THOMAS W. HANCHETT

Before Olmsted The New South Career of Joseph Forsyth Johnson

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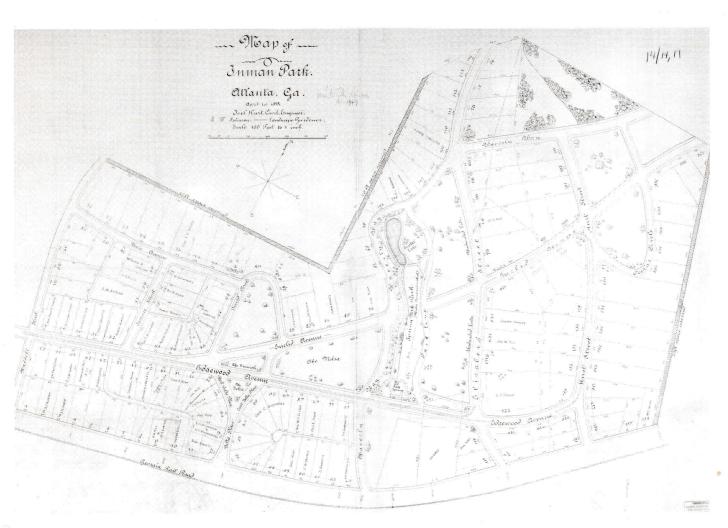
revolution in city planning took place in the second half of the nineteenth century. America's long tradition of straight streets and rectangular blocks began to give way to a new urban landscape of gracefully curving avenues and tree-shaded parks. The trend began in England

where landscape architects had worked out the principles of "naturalistic planning" on the country estates of the wealthy. Frederick Law Olmsted, the landscape architect famous for creating New York City's

Central Park and Atlanta's Druid Hills suburb, often gets credit for the growth of natural planning in the United States. But he was not alone.

In the American South, a British-born designer named Joseph Forsyth Johnson played a pivotal role in introducing the notion of naturalistic planning. Johnson came to Atlanta in 1887, several years before Olmsted, bringing English landscape ideas with him. It was Johnson who designed Atlanta's first naturalistic suburb. Inman Park, and began the creation of the urban glade now known as Piedmont Park. Those highly visible projects, in turn, led to a string of important commissions across the South during the late 1880s and early 1890s. Through work in Atlanta and Milledgeville, Georgia; Charlotte, North Carolina; and probably Montgomery, Alabama, Johnson initiated the South's shift away from the monotonous urban street grid, and helped inspire in southerners a lasting love for lushly landscaped parks and winding avenues that embraced the curves of nature.1

THE REVOLUTION in urban planning that began in the late nineteenth century came as part of a broad new approach to aesthetics that originated in England and spread throughout the western world. Its most eloquent advocate was the British art critic John Ruskin, who, in a series of volumes published during the 1840s and 1850s, issued a stirring call for an end to the formal geometries of the Renaissance. Instead of using straight lines and rigid symmetries, he argued, artists and architects should emulate the subtlety and informality of nature. Ruskin brought to international popularity a movement that had been developing for a century in the British Isles, percolating out of the new profession of landscape architecture. Beginning with Sir Lancelot "Capability" Brown in the late eighteenth century and Sir Humphrey Repton in the early nineteenth century, a succession of English designers had developed an exciting new design language for the spacious private parklands surrounding the era's great estates. Abandoning the symmetrical lines, circles, and rectangles of earlier Renaissance-inspired French and Italian landscapes, Brown and his successors



Landscape architect
Joseph Forsyth Johnson
collaborated with developer
Joel Hurt on the design
of the Inman Park
neighborhood in 1887
and again on the
1891 expansion.

At the left of the map, Edgewood Avenue leads west toward downtown Atlanta; just beyond the map on the right, the Little Five Points commercial district would develop on Euclid Avenue. Atlanta History Center crafted environments with romantic vistas, sun-dappled glades, and tree-dotted meadows designed to appear as a fortuitous accident of nature.²

From its origin behind estate walls, the new landscape architecture found its way only gradually into the public realm. Two British experiments, the resort town of Bath and London's Regent's Park, showed the potential for bringing nature into the city, but in both cases the parks were open only to gentry, not to to the general public. Another early urban experiment was Pére Lachaise Cemetery in Paris, which pioneered the idea of the carefully planned rural cemetery. It became the model for the 1831 Mount Auburn Cemetery outside Boston, whose tree-shaded groves started a trend toward landscaped burial grounds in the United States.3 The public was clearly enchanted by the possibilities suggested by such innovations as Mount Auburn—gala groups of picnickers became a common sight on cemetery lawns—but it would be another generation before naturalistic planning truly became part of urban design.

The breakthrough came with the creation of two public parks at mid-century, the first in England and the second in the United States. In 1844 Sir Joseph Paxton created Birkenhead Park in the suburbs of Liverpool. Birkenhead was Britain's first municipal park open to all citizens, rich and poor, and its popularity and appeal awakened the possibilities of landscape architecture in the city. Among those who flocked to Birkenhead was a young American devotee of Ruskin named Frederick Law Olmsted, who visited during a tour of England in 1850. The park landscape, wrote Olmsted's biographer, "broke upon him like a revelation." In 1858, Olmsted teamed up with English architect Calvert Vaux to win a competition to plan Central Park in New York City. Their naturalistic vision, carried out over the next decade, helped introduce English ideals to America. It also kicked off a prolific career for Olmsted, Vaux & Company. The firm planned numerous urban parks throughout the United States and also created one of America's first naturalistic suburbs, the 1868 community of Riverside near Chicago.

It has often been assumed—not surprisingly perhaps, given his impressive resume—that Frederick Law Olmsted brought the gospel of naturalistic design to the urban South.5 Olmsted had indeed traveled through Dixie as a newspaper writer during his youth before the Civil War. But with small, ravaged cities that were struggling financially, the postwar South seemed to be a poor prospect for a landscape architect. As such, Olmsted did not again venture into the Old Confederacy until 1888, the year he began laying out the grounds of William Vanderbilt's awe-inspiring Biltmore Estate in the mountains of western North Carolina. Olmsted made his first visit to Atlanta as a designer in late 1890, and returned several times thereafter to provide ideas for developer Joel Hurt's elegant Druid Hills district and to consult on the design of the Cotton States and International Exposition of 1895.6 From these contacts a brisk southern business grew, and Olmsted and his sons, who carried on the firm after their father's death, created dozens of parks and suburban neighborhoods throughout the South from the 1890s through the early twentieth century. As important as the Olmsteds' projects were in the South, however, they followed on the heels of earlier work in the region by Joseph Forsyth Johnson.

