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Historic Landscape Inventory for the U.S. Military Academy at West Point, New York

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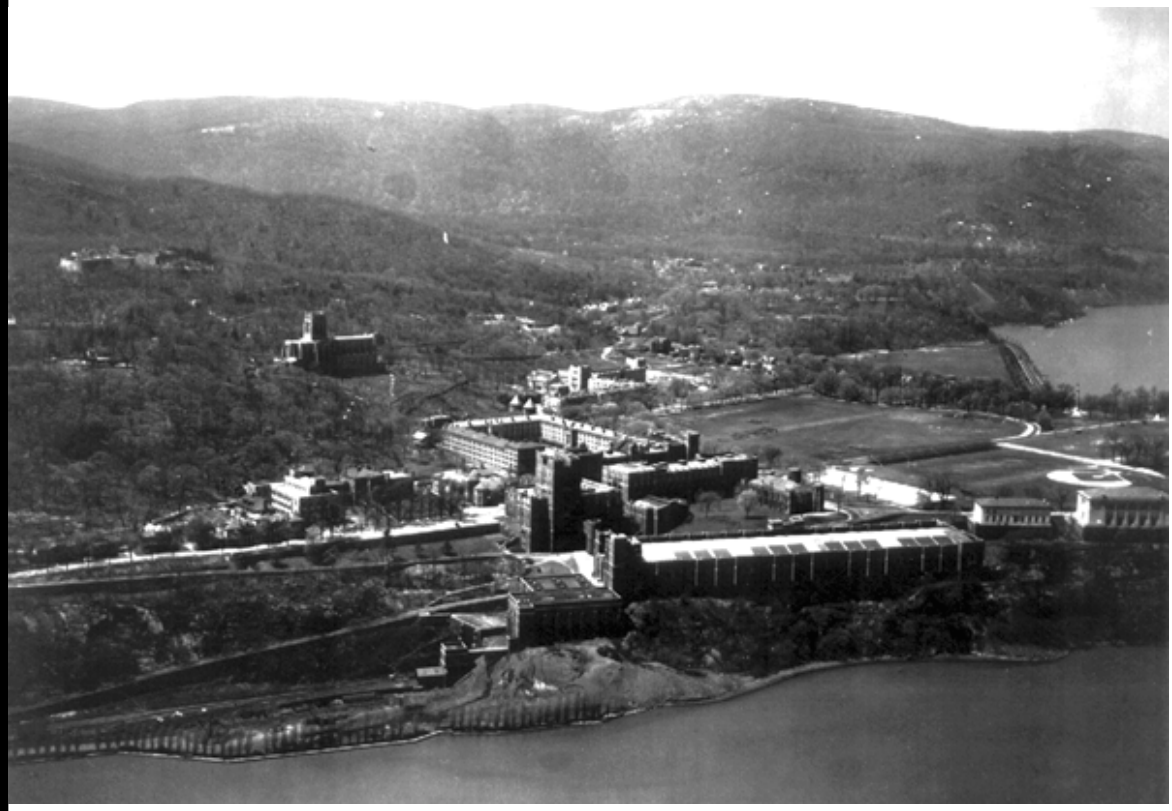

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Executive Summary

This report provides a historical context for the U.S. Military Academy at West Point, New York, that emphasizes historical changes in its landscape. The goal is to identify the different stages of landscape change as defined by military mission and historical process. This information is valuable because it (1) enables the establishment of accurate historic district boundaries; and (2) provides guidance for the development of a historic landscape management plan.

Analysis of the information collected about West Point resulted in a general outline of the history of the installation that is divided into six parts:

- Revolutionary Period 1600s - 1790
- Establishment Period 1790 - 1817
- Thayer Period 1817 - 1833
- Delafield Period 1833 - 1900
- Centennial Expansion 1900 - 1920s
- 20th Century Expansion 1930 - 1960s

Through the use of published materials, historical documents, photographs, and maps, this report reconstructs the landscape of West Point during these time periods and documents significant changes over time.

In addition to the historical context, this report provides detailed investigations and evaluations of surviving historic landscape areas. They include the following:

The Plain: the center of the Academy and its main open space; site continuously used for military and athletic training. The Plain is the site of the Revolutionary War Fort Clinton and cadet summer encampment from the early 1800s to 1942. Its views of the Hudson River made it a strategic site during the Revolution and a symbol of American Wilderness during the 19th century.

Flirtation Walk: a narrow path traversing the hillslope below the Plain; created during the Revolutionary War. It was originally called Chain Battery Walk, referring to its purpose as an access route to the battery where the chain across the Hudson River was anchored.

Kosciuszko's Garden: a small terrace on the hillslope descending to the Hudson River from the east side of the Plain. Thaddeus Kosciuszko came upon the terrace and created a rustic garden there in 1778 during his tour of duty at West Point.

West Point Cemetery: established in 1816; one of the oldest military cemeteries in the United States. The cemetery contains the gravesites and memorials of many important historical persons.

Superintendent's Garden: the garden for the Superintendent's Quarters; site of many receptions. In 1935 a pioneer woman landscape architect, Ellen Biddle Shipman, created a formal garden on the original site.

Foreword

This study was conducted for Department of Defense Legacy Resource Management Program, Army Environmental Center, under a Legacy Project, Work Unit VG0, "West Point Historic Landscape Inventory." The technical monitor was Patrice Halin, West Point Cultural Resource Manager.

The work was performed by the Land and Heritage Conservation Branch (CN-C) of the Installations Division (CN), Construction Engineering Research Laboratory (CERL). The CERL Principal Investigator was Suzanne Keith Loechl. Part of this work was done by Nupur Mohan, Helen Siewers, and Anne McCombe Spafford working as Short Form Research Contractors. The technical editor was Gloria J. Wienke, Information Technology Laboratory. Robert E. Riggins is Chief, CEERD-CN-C, and Dr. John T. Bandy is Chief, CEERD-CN. The associated Technical Director was William D. Severinghaus. The Acting Director of CERL is William D. Goran.

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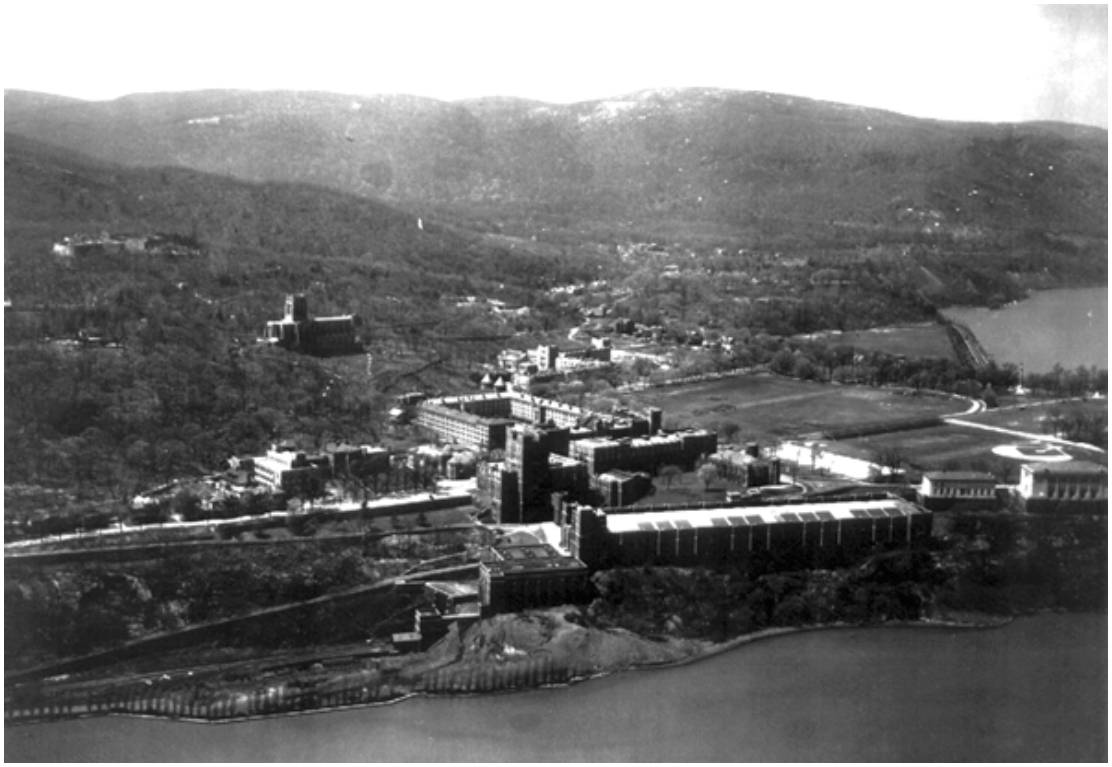
1 Introduction

Background

West Point is located on the west bank of a narrow stretch of the Hudson River, 50 miles north of New York City (Figure 1). Its unique geography made it an ideal location for surveillance up and down the river during the Revolutionary War. In 1802 it was designated the site of the U. S. Military Academy; it has continuously operated under this mission for almost 200 years. It holds a central place in the history of the Army. Some of the most important individuals in military history were educated at West Point; others became the Academy's director. Some of the nation's most famous Army Generals, including Douglas MacArthur, George C. Marshall, Dwight D. Eisenhower, and Omar Bradley, lived at West Point at some time during their service.



Courtesy: U.S.M.A. Special Collection.

Figure 1. Aerial view of West Point and the Hudson River area.

The National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 (NHPA), as amended, provides requirements for consideration of historic properties by Federal agencies. Section 106 of the NHPA requires Federal agencies to take into account the effects of their undertakings on historic properties and to consult with preservation agencies regarding these effects and possible mitigating actions before spending federal funds on the undertaking. Historic properties are those properties that are either listed in, or are eligible for listing in, the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP). Section 110 of the NHPA requires installations and commands to develop and implement plans to identify, manage, and nominate cultural resources.

