Edouard André and *Gartengestaltung de Neuzeit* (1906) by German designer Willy Lange (neither was translated into English). Among the most important American writings was the *Introduction to the Study of Landscape Design* by Henry V. Hubbard and Theodora Kimball, which was first published in 1917 and would remain the profession’s chief textbook for decades. As for his personal favorites, Waugh praised O. C. Simonds’s *Landscape Gardening* for its “mature views on the main matters,” and

The Complete Garden by A. D. Taylor (one of Waugh's first students) for its extensive lists of plants suitable for American gardens of different types and locations (*BLG*, 232).

By the time the third edition appeared, American landscape literature had grown considerably. The American Society of Landscape Architects, which had been organized in 1899, kept pace with this progress by publishing reviews in its quarterly, *Landscape Architecture*, and even funded the reprinting of several old classics, including those by Humphry Repton (edited by John Nolen), Prince Hermann von Pückler-Muskau (edited by Samuel Parsons Jr. and also translated into English), A. J. Downing, and Edward Kemp (the last two edited and revised by Waugh himself)—all of which appeared on Waugh's reading list.

Waugh began to gain a sense of the artistic goals of landscape design as a student in horticulture at Kansas State Agricultural College (now Kansas State University) beginning in 1886. He was fortunate to have as a teacher J. D. Walters, who headed KSAC's Division of Industrial Drawing and Design. Educated in Switzerland, Walters taught Waugh drafting, free-hand drawing, and art history, and introduced him to landscape design through his work, with the help of the St. Louis landscape architect Maximilian Kern, in carrying out a new plan for the Kansas campus.⁵

Waugh continued his studies at KSAC after graduation, and he took his first teaching job in the fall of 1893 at the new agricultural college in Stillwater, Oklahoma (now Oklahoma State University). It is not surprising that the topic of his master's thesis was a preliminary plan for the new and somewhat barren Oklahoma campus. Walters



View of the Campus Pond, c. 1919, at Massachusetts Agricultural College, designed by Waugh. UMass Special Collections. Photographer unknown.

likely introduced Waugh to the writings of Downing, Kemp, and Jacob Weidenmann, and also to *Landscape Gardening* (1891) by Samuel Parsons Jr., the superintendent of New York's Central Park, which became a valuable resource for Waugh's master's project. Waugh's plan reflected the preference of American designers for the natural style and depended in large part on the planting of suitable trees and shrubs, many native to the western plains.⁶ Later as a professor at the Massachusetts Agricultural College, Waugh would again become involved in campus planning. Soon after his arrival there, he began to make inquiries about the ill-fated plan that Olmsted & Vaux had prepared for the college in 1866. By 1908, he had acquired copies of the written report from Frederick Law Olmsted Jr. (no graphic plan existed) and began to make use of its suggestions in his own recommendations for future campus growth and improvement.

Olmsted believed that the ideal plan for an agricultural college must relate to 1) the special calling of the farmer; 2) rural household affairs; and 3) the affairs of rural communities. On the last topic, he wrote: "Nearly every farmer gives considerable thought to matters which are not those of his farm . . . but of the community generally, such as the common roads, bridges, schools, meeting houses, grave yards, monuments, libraries, and lyceums."⁷ Waugh heeded Olmsted's call for rural outreach, and in 1913 he instituted a program of civic instruction aimed at improving rural villages and the open countryside in Massachusetts; the program would become a model for agricultural extension services that, funded by the Smith-Lever Act of 1914, were soon offered at land-grant colleges nationwide.

An event which had for the young Waugh (as for many others) a momentous impact was the World's Columbian Exposition at Chicago in 1893, where Olmsted Sr., Daniel H. Burnham, and many architects, artists, and sculptors created the "White City," which included the naturalistic Wooded Island and the formal Court of Honor. Waugh later wrote that "works of greater artistic merit will often be produced hereafter in America, but works of greater influence, never." Of the millions who visited the fair, Waugh suspected that many "went home inspired with new ideas of beautiful things and with a determination to make their own homes more orderly and artistic, their own grounds more beautiful, and to give their home towns and cities something of the grandeur and magnificence of the White City beside Lake Michigan."⁸ The first edition of his *Book of Landscape Gardening* six years later must

have been partly aimed at those inspired homeowner-designers.

Two years after the exposition, Waugh moved to Vermont to become a professor of horticulture at the College of Agriculture. Soon he was occasionally writing for and no doubt attentively reading the magazine *Garden and Forest* (1888–97), which likely had as great an impact on the burgeoning profession of landscape architecture as the Chicago exposition. The densely packed weekly was “conducted” by Charles Sprague Sargent, head of the Arnold Arboretum in Boston, and edited by William Stiles, an editor at the *New York Tribune* who was considered a penetrating literary stylist and who wrote many of the editorials. Here Waugh read reports of horticultural advances, profiles of outstanding landscapes, and provocative editorial commentary on such timely issues as landscape preservation, management of public parks, and protection of forest preserves. In an 1890 issue he might have seen a comprehensive bibliography of world garden literature by Henry Codman, Olmsted Sr.’s partner and Sargent’s nephew. And he would have read frequently about the great parks and palace grounds of Europe, as well as horticultural advances being made at the Royal Botanical Gardens at Kew (England) and other centers of research abroad. Here too Waugh became acquainted with Charles Eliot’s thoughts on the preservation of the Waverly Oaks at Belmont, on a metropolitan park system for Boston that in its design would emphasize the region’s outstanding natural features and watersheds, and on landscape forestry as a process for restoring natural beauty.

Waugh would also have read in its pages many articles on the art of landscape gardening by the art critic Mariana Griswold Van Rensselaer, later published in *Art Out-of-Doors*. Waugh would use a quotation from her book as his opening epigraph in the *Book of Landscape Gardening*, and it seems clear that she provided him with the vocabulary to discuss gardening as an art. Van Rensselaer's conceptions harmonized with those of Olmsted, as they strongly argued for landscape architecture as a profession. Indeed, more and more as time went on, *Garden and Forest* was aimed at documenting and even defining the profession in concept and detail. As the century came to a close and publication ceased (in 1897), *Garden and Forest* had gone a long way toward shaping that profession.

Van Rensselaer's articles would have resonated strongly with Waugh given his own artistic sensibilities and interest in the fine arts—not only as a landscape designer, but also as a serious photographer, accomplished flutist, and, later in life, a master printmaker. His student Albert D. Taylor said Waugh was blessed “with a brilliant analytical mind, and with outstanding talent as an administrator, teacher, writer, artist, and musician.”⁹

By all accounts Waugh's artistry and creativity extended to his teaching—inside the classroom and out. In 1899, Waugh remarked, “I have always conducted my classes on the assumption that, while no student is likely to become a landscape gardener, all are bound to see many of the beautiful pictures in Nature's gallery, and these they ought to understand and enjoy.”¹⁰ For many years in Massachusetts he offered the college's only instruction in art apprecia-

tion, using great paintings (especially the work of the French landscape artist Corot, of which he owned a set of prints) to inspire a love of landscape and illustrate the universal principles of fine art. Outdoor study was fundamental to Waugh's approach (he once commented that even the study of economics would be greatly humanized if only students could meet the subject in the garden). Exercises in plant identification would dispatch Waugh's students across the campus and into the surrounding hills in search of climbing vines or native asters. For advanced students the campus became an ideal laboratory where, under Waugh's tutelage, they examined real-life problems and were given the opportunity to execute their own designs.