The author of two books and numerous articles on landscape architecture, Johnson came directly out of the English naturalistic movement. Information on his early years is sketchy. He was born in the British Isles, possibly in the vicinity of Liverpool, and he seems to have gotten his professional start in nearby Manchester, where in 1867 he served as flower arranger for the Horticultural Exhibition at the Manchester Botanical Gardens. By 1873 he was curator of the Royal Botanic Gardens in Belfast, Ireland, overseeing the International Horticultural Exhibition there the following year. He subsequently returned to England as director of horticultural exhibitions for the elegant Alexandra Palace exhibition hall near

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London during the late 1870s and early 1880s, where news articles praised "his most excellent taste and judgment."8 He also began to develop a modest international reputation, serving as a horticultural judge for the 1877 Amsterdam International Exhibition, 1878 Paris Exhibition. and 1880 Brussels Exhibition, as well as arranger of the prestigious Lord Mayor's Rose Show, Mansion House, 1882. By 1883 the designer was ready to strike off on his own, establishing a shop at 90 New Bond Street, West, just off Regent Street in the heart of London, promising "Competent Gardeners and Workmen Sent to All Parts."9

Johnson's real enthusiasm lay in the naturalistic landscaping of estates. In 1874 he published The Natural Principle of Landscape Gardening: Or the Adornment of Land for Perpetual Beauty, an 152-page treatise on garden and estate design illustrated with his own drawings. 10 The book offered a glimpse of Johnson's influences within the English naturalistic movement, as well an exposition of his own aesthetic ideas. The volume opened with a quote from Humphrey Repton and a paean to John Ruskin—"the true poetic spirit and feeling which breathe in his pages possess an irresistible charm for every true lover of Nature."11 Johnson also showed familiarity with writings by Capability Brown, naturalist William Gilpin, and Birkenhead Park gardener Edward Kemp, as well as a love for England's great poet of nature, William Wordsworth.¹² Numerous references to private estate parks—among them Tollymore Park in County Down, Castle Leslie, Alton Towers, Caledon Park in Armagh, Castle Kennedy, and Viscount Annesley's Castlewellan—suggested extensive study and travel.

"To order scenery is like beginning to transform the world, to found a dwelling, not merely for the body, but for the soul also," Johnson wrote. He counseled against sweeping changes. "These, it has been said are the days of steam; but in beautifying land we can do nothing by steam. Nature's laws and operations, in their vast diversity and grandeur, are in

truth far beyond us, and all that we are able to do is to work with her in a loving and reverent spirit."14 Johnson provided detailed discussions of plants (rhododendrons were a favorite), the creation of vistas, the subtle treatment of edges, and strategies for developing a landscape that would look good in all seasons and would mature gracefully over time. He recommended gently curving paths, rather than self-consciously twisting ways—"some curves consort with the scenery, while others prove adverse"—and he stressed emulating nature's constant variety, in order "to place the eye alternately close at hand and remote."15

The year 1886 found the Englishman across the Atlantic in New York City in the midst of a heated controversy.16 In November, the commissioners of Brooklyn's public park system tapped Johnson to direct a much-needed revitalization. Prospect Park, created two decades earlier by Frederick Law Olmsted, was in particular disrepair as a result of neglected maintenance. Johnson, not at all in awe of the American designer, made bold to not merely clean up flowerbeds and correct blocked drainage but also to apply some of his own principles of park design. "The great defect of Prospect Park," he told the Brooklyn Eagle, was that it provided "no vantage ground for views There is at present not one view of this five-hundred acre park that could not be given in a fifty-acre plot."17

As he directed laborers in thinning out underbrush, Johnson also marked a dozen or so mature trees for the ax in order to open vistas. Brooklyn citizens, already concerned about the park's ongoing neglect, erupted in anger. November and December witnessed "a howl in the newspapers," in the words of one participant. Park commissioners scrambled for a way out of the controversy and found a convenient scapegoat in Johnson's foreign birth. "The Trees Won't Be Cut.... Joseph Forsyth Johnson Gone," headlined a subsequent Eagle article, which explained that the "real cause of Johnson's dismissal was the fact that he is not a citizen."18 Johnson's departure did nothing



The curving, tree-shaded streets and parks helped to mark Inman Park as the South's first suburb designed in the naturalistic landscape style.

Atlanta History Center

to end controversy over Prospect Park, which continued to swirl through the end of the decade. But the abrupt termination of his contract meant that the English landscape architect was at liberty when a call came from Atlanta in 1887.

ATLANTA IN THE LATE 1880s was a city bursting with potential. The railroad town had risen from the ashes of the Civil War to become the major commercial hub of the New South. Its businessmen had money, and they hungered for ways to prove that their community was prosperous and up-to-the-minute.19 They knew of the urban park movement; indeed, in 1883 a local merchant and amateur designer named Sidney Root had created a curvilinear layout for Atlanta's first major pleasure ground, Grant Park.20 The confluence of wealth and enthusiasm made Atlanta a ripe vineyard for a professional landscape designer, such as Joseph Forsyth Johnson. The fact that Johnson was an Englishman with business links among the British gentry made him even more attractive in a region that had always deeply admired English aristocratic culture. And best of all, Atlanta sat at the center of a chain of fast-expanding New South cities stretching from Alabama into the Carolinas, all of which might provide exciting opportunities for an enterprising landscape architect.