West Point is already designated a National Historic Landmark and contains a registered NRHP historic district. Historic landscapes are a cultural resource type identified by Army Regulation (AR) 200-4 (*Cultural Resources Management*) and need to be identified, evaluated, and managed in compliance with Section 110 of the NHPA.

Objectives

This project was funded by the Legacy Resource Management Program. It represents a team effort between the West Point Cultural Resource Manager (CRM), the Cultural Resources Research Center (CRRC) at the U.S. Army Engineer Research and Development Center Construction Engineering Research Laboratory (ERDC/CERL), and the University of Illinois Department of Landscape Architecture. The primary objectives were to define the historic landscape context at West Point and to identify and evaluate historic landscape areas and characteristics that are eligible for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places. The recommendations contained in this report will assist the West Point CRM in complying with the requirements of the NHPA and managing the historic landscape features at the installation.

Because of the extensive landscape resources at West Point, the scope of this project was limited to the built landscape on the west bank of the Hudson River, excluding housing areas. It is recommended that further study be conducted to include Constitution Island, the Reservation, and housing areas.

Approach

The methodology for this study was based on the publication “Army Guidelines for Identifying and Evaluating the Historic Military Landscape” (AEC 1996).

These guidelines follow the guidelines for evaluating historic districts and sites for the NRHP using an integrated archival and field research approach. The goal of the archival tasks is to develop a historic context based on the installation's missions, primary activities, historical associations, and periods of significance that will guide the determination of the most important areas and landscape characteristics within the installation. The goal of the field research tasks is to identify, document, and evaluate the characteristics of the installation landscape. Researchers integrate the results of the archival and field research in order to make connections between the history of the installation and the evolution of its landscape. The final step in the process involves evaluating the historic landscape to determine NRHP eligibility of the study area as a district or site. The study area is already part of a Historic Landmark District.

Archival Research

The archival research involved several tasks. The first was the initial literature review. The second task was to identify and locate primary research materials.

Literature Review

In this task, researchers used secondary literature to familiarize themselves with the general history of the installation and the region, its natural history, and its geographical position. For West Point this involved reading published material on the Revolutionary War, the growth of the Military Academy, and the natural and cultural history of the Hudson River Valley. Several comprehensive histories of West Point were useful sources on the significant people, events, and major developments at West Point: Theodore J. Crackel's *Illustrated History of West Point* (1991), George S. Pappas' *To the Point* (1993) and Robie S. Lange's *Overview of the History and Development of the United States Military Academy* (1984).

Research Material

This task involved locating primary research materials (verbal, visual, and oral) and additional secondary materials and establishing a strategy to best use these resources. For this project, material searches were generally limited to various collections at West Point. These included archival resources such as literature, correspondence and memoranda, photograph collections, and maps from the West Point Special Collections, Archives, and Directorate of Housing and Public Works (DHPW). Two outside sources of primary research materials were documents at the National Park Service's Frederick Law Olmsted National Historic

Site in Brookline, MA, and the Rare and Manuscripts Collection, Carl A. Kroch Library, Cornell University.

Site Visits

The third task was to make site visits. These visits were intended to familiarize the researchers with the installation and its landscape. During these trips, researchers collected archival information from the installation and made preliminary identification of historical landscape areas. At West Point this involved arranging points of contact with the various offices, touring the installation with a guide, and taking photographs of the grounds.

Analysis

The fourth task was analyzing the information. Researchers outlined the historical context for the installation, identified changes in the military mission over time, identified important chronological periods, established a geographical context, and identified historical themes. The analysis resulted in a general six-part outline of the history of the installation:

- Revolutionary Period 1600s - 1790
- Establishment Period 1790 - 1817
- Thayer Period 1817 - 1833
- Delafield Period 1833 - 1900
- Centennial Expansion 1900 - 1920s
- 20th Century Expansion 1930 - 1960s

Field Research

The field research involved two general tasks. The first was a site visit that was accomplished in conjunction with the third archival task described above. The second task involved more rigorous field work during follow-up visits.

Initial Visit

During the initial visit, the researchers performed a reconnaissance survey, or "windshield survey," of the installation. The researchers drove the roads of the installation, gaining familiarity with the layout of the installation, and making a preliminary identification of areas of potential historical significance. At West

Point this included a guided tour of the Post, a start-up meeting, and several informal interviews.

Follow-up Visits

Researchers walked the grounds of the installation, taking photographs, making sketches, and writing notes to document the relationships among landscape components and landscape areas. Emphasis was placed on identifying extant characteristics of the military landscape that relate to the different time periods and events identified in the archival tasks described above. For example, the spatial organization of the Plain and the surrounding buildings has been altered over time, but it still retains the same openness and commands the same views up and down the Hudson that made it of strategic value in the 1780s.

Integrating Results

The methodology defined in the *Army Guidelines for Identifying and Evaluating the Historic Military Landscape* (CERL 1996) integrates the archival and field information in a continuous and dynamic way. As information is gleaned from archival sources, researchers are guided to the relevant historical issues. As field research identifies specific landscape characteristics or relationships, researchers are prompted to refine the research questions and look further into the research materials for answers. For example, archival information about the Olmsted Brothers' suggestion to open roadway views to the Hudson and the rolling hills prompted researchers to try to locate these viewpoints. Conversely, the clear, cohesive design of Buffalo Soldiers Field noticed through field research prompted a search through archival information for its history, a determination of its original design, and a resultant conclusion of its high integrity.

The combination of archival and field methods necessitates an integration of visual, written, and oral sources in the final report. This document relies on maps and photographs to not only illustrate findings but also to provide evidence of the characteristics of the historical landscapes inventoried here.

Organization of the Inventory and Evaluation

This report is presented in two primary sections. The first section provides the historic context for West Point, detailing its development as the U.S. Military Academy, with a particular focus on landscape components. The second section provides detailed evaluations for five significant landscape areas:

- The Plain
- Flirtation Walk
- Kosciuszko's Garden
- West Point Cemetery
- Superintendent's Garden

The evaluation for each landscape area contains the following information:

Location: A description of the location of the area, methods and points of access, and relationship to known parts of the Post.

Period of Significance: The span of time when the landscape area was associated with important events, activities, persons, cultural groups, and land uses or attained important physical qualities or characteristics.

Past and Present Land Uses: Brief lists of historical and current uses or activities related to the area.

Significance: Classification of significance is based on the NRHP Criteria for Significance that are as follows:

The quality of significance in American history, architecture, archeology, engineering, and culture is present in districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects that possess integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association, and:

A. That are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad pattern of our history; or

B. That are associated with the lives of persons significant in our past; or

C. That embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, or that represent the work of a master, or that possess high artistic values, or that represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction; or

D. That have yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

Contributing Features: Features that contribute to the landscape's historic significance that were either present before or added during the period of significance.

Landscape Development During Periods of Significance: A description of the landscape development within the historic contexts.

Landscape Development During Periods of Non-Significance: A description of landscape development outside the historic contexts.

Current Landscape Description: A brief description of the current state of the area, and identification of non-contributing features that are a threat to its integrity.

Sources: A listing of the primary source material used to prepare the landscape area evaluation.

2 Historic Landscape Inventory

Context of the West Point Landscape

Geographic Context

West Point is situated near the mid-point of the stretch of the Hudson River Valley known as the Hudson Highlands. The boundary of the Highlands is clearly defined by its unique physical characteristics. Above and below this area, the Hudson River is broad and relatively straight. But along this 15-mile stretch the river passes through a deep and narrow gorge, one of only two below-sea-level water gaps breaching the Appalachian chain of mountains. As the river passes through the Highlands' North Gate its channel is compressed, from 1.5 miles wide to as narrow as 3/8 mile. The previously shallow, placid waters become sinuous, deep, and fast flowing until the gorge reopens at the South Gate. All along this length, the river banks are replaced by sheer cliffs and steep hills rising some 1000 feet above the water.

Natural History

The same landscape that the region's first explorer, Henry Hudson, saw in 1609 is still visible today. In fact, the Highlands' remarkable geology is still capable of inspiring awe and speculation as it did in the era of exploration and settlement. Dunwell (1991) quotes from the journal entries of Charles Carroll, a 1776 expedition leader, who described a beautiful landscape produced by powerful earth forces:

> The country round about this bay has a wild romantic appearance; the hills are almost perpendicularly steep, and covered with rocks, and trees of a small size. The hill called St. Anthony's Nose is said to be full of sulphur. I make no doubt this place has experienced some violent convulsion from subterraneous fire: the steepness of the hills, their correspondence, the narrowness of the river, and its depth, all confirm me in this opinion.

Carroll's theory is supported by more recent scientific findings. Studies reveal that the material for the mountains formed over 1 billion years ago in the Pre-

cambrian Era, making the Highlands some of the oldest rocks in this part of the world (Dunwell 1991). They consist predominantly of gneiss (metamorphic rock) streaked with granite (igneous rock), created over a span of 400 million years as intense heat and pressure transformed submerged sediment into hard materials. These buried rocks were thrust to the surface when continental plates collided 300 million years ago. The Highlands may have been several miles high when they first emerged, but they have been diminished and reshaped by erosion, weathering, and glaciation. Glaciers that carved the gorge through the mountains, deposited boulders and rubble in the channel, then provided the meltwater to define the Hudson's course to the sea (Figure 2).

The effects of these distant historical events are visible in the natural features of the Highlands today. Generally, the landscape consists of granite thinly covered with rock-strewn soil supporting a forest dominated by oak and hickory. The mountain topography introduces some variation in vegetation. Isolated areas in full shade can support Arctic and subarctic species such as black spruce and tundra bog moss, while other areas with constant sun exposure can support prickly pear cactus, a plant common to a more southern climate (Dunwell 1991).