Waugh's best-known exercise, "landscape links," led students through a series of outdoor viewpoints—a process he compared to an afternoon walk where "one tramps leisurely from point to point, stopping to contemplate at ease each good view."¹¹ To compare landscape art with the fine art of music, he would encourage his students to listen to the music of a free-flowing stream, and, seated on a ledge-like boulder, he would play his flute in cadence with the sound of "water running downhill." Such lessons were memorable and appealed to nonprofessional as well as professional students.

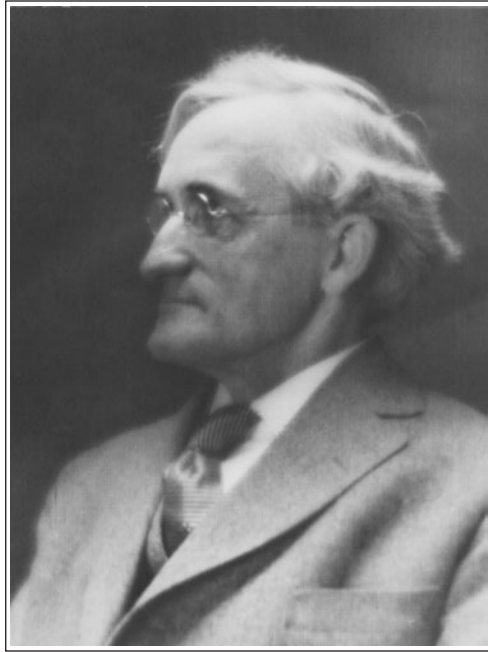
Among the important elements in the wide network that *Garden and Forest* brought together were the nation's land-grant colleges and their agricultural experiment stations, which were geared toward the practical and often economically productive aspects of agriculture. This became the professional context for Waugh's career as he



“Flute and Brook Harmonize in a Duet,” self-portrait published in *American Forests and Forestry Life*, June 1925. UMass Special Collections.

moved eastward, from Kansas and Oklahoma to Vermont, and then to Massachusetts. His horticultural professors in Kansas were correspondents for the magazine, and the greenhouse superintendent was a regular contributor. Seventeen of Waugh's own earliest pieces, on subjects as varied as native plums, timber culture in Kansas, orchid-flowering cannas, and the islands of Lake Champlain, were written for *Garden and Forest*. Waugh, in an 1897 letter to the editor, even assumed the persona of a bicyclist and expressed outrage at the billboards that marred the beauty of country roads—an opinion he shared with Stiles, the editor.¹² This piece foreshadowed his later advocacy for rural improvements and landscape protection. Waugh seemed to announce with those varied pieces the remarkable breadth of interest that remained one of the distinctive hallmarks of his very productive life.

In addition to the land-grant community, many readers of *Garden and Forest* belonged to state horticultural societies, which were often founded by well-connected and scientifically knowledgeable people. Waugh presented his earliest ideas about landscape gardening in a lecture to the Vermont Horticultural Society—which quickly became an article in *The Country Gentleman* in 1898 and was expanded to become the *Book of Landscape Gardening* a year later.¹³ A decade later, Waugh similarly presented a study on American practice and practitioners at a meeting of the long-standing Massachusetts Horticultural Society, where it seems he became acquainted with Boston's preeminent landscape architects, Frederick Law Olmsted Jr. and Warren Manning.



Portrait of Liberty Hyde Bailey. UMass Special Collections.

With his move to Vermont in 1895 and his early writing for *Garden and Forest*, Waugh was beginning to vigorously extend his connections within the domains of horticulture, landscape gardening, and publishing. During this early period he traveled to Ithaca, New York, to study briefly at Cornell with Liberty Hyde Bailey, the leading horticulturist in America, who was at the time assembling his comprehensive, multivolume *Cyclopedia of American Horticulture*. (For the 1906 edition Waugh wrote entries on beets, plums, carrots, cucumbers, lilies, salad plants,

and “horticulture in Vermont.”) Waugh found in Bailey not only a rich source of knowledge but a deeply sympathetic spirit who loved nature, greatly revered the American farmer, and was an admirable model as a scientist and mentor. He later wrote that not only his own career but the entire field of nonprofessional landscape education were “inscribed” with Bailey’s name and “freshened by [his] touch.”¹⁴ In each edition of the *Book of Landscape Gardening* Waugh used Bailey’s words from the book *Garden-Making* (1898) as an epigraph to his own chapter on unity: “Every yard should be a picture . . . with every feature contributing its part to one strong and homogeneous effect” (*BLG*, 11).

Bailey’s encouragement of Waugh’s writing and his high opinion of Waugh’s scientific acumen instilled great confidence in the younger man and led him to explore new avenues in journalism. In 1898 he became horticultural editor for *The Country Gentleman*, one of the nation’s oldest weeklies devoted to agriculture and rural life, a position he held for thirteen years. In the meantime he wrote as well for *Country Life in America*, initially edited by Bailey, and several other magazines.

The connection with Bailey introduced Waugh to other interesting and powerful people who would further enrich his life and work—for example, the publisher Frank Doubleday and his wife Nellie, who both wrote about gardening (she under the pseudonym Neltje Blanchan). Doubleday published *Country Life in America* and in 1905 introduced *Garden Magazine*, whose first issue carried an article on foxgloves written by Waugh and another



“A German Iris,” in the first issue of *The Garden Magazine*, February 1905.

on irises written by Blanchan and illustrated with photographs by Waugh. In 1909 Blanchan wrote the lively and informative *American Flower Garden*, known for its striking photographs taken by pioneers in horticultural photography such as J. Horace McFarland.

Probably through Bailey, Waugh met McFarland, one



Portrait of Robert Frost. UMass Special Collections.

of the most effective figures of the Progressive Era. McFarland operated a printing business with extraordinary capabilities—particularly his pioneering methods of photographic engraving with color. Waugh's own artistry in photography seems to have been sharpened by his association with McFarland, who encouraged his ventures into the genre of America's Photo-Secession movement (he emulated the work of Gertrude Kasebier, Frank Eugene, and Edward Steichen) and portraiture (he photographed famous individuals including Robert Frost and President William Howard Taft). Not only was McFarland's press used by Doubleday and the Macmillan Company

(Bailey's publisher), but McFarland was a zealous advocate of the City Beautiful movement and the preservation of outstanding American scenery.