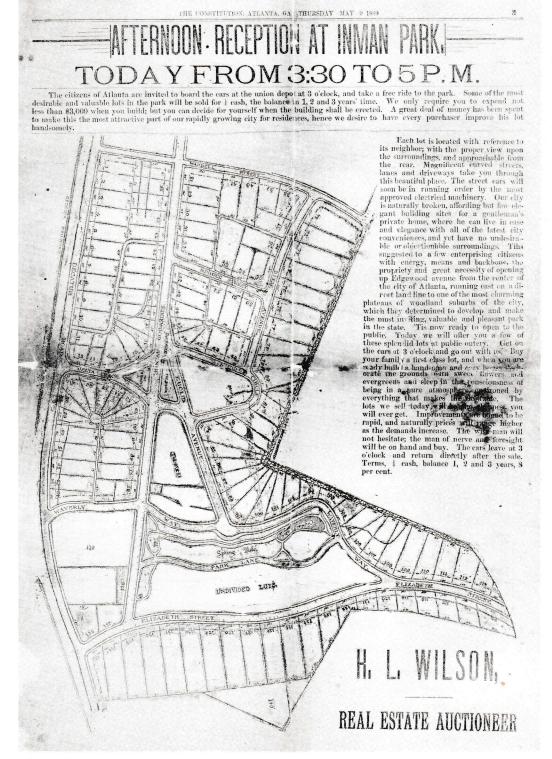
It was Joel Hurt who brought Johnson

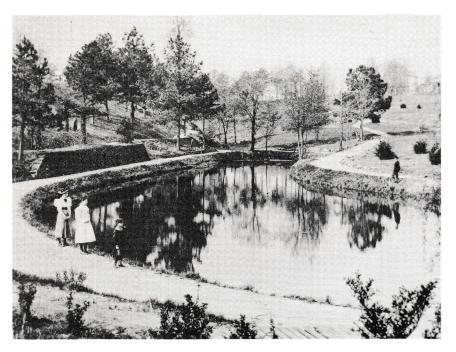
south, deciding that his city was ready for the construction of a new-fangled "streetcar suburb." The idea of suburban living represented a risky novelty in a community where the wealthy had traditionally made their homes close to downtown, so it was imperative to create as attractive a project as possible. Hurt, who had "traveled extensively and always been a close observer, wrote to various points for the best landscape gardener that money could secure." According to the Atlanta Journal, it was Peter Henderson, "the great horticulturalist of New York," who in turn recommended Joseph Forsyth Johnson.21 Johnson took the train heading south early that summer, and in September 1887 accepted a monthly retainer of four hundred dollars plus expenses to help create the design of Hurt's new suburb—Inman Park.22

Johnson's layout for the 138-acre Inman Park neighborhood incorporated all that he had learned in his work on English estates—picturesque winding drives, a central park, scattered smaller green spaces, and abundant plantings. "The curves of the avenues are wonderful in their gracefulness. At various points are grassy plots, reserved to make the place more beautiful . . . ," wrote the Atlanta Journal, "and in the midst of it all a lovely park, with springs and a lake and flowers and shade."23 Azaleas and rhododendrons imported from England graced Springvale Park at the neighborhood's heart, and some seven hundred newly planted trees lined the streets.24 Hurt, trained as a civil engineer, did the land surveying himself and helped shape Johnson's design to the requirements of the actual terrain. "The two men brought out of the grove the perfect ideal," marveled the Journal.25 No sooner was the original section of the neighborhood laid out than Hurt purchased additional acreage; in 1891 he had Johnson expand the plan.26 Inman Park attracted some of Atlanta's leading citizens, notably Coca-Cola magnate Asa Candler, and its tree-shaded plan became a landmark in southern—and national—urban design. Naturalistic neighborhoods were still a rarity in the

A full-page advertisement from the May 9, 1889, Atlanta Constitution for sale of lots in Inman Park, including information on terms of sale and a plat map divided into lots. Atlanta History Center

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At the heart of the Inman Park neighborhood was Springvale Park. These photos show the park's Crystal Lake during construction, and later after the English designer's lush plantings had taken hold.

United States. "Innovative communities like Llewellyn Park [outside New York], Riverside [Chicago], Lake Forest [Chicago], and Roland Park [Baltimore] . . . adopted curvilinear streets in the nineteenth century, but the grid remained dominant in most suburbs until after 1900," said Kenneth Jackson, a historian of American suburbanization.27 Indeed, Roland Park would not begin development until the 1890s. Atlanta's Inman Park seems to have been the first suburb south of the Mason-Dixon line to feature winding avenues and extensively landscaped parks, and its example was eventually followed throughout the region.28

Even as work got underway on the Inman Park neighborhood, Joseph Forsyth Johnson secured two other major commissions in the Atlanta area: the Piedmont Exposition of 1887 and the Piedmont Chatauqua of 1888. Both gave him opportunities to show off his skills as a designer of naturalistic parklands, and both attracted abundant publicity and tens of thousands of visitors from across the South.

The Piedmont Exposition, like many other projects in New South Atlanta, was the brainchild of energetic Atlanta Constitution editor Henry W. Grady. Grady and a coterie of other movers and shakers had established an exclusive retreat for horse enthusiasts known as the Gentlemen's Driving Club on a 189-acre tract north of the city. The Driving Club used only a small portion of the land, and in April 1887 a number of club members incorporated the Piedmont Exposition Company to make use of the rest. Expositions were a joy of the age, particularly in the South, which eagerly sought to celebrate its postwar economic revival. Grady proposed a bustling fair that would include livestock shows, horse races, exhibitions of arts and industries, and a visit from the President of the United States, Grover Cleveland. The gates, the Constitution announced, would open in a scant six months.29

Joseph Forsyth Johnson, fresh off the train from Brooklyn and awaiting the start of the Inman Park project, was available. Grady gave the Englishman the task of "TO ORDER
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rapidly transforming the Exposition Company's land into an inviting park. "The work done by Mr. Joseph Forsyth Johnson, at Piedmont Park, in opening up the beauties of two hundred acres by public drives has been simply miraculous," wrote a newspaper reporter in July. "In less than a fortnight of steady work he has provided seven miles of drives . . . bringing every foot of [the property] into view [E] very turn of the road gives a new revelation of the beauties of the park and the wisdom of Mr. Johnson's plan."30 For the park's centerpiece, the designer sculpted a large lake. In addition, Johnson laid out a ten-acre garden "cut into an immense number of beds of various and artistic shapes," and he landscaped the sites for the exposition buildings, which were designed by leading Atlanta architect Gottfrid L. Norrman. "In a month from this time," said Driving Club member Dr. Henry Walker, "there is no reason why Piedmont Park should not be the handsomest pleasure ground in the southern states."31

When the gates swung open on October 10, 1887, the Piedmont Exposition fulfilled its promoters' hopes. Some fifty thousand people thronged the grounds during the two-week run, including President Cleveland, numerous New South dignitaries, and newspaper reporters from as far away as New York. Proceeds enabled the Exposition Company to buy much of the site from the Driving Club, and the promoters continued holding smaller fairs through 1894. In 1895 the facility was greatly enlarged to hold the famed Cotton States and International Exposition, and a decade later the city purchased the tract and hired the Olmsted Brothers to redesign it as a public park. Though Johnson played no direct role in either the Cotton States effort or the municipal park project, his Clara Meer lake has remained the centerpiece of Piedmont Park to the present day.³²

Johnson's success at shaping Piedmont Park may have helped inspire Henry Grady to propose another grand scheme the following year. In his travels north, Grady had discovered the Chatauqua movement, based at the rural resort of Lake Chatauqua, New York. Every summer, culture seekers settled into hotels and campgrounds to spend a week or more listening to noted lecturers, participating in debates on current issues, and attending evening musicales. To Grady, the Chatauqua concept seemed a powerful way to stimulate intellectual growth in his beloved New South. He knew the perfect place for such a gathering; the Sweet Water Park Hotel then under construction at Lithia Springs, in the country some twenty miles west of Atlanta. In April of 1888 Grady and a group of fellow Atlantans announced incorporation of the Piedmont Chatauqua. Sessions would begin just three months hence, on the Fourth of July.33