USACERL, 1997.

Figure 2. The Hudson River and Highlands.

Like other eastern seaboard rivers, the Hudson is an estuary — an arm of the sea where freshwater and saltwater mix. But because it is actually below sea level, its tidal portion extends as far as 150 miles inland. At ebb tide, the current flows south, at slack tide, it appears to be still. During flood tide, the current actually reverses, and it is this characteristic that gained it its Indian name of River-Which-Flows-Two-Ways. For most of the year, saltwater and freshwater mix as far as 60 miles upstream, creating a habitat for diverse and abundant wildlife.

The Hudson Highlands have always been unquestionably beautiful. The physical features of changeable waters, rugged mountains, and thick vegetation have shaped the cultural development of the region and of West Point.

Pre-Revolutionary and American Revolutionary Period (1600 - 1790)

Early Settlement History

In the 17th century, the Highlands appeared to be an untamable wilderness to the settlers from Holland, Germany, Scotland, and France. The river was the primary means for travel through the area. But the Highlands landscape with its whirlwinds, changing currents, and sinuous water route gave the area a reputation for treacherous passage. William H. Colyer, an early traveler, described his journey up the river. According to Colyer (1838):

> The mighty river, pent within a narrow channel, struggles around the base of the hills, and lying deep in the shadows of the mountains, often appears like some dark lake shut out from the world. Our country offers no scenes more grand and sublime…A short distance above Peekskill, the river takes an abrupt turn to the west, round the base of St. Anthony's Nose, a rocky mountain rising abruptly from the water's edge; to the height of eleven hundred feet. The waters are here compressed by the rocks on one side, and by Salisbury Island on the other, into a narrow channel, causing them to rush past with great velocity.

Travel on the Hudson was considered dangerous, but there were few alternatives. While there is little documentation about the colonial road system, the rough terrain and dense vegetation were probably a major hindrance to development. It wasn't until 1691 that the provincial Assembly began to consider maintaining roads. The township governments' attempts to keep local roads repaired and open by requiring citizens to work 8-hour days on their precinct's roads was ineffective. Travel by water continued to be much faster and safer than travel by land, so settlers "followed the lines of least resistance, utilizing rivers and creeks as a means of transportation" (Roach 1959).

The poor, thin soils made the Highlands unsuitable for cultivation. Thus, it was one of the last areas in the Hudson Valley to be settled, nearly 200 years after he colonial manors to the north and south were established (Dunwell 1991). The Highlands' features presented too many obstacles for most settlers, limiting the area to small but continuous population growth throughout the 18th century.

Recognition of the Hudson River's Strategic Importance

The importance of the Hudson River Valley was recognized well before the Revolutionary War. The river was "the main artery, connecting a vast network of interior water communications with the Atlantic, and draining the resources of almost half a continent," and "occupied a position of the highest strategic importance" (Boynton 1863). The Hudson Valley hosted a series of wars before the Revolution, including the King William's War (1689-1697), Queen Anne's War (1702-1713), King George's War (1744-1748), and the French and Indian War (1754-1763) (Crackel 1991). This established a pattern for the Hudson River–Lake Champlain corridor as an important north–south travel route during war, and foreshadowed West Point's strategic value in the Revolution.

The Highlands became a focus of the Revolutionary War early in the campaign. The Americans recognized a likely British strategy would be to take control of the Hudson, thereby cutting off communications and transport between the north and south colonies. George Washington quickly recommended that Congress initiate steps to defend New York. In May, 1775, the Continental Congress identified the Highlands as a strategic location for protecting the area. They envisioned fortifications on both sides of the Hudson River to prevent the passage of the British fleet.

Landscape Description

Two members of the New York Provincial Convention, Colonel James Clinton and Mr. Christopher Tappan, were sent in 1775 to survey the banks of the Hudson for appropriate fortification sites (Figure 3). They selected World's End, an area where the Hudson River wound in a narrow S-shaped bend between high cliffs on both banks; the west bank was known as West Point, the east as Martelaer's Rock. Clinton and Tappan felt this location was ideal because it would force any ascending British ships to navigate slowly through the tortuous bends, buffeting winds, and changing currents, and also because of its natural advantages for establishing fortifications. Their observations, as presented in Palmer (1969), provide a summary of the area's early landscape:

> On the large, level area behind West Point was a good growth of evergreen trees, interspersed with corn fields and corn pastures, and laced with sparkling, sweet springs. Stone for building was plentiful. Lime could be procured from Newburgh and other settlements to the north. The command of the river was superb from atop the promontory overlooking the zig-zag course around the Point. Martelaer's Rock was also well suited for fortification. Two small fields, where the ground was level and

workable, and an unoccupied house near the marshes on the southeast corner of the island were proof that it was habitable. Fresh water was not as abundant as at West Point, but a natural site for a powder magazine was found (Figure 4).

USMA Archives.

Figure 3. Banks of the Hudson River.

W.P. Special Collection.

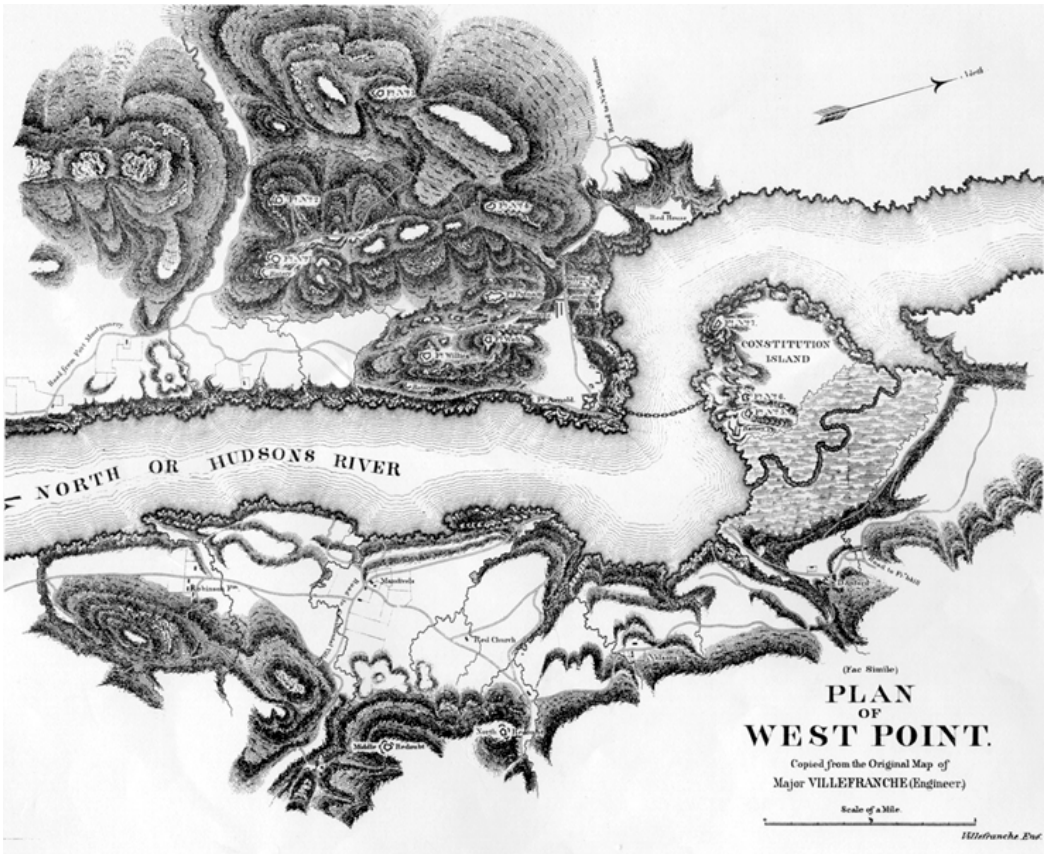


Figure 4. Map of the site selected for West Point.

Revolutionary War Fortifications

In addition to confirming the plan for fortifications on both sides of the river, Clinton and Tappan suggested the construction of a chain and boom to block the channel to British ships (Bradley 1976). A special commission was appointed to oversee the implementation. Because of a shortage of trained engineers, the

commission hired a Dutch botanist, Bernard Romans, to supervise construction. While he immediately began work on a fort at the southwest point of Martelaer's Rock, he ignored the plans for West Point fortifications and the boom chain. Romans directed the commission's attention to an area further south, at another bend in the river called Anthony's Nose, arguing that it was higher and more convenient. In October 1775, the commission agreed to move the fortifications, and halted the work at Martelaer's Rock; these abandoned fortifications are known as Romans' Battery.

By spring the following year there had been little progress on the fortifications. With the British in Canada and in control of the Atlantic Coast, Washington feared a British assault up the Hudson. He sent Colonel James Clinton to command the Highland forts, with Thomas Machin as defense designer; Romans was fired. Construction started immediately on Forts Montgomery and Clinton (for New York governor George Clinton) on the west bank at Anthony's Nose, and Fort Independence on the east bank and to the south. The idea of the chain was abandoned until British warships made a run up the Hudson in July 1776. Though the ships were turned back before attempting passage through the Highlands, the episode revived Clinton's interest in installing a chain.

The siting of these forts proved insufficient to prevent British passage up the Hudson. Clinton had assumed that the Highland terrain would prevent a rear attack, and so had not secured the forts from an overland approach. In October 1777, the British sailed up the Hudson, disembarked south of Anthony's Nose at Stony Point, then marched 12 miles north and easily captured the forts. The British were unable to keep control of this area, however, and destroyed the forts when they were forced to retreat back down the Hudson only 15 days later.