As president of the American Civic Association, which was founded in 1904 (Waugh was a member), McFarland was highly successful in marshaling professional support for the promotion of urban parks, civic planning, and scenery preservation, and he ignited a grassroots movement that provided popular support for civic improvements across the nation. McFarland supported the clean-up and restoration of Niagara Falls, and, along with John Muir and John Burroughs, he battled passionately but unsuccessfully against the building of a dam in the Hetch Hetchy Valley of Yosemite National Park.

Waugh took on many of McFarland's causes. In fact, during the Yosemite crisis, Waugh and McFarland corresponded often, and later when McFarland asked Waugh's advice on the ablest landscape architect to help spearhead the joint ACA and ASLA campaign to establish a national park service, Waugh suggested two—Olmsted Jr., and Manning.¹⁵ McFarland was well acquainted with Manning, who under McFarland's supervision had designed the waterfront park and improvements for McFarland's home town, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. The ACA president, however, selected Olmsted, in large part due to his leadership on the McMillan Commission for the design of the nation's capital and the firm's established reputation in landscape preservation, which dated to the late 1860s, when the elder Olmsted, who chaired the Yosemite Board of Commissioners, wrote the pivotal report leading to

the creation of the first Yosemite park by the State of California.

Also important was Waugh's friendship with Wilhelm Miller, who was Bailey's assistant editor on the *Cyclopedia* and became the editor of Doubleday's *Garden Magazine* (beautifully printed by McFarland's company). Miller would go on to write several important books, including one about the midwestern landscape architecture of Jens Jensen and O. C. Simonds, *Prairie Spirit in Landscape Gardening* (1915, rpt. 2003 by LALH). Miller became well known for his advocacy of native plants and disapproval of exotics, which he adamantly argued for in *The "Illinois Way" of Beautifying the Farm* (1914). Waugh admired Miller's *What England Can Teach Us about Gardening* (1911), praising it as "a book of dashing criticism illuminating many of our American problems" (*BLG*, 231). Miller enlisted Waugh for the first issue of *Garden Magazine*. With his piece "All the Foxgloves Worth Cultivating," Waugh reached a knowledgeable set of readers who had keen interests in particular plant genera—members of gardening societies who considered themselves amateur horticulturists and landscape designers. This was a somewhat new audience for Waugh, and Miller clearly appreciated Waugh's versatility as a writer and photographer.¹⁶

Waugh and Miller corresponded for many years, sharing a common interest in preserving the native character of the rural countryside, particularly in the early years of the agricultural extension movement when Miller, working for the University of Illinois, drew attention to what he called the "prairie spirit" of midwestern landscape design and



View of Wilder Hall, ca. 1919, showing Waugh's choice of a hillside setting overlooking the campus pond and landscape design with shrubbery and vines. UMass Special Collections. Photographer unknown.

became an advocate of the use of native plants on farms, private estates, roadsides, and public parks. Characteristic of Miller was his advice in the epigraph for the chapter on hardy perennials that “those effects which grow naturally out of the soil and out of true economy will be recognized as the most artistic” (*BLG*, 187).

Early in the century Waugh also became friendly with Jensen, whose naturalistic work creating idealized landscapes with native plantings and landforms evocative of the plains deeply impressed him. He and Jensen became regular correspondents, and it soon became obvious that Waugh had real sympathy for Jensen's view that American designers “study our own conditions and develop something that harmonizes with our climate and our people.”¹⁷

After seven years in Vermont, Waugh moved with his family to Amherst in 1902, where he immediately established and became head of the Department of Landscape Gardening at Massachusetts Agricultural College (now University of Massachusetts Amherst). The first such program in the United States had started at Harvard just two years before, and Waugh's, designed as a four-year curriculum, began admitting students in 1903. At the end of the decade Waugh wrote a piece called "Ten of My Boys," about graduates of the program and their thriving careers in the new profession of landscape architecture.¹⁸ He was very attentive to his students' employment prospects, and he helped place them in good situations, including the offices of the Olmsted Brothers, Jens Jensen, Warren Manning, and John Nolen.

A measure of Waugh's influence over the years was the quality of his students and the scope of their work. They included John Noyes, who for many years was the chief landscape architect at the Missouri Botanical Garden in St. Louis; Stephen Hamblin, who worked for Warren Manning, taught at Harvard, and was director of the botanical garden there; Conrad Wirth—son of the Minneapolis park superintendent Theodore Wirth—who became director of the National Park Service in the 1950s, after directing the training and work of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's Civilian Conservation Corps in the national and state parks two decades earlier; Earle Draper, who, after working for John Nolen, developed over three hundred subdivisions, campuses, cemeteries, estates, and parks; John W. Gregg, who headed the landscape gardening and flori-

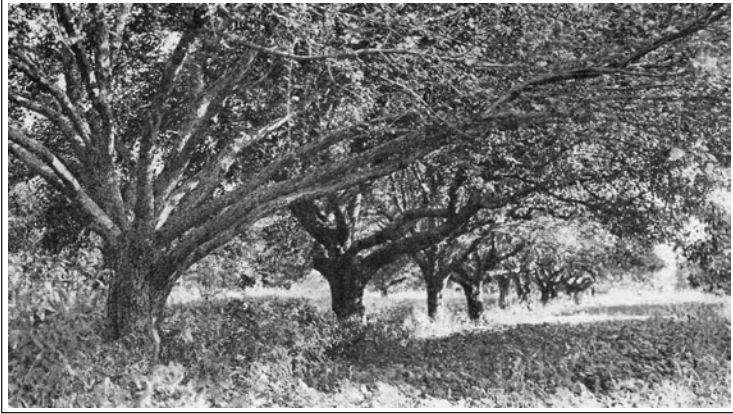
culture program at the University of California in Berkeley and who invited Waugh west to teach a summer course in 1924 and introduced him to the outstanding formal landscape work in Mediterranean styles then burgeoning in California—an experience that influenced his writing of the *Formal Design in Landscape Architecture* in 1927; and Albert D. Taylor, one of the first MAC graduates, who by the late 1920s had offices in Cleveland and Florida and employed a dozen or more landscape architects, some of them also Waugh's students. In his 1943 tribute to Waugh in *Landscape Architecture*, Taylor wrote: "No single individual has done more to inspire the layman to live a richer life by bringing to his home surroundings the orderly and attractive elements of landscape architecture."¹⁹

Of all Waugh's students perhaps Hamblin most closely expressed his teacher's ideas about landscape gardening and art. By the mid 1920s Hamblin was emerging as an authority on the expressive use of plants in landscape design and an early proponent of an ecological approach to planting. Writing in a 1924 issue of the ASLA quarterly, *Landscape Architecture*, he drew attention to the artistry of planting that could be observed in the work of well-known landscape architects, and urged readers to study such work in great detail. Hamblin offered advice on "a study of ecology to be used in art," and wrote, "Much that nature does we can adopt wholly or adapt to the requirements of civilization. Then in each wood and field we can suggest plants to be added, to continue the work of the genius of nature, or bring in the feeling of the presence of humanity."²⁰

Hamblin's words identify a central theme that emerged in Waugh's work during the second and third decades of the twentieth century as his focus shifted from horticulture to, first, a concern about the declining state of rural America and, second, a strong advocacy for the preservation of the natural beauty and richness of American wilderness. Waugh directed his writings to describing how damaged park and forest land should be restored, how beautiful natural landscapes could be preserved and at the same time be made accessible for public pleasure, and how planting should be done ecologically so as to recreate nature as sympathetically as possible.