Johnson had already been involved with landscaping the Sweet Water Park Hotel, terracing the grounds, laying out walks and drives, and planting trees and flowers.34 Now he turned his attention to an adjacent tract that would host the Chatauqua's outdoor meetings and concerts. To form a central feature, he created the Rose Mound, a hill forty-two feet high and one hundred feet long, covered with four thousand rose bushes. At its crest stood a picturesque wooden shelter romantically entwined with rosevines, which could be reached via "a curving way, and at each turn there are beds of daisies, pansies, geraniums, and hothouse flowers of all kinds," according to an Atlanta newspaper report. Existing trees shaded an adjacent sunken garden, the terraces of which were "sodded with bluegrass, which will be watered from numerous fountains."35 An artificial lake, with water pumped through a mile of piping, was graced by four islands and a fountain. Some of Georgia's earliest electric lights illuminated the landscape each night. Thousands of distinguished visitors, among them future United States President William McKinley, viewed Johnson's handiwork during the Piedmont Chatauqua's five summers in operation.36

Along with Inman Park, the Piedmont Exposition, the Sweet Water Park Hotel, and the Piedmont Chatauqua, the busy



The neighborhood of Cloverdale was created about the time that Joseph Forsyth Johnson visited Montgomery, Alabama, to present a proposal for land-scaping the grounds of the new state capitol in 1889. The neighborhood, today a Historic District listed in the National Register of Historic Places, appears to show Johnson's aesthetic imprint.

designer accepted other commissions around the Atlanta area to help pay the bills for his growing family. His wife Frances had presented him with a son in New York City; another son arrived during the first summer in Georgia; and a daughter was born four years later.37 Among the projects that Johnson undertook in these years, according to his family's recollections, was the design of the Georgia State Capitol grounds in downtown Atlanta.38 While this author has not been able to confirm the claim, the timing is right since the new statehouse reached completion in 1889—a year that Johnson was active in the city.39

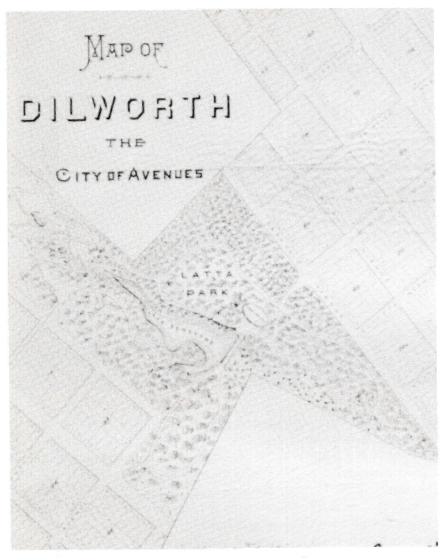
Johnson can definitely be linked in these years with another major project for the State of Georgia. In Milledgeville, then a half-day's journey southeast of Atlanta, stood one of the South's most elaborate mental health facilities, the Georgia Lunatic Asylum (known today as Central State Hospital). As part of ongoing expansion, the institution called upon Joseph Forsyth Johnson to create a land-scape plan in 1887. A series of surviving

letters document negotiations for his services at a price of five hundred dollars. By December of that year laborers at the institution were hard at work carrying out Johnson's design.⁴⁰

From his base in Georgia, Johnson also began prospecting for commissions elsewhere across the South. Atlanta was a prime spot for anyone seeking such connections, since it sat at the nexus of a growing railroad network that tied the once-disparate southern states into one economic unit. A notable increase in industrialization, particularly in textiles, was bringing a flush of prosperity to many southern towns, and the leaders in those emerging centers looked to bustling Atlanta for inspiration.41 By the late 1880s, the South was finally beginning to possess both the clients and the transportation logistics that could allow a professional designer to establish a regional consulting business.42

Some evidence suggests that Johnson tasted success in Montgomery. In the spring of 1889 the Englishman wrote Alabama Governor Thomas Seav, offering his services for the landscaping of the state's new capitol. Seay invited Johnson to visit Montgomery for a day in May to make a presentation.⁴³ The governor was at that moment also negotiating with Frederick Law Olmsted to take on the project, but the Boston-based designer submitted a grander proposal than Seay felt his state could afford.44 In October Seay directed his secretary to write Johnson: "The more that the Governor has reflected upon the plan which you advised about the improvement of the Capitol grounds here, the more favorably has he become impressed therewith. The Governor will be glad to begin work under your advisement and instruction, if we can agree upon the terms."45 Unfortunately, Alabama state historians are unable to determine if terms were ever reached.

While in Montgomery, Johnson also apparently made contacts for a sizable private commission. A group of developers were beginning work on a streetcar suburb south of town that was formally platted in 1892 as Cloverdale. The design featured



In 1891, Johnson
journeyed to Charlotte,
North Carolina, to design
Latta Park in the city's
new suburb of Dilworth.
This detail from a
promotional map shows
the park's central lake and
winding pleasure drives.
Robinson-Spangler
Carolina Room,
Public Library of
Charlotte and
Mecklenburg County

winding avenues, a large park, and a site for a lake (Cloverdale Park occupies the lake location today). Local historians have sometimes speculated that Cloverdale's layout was inspired by Frederick Law Olmsted, but Olmsted's records list no such project. "A more likely candidate," historian Tom Dolan suggested in his nomination of the district to the National Register of Historic Places, "is Joseph Forsyth Johnson The remarkable similarity between his design for Inman Park in Atlanta and Cloverdale strongly suggests that he also designed the latter." 46

While questions remain concerning Joseph Forsyth Johnson's work in Montgomery, there is no uncertainty about his important involvement in park design in Charlotte, North Carolina. Though smaller than Atlanta, Charlotte was experiencing a similar growth surge that would soon make it the trading hub for the South's burgeoning textile manufacturing region and the largest city in the Carolinas. In 1891 the owner of Charlotte's new electric streetcar line, Edward Dilworth Latta, moved to create his city's first suburb, which he proudly named Dilworth.⁴⁷ He had the streets laid out in an unimaginative grid, but at the center he planned a naturalistic pleasure ground called Latta Park that would both serve the neighborhood and also attract trolley riders from all over the city. To design the park, he sent to Atlanta for Joseph Forsyth Johnson.⁴⁸

Johnson's vision for the ninety-acre glen featured wooded groves, terraced flower gardens, a lily pad pond, and fountains to "fling their spray on an atmosphere laden with the fragrance from thousands of rare flowers and costly trees," according to the Charlotte News. "At various points, broad drives diverge and wind in different directions, affording space and distance for the pleasure buggies of a large city."49 A brick pavilion, designed by Gottfrid L. Norrman (Johnson's architectural partner in the Piedmont Exposition), was erected to accommodate concerts and other events.⁵⁰ The park's centerpiece was a romantic boating pond, which Latta christened Lake Forsyth in the landscape designer's