Faced with the need to rebuild the fortifications, a second commission elected instead to build new fortifications following the original recommendations of Clinton and Tappan. Work began in January 1778 amid debate over whether the fortifications should be of a permanent or temporary construction. The issue was eventually resolved in favor of temporary structures. More disagreements between the chief engineer, Louis de la Radiere, and the American leaders continued to delay substantial work. After several months, Washington would replace Radiere with Colonel Thaddeus Kosciuszko (Figure 5).

A French-trained Polish engineer, Kosciuszko traveled to the Colonies in the summer of 1776 and offered his services to the Continental Congress (Haiman 1943). Assignments in Philadelphia, Ticonderoga, and Saratoga had proved his value as an engineer. It was under his supervision that the fortifications at West Point finally took shape and would eventually become a prototype of modern de-

fensive positions (Bradley 1976). In addition to the fortifications, Kosciuszko created a garden on a rock terrace 60 feet below the level of the Plain, a personal retreat he enjoyed during his 28-month tenure (Figure 6).

Figure 5. Portrait of Colonel Thaddeus Kosciuszko.

W.P. Special Collection.

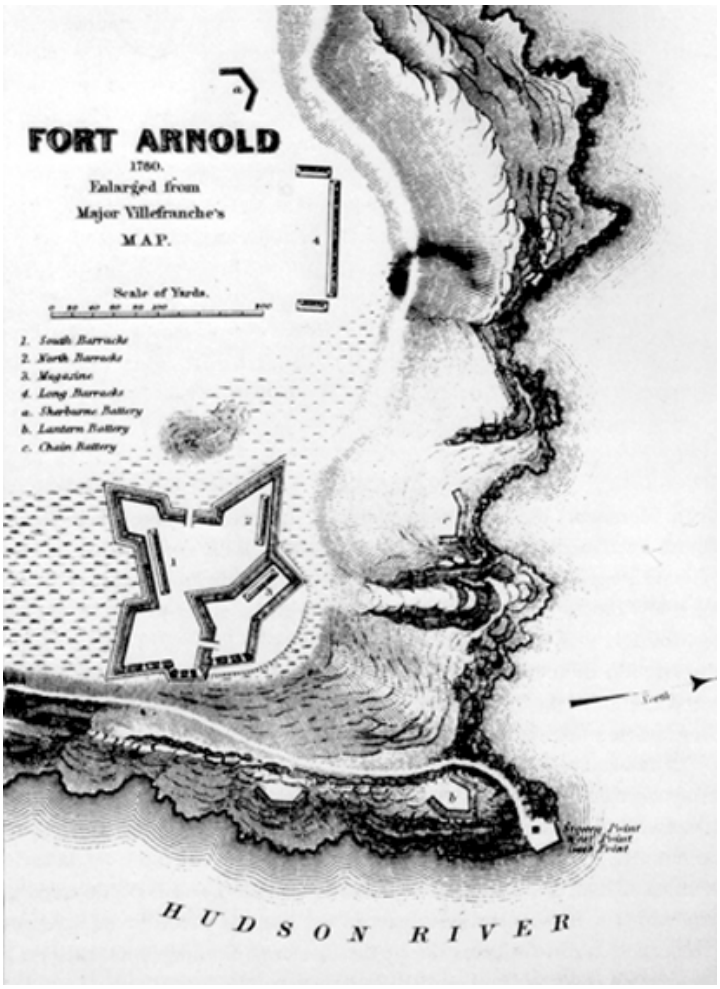
Figure 6. The view from Kosciuszko's rock terrace garden.

Kosciuszko's overall plan for the fortification system was a series of mutually supporting strongholds (Dunwell 1991). A series of batteries (Chain, Lanthorne, Water, and Knox) were located at the base of West Point along the river. These were accessible from Chain Battery Walk, a roughly defined path that descended from the Plain and traversed the cliff side. The main fort was sited on a flat area on the bluffs, its east face overlooking the cliff rising more than 100 feet from the river. It was named Fort Arnold, in honor General Benedict Arnold, and its purpose was to protect both the batteries and the new chain stretching across to Constitution Island. Fort Arnold was 600 hundred yards in circumference within its walls. The base was 21 feet deep, and 14 feet high (Park 1840). Barracks and huts constructed within the fort accommodated 600 people (Lossing 1866). Its west and south faces were built as regular fortified fronts with earthen ramparts; but the east and north fronts were irregular, adapted to the brow of the slopes, and did not have a ditch but a scarp wall of stone. On the north this scarp wall extended as far as a redoubt* that occupied the northeast corner; it was separated by an interior ditch from the other part of the work (Park 1840) (Figure 7).

Fort Arnold itself was protected from overland attack by a series of smaller forts along a southern ridge line, and by Fort Putnam, situated on the summit of Mount Independence, which overlooked the Plain and commanded a great view up and down the river. Fort Putnam was protected by a series of redoubts. Across the river on Martelaer's Rock, renamed Constitution Island, there were two low-lying batteries protecting the river and chain, while additional redoubts along the banks of the island protected those batteries from landward attack (Figure 8).

The fortification system at West Point and Constitution Island was much easier to defend than the traditional "single position" of the 18th century. While serving the French allied forces, the Marquis de Chastellux, who visited West Point in 1780, commented on the "intelligent manner in which [the forts] were calculate…From the fort of West Point properly so-called, which is on the edge of the river, to the top of the mountain at the foot of which it stands, are six different forts, all in the form of an amphitheater, and protecting each other" (Dunwell 1991).

* A redoubt is an isolated work forming a complete enclosure; it is used to defend a prominent point.



Crackel 1991.

Figure 7. Map of the Fort Arnold site.

U.S.M.A. Archives

Figure 8. Photo of Fort Putnam site.

These fortifications, however, were never tested under enemy fire, as the focus of the war shifted to the south soon thereafter. Fort Arnold was renamed Fort Clinton following Benedict Arnold's treason in 1780. In 1781 the British were defeated at Yorktown, marking the end of military conflict. Though Washington and the Continental Army returned to the Highlands until the official end of the war in 1783, West Point remained minimally staffed. By January 1784 the disbanding of the Continental Army left fewer than 700 men on active duty to guard the various fortifications. In June 1784 Congress passed legislation that discharged most of the remainder since standing armies in time of peace were "inconsistent with the principles of Republican Governments, dangerous to the liberties of a free people, and generally converted into destructive engines for establishing despotism" (USMA 1931). Of the 80 remaining officers and soldiers retained, 55 would be stationed at West Point to guard stores (Crackel 1991).

Post-War Inactivity

Though West Point continued to be used, it was still not an official military property. As early as 1779 land owner Stephen Moore had petitioned the Congress requesting payment for the use of his land during the war, for property damages and timber harvested to build the fortifications and barracks (Crackel 1991). It wasn't until 1790, after years of negotiations and investigation into the strategic value of the property, that Congress decided to purchase West Point.

With limited staffing and funding, by 1790 Forts Clinton and Putnam and the other Revolutionary War fortifications were in a state of disrepair. But despite an uncertain future and poor condition, West Point gained a reputation as a virtual citadel in the wilderness, a symbol of democracy that would become a major cultural focus in the coming century (Dunwell 1991).

Shortly after George Washington was elected president in 1789, he addressed Congress on the need to establish a military school (Crackel 1991). For Washington, the Revolutionary War evoked memories of an untrained militia, a situation that he felt needed to be prevented in the future. Unfortunately, investigation and debate over the role and form of such a school would continue for years. Finally in 1802 the Military Peace Establishment Act created the Military Academy at West Point, 3 years after Washington's death.

Significant Landscape Areas

Several landscape areas identifiable today have their beginnings during the Revolutionary period:

- Fort Putnam and Fort Clinton

- Constitution Island
- The Plain
- Chain Battery Walk
- Kosciuszko's Garden

Establishing the Military Academy (1790 – 1817)

Establishing the Military Academy

The earliest proposal for establishing a military school was made in 1776 by General Henry Knox (Boynton 1863). The outbreak of the Revolutionary War had raised the idea, but aside from the appointment of a congressional committee, no progress to establish such a school would be made until after the war. In 1783 a second committee evaluated many recommendations. George Washington's was a simple suggestion for "instructing a certain number of young gentlemen in the Art of War," while others had more elaborate visions (Crackel 1991). Despite support from notable statesmen such as John Adams and Alexander Hamilton, Congress was unwilling to commit to the expense of a permanent academy or even come to agreement on how to create a peacetime military force.

The issue was dropped again until 1789, when the new Constitution established a permanent federal military force. George Washington continued to recommend the formation of a military academy throughout his tenure as president. In 1794 Congress took a first step by creating a Corps of Artillerists and Engineers, authorizing cadets for the companies, and purchasing books and materials for their training (Crackel 1991). These companies were stationed at West Point, receiving instruction in the "Old Provost" building near Execution Hollow. This instruction would continue off and on for several years, but is not considered a precursor to the official Academy.