In 1980, Conrad Wirth recalled his teacher. "[He] went into depth on the relationship between man and the natural environment. He . . . believed that man-made landscape developments, to be successful, must meet the needs of the people and that the natural elements were a part of these needs. [He] proceeded on the principle that man's advanced culture and social development required certain modern conveniences but that these utilities should not be ugly or destructive of the needed natural environment."²¹

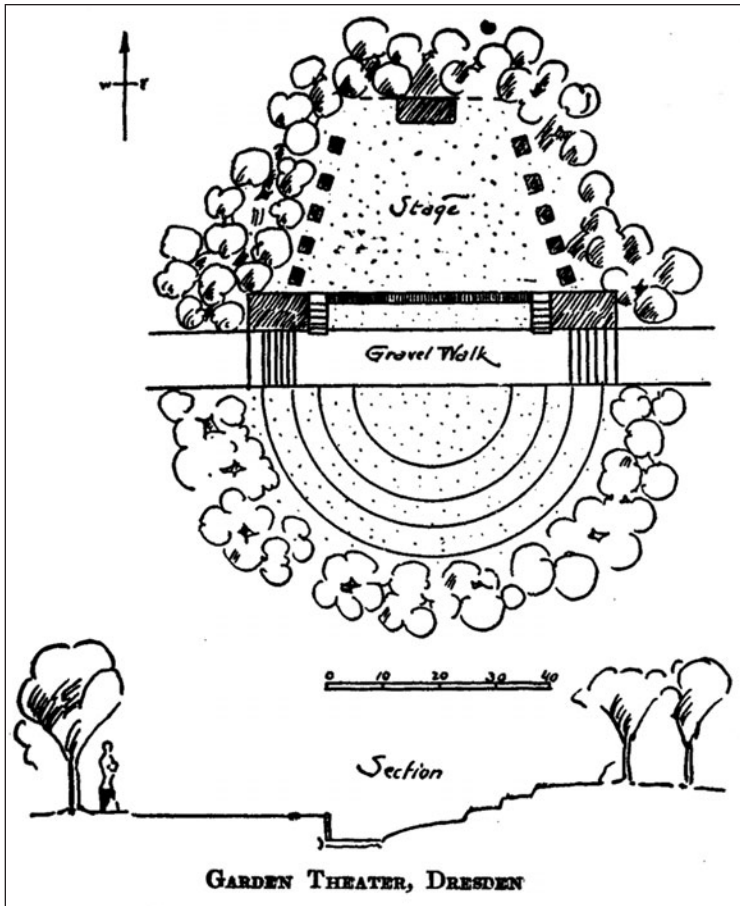
In Waugh's first decade at MAC he wrote extensively about horticultural subjects in particular, publishing books with Orange Judd on apple orchards, plum growing, fruit harvesting and marketing, and systematic pomology. In 1902 he was a founder of the Society for Horticultural Science along with Liberty Hyde Bailey. Waugh also wrote many pieces for experimental station bulletins. In 1908 he undertook a survey of past and practicing American landscape



“An Old Orchard of Northern Spy.” *The American Apple Orchard* (1908).

architects, the results of which he published in *The Country Gentleman* and *Park and Cemetery*. In 1910 his illustrated book *The Landscape Beautiful* (also published by Orange Judd) contained much of this material in the form of essays based on his lectures and classroom exercises.²²

The same year he traveled to Europe for seven months. During this period he wrote twenty-four pieces for *The Country Gentleman*, sometimes sending several for a single issue. He wrote—characteristically—about a wide variety of subjects: roses, apples, a butter boycott, urban woodlands, horticultural education, street markets, music, and the labor problem. While in Berlin he studied at the Royal Horticultural School with the landscape architect Willy Lange, whose writings had caught his attention several years earlier, perhaps at the suggestion of Jens Jensen. Lange’s work fascinated Waugh, who



A garden theater in a Dresden park, drawn from a pace survey in July 1910. *Outdoor Theaters* (1917).

described the German landscape architect as one who “wants his gardens running over full of flowers” and for whom “design is a thoroughly subordinate matter.” Lange’s love of nature, horticultural knowledge, and ecological approach to landscape design would profoundly influence Waugh for many years to come. Waugh simply explained Lange’s ecological method as one where “plants should be assembled in a garden in their natural relationships together with one another in nature, placing such a plant society in its proper soil and on its proper geologic formation.”²³

An important outcome of his study of Lange and other naturalistic designers was the 1917 book *The Natural Style of Landscape Gardening*. Though the book was criticized by his peers for its references to the “landscape spirit,” for Waugh, who advocated an empirical approach to design that involved close study of natural forms, it was the designer’s ability to “clarify and interpret the spirit of the place” that distinguished the work of a true artist.²⁴ Waugh adopted Lange’s ideas about motive (which he once called Lange’s “hobby”) as a principle of artistic design. He introduced the concept in his book on the natural style, thus laying the groundwork for a new chapter that described the brook and pine tree motives in some detail and appeared in the final edition of the *Book of Landscape Gardening*. In the mid-1920s, Waugh began engaging his students in projects that applied Lange’s ecological method to American conditions. These studies—on topics such as running water, the ecology of the roadside, and physiography of lakes and ponds—are considered by many to be Waugh’s greatest contributions to twentieth-century landscape architecture.

Waugh maintained his European connections, and years later he was invited by the German writer Marie Luise Gothein to contribute to her two-volume *History of Garden Art*, which then as now was considered a standard reference work. The first two editions, in 1914 and 1924, were written in German, but when the third edition appeared in 1928 it was translated into English for the first time and included a new section, "Landscape Architecture in North America," written by Waugh.²⁵ This was a personal and professional triumph for Waugh, signifying not only his role as one of the chief chroniclers of the field, but also international recognition for the accomplishments of America's practitioners—past and present.

The years after he returned from Germany marked two new directions in Waugh's work, each running parallel to and reinforcing the other. Both were logical outgrowths of his interest in the art of developing and protecting beautiful landscapes. First was his involvement in what he called "country planning," and second was his consulting for the United States Forest Service on landscape engineering and planning in national forests. Both emerged from a sense of the landscape being irrevocably altered and, in some cases, lost altogether. Waugh regretted the disappearance of, for example, the bluestem grasses and sage on the plains and their replacement with corn and wheat; the loss of one of the most beautiful valleys in Yosemite to support the growth of metropolitan San Francisco; the loss of great forests to slash-and-burn timber cutting; and the disorderly precipitous growth of cities. For him these were all interconnected.