Johnson's elaborate plans for Latta Park caught the imagination of Charlotte citizens, who previously—as was common throughout the South—had no parks in their city other than a municipal cemetery. A month before the official opening, "scores of promenaders could be seen" at the site. "The winding walks were thronged all afternoon . . . ," newspapers reported, "while at lakeside, flower gardens and groves were dotted with pedestrians."51 Edward Dilworth Latta and the editors of the Charlotte Chronicle were so taken with Johnson and his ideas that they even went so far as to print a special newspaper edition featuring a proposal the designer had drawn for landscaping the upcoming 1893 World's Columbian Exhibition in Chicago. Copies of the newspaper were evidently shipped to the

As in Atlanta, Johnson planted abundant new vegetation to create a lush landscape effect in Latta Park. Even before the park officially opened in 1891, promenaders thronged the paths to enjoy an atmosphere laden with fragrance from thousands of rare flowers and costly trees. The effect was calculated to intensify with time, as this photo from the 1906 book, Charlotte in Picture and Prose, indicates. North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill



fair's commissioners who, unfortunately for Johnson, showed no interest.⁵² In Charlotte, though, photographs of Lake Forsyth and Latta Park were featured prominently in the city's promotional booklets for the next twenty years.

AFTER THE EARLY 1890s, Joseph Forsyth Johnson's career becomes hard to trace. None of his known southern commissions date later than 1892. It may be that ambition and wanderlust—suggested in the numerous movements from job to job in his early years—propelled him to seek fresh challenges elsewhere. Or it may be that he possessed a fiery artistic temper—indicated by his confrontations over Brooklyn's Prospect Park—that somehow alienated him from his Atlanta patrons. Whatever the case, the New South phase of Johnson's career was apparently over barely five years after his arrival in Georgia.

Johnson did stay active in landscape architecture for several more years. In 1898 his second volume on garden and estate design appeared, *Residential Sites and Environments, Their Conveniences, Gardens, Parks and Planting, etc.*, published in New York City.⁵³ A photograph showing a garden designed by Johnson for Henry

A. Page of Montrose, South Orange, New Jersey, indicated that the landscape architect's work extended beyond the South. The book also noted that Johnson was by then a Fellow of Britain's Royal Horticultural Society. In 1904, the designer wrote an article on the treatment of estate woodlands for the Society's journal, and then dropped out of sight completely.⁵⁴ Family members have indicated that he died during a visit back to England.

In the decades following his death, Johnson's projects experienced the kinds of changes that seem to be inevitable in urban design and landscape architecture. The Piedmont Chatauqua grounds faded back into the Georgia countryside (except for a hillock that Lithia Springs residents still identify as the Rose Mound). Latta Park was completely redesigned in the 1910s when promoters decided to increase the number of salable lots in Dilworth. More survives of Cloverdale; one proposed park gave way to houses, but today the street system still survives intact in a highly desirable residential section of Montgomery.

The two most influential southern works of Joseph Forsyth Johnson have faired surprisingly well. Piedmont Park,



Joseph Forsyth Johnson.
Thomas W. Hanchett

with Johnson's lake at its heart, has remained a treasured part of Atlanta for more than a century. The Inman Park neighborhood suffered a long era of decline during the mid-twentieth century, including the bulldozing of a swath of houses for a never-built expressway, but today it has bounced back to become one of Atlanta's most beautiful and desirable historic districts.⁵⁵

The importance of Johnson's brief but prolific New South career extends well beyond the intrinsic beauty of his surviving projects and lies instead in the impact he had in shaping southern attitudes toward nature and urban design. The 1887 Piedmont Exposition gave numerous southerners their first exposure to English naturalistic park layout. Inman Park represented the first major application of those naturalistic principles to suburban planning in the American South. Cloverdale

introduced the concepts to Alabama. Latta Park extended the aesthetic to urban park design in the Carolinas. Joseph Forsyth Johnson, in short, helped show the South how to bring nature into the city.

In both Atlanta and Charlotte, Johnson's example paved the way for work by more famous planners. The success of his designs helped convince clients that it paid to hire a professional landscape architect. Joel Hurt went on to commission Frederick Law Olmsted to create Atlanta's Druid Hills district beginning in 1893. Completed under the direction of Olmsted's son John Charles, Druid Hills is recognized today as one of the Olmsted firm's finest projects.⁵⁶ In Charlotte, Latta Park's popularity encouraged city leaders to hire a landscape architect for the town's first municipally-owned park in 1905. When they were evidently unable to get Johnson, they instead hired a Harvard student named John Nolen, whose work on that park helped to launch his career as one of America's most prolific and respected planners of the early twentieth century.⁵⁷ Johnson's influence could be seen even more directly with Edward Dilworth Latta. When it came time to expand his suburb in 1911, the Charlotte developer abandoned his earlier grid street design and commissioned the Olmsted Brothers to provide a layout featuring naturalistic winding avenues.58

Today, southerners often take tree-shaded parks and curving suburban streets for granted. Few realize that these elements of urban planning and design once represented a bold innovation in city form—an innovation that was introduced to the South a century ago through the pioneering work of Joseph Forsyth Johnson.

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1. Joseph Forsyth Johnson is mentioned in no standard history of southern cities or city planning. See, for example, David R. Goldfield, Cotton Fields and Skyscrapers: Southern City and Region, 1607-1980 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982), and Christopher Silver, "Urban Planning in the New South," Journal of Planning Literature 2 (August 1987): 371-83. Evidence of Johnson's work in the region is scattered among the files of local and state historical agencies, especially the Atlanta History Center, the Charlotte Mecklenburg Historic Landmarks Commission, and the Alabama Historical Commission. A small collection of Joseph Forsyth Johnson's papers, unfortunately not including a list of projects, has been located recently in the possession of a granddaughter, Doris E. Mundy of Atlanta [hereinafter cited as JFJ Papers]. 2. A good recent survey of landscape architecture prior to 1900 may be found in Robert E. Grese, Jens Jensen: Maker of Natural Parks and Gardens (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992). See also Norman T. Newton, Design on the Land: The Development of Landscape Architecture (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 1971); Hazel Conway, People's Parks: The Development, Design and Use of Victorian Parks (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Susan Lasdun, The English Park: Royal, Private and Public (London: Andre Deutsch, 1991); Roger Turner, Capability Brown and the Eighteenth Century English Landscape (New York: Rizzoli Books, 1985); Nicholas Pevsner, Studies in Art, Architecture and Design (New York: Walker and Co., 1968); Kenneth Clark, Landscape into Art (London: Murray, 1949); George F. Chadwick, The Park and the Town: Public Landscape in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries (New York: Praeger, 1966); George F. Chadwick, The Works of Sir Joseph Paxton (London: Architectural Press, 1961); Edward Hyams, Capability Brown and Humphrey Repton (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1971); and Robert Fishman, Bourgeois Utopias: The Rise and Fall of Suburbia (New York: Basic Books, 1987). 3. Blanche Linden-Ward, Silent City on a Hill: Landscapes of Memory and Boston's Mount Auburn Cemetery (Colum-

bus: Ohio State University Press, 1989); David Charles

Sloane, The Last Great Necessity: Cemeteries in American

History (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991); and Dana White, "Landscaped Atlanta: The Romantic Tradition in Cemetery, Park and Suburban Development," Atlanta History 26 (Summer-Fall 1982): 95-112