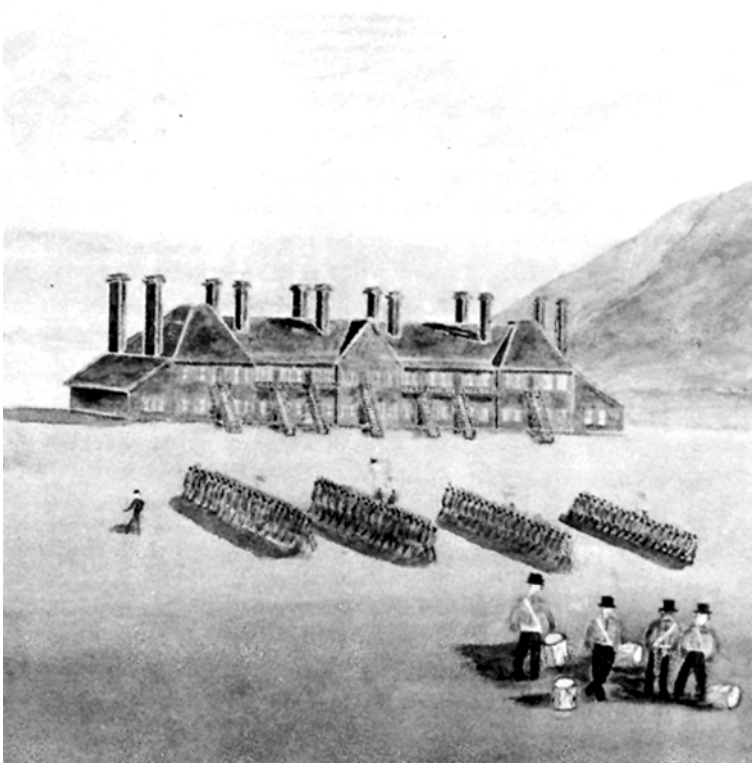
A threat of war with France in the late 1790s revived interest in establishing a regular military academy. It would take several years for a plan to be formulated and gain overall congressional support. In 1798 Congress empowered the President to appoint up to four teachers to instruct artillery cadets. Building improvements for West Point were ordered in April 1801 to prepare for an influx of officers, cadets, and faculty. In July 1801, a War Department order directed all cadets and some junior officers to "repair to West Point" (Pappas 1993). Finally in March 1802, newly inaugurated President Thomas Jefferson signed the Military Peace Establishment Act, confirming in statute the creation of the Academy.

Landscape Description

From the Revolution until the establishment of the Academy, West Point facilities changed very little. A two-story frame building built around 1780, once a wartime prison and Post headquarters, was chosen to serve as the first Academy instruction building. It was located on the Plain's western periphery. Long Barracks, situated just west of Fort Clinton, was the most prominent building on the Plain. On the southern and western edges of the Plain, on both sides of the Academy, officers' quarters were nestled against the steep slopes rising up to Fort Putnam. The Plain itself was covered with low, yellow pine trees — none over 12 feet tall (Figure 9). Areas were cleared near buildings, and there were small drill fields near the barracks (Figure 10). Below the Plain, on the flats near the river, there were ordnance storehouses, a hospital, and several other small structures (Crackel 1991). Renovation funding authorized between 1796 and 1800 mostly provided for fortification and storage improvements. The only new additions were an academic building to replace one that had been destroyed by fire, and a new barracks.

W.P. Special Collection.

Figure 9. Representation of the West Point grounds circa 1796.



W.P. Special Collection.

Figure 10. Drill fields and barracks on the West Point grounds.

One of the earliest detailed descriptions of West Point comes from Joseph G. Swift. Excerpts from his memoirs (1890) provide a record of the landscape and the organization of buildings when he was stationed there in 1802:

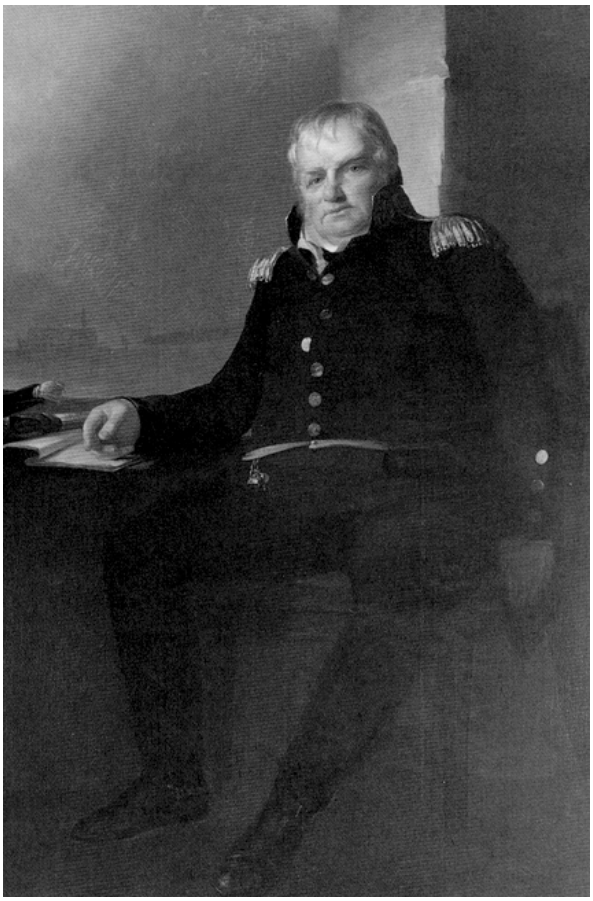
> The academy is situated on the western margin of the plain, near the base of rocks on whose summit, four hundred feet above, stands Fort Putnam. Near the academy was an office on the edge of a small hollow, in which depression were the remains of a mound that had been formed at the close of the Revolution…To the south of this relic were the head-quarters that had been the residence of General Knox…
>
> In the front of these was the model yard, containing a miniature fortress in wood…Around this yard Cadet Armistead and myself planted twelve elm trees. To the south and at the base of Fort Putnam Hill also were Rochefontaine's quarters, now the residence of the family of Lieutenant Colonel Williams; diagonally from the garden gate of these quarters Rochefontaine had constructed a paved foot walk to the barrack on the northeast side of the plain, now the cadet's quarters. They are two hundred and forty feet in length and were constructed by Major Rivardi, whose quarters were in a building at the northern base of the Fort Putnam Hill, by the road leading to the German Flats and Washington's Val-

> ley. Below the plain at the northwest, near the river, were the military stores…To the east of these stores was the armory...
>
> At the northeast angle of the plain was Fort Clinton, a dilapidated work…garnished with four twenty-four-pounder cannon, on sea coast carriages. The fort also enclosed a long stone magazine filled with powder...To the west, overlooking the Plain and five hundred feet of elevation, is Fort Putnam, a stone casemated castle, having on its platform a couple of twenty-four-pounder field pieces of artillery. This work was commenced in 1777, and had been repaired at various periods and never completed...
>
> On the eastern margin of the plain and sixty feet below, there are stone steps leading to a small area whose outward edge is of rock, sloping almost vertically to the Hudson. In this area a small basin in which had played a fountain, the whole having been constructed by Kosciuszko, and was his retreat and called after him, 'Kosciuszko's Garden.' Lieutenant Macomb and myself had repaired this garden, and it is a favorite resort.
>
> Some ninety yards south of Rivardi's barracks is a circular depression in the plain, on the west margin of which are the ruins of the 'old provost.'…Adjoining the south boundary of the plain a road leads down the bank of the Hudson to Butter-Milk Falls and to Fort Montgomery.

The First Superintendent

Major Jonathan Williams arrived at West Point as the Academy's first Superintendent in December 1801. He became very involved in developing the curriculum of study, ordering some of the first texts for the Academy's library and even teaching classes in the absence of a regular professor. He also established the United States Military Philosophical Society to stimulate the collection and dissemination of military knowledge (Figure 11).

Fourteen cadets entered the Academy before the signing of the Establishment Act. As a result of this early start, two cadets would graduate as the first class of the U.S. Military Academy at West Point in 1802, less than a year after its official creation. One of these cadets, Joseph Swift, would later return as superintendent.



WP Museum Collection.

Figure 11. Major John Williams, first Superintendent.

In spite of Williams' interest in the Academy, conflicts between academy and garrison command at West Point caused him to resign in 1803. The command of the Corps of Engineers and the superintendency of the Academy were given to the next senior officer, Major Decius Wadsworth. Wadsworth, involved in a harbor fortification program, had little time to devote to West Point. As a result, senior officer Captain Baron assumed actual control.

Baron proved to be an ineffectual and unsupported leader. Many members of the Corps worked to persuade Williams to return to West Point. In a letter from General James Wilkinson, Williams was informed that the president preferred Washington, DC as the location of the Academy. On this assurance, Williams returned to the Military Academy in 1805 with dreams of its relocation (Crackel 1991).

Williams quickly restored the daily academic routine of the Academy. But because of his desire to move to Washington, he did little to improve the quality of the living conditions. Only minimal repairs were approved, such as an 1806 refurbishment of the Long Barracks. Though this building would house cadets for another decade, the quarters were so rustic that until 1817 the Academy would

adjourn for several months in the winter since the structure could not be heated (Crackel 1991). Baron recommended an extensive building program with a new academic hall, mess hall, and laboratory. Williams rejected the proposal, insisting on West Point's status as a "temporary station," and fearful that renovations might fix the Academy there.

Williams' desire to move the Academy was motivated partly by his family's fondness of city and partly by his belief that the Academy would fare better if situated near Congress and the administration. Beginning in 1807, Williams would make repeated proposals to the President, the Secretary of War, and the Congress, to expand the faculty and curriculum of the Academy and to transfer it to Washington, DC. He met with little success. Most of his recommendations were ignored and the existing facilities were not improved. But the Academy expanded despite the seeming lack of commitment, as the number of authorized cadets grew from 44 to 200. In 1808 Williams described the military academy as "like a foundling, barely existing among the mountains" (Crackel 1991).

The years between 1810 and 1815 were extremely turbulent for the Military Academy. A new administration appointed William Eustis as Secretary of War. Eustis was a veteran of the Revolutionary War, but served as a doctor, and so brought little military experience to his position. Not only was he not interested in relocating the Academy to Washington, but his policies for West Point were so hostile that he almost destroyed it (Crackel 1991). While professing to recognize the "importance of the institution" he ordered half the cadets away from the Academy, leaving it dormant from 1811 to early 1813.

In April of 1812, President Madison signed a law that fulfilled many of Williams' requests for West Point: expanding the curriculum, authorizing more permanent instructors, requiring minimum standards for cadet acceptance, and appropriating funds for buildings and equipment. The law did not, however, support the relocation to Washington. Frustrated by the administration's inconsistent policies and the failure of the move, Williams resigned again in July 1812.