Waugh returned home from Germany to find support growing for rural improvement—not only as a result of the findings of the Commission on Country Life chaired by Bailey, but also as a special interest of MAC’s president, Kenyon Butterfield, who was an acclaimed rural economist, had served on the commission, and was eager to encourage the college’s work in this direction. In 1913 Waugh hired P. H. Elwood Jr., a graduate of Bailey’s program, as the college’s first instructor of civic improvement. Together they examined all the elements of rural communities—roads, schools, farms, cross-roads, rail stations, village centers, parks, and playgrounds—and they collaborated on a number of technical bulletins aimed at farmers and community leaders. Many of these were also published in *American City*, one of the first journals devoted to planning in the United States. In 1914 Waugh published *Rural Improvement*, his first book on the topic, which drew on his and Elwood’s experience as well as his own observations on country planning in Canada and Germany.

Waugh’s efforts remained overshadowed by city planning, which had emerged as its own discipline in the first two decades of the twentieth century. He did, however, win the support of the ACA, McFarland’s organization, which published his early pamphlet *Country Planning* in 1915, and Bailey, who in addition to chairing President Theodore Roosevelt’s Country Life Commission in 1908 paid highest tribute to the American farmer in his book *The Holy Earth* (1915). Waugh even convinced the editors of *American City* to issue a special “town and country”

edition each month for several years, and he garnered the support of the Russell Sage Foundation in setting up a clearinghouse to promote country planning and sponsoring a conference devoted to the topic at MAC in the early 1920s.

Waugh became more and more concerned about the inevitability of change and its physical effect on rural communities and the open countryside, and in 1924 he published a full-length book, *Country Planning*, in which he attempted to set out planning principles that could be applied systematically and rationally to the problems of the country. He insisted that city planning as it was developing—indeed regional planning too—virtually ignored the country, producing decisions that benefited the city only, and he wrote with notable vigor that the physical problems of the country were largely matters of public property that had to be addressed with public money, expertise, and time. Aiming at an audience of farmers, homeowners, and community leaders, Waugh wrote: “Changes are being constantly made. Farms are sold, subdivided or consolidated. New land is opened up and settled. New roads are built. . . . New schoolhouses have to be built, new county buildings provided, even new parks, forests and playgrounds. . . . Since changes must come, since some are much better than others, and since they all involve expenditures of money, it is much the best to foresee them and plan for them. Planning for such inevitable changes in the country is country planning. And that’s all there is to it.”²⁶

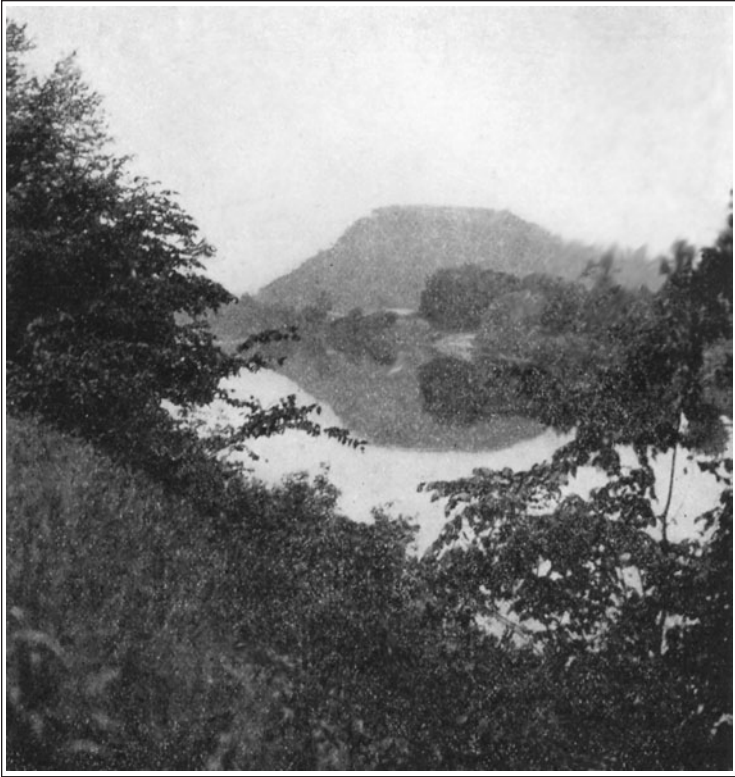
Waugh’s thinking quickly transcended his formative

ideas about rural improvements and the “landscape beautiful,” and he began to address the highly politicized issues of land use. His concern for land use went far beyond the preservation of notable scenic and historic features and by the mid-1930s extended into the national dialogue about the utilization of natural resources. To a large extent Waugh was a pioneer in land-use planning; in this he joined O. C. Simonds, Benton MacKaye, and Warren Manning (who wrote passionately about these issues in his 1919 National Plan).

The disturbing trends Waugh saw in 1924 were not reversed; thirteen years later in “Physical Aspects of Country Planning” he railed again at city planning: “The country, if considered at all, is regarded merely as that area where the city gets its food, water, and exercise. Grand parkways are projected through miles of rural landscape, beginning at one city and ending in another. . . . Does the city want a bath? The engineers go out into the country and make a new reservoir, condemning another 50 or 100 square miles of territory for the purpose, dispossessing the farmers, extinguishing country villages, and even obliterating the cemeteries. The forefathers, trying to get a little quiet sleep, are peremptorily exhumed and carted off to the official dump.” Waugh’s response here was triggered by the bitter conflict that arose close to home between big city interests and rural communities over plans to dam the Swift River and create a huge reservoir in the hills east of Amherst. The project would provide abundant water for metropolitan Boston but sacrifice five country villages (which meant also relocating the village cemeter-

ies). Waugh's focus on land use continued: "Our original land subdivision seems to have been based on the idea that all forests were to be extinguished and all land converted into farms. We now know that this was a tragic mistake." In this article he examined the disappearance of back-country roads in favor of highways and greater speed. Such slow roads, Waugh believed, were of great importance for keeping travelers truly in touch with rural life and beautiful landscape. He ended the piece thus: "Finally there is ever to be considered the whole outlook—the country landscape with all its hills, valleys, streams, lakes, forests, and cultivated fields—a commodity which, as I firmly hold, is of the very greatest importance to all our civilization. Cities, libraries, picture galleries might be destroyed and built again, but if we lose the landscape we lose our own souls completely and irrevocably."²⁷