4. Laura Wood Roper, F.L.O.: A Biography of Frederick Law Olmsted (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973), 71. Also, Elizabeth Stephenson, Park Maker: A Life of Frederick Law Olmsted (New York: Macmillan, 1977), 54-55, and Melvin Kalfus, Frederick Law Olmsted: The Passion of a Public Artist (New York: New York University Press, 1990), 159. For a description of Birkenhead, see Brent Elliott, Victorian Gardens (Portland, Oregon: Timber Press, 1986), 53-54. On the impact of Olmsted and other disciples of English design on the shape of American cities, see David Schuyler, The New Urban Landscape: The Redefinition of City Form in Nineteenth Century America (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986).

5. Dana F. White and Victor A. Kramer, eds. Olmsted South: Old South Critic/New South Planner (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1979); Rick Beard, "From Suburb to Defended Neighborhood: Change in Atlanta's Inman Park and Ansley Park, 1890-1980" (Ph.D. dissertation, Emory University, 1981), 60-62; Atlanta Historic Resources Workbook (Atlanta: Atlanta Urban Design Commission, 1981), 177, 195; and Don H. Doyle, New Men, New Cities, New South: Atlanta, Nashville, Charleston and Mobile, 1860-1910 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990), 195. 6. Dana F. White, "... The Old South Under New Conditions," and Elizabeth A. Lyon, "Frederick Law Olmsted and Joel Hurt: Planning for Atlanta," in White and Kramer, Olmsted South, 155-64, 165-93; Gail E. Sanders, "Frederick Law Olmsted's Plan for Druid Hills," Atlanta History 31 (Spring-Summer 1987): 39-47; and Darlene R. Roth, Frederick Law Olmsted's First and Last Suburbs: Riverside and Druid Hills, Workbook Series Vol. 4 (Bethesda, Md.: National Association for Olmsted Parks, 1991).

7. Charles E. Beveridge and Carolyn F. Hoffman, compilers, Masterlist of the Design Projects of the Olmsted Firm (Boston: National Association for Olmsted Parks, 1987).

8. "Alexandra Palace—Exhibition of Table Decorations and Pelargoniums, June 10 and 11," The Gardener's Magazine, June 18, 1881. See also "Alexandra Palace Rose Show, July 10," The Gardener's Magazine, July 17, 1880; "Alexandra Palace—Exhibition of Pot Roses and Table Decorations, May 20 and 21," The Gardener's Magazine, May 28, 1881; and "Alexandra Palace—Exhibition of Pelargoniums and Floral Decoration, June 10," The Gardener's Magazine, June 17, 1882. [Citations courtesy of Brent Elliott, librarian, Royal Horticultural Society.]

9. Positions and dates are from Johnson's letterhead, July 20, 1883, in the JFJ Papers. See also *Charlotte Chronicle*, March 15, 1891, and *Atlanta Journal*, October 2, 1891. The JFJ Papers include a letter book for May-October 1885, with copies of Johnson's business correspondence bearing the return address "The Garden Stores, 192 Sloan Street S.W., London."

10. Joseph Forsyth Johnson, The Natural Principle of Landscape Gardening: Or the Adornment of Land for

Perpetual Beauty (Belfast, Ireland: printed for the author by Archer and Sons, 1874); a copy is in the collection of Cornell University, Ithaca, New York. The book is discussed briefly in the context of other landscape writers of the period in Elliott, Victorian Gardens, 49, 182. 11. Johnson, Natural Principle, ii, also 30, 37, 40, 105-06, 127.

12. On Brown, ibid., 148. On Gilpin, ibid., 2, 13, 23, 29, 69, 74, 142. On Kemp, ibid., 2. Wordsworth quotations, ibid., 69, 71, 124, 130, 133, 139, 149. On page 117 Johnson also briefly mentioned artist William Morris's *A House for a Suburb*.

13. Johnson, Natural Principle, 42.

14. Ibid., 29.

15. Ibid., 50, 54.

16. No record survives to indicate what caused Johnson to journey to the United States. He evidently arrived sometime between October 31, 1885, the date of the last entry in his 1885 letter book, and March 17, 1886, when his son Roy was born in New York City; JFJ Papers. Also Helen Johnson Bows, telephone interview with author, January 25, 1994.

17. "Developing Park Landscapes: What an English Designer Says of the Crying Need of the Prospect Pleasure Ground," Eagle, November 14, 1886. Also, "Prospect Park Trees: Mr. Johnson Explains Why He Is Cutting Some of Them," Eagle, December 14, 1886. 18. Undated Eagle article, probably late December 1886 or early January 1887, in the JFJ Papers. See also undated stories from the Union, the World, and the Citizen. Johnson seems to have stumbled into an ongoing controversy. In October, evidently before Johnson's appointment, the situation at Prospect Park had gotten so bad that Olmsted wrote from Boston to urge the commissioners to take action. Controversy continued into 1888, well after Johnson's departure, and ultimately resulted in Olmsted's reappointment as consultant to the park in 1896. See also Roper, F. L. O., 403, 456, and Schuyler, New Urban Landscape, 186.

19. James Michael Russell, *Atlanta*, 1847-1890: City Building in the Old South and New (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988).

20. Sidney Root was born in western Massachusetts in 1824, and may well have visited Boston's Mount Auburn Cemetery in his youth. Pushed into the jewelry business by a father unsympathetic to his interest in architecture, Sidney nonetheless maintained a passion for design throughout his life, and was also an active member of the American and southern forestry congresses during his years as an Atlanta merchant. He passed his enthusiasm to his son, John Wellborn Root, who won international fame as partner in the Chicago architectural firm of Burnham and Root and served as chief architect of the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition. See Walter McElreath, "Sidney Root: Merchant Prince and Great Citizen," Atlanta Historical Bulletin 7 (October 1944): 181; Harriet Monroe, John Wellborn Root: A Study of His Life and Work (Park Forest, Ill.: Prairie School Press, 1966), 2-38; and Donald Hoffman, The Architecture of John Wellborn Root (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973), 2. Available evidence indicates that Sidney Root devised Grant Park's naturalistic design himself, though Atlanta

civil engineer Charles Boeckh assisted with the topographical survey. See Sidney Root, "Memorandum of My Life" (unpublished manuscript, September 14, 1893, Atlanta History Center) and Gail Anne D'Avino, "Atlanta Municipal Parks, 1882-1917: Urban Reform, Urban Boosterism in a New South City" (Master's thesis, Emory University, 1988), 44-54.