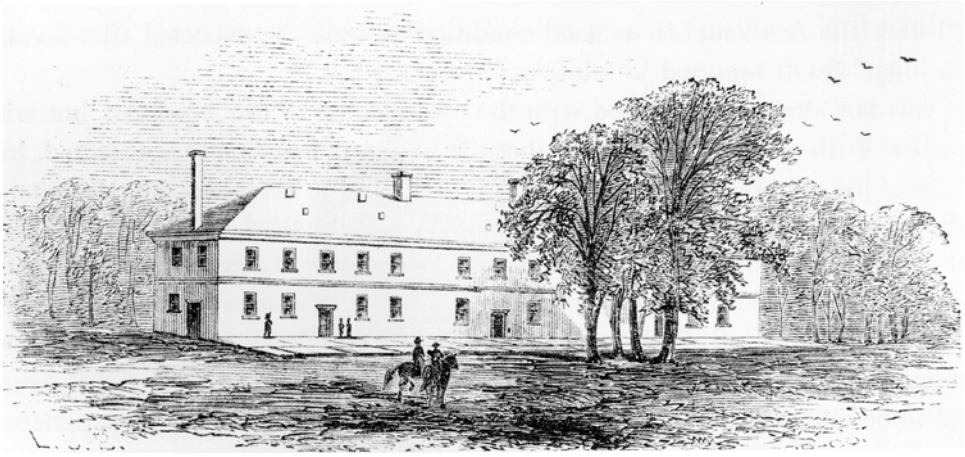
Difficult Growth Period

1802 Academy graduate Joseph Swift was appointed Chief of Engineers with the rank of colonel in December 1812 (Figure 12). In the spring of 1813, the Academy began to function again under Swift's supervision. Swift was instrumental in revising the curriculum and selecting faculty members (Pappas 1993). Aware of the poor condition of the Academy buildings, Swift obtained approval for the construction of new buildings at the Academy, but work was delayed until the spring of 1814. The new mess hall and the South Barracks were completed by

the spring of 1815, and the Academy building was completed later that same year (Figures 13 and 14). These three buildings, constructed of rough gray granite with slate roofs, were aligned along the southern edge of the Plain. As the number of cadets and faculty continued to grow, Colonel Swift obtained additional approval for the construction of a second barracks and three sets of quarters.

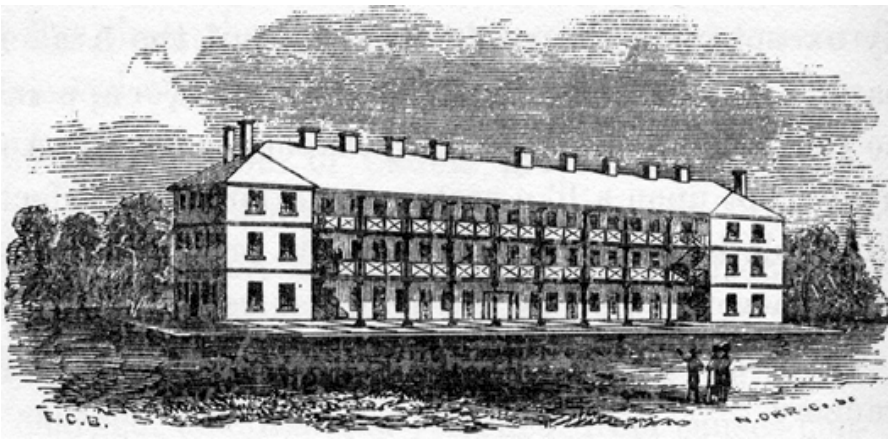
WP Museum Collection.

Figure 12. Colonel Joseph Swift, Chief of Engineers.



USMA Archives.

Figure 13. New mess hall building, 1815.



USMA Archives.

Figure 14. New South Barracks building, completed in 1815.

In 1816 an official site for burials was established (Lange 1984). The area selected was known as German Flats, in reference to the level site that was presumed to be the camping ground of Pennsylvania Dutch soldiers during the Revolution. Entrance to the cemetery was through the cadet vegetable garden. Known remains from the foot of Fort Putnam and around the Plain were immediately reinterred at the designated cemetery site. Other remains would be discovered during later building projects and subsequently moved to a location in the permanent cemetery.

As Chief of Engineers, Swift had other demanding responsibilities such as the harbor defenses in New York. Especially during the second war with England, he was often away from West Point. During these frequent absences Alden Partridge, an Academy graduate of 1806 who had spent his entire military career at West Point, was acting Superintendent. In 1815 new regulations created a superintendency position separate from the Chief of Engineers. Partridge was the first appointed permanent Superintendent, reporting to Swift as Chief of Engineers. Partridge is credited with providing stability throughout the Academy's establishment period, possibly ensuring its survival during Eustis' tenure as Secretary of War, and instilling discipline and excellence in military drill (Pappas 1993). But his erratic and disruptive behavior near the end of his term left the Academy in confusion.

West Point and National Pride

While the Academy was searching for identity and stability, so was the nation as a whole. Americans were developing a fierce pride in the nation's history and were seeking a unique identity that could stand up against the heritage of Europe (Dunwell 1991). Still too young to have developed innovations in art, lit-

erature, or architecture, America would focus on its incomparable wilderness as its most distinctive feature.

With rapid westward expansion and continuous immigration, wilderness had changed from being frightening to being fascinating. The invention of the steamboat in 1807 aided in this transition. It allowed comfortable, affordable transportation into regions previously very difficult to reach. Because of the proximity to New York City, the Hudson Valley, the Highlands, and West Point were logical tourist destinations and would become a focus of national and international attention. While touring the region, Charles Dickens wrote:

> Among the fair and lovely Highlands of the North River: shut in by deep green heights and ruined forts...hemmed in, besides, all around with memories of Washington, is the Military School of America. It could not stand on more appropriate ground, and any ground more beautiful can hardly be (Dunwell 1991).

Throughout the first half of the 19th century, the Highlands would have a far-reaching effect on the new citizens of the nation. Its mountain landscape would become a recognized image of the American wilderness, the old forts at West Point would become as significant as Grecian temples, and stories of West Point's part in the Revolutionary War would stir pride and admiration (Dunwell 1991) (Figure 15).

John Frederick Kensett, *Hudson River Scene*, 1857 on display at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Figure 15. Romantic painting of the West Point area landscape.

Significant Landscape Areas

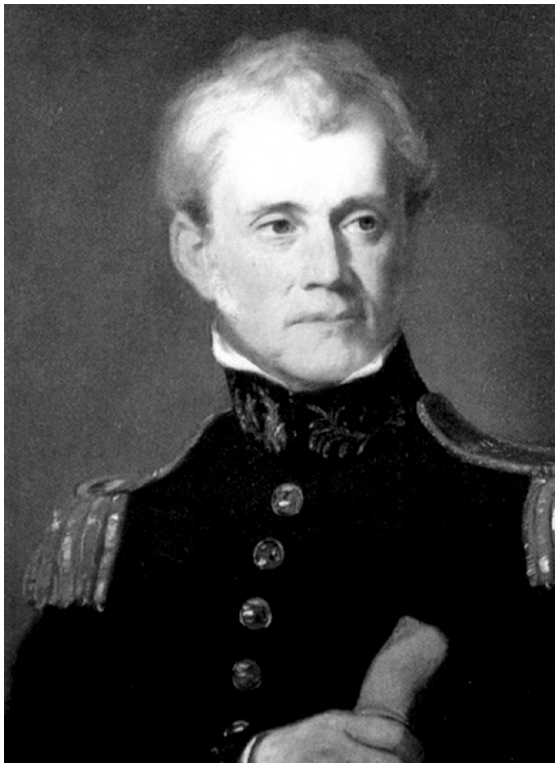
Only one landscape area identifiable today has its beginnings during the Establishment period:

- Cemetery

The Thayer Years (1817 – 1833)

Colonel Sylvanus Thayer

In November 1816, President James Madison appointed Colonel Sylvanus Thayer permanent Superintendent of the Military Academy (Figure 16). Thayer, 32 years old and a graduate of the Academy's class of 1808, replaced Superintendent Alden Partridge. Arriving in July of 1817, Thayer took charge of a Military Academy that had nearly collapsed. In an 1865 letter to General George Cullum, Thayer reflected that his mission at West Point "was to create, construct, to build up from the foundation under difficulties coming more from within than without" (Pappas, 1993). Thayer faced three major problems: a lack of educational order, a lack of discipline, and the poor physical condition of the Academy (Pappas 1993).



WP Museum Collection.

Figure 16. Colonel Sylvanus Thayer, Academy Superintendent 1816 - 1833.

Thayer considered the organization of academic programs to be critical. He worked quickly to organize operations and work with the faculty to develop a new program of study. But his greatest concern was the lack of discipline exhibited by the cadets. To address this, Thayer implemented a strict cadet schedule that left little time for recreation. Wrote one cadet: “the only time we have for recreation is about ½ hour at noon and Saturday afternoons. At these times even we cannot go off the Point without getting permission” (Pappas 1993). To fill their few leisure hours, cadets walked, hiked, fished, and swam in the Hudson at Gee’s Point in the summer, or skated on a pond near the present superintendent’s garden in winter.

Cadets often disregarded the regulation to remain on Post. Gridley’s Tavern offered cadets a place for meals, drinking, and socializing after dark. Located off Post at what would become the site of the present Administration building, it was easily accessed through openings in the plank fence behind the barracks. Thayer repeatedly asked Gridley not to serve cadets, but got no cooperation from the innkeeper except when Thayer periodically closed the Post, preventing Gridley access to the docks for receiving supplies. The War Department finally approved the acquisition of the Gridley tract, which included all the land from the Hudson to Fort Putnam, in 1824 for $10,000 (Pappas 1993).