The principles behind country planning were similar to those that informed Waugh's work with the national forests for nearly twenty years. Of particular relevance was his understanding of the natural style of landscape design, which was based on natural forms and as much as possible used native plants. Visually, Waugh described the natural style as "unsymmetrical, not obviously balanced, not apparently enclosed and not marked by visible boundaries."²⁸ Furthermore he developed ecological ideas about natural plant communities, and natural conditions of growth such as soil, drainage, and climate, that were of key importance in guiding landscape architects in the parks and forests, especially where restoration of land or water was needed and mass plantings desirable. The art



“Sugar Loaf Mountain—A Massachusetts State Park.” *Textbook of Landscape Gardening* (1922).

of grouping trees was another measure fundamental to the natural style, and he realized that for most cases a group of five or more was most appropriate and most reflective of plant communities in nature. For Waugh the landscape work in the national forests and parks, which would accelerate in the 1930s with the establishment of the Civilian Conservation Corps, offered the natural style

“the greatest opportunities offered to any art at any time in the world’s history.”²⁹

In this work he had an immediate impact on larger policies. Between 1917 and 1936, Waugh spent many summers consulting for the United States Forest Service, making recommendations on the design of roads, campgrounds, headquarters sites, trails, and outstanding viewpoints and vistas within the national forests—what in 1918 he called “landscape engineering.” In the early years he developed a plan for Grand Canyon Village (when it was still a national forest); later he would travel to the forests of Colorado, Utah, California, the Southern Appalachians, and Oregon, and in 1930 he served on a prestigious three-member panel (with Olmsted Jr. and John Merriam of the Carnegie Institution) to advise Congress on recreational planning for the Mount Hood National Forest.

While ASLA and ACA were campaigning for the establishment of a National Park Service, Waugh began to envision the national park concept in a much broader context—one that extended from national forests and parks to national monuments, state parks and forests, local reservations, and even the public highway. He saw the designation of landscape reservations at various levels of government as one of the most important developments in the history of American landscape architecture—one that distinguished American design from its European precedents. Equally great, however, was his concern that the American public be aware of the nation’s rich legacy of landscape reservations, and find in them pleasure and recreation. In the *Scientific Monthly* in 1918 he wrote:

“Through a considerable effort the public is slowly becoming conscious of their physical magnificence, their wide extent, their unsurpassed scenery, their overpowering grandeur. Still there is little popular appreciation of the significance of the national park idea itself. Nothing like this system of recreation grounds was ever established in any country in the world before, nor was there ever any similar undertaking of such tremendous reach, such high human possibilities.”³⁰ To Waugh a sound national park policy entailed centralized oversight for the entire domain of American parks—national parks and forests, state parks and forests, reservations held in private trust, county and rural parks, and parkways—regardless of who administered or managed these lands.

In the 1930s, as the Great Depression deepened, Conrad Wirth, who had become an assistant director of the National Park Service heading up the Civilian Conservation Corps efforts in state parks, asked Waugh to write a technical manual that would be a compilation of his ideas on recreation in the parks and forests, and would cover land reclamation, development of lakes, and the creation of trails and campgrounds. Wirth’s idea was to get good technical information and clear discussion of basic principles to the CCC camps and the many landscape architects who supervised the work in both national and state parks and forests throughout the country. First issued in 1935 in typescript, the manual was called *Landscape Conservation: Planning for the Restoration, Conservation, and Utilization of Wild Lands for Parks and Forests*. In great detail the manual treated trail placement

and grading; view points and vistas; the use of bonfires and outdoor theaters (two subjects of special interest to Waugh); shaping tree plantations to harmonize with the natural surroundings; preservation of physiographic features such as rock formations and sand dunes; re-creating vegetation around developed lakes in natural concentric zones; and assuring that landscape architects had a complete knowledge of the vegetation in any given park or forest before they began to work.³¹

Landscape Conservation was an outgrowth of Waugh's work for the national forests, his earlier thinking on the natural style, and ecological studies he conducted with his students in the late 1920s and had published in *Landscape Architecture* several years before.³² It was serialized in *Parks and Recreation*, the journal of the organization of park superintendents, and in 1937 it was republished as a training manual for the CCC organization aimed at preparing enrollees for future careers in park design as well as for their day-to-day fieldwork.

The preservation of America's scenic wonders and native landscape was a twofold effort—requiring the professional skills of the landscape architect and the heartfelt advocacy of an educated and appreciative public. In 1922, Waugh had written: “The professional landscape architect should be first of all an artist, capable of seeing, feeling, and understanding . . . the beauties of the landscape, and capable, too, of interpreting these beauties to others.”³³ In the chapter on landscape reservations, which first appeared in the 1926 edition of the *Book of Landscape Gardening*, Waugh describes what he sees as the “layman's” duty to

understand and enjoy the “glorious landscape preserved . . . in these noble parks and forests.” He wrote, “As one sees more and more of the best landscapes one’s appreciation grows. . . . Our duty and our privilege are to see what is good and enjoy it.” This Waugh believed was one of the great “benefits imparted by landscape gardening” (pp. 157–59).

Though Frank Waugh did not join the ASLA until long after its establishment (serving then as head of the committee on landscape extension work), and though he was a practitioner only in a limited sense, he was during most of his life deeply engaged in the issues facing professional practitioners. He became friends with many of them, worked with them, found work for his students in their offices, and prepared a number of students for graduate studies at Cornell or Harvard. He obviously knew the universe of landscape architects as well as anyone in America. His contributions to the field, through his students, through his voluminous writings especially on art, the natural style, and the formal style, and through the country planning and park and forest work, are a good deal more substantial and lasting than is commonly recognized. Modern environmental thinkers would find in him an astute ally.

One wonders about Waugh’s persistence in using the term “landscape gardening” long after the profession in the United States became known as “landscape architecture.” In 1899, when the *Book of Landscape Gardening* first appeared, Waugh defended the term on the basis that it was associated with the English gardening tradi-

tion and called attention “to the lowlier problems” which were of greatest concern to the general public and for which an understanding of artistic principles was most needed. Later editions resounded with Waugh’s concern for the common landscape and echoed his early dictum: “All persons ought to endeavor to understand the methods and aims of landscape art, as they endeavor to master the alphabet of literature.”³⁴

Waugh remained convinced that “landscape gardening” was the domain of the average American and certainly an appropriate title for a book intended as “a simple introduction to the simplest principles which rule in the realm of our art, and which indeed rule in a large part of our lives” (*BLG*, x). Although he claims in the 1926 edition that both terms—along with “landscape engineering” and “landscape design”—are interchangeable, he clearly uses “landscape architecture” only in references to the profession and its practitioners, as is apparent in the preface and the chapter on landscape reservations.

Gradually Waugh would come to accept the term he had criticized for being “too long,” having “too large a sound,” and suggesting “princely and magnificent undertakings” (*BLG*, 5). In fact, the year before the final edition appeared, he wrote in an article, “American Ideals in Landscape Architecture,” in *Landscape Architecture* that the passage of twenty-five years since the ASLA’s founding made it possible to define a “steadily clarified vision of ideals” at least as far as professional practice was concerned.³⁵ About this time he also changed the name of his department from “landscape gardening” to “landscape

architecture.” When Waugh’s treatise on the formal style appeared in 1927, the intended title, *The Formal Garden in America* (BLG, 223), had become *Formal Design in Landscape Architecture*.