The plan was published in the *Atlanta Constitution*, November 18, 1883.

21. Atlanta Journal, February 22, 1890. Also Mrs. Cecil Forsyth Johnson of Atlanta, telephone interview with author, August 2, 1993.

22. Rick Beard, "Hurt's Deserted Village: Atlanta's Inman Park, 1885-1911," in White and Kramer, eds. *Olmsted South*, 195-222. See also Rick Beard, "From Suburb to Defended Neighborhood: The Evolution of Inman Park and Ansley Park, 1890-1980," *Atlanta Historical Bulletin* 26 (1982): 113-54.

23. Atlanta Journal, February 22, 1890. See also Beard, "Hurt's Deserted Village" and Elizabeth Lyon, "Inman Park: Nomination to the National Register of Historic Places" (unpublished report, 1973, in the files of the Georgia State Historic Preservation Office).

24. Atlanta Journal, February 22, 1890. Also Beard, "Hurt's Deserted Village," 200-01. For a subsequent history of Springvale Park, consult D'Avino, "Atlanta Municipal Parks," 74-77.

25. Atlanta Journal, February 22, 1890. In later years, Hurt would sometimes be cited as the sole designer of Inman Park, despite Johnson's name on the maps. Comparison of Inman Park drawings with Johnson's published works proves that the Englishman took the lead in shaping Inman Park's aesthetics. Interestingly, exposure to Johnson's ideas evidently did awaken Joel Hurt's aesthetic curiosity. According to a 1905 biographical sketch of Hurt, "for fifteen years [in other words, beginning during his association with Johnson], and especially during the past five years, he has devoted himself with all the ardor of his nature . . . to the study of landscape architecture," Atlanta Journal, June 2, 1905. 26. Beard, "From Suburb to Defended Neighborhood: Change in Atlanta's Inman Park and Ansley Park," 60-62. The 1891 plan of Inman Park, credited to "Joel Hurt, Civil Engineer; J. F. Johnson, Landscape Gardener," is reproduced in Sara Simms Edge, Joel Hurt and the Development of Atlanta (Atlanta: Atlanta Historical Society, 1955), 106-07.

27. Kenneth T. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 341.

28. Harry G. Schalck, "Planning Roland Park, 1891-1910," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 67 (Winter 1972): 419-28. Inman Park's claim to be the South's first curvilinear suburb is widely accepted, though no comprehensive inventory is available to fully document that status. 29. Much less has been written about the Piedmont Exposition than about the subsequent Cotton States and International Exposition of 1895. The best source is "Piedmont Park: City Landmark Designation Report" (draft report, 1993, in the files of the Atlanta Urban Design Commission). See also Sharon A. LaComb, "Piedmont Park Walking Tour" (Atlanta: Atlanta Preservation Center, 1993); Mark L. Johnson, "An

Invitation for Use: The Rehabilitation of Piedmont Park, Atlanta, Georgia, From Piedmont Avenue to the Heart of the Park" (Master's thesis, University of Georgia, 1992), especially 23-25; Jack J. Spalding, "Piedmont Park," *Atlanta Historical Bulletin* 2 (September 1937): 5-13; and Jack J. Spalding, "Piedmont Driving Club" (Atlanta 1937, typescript photocopy in the vertical files of the Atlanta History Center).

Johnson seems to have played no role in the famous Cotton States and International Exposition of 1895, which took place in Piedmont Park. See F. H. Boyd Coons, "The Cotton States and International Exposition in the New South: Architecture and Implications" (Master's thesis, University of Virginia, 1988), especially chapter 2; The Atlanta Exposition and South, Illustrated (Chicago: Adler Art Publishing, 1895), especially 17; and Walter G. Cooper, The Cotton States and International Exposition and South Illustrated (Atlanta: Illustrator Company, 1896), especially 29-30.

- 30. Atlanta Constitution, July 17, 1887. See also Atlanta Constitution, June 19, 1887.
- 31. Atlanta Constitution, July 17, 1887.
- 32. "This first Exposition of 1887 played a large role in determining the initial layout of the park as we see it today," according to LaComb in "Piedmont Park Walking Tour." The current appearance of Piedmont Park also owes much to the landscape plan devised by the Olmsted Brothers in 1912. See also Camille Kunkle, "Piedmont Park, Atlanta's Urban Backyard: A Pictorial History," Atlanta History 34 (Summer 1990): 28-42. 33. Incorporators of the Piedmont Chatauqua included Hugh Inman, a partner in Hurt's Inman Park development. See Doris Lanier, "Henry W. Grady and the Piedmont Chatauqua," Southern Studies 23 (Fall 1984): 216-42. On the development of the Sweet Water Park Hotel and the nearby springs, see Inez Watson Croft, "Lithia Springs: Recollections of the Golden Age of a Southern Health Resort," Atlanta Historical Bulletin 13 (March 1968): 9-16.
- 34. Atlanta Constitution, May 20, 1888. "The grounds are artistically laid out in the most modern landscape form, amid a profusion of the finest flowers of every variety, which are prettily grouped about several fountains. Broad drives approach the broad and spacious porches of the hotel." See Bowden, Lithia Springs and Its Celebrated Hotel and Baths (Lithia Springs, Ga.: n.p., 1896?), 5, Lithia Springs file, Atlanta History Center. 35. Atlanta Constitution, May 20, 1888.
- 36. Lanier, "Henry W. Grady and the Piedmont Chatauqua."
- 37. Johnson's wife was Francis Clark Johnson, also a native of England. Their children were Roy Albert Johnson (1886-1939), Cecil Forsyth Johnson (1887-1951), and Edwina Johnson Mundy (1891-1969). Information provided to the author by Alan Mundy and Helen Johnson Bows. Cecil Forsyth Johnson was born near Atlanta in Marietta, Georgia, on July 12, 1887. Cecil went on to become a major Atlanta real estate developer and vice-president of the building material firm of Randall Brothers, Inc. See Franklin M. Garrett, *Atlanta and Environs: A Chronicle of Its People and Events*, vol. 3 (New York: Lewis Publishing, 1954), 357-58.

Atlanta and Environs, vol. 3, 357-58.