Thayer’s Building Program

Thayer’s third problem was the inadequacy of the Academy’s buildings and grounds. When President Monroe visited West Point in 1817, he heard numerous complaints from faculty about the Academy, in particular about the poor housing conditions. One of Thayer's first instructions was to investigate the problem of housing.

Although three houses for faculty were already under construction, Thayer found the existing quarters for faculty inadequate and badly in need of repair (Crackel 1991). As a result, he asked the Secretary of War to station a quartermaster at West Point and furnish him with enough funds to make the most urgently needed repairs. In December, he requested funds for even more housing: new quarters for the Superintendent, two brick houses for professors, and a stone duplex for teachers with families. He also requested funds for a hospital and a larger kitchen for the recently completed mess hall.

The three quarters previously approved were constructed along the southern edge of the Plain, near the cadet facilities. Thayer’s three structures continued the line of housing along the west edge of the Plain, facing east to look across it. One of these, the Superintendent’s quarters, was finished in 1820 and stands to-

day as the oldest building at West Point (Lange 1984). The original design was a simple two-story rectangular structure that bears little resemblance to what exists today, as modifications were made over time (Figure 17). Thayer entertained many distinguished guests there during his superintendency. Since then, many legends developed regarding the Superintendent's quarters and garden; the house is thought to have several ghosts (Pappas 1993).

U.S.M.A. Special Collections.

Figure 17. The Superintendent's house.

The two professors' quarters made of brick flanked the Superintendent's quarters and were completed in 1821. The faculty quarters south of the Superintendent's quarters would be demolished in the early 1900s to make room for new cadet barracks. The structure to the north of the Superintendent's remains as the Commandant's quarters.

The stone duplex approved in the original request was also completed in 1821. Funds for two additional duplexes were requested in 1826, but minimal appropriations meant that the buildings would be constructed over several years. It is believed that the stone used in their construction was excavated on the site or from large boulders scattered on the Plain. The three duplexes were placed perpendicular to and west of the earlier quarters, in a line facing north up the river. These structures, known now as Professors' Row, have housed many of West Point's most influential instructors (Pappas 1993) (Figure 18).

U.S.M.A. Archives.

Figure 18. Stone duplexes known as 'Professors' Row.'

The living conditions for the cadets left much to be desired. Barracks rooms were uncomfortable, generally crowded, and exceedingly cold during the winter months. Cadets were expected to provide their own furniture and bedding; the only officially issue items were a basin and a single candlestick. A fireplace in each room provided additional light and as well as heat. By 1821 Thayer had initiated several construction programs including converting a small lake, the present Delafield Pond, into a reservoir. Water was piped from the lake down the hill to the Plain. Outlets located near quarters, the mess hall, and barracks provided water that was carried into buildings in buckets. Not until 1826 was water piped into some buildings. Reservoir water was a great improvement at West Point since it reduced the need for streams or wells trickling on to the Plain (Pappas 1993).

West Point Tourism

Thayer recognized that public support was important in maintaining congressional support. He saw an opportunity for West Point to benefit from the nation's "growing interest in the scenery and history of the Highlands" (Dunwell 1991). He actively worked to make West Point not only a well-respected military school but also a social and cultural center. Throughout his tenure, he and the Academy would attract many influential people including the Marquis de Lafayette, Charles Dickens, Mark Twain, James Fenimore Cooper, painter Frederick Church, and the Grand Duke of Russia. Without his efforts, the Hudson Highlands may never have become a focus of major attention (Figure 19).

U.S.M.A. Special Collections, artist unknown.

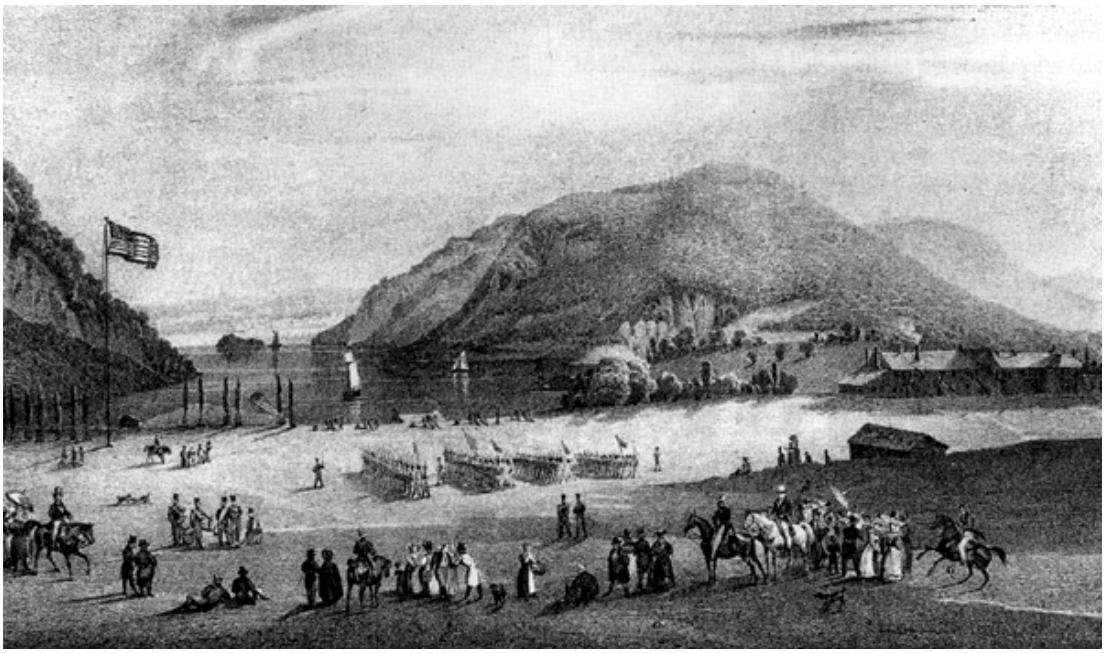


Figure 19. Visitors were welcomed at West Point and the Hudson Highlands.

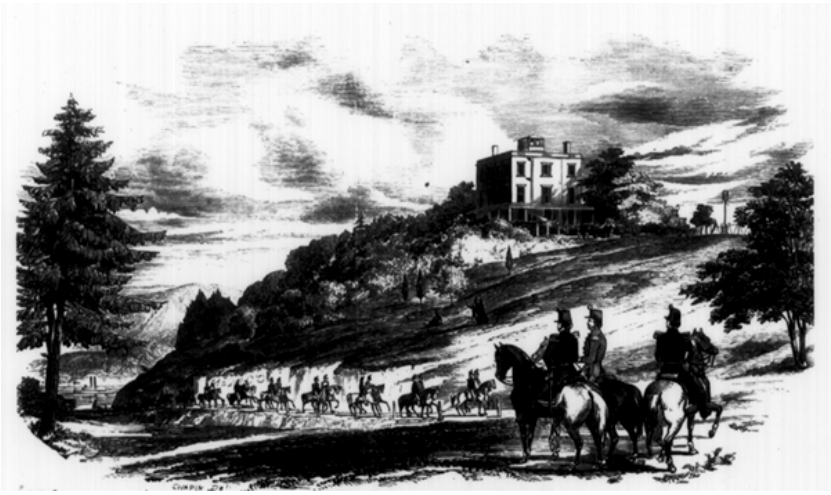
Almost simultaneous with the growing interest in West Point was the growth of the "Hudson River School of Landscape Painting." The Hudson River Valley became an important setting for a world-renowned era of painting based on the 19th century romanticism. In the view of romantic painters "nature was God's finest work." In the Highlands, they found a landscape where the raw beauty of nature was manifest. The mountains, river, wind, rocks, and crumbling ruins were a constant source of inspiration (Dunwell 1991) (Figure 20).

U.S.M.A. Special Collections, artist unknown.

Figure 20. Nineteenth century romantic painting of the Hudson River Valley.

West Point became a major tourist attraction on the Hudson River, drawing people to enjoy the "American Wilderness," ponder vestiges of the American Revolution, and observe the cadets. As early as 1820 the Board of Visitors noted the need for a hotel there. With no connecting roads between West Point and nearby communities, overnight visitors needed to stay on the Post, but lodging was limited. Some visitors were accommodated at the mess operated by Cozzen, others at Gridley's until it was closed.

After years of requests, in 1828 Thayer finally gained approval, but no funding, to establish a hotel. A 50- by 60-foot structure, containing 64 rooms, was built at the northern margin of the Plain near the path leading up from the docks (Figure 21). The hotel was paid for from the West Point Post Fund, which had grown from rental and concession payments, supplemented with proceeds from the sale of wood cut from the reservation. The hotel operated for more than 100 years.



U.S.M.A. Special Collections.

Figure 21. West Point Hotel, 1852.

In 1830 Thayer was given approval to build a hospital, which was completed in 1834. In 1833, he sought and gained approval for a combined academic building and exercise hall, but nothing further was done on the project until after his departure from West Point (Pappas 1993).

Landscape Description

George S. Pappas (1993) devised a detailed description of what Superintendent Thayer would have observed as he walked around West Point just prior to his departure. Selected portions of that description are included below as an illustration of the landscape of West Point in the 1830s:

There was a new dock and stone house for the sentry and visitors who landed in inclement weather. The path to the level of the Plain had been widened and graded. To the west, on the shore level, were the new enlisted barracks and quarters for married soldiers in the area once known as Camp Town. The old, dilapidated hospital building had been renovated and was now used as quarters. In the distance were two warehouses in which Revolutionary War relics were stored. On the bluff above was the cemetery with the white Cadet Monument shining in the sun.