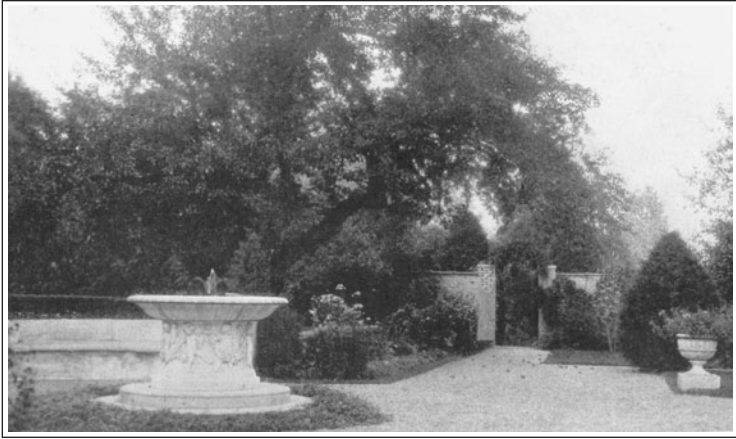
In Waugh’s mind the distinction between the needs of the average homeowner and those of the professional practitioner had become more apparent as the profession took form and expanded in the early decades of the twentieth century. In an attempt to make “timely additions without destroying the freshness of a youthful book” (p. ix), Waugh orchestrated a number of changes while maintaining most of the original text. The changes to the *Book of Landscape Gardening* offer some closing insights into his thinking and the far-reaching nature of his life and career.

The most dramatic change in the 1926 edition is Waugh’s choice of new photographs, many of which he had taken himself. Through these photographs, readers join Waugh and his neighbors in their modest but comfortable home grounds and gardens, and they enter Waugh’s universe—a college campus that conveys a dignified rural aesthetic, tree-lined streets that evoke a village ideal, and places near and far (Japan, England, Germany, California, the Midwest, and the Berkshire hills) where he at some time in his life sought inspiration and intellectual satisfaction.³⁶ These include a view of the Kurfürstliches Schloss, the royal palace at Koblenz on the Rhine (which first appeared in the 1912 edition), recalling the great influence that Waugh’s 1910 sabbatical to Germany had on his own education and career (p. 88). The images depicting

the gardens of Japan do not appear to be Waugh's own; instead they seem to anticipate his deepening interest in the cultures of Japan and China—places he would visit in the 1930s and depict in several of the etchings he produced in his later years.

Also noteworthy are the images of Waugh's own work on the MAC campus in Amherst. Primarily executed in the natural style, these designs included the campus pond shown through a tracery of sumac and cut-leaved maple (p. 119), his greatly prized rhododendron garden in full flower (p. 182), and the open lawns with foreground trees that provided a dignified and naturalistic setting for the Alumni Memorial Building, which was built in 1922 as both war memorial and student union (p. 62).

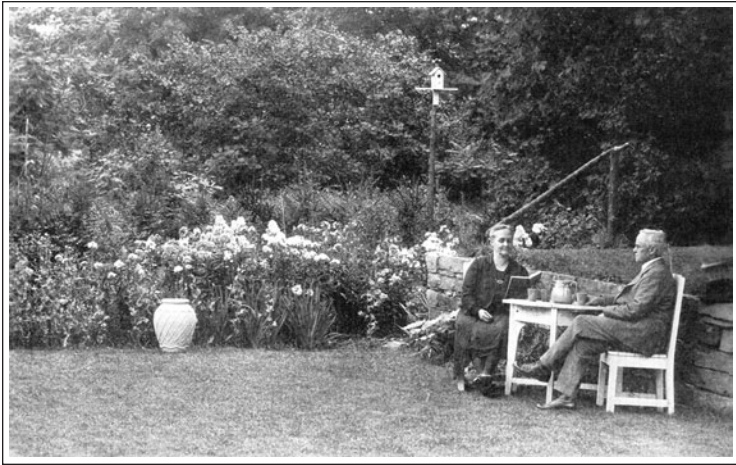
Whereas earlier editions depicted the great works at Versailles, Olmsted and Vaux's Central and Prospect Parks, Jensen's Humboldt and Garfield Parks, and the famous Italian garden at H. H. Hunnewell's estate in Wellesley, Massachusetts, the 1926 edition purposefully avoids naming the places illustrated in the text, giving at most a regional or national affiliation. Only a handful can be recognized as the work of well-known designers; these include what appears to be the Rubens Estate in Glencoe, Illinois, by Jens Jensen (p. 100); the sunken Italian garden at Brookside, in Great Barrington, Massachusetts, by Ferruccio Vitale (p. 78); the grounds and gardens designed by the renowned sculptor Daniel Chester French for Chesterwood, his summer home in Stockbridge, Massachusetts (pp. 16 and 116); and Spring Grove Cemetery (p. 54) in Cincinnati, laid out by the German-trained



Entrance to garden designed by Daniel Chester French for his studio at Chesterwood in Stockbridge, Massachusetts. *Formal Design in Landscape Architecture* (1927).

landscape architect Adolph Strauch, whose “lawn method” greatly influenced Waugh, as it did O. C. Simonds, enabling them to reconcile the formality of classical architecture with the naturalistic landscape—be it a cemetery or a college campus.

Also striking are the new epigraphs Waugh weaves into the text—one from Simonds’s *Landscape-Gardening* (1920) praising the beauty of “undulating” fields where “the grown crop waves in the wind” (*BLG*, 132); another expressing the sentiment of a twentieth-century British poet tracing the song of a nightingale “from lawn to lawn down terraces of sound” (p. 113). And not at all surprising is the German text by Willy Lange which exalts the tumultuous and evocative power of water in its wildest and most elemental, primeval forms (p. 118).



Frank and Alice Waugh in their home garden on the campus of Massachusetts Agricultural College. *Formal Design in Landscape Architecture* (1927).

Finally, as a fitting closing to the book, we find the autobiographical verse of Chinese poet T'ao Ch'ien (from the Period of Six Dynasties), who, having retired to his beloved country home, his plowing done and his seeds sown, once more finds himself content to sit and read (p. 227). Some readers may wonder if Waugh is alluding here to his own approaching retirement, but with almost twenty-five years of managing the landscape and horticultural programs at MAC behind him and thirteen years ahead before mandatory retirement, his career was far from over. The publication of the *Book of Landscape Gardening* in 1926 did, however, mark a turning point in that career as his interests shifted from the American home and village toward the conservation of natural areas through the blending of artistic principles and ecological methods. The impact of



Vine-laden farmhouse “by the side of the road,” the Waugh family home on the grounds of Massachusetts Agricultural College. UMass Special Collections. Photographer unknown.