- 39. Newspaper stories or official records tying Johnson to the capitol have not yet been located. No payments to Johnson or to others for work on the grounds were included in "Capitol Commission Record of Vouchers," record group 1-8-30, box 2, Georgia Department of Archives and History, Atlanta. For information on the completion of the building, see Atlanta Constitution, March 20, 1889; Atlanta Journal, March 20, 1889; and Franklin M. Garrett, Atlanta and Environs: A Chronicle of Its People and Events, vol. 2 (Athens: University of Georgia Press), 197-98.
- 40. Georgia Lunatic Asylum, Office of Steward, letters to Johnson, October 24, November 2, December 9, and December 13, 1887, in the JFJ Papers. Johnson also worked to keep his name before the Georgia public by granting newspaper interviews. For example, "Macadam Roads: The System Which Transformed the Highways of England, Described by an English Engineer," Atlanta Constitution, October 2, 1891. 41. C. Vann-Woodward, Origins of the New South, 1877-1913 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1951), 132, and Jacquelyn Dowd Hall, et al., Like a Family: The Making of a Southern Cotton Mill World (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987). 42. Another well-known designer who took early advantage of New South consulting possibilities was the architect Frank Milburn, who designed buildings all over the region beginning in the mid-1890s from a base in Charlotte and later Washington, D.C. See Lawrence Wodehouse, "Frank Pierce Milburn (1896-1926), a Major Southern Architect," North Carolina Historical Review 50 (July 1973): 289-303.
- 43. Seay to Johnson, May 17 and 21, 1889, bound letter files vol. 45, 113, 135. Governor Thomas Seay Papers. [Transcription courtesy of Bob Gamble, Alabama State Historic Preservation Office.]
- 44. Olmsted created a brief, written report as part of his unsuccessful effort to secure the commission, but did not draw any plans. Olmsted to Thomas Clark, April 1, April 10, July 10, and August 5, 1889, box 44, Olmsted papers. [Photocopies courtesy of Melanie Betz, curator, Alabama State Capitol.] Clark to Olmsted, April 6, 1889. Bound letter files, vol. 44, Gov. Thomas Seay Papers. [Transcription courtesy of Bob Gamble, Alabama State Historic Preservation Office.] The capitol project is not listed in Beveridge and Hoffman, comp., *Masterlist of the Design Projects of the Olmsted Firm*.
- 45. Secretary J. K. Jackson to Johnson, July 2, 1889, bound letter files, vol. 46, 252. Jackson to Johnson, October 31, 1889, bound letter files vol. 38, 171, Gov. Thomas Seay Papers. [Transcriptions courtesy of Bob Gamble, Alabama State Historic Preservation Office.] 46. Tom Dolan, "Cloverdale Historic District: National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form," (unpublished report, 1985, on file at the Alabama Historical Commission).
- 47. Dan L. Morrill, "Edward Dilworth Latta and the Charlotte Consolidated Construction Company (1890-1925): Builders of a New South City," *North Carolina Historical Review* 42 (July 1985): 293-316, and Thomas W. Hanchett, "Sorting Out the New South City: Charlotte and Its Neighborhoods" (Ph.D. dissertation,

University of North Carolina, 1993), chapters 2 and 6. 48. *Charlotte Chronicle*, March 15, 1891.

49. Charlotte News, April 24, 1891. For additional descriptions of the design and construction of Latta Park, see the Charlotte Chronicle, March 19, March 31, and April 22, 1891. The park was also described in detail in two articles in the Atlanta Constitution, May 1 and 3, 1891. 50. Dan L. Morrill and Ruth Little Stokes, "Architectural Analysis: Dilworth: Charlotte's Initial Streetcar Suburb" (unpublished report to the Dilworth Community Association, 1987), 6-7. Norrman had also been active in the Inman Park project. See Atlanta Journal, October 2, 1891. On Norrman's career, see Henry F. Withey and Elsie Rathburn Withey, Biographical Dictionary of American Architects (Deceased) (Los Angeles: Hennessey and Ingall, 1970), 444, and Kenneth Coleman and Charles Stephen Gurr, eds., Dictionary of Georgia Biography, vol. 2 (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1983), 750-51.

51. Charlotte News, April 27, 1891.

52. Charlotte Chronicle, March 15, 1891. Frederick Law Olmsted won the commission to design the grounds of the famous Chicago fair.

53. Joseph Forsyth Johnson, Residential Sites and Environments, Their Conveniences, Gardens, Parks and Planting, etc. (New York: A. T. Delamare Printing and Publishing Co., 1898). A copy of this volume may be found at North Carolina State University, Raleigh. Though no specifics are given, the drawings appear to come from some of Johnson's projects throughout his career. Echoes of known projects can occasionally be detected, as in the description of a lake and mound similar to the Piedmont Chatauqua's Rose Mound (23), or the ardent discussion of thinning out woodlands à la Prospect Park (28-30).

The JFJ Papers also contain a printed title page and table of contents for an 1874 book by Johnson, Catalogue of Studies Upon Landscape (London: Woodrow & Co, 1874). No copies of this book have been located, and it is not known whether it was actually published. 54. Joseph Forsyth Johnson, "The Laws of Developing Landscape, Showing How to Make Thickets and Woodlands Reveal Their Natural Beauty," Journal of the Royal Horticultural Society 29 (1904-1905): 595-624. The Royal Horticultural Society has no information on Johnson beyond the fact of his membership. Librarian Brent Elliott, letter to author, October 22, 1990. Information on Johnson's demise is from Cecil Forsyth Johnson in Garrett, Atlanta and Environs, vol. 3, 357-358. Also Mrs. Cecil Forsyth Johnson interview. 55. Eileen Segrest, "Inman Park: A Case Study of Neighborhood Revitalization," Georgia Historical Quarterly 63 (Spring 1979): 109-17, and Clarence N. Stone, Regime Politics: Governing Atlanta, 1946-1988 (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1989), 110-20. 56. Lyon, "Frederick Law Olmsted and Joel Hurt;" Sanders, "Frederick Law Olmsted's Plan for Druid Hills;" Roth, Frederick Law Olmsted's First and Last Suburbs; White, "Landscaped Atlanta;" and Cynthia Zaitzevsky, "Community Plans by the Olmsted Firm, 1866-1895," (paper presented to the Fourth National Conference on American Planning History, Richmond, Virginia, 1991).

57. John L. Hancock, "John Nolen and the American City Planning Movement: A History of Cultural Change and Community Response, 1900-1940," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1964), especially 41-42. On a 1911 naturalistic Charlotte suburb by Nolen, see Mary Norton Kratt and Thomas W. Hanchett, Legacy: The Myers Park Story (Charlotte: Myers Park Foundation, 1986).

58. Olmsted Associates papers (job file 5109, container B287), Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. The 1911 plans for Dilworth are on file at the Olmsted National Historic Site, Brookline, Massachusetts. See also Thomas W. Hanchett, "Charlotte: Suburban Development in the Textile and Trade Center of the Carolinas," in Catherine Bishir and Lawrence S. Earley, eds., Early Twentieth Century Suburbs in North Carolina (Raleigh: North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 1985), 69-78; Hanchett, "Sorting Out the New South City," chapter 6; and Tom Bradbury, Dilworth: The First Hundred Years (Charlotte: Dilworth Community Development Association, 1992).