To the left of the path on the level of the Plain was a knoll on which stood the Wood Monument. It had been moved there from its original location in front of South Barracks. The flag pole was near the monument. Between the knoll and the path was a small, irregular plot of earth. When word spread that Thayer was leaving, an old man named Cronk, who had a farm above Buttermilk Falls, brought an elm sapling to Thayer and asked permission to plant the tree...The tree was planted in this irregular plot, the triangular spot between today's Howard and Ruger Roads...

From Wood Monument, Thayer could see the row of new duplex quarters, Professors' Row, and a small set of quarters near the west gate. The sluice used for cadet bathing was not visible; it was beyond a bend near the gate. Water had been piped to the quarters and barracks from a reservoir dammed at the present Delafield Pond under the direction of Lieutenant Church shortly after his graduation in 1828. There were no indoor bathrooms with running water. Water was carried from taps near the quarters or barracks. There were outhouses behind each set of quarters and larger 'sinks' near the barracks and summer camp area.

Walking from Wood Monument toward his home, Thayer passed the Commandant's quarters north of his own residence. A wide dirt road extended south from these houses. Across the pond next to his quarters were two sets of brick quarters occupied by professors. Next to these was the old wooden house occupied by Mrs. Thompson and her daughters. Before Mrs. Thompson moved into these quarters, one wing was moved to the northwest near the rocky slope. It was used as the post school; the schoolmaster lived on the upper floor. A white picket fence ran along the road in front of the row of quarters. Between the fence and the road were a wide gravel walk and a row of elm trees. A row of what Church called 'ugly Lombardy poplars,' elms, and maples bordered the western edge of the road. The grove of twelve elms planted by Swift and Macomb in 1802

stood across the road from Mrs. Thompson's home in front of the cadet mess. This was the site of Fourth of July dinners.

The road made a sharp left turn just beyond the mess and extended to the edge of the bluff of the river. The mess building had been renovated and improved during Thayer's superintendency. Across the road were several sets of small quarters for faculty members and a small cadet garden whose vegetables supplemented the produce of a larger garden near the cemetery. A small bakery near the garden provided bread and pastries for the mess and for sale to families. Immediately east was the Academic Building and next to it, South Barracks. There were a few small quarters across the road and a building used as a 'market house' for farmers bringing produce to sell to post personnel. North Barracks was perpendicular to South Barracks, extending north into the Plain. There were still springs near each barracks as well as pumps for the water piped from the reservoir…

The new stone hospital and several other buildings were located across the road to the southwest. About a thousand yards south was the south gate to the Post. The road continued on through the Kinsley property to Buttermilk Falls. A small path near the gate curved up the hill toward the ruins of Forts Webb and Wyllys, Revolutionary War redoubts.

A road extended along the bluff, through Fort Clinton, to the hotel. Another path near the north turn of the road led to Kosciuszko's Garden, a favorite retreat for cadets…

Fort Clinton had deteriorated greatly in the forty years since it was restored during the French crisis. It was no longer used, and its new magazines were barred; powder once stored here had been moved to a new magazine beyond the warehouses in the Camp Town area. Kosciuszko's Monument stood on the northeast parapet of Fort Clinton.

The road from Fort Clinton continued to the hotel and then curved to join the road leading to the dock. The hotel stood on a promontory overlooking the Hudson River. A narrow winding path, called 'Chain Path' because it led to the spot where the Revolutionary chain had been moored, wound slowly down the bluff to the river and along the bank to Gee's Point. This today is 'Flirtation Walk.'

Ruins of the Long Barracks and the old Provost near Execution Hollow had been removed. A stone ice house was nestled in the hollow, low

> enough to keep it away from most sunlight. The summer camp site extended along the west edge of Fort Clinton toward the hollow. A path, from the road north of the hollow to the cadet barracks area, had been developed to provide ready access to the barracks area by buglers and other enlisted men living in the Long Barracks. Cadets used it as the best way to get to the hotel.
>
> The parade ground occupied the area from the path to the road in front of Thayer's quarters. Cadets formed for parade in front of the barracks, followed the band north along the edge of the path, and wheeled to form a line facing Professors' Row. Thayer could watch the parades from his veranda or walk across the road to take a review. Normally, the Commandant of Cadets was the reviewing officer…
>
> Most of the Plain had been leveled and small hollows filled. Hollows near camp and the barracks were gradually being filled. Debris from the ruins of the Long Barracks and the Provost had been dumped in the camp hollow. Most large boulders had been removed. Some were used in building projects, others pulverized to use on roads or as land fill. Only one large boulder remained near the proposed site of the chapel.
>
> Many trees had been planted around the Plain, near the quarters, and around the hotel. Almost every set of quarters had at least one cherry tree, which was a constant temptation to cadets. There was grass in the parade area, but the remainder of the Plain was rough ground, suitable for artillery drill but little else. Lawns in and around the quarters were also sown, and many of the quarters had gardens.

Significant Landscape Areas

Two landscape areas identifiable today had their beginnings during the Thayer period:

- Superintendent's quarters and reception area
- Professors' Row

The Delafield Period (1833 – 1900)

Early 19th Century Expansion

Major Rene E. DeRussy was appointed Superintendent of the Military Academy in 1833. There were relatively few changes during his 5-year tenure, the most

notable being the building of the Cadet Chapel (1836) and the Academic and Exercise Hall (1838). DeRussy originally planned to place the chapel, a simple rectangular building in a Greek Revival style, near the hotel. But his decision was overruled because of the distance from the cadet barracks and other academy buildings (Crackel 1991). Instead, the chapel was placed on the Plain's south side near the cadet barracks, with the new hall located to its west. All cadet activities were thus centered along the southern edge of the Plain, establishing a pattern that still exists today (Pappas 1993). Just before DeRussy departed West Point, he gained approval for two additional buildings, a library and a chemistry lab, to replace facilities from the old academy building lost to a fire. DeRussy departed in September of 1838; construction for the two additional buildings was left to his successor.

Major Richard Delafield replaced DeRussy as Superintendent. Delafield had graduated at the head of his class in 1818 when Thayer was the Superintendent. Like Thayer, he took an active role in guiding the Academy's academic programs and physical growth. He recommended expansion of the curriculum to include geography and history and restored the standards of strict discipline for cadets (Crackel 1991). But it was his guidance of the physical development of the Academy that is considered one of the most significant 19th century contributions to West Point.

Delafield's Contributions to West Point

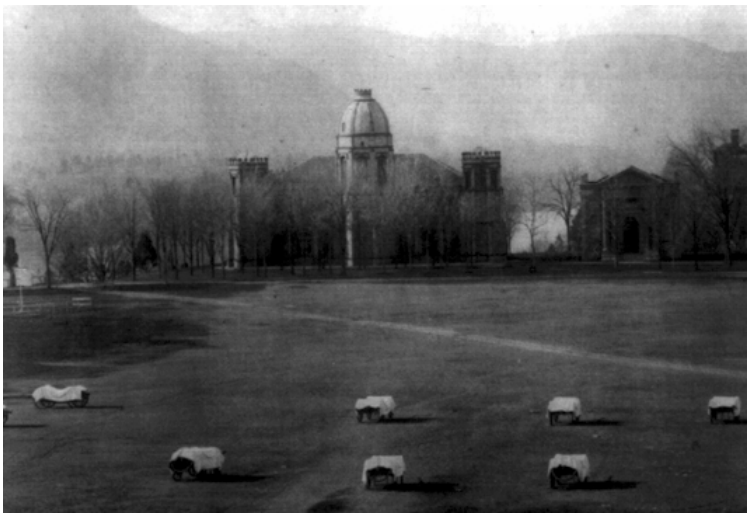
Shortly after Delafield's arrival, a small fire in North Barracks alerted him to the need to improve the cadet quarters. With the other building plans under way it presented an opportunity for "devising an entire system that would be suited to the wants of the institution" (Crackel 1991). Delafield delayed construction of the two previously approved buildings, and appointed a board of three officers to review all building needs for the Academy and propose a general design. The board's recommendation confirmed the need to replace the old Academy building, and added the relocation of the North and South Barracks. Their plan to remove the old barracks would substantially increase the area of the Plain and provide more ground suitable for military training. This historic decision marked the first intentional planning to reserve the Plain as open space for cadet training activities and build around it.

Delafield and the board hired New York architect Isaiah Rogers to assist them in the detailed design. Rogers was noted primarily for his use of the Greek Revival style, which he incorporated into his proposal for the West Point buildings. Delafield was disappointed with Rogers' plans because he believed the style was not suited to the military mission of the Academy. A second architect, Frederick

Diaper, replaced Rogers. Delafield was so impressed with Diaper's Tudor-Gothic designs that no other architect or style received any serious consideration. But Delafield was still not satisfied with the details of Diaper's designs for the library building so he submitted his own design, clearly influenced by Diaper, for approval (Crackel 1991).

Delafield's building expansion planning set the framework that would guide growth through the 19th century and define the character of West Point. He not only selected a distinctive style of architecture for the Academy, but also recommended the use of locally quarried granite, and proposed that the new buildings be placed on the edges of the Plain. As early as 1839, he had suggested that the barracks and a mess building be erected on the bluff above the Hudson River at the present site of Cullum Hall. Board member Professor Mahan convinced him that this was not a good location because it would be difficult for the cadets to march to class during the winter months. He then selected a site adjacent to and west of the Academic building for the new barracks. The barracks were not erected during his superintendency, but those constructed in 1851 were based on his plans.

Construction of the first library began in 1839 and was completed in 1841 (Figure 22). The library was sited to the east of and aligned with the chapel. This placement required the razing of an existing ordnance laboratory. Initially Delafield advocated restoring Fort Clinton as the replacement ordnance laboratory, but this proposal was rejected. Delafield then designed, gained approval for, and constructed a new Ordnance Compound to house workshops, storehouses, and military equipment. The compound, situated on a terrace just beyond and below the north edge of the Plain, was completed in 1840. It also incorporated the Tudor-