Professor Waugh cultivating his vegetable garden. *Textbook of Landscape Gardening* (1922).

the changes to the final edition, bringing it away from an illustrated lecture series and more toward a book suitable for a homeowner's fireside reading, is large indeed—undoubtedly a true measure of Waugh's strong beliefs that "the fundamental principles on which landscape architecture rests do not change" and that the power to improve the American landscape and to preserve what is already beautiful must be given to ordinary people.

NOTES

1. Frank A. Waugh, "Some Notes on Timber-culture," *Garden and Forest* 8 (18 December 1895): 502–3; "Trees of Minor Importance for Western Planting—I," *G&F* 9 (15 January 1896): 23; and "II," *G&F* 9 (29 January 1896): 42–43.
2. Waugh, "How to Plant a Tree," *Country Life in America* 7 (January 1905): 303. Quotation comes from Frank A. Waugh, "Ministry of Trees," in *Landscape Beautiful* (New York: Orange Judd, 1910), 35.
3. Waugh's etchings were featured in an exhibition at the University of Massachusetts Fine Arts Center in Amherst in 2003. They may be viewed online at http://people.umass.edu/abischof/frankwaugh/waugh_exhibit.html.
4. Waugh, "Ministry of Trees," 32.
5. Richard Longstreth, "From Farm to Campus: Planning, Politics, and the Agricultural College Idea in Kansas," *Winterthur Portfolio* 20, no. 2/3 (Summer/Autumn 1985): 170–74.

6. Waugh, "A Preliminary Study of the Grounds of the Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College and Experiment Station," Master's thesis, Kansas State Agricultural College, Manhattan, 1894, Special Collections and Archives, W. E. B. Du Bois Library, University of Massachusetts, Amherst.
7. Frederick Law Olmsted, Olmsted, Vaux & Co., *Preliminary Report upon a Plan for the General Arrangement of the Premises of the Massachusetts Agricultural College* (Amherst: Trustees of the Massachusetts Agricultural College, 1866), 13–14. Olmsted and Vaux's report was also published as Olmsted, *A Few Things to Be Thought of before Proceeding to Plan Buildings for the National Agricultural Colleges* (New York: American News Company, 1866).
8. Waugh, "On American Masterpieces in Landscape Architecture," in *Landscape Beautiful*, 187–88. For Waugh the Chicago exposition was of personal significance: his horticulture professor E. A. Popenoe from KSAC worked on the horticultural exhibits, and his classmate Albert Dickens, to whom he later dedicated the *Book of Landscape Gardening*—"He also loves the plains"—worked on the Kansas state exhibit. Dickens went on to head the expansion of KSAC's horticultural department in the first three decades of the twentieth century and became Kansas's first state forester.
9. A. D. Taylor, "Frank Albert Waugh: A Biographical Minute," *Landscape Architecture* 34, no. 1 (October 1943): 26.
10. F. A. Waugh, "Preface," in *Landscape Gardening* (1899, rpt., New York: Orange Judd, 1906), iii. Note that the first and second editions of Waugh's book were named *Landscape Gardening*.
11. Frank A. Waugh, "The Landscape Links," in *Textbook of Landscape Gardening Designed Especially for the Use of Non-professional Students* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, and London: Chapman & Hall, 1922), 295.
12. "Protection for a Public Interest," *G&F* 9 (8 April 1896): 149.
13. Unsigned, "The Fine Art of Gardening," *Country Gentleman* 63 (21 July 1898): 568.
14. Waugh, *Textbook of Landscape Gardening*, v.
15. Ernest Morrison, *J. Horace McFarland: A Thorn for Beauty* (Harrisburg, Pa.: Historical and Museum Commission, 1995), 175.

16. "All the Foxgloves Worth Cultivating," *Garden Magazine* 1 (January 1905): 15, 90.
17. Jens Jensen, "An Imposing Exhibit of German Garden Art," *Park & Cemetery* 18, no. 4 (June 1908): 346–47.
18. Waugh, "Ten of My Boys," *Suburban Life* 8 (June 1909): 329–30. Although the names are fictitious, he was clearly referring to former students Charles H. Halligan, John W. Gregg, Arthur Peck, and Albert D. Taylor.
19. Taylor, "Waugh, A Biographical Minute," 26.
20. Stephen F. Hamblin, "The Mental Planning of Planting," *LA* 14, no. 2 (January 1924): 94.
21. Conrad L. Wirth, *Power, Politics, and the People* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980), 11.
22. [Unsigned], "Our Landscape Architects: Their Qualities and Defects," *CG* 73 (30 April 1908): 442; Waugh, "American Landscape Architects and Their Work," *Park and Cemetery* 18, no. 6 (August 1908): 383–84; "A Survey of American Landscape Architecture—Part I," *P&C* 19, no. 9 (November 1909): 155–57; "Part II," *P&C* 19, no. 10 (December 1909): 179–80; Waugh, "On American Landscape Gardening," in *Landscape Beautiful*, 111–34, also "On American Landscape Gardeners," 149–76, and "On American Masterpieces of Landscape Architecture," 177–202.
23. F. A. Waugh, "German Landscape Gardening," *CG* 75 (25 August 1910): 790. Waugh found Lange's work similar to that of Warren Manning in the United States.
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36. Most of these depict Waugh's own garden—sometimes with family members—and those of his Amherst neighbors and associates (pp. 6, 20, 40, 114, 125, and 192). Several clearly stem from his 1924 visit to Southern California (frontispiece and pp. 111, 127, 166), a family trip to Nashville (p. 130), and a 1925 trip to England (p. 56).

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Unless otherwise noted, Waugh's writings were signed as F. A. Waugh or Frank A. Waugh. In general, he used the initialized form for his scientific and agricultural writings and his full name for his work relating to landscape design, planning, conservation, gardening, and photography.

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AmC</i>	<i>American City</i>
<i>CG</i>	<i>Country Gentleman</i>
<i>CLA</i>	<i>Country Life in America</i>
<i>GM</i>	<i>Garden Magazine</i>
<i>G&F</i>	<i>Garden and Forest</i>
<i>GM&HB</i>	<i>Garden Magazine and Home Builder</i>
<i>LA</i>	<i>Landscape Architecture</i>

- MACAESB* *Massachusetts Agricultural College Agricultural Extension Service Bulletin*, Amherst, Mass.
- MACAESC* *Massachusetts Agricultural College Agricultural Extension Service Circular*, Amherst, Mass.
- MAESB* *Massachusetts Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin*, Amherst, Mass.
- MAESR* *Massachusetts Agricultural Experiment Station Report*, Amherst, Mass.
- OAESB* *Oklahoma Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin*, Stillwater, Okla.
- P&R* *Parks and Recreation*
- WHC* *Woman's Home Companion*
- VAESB* *Vermont Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin*, Burlington, Vt.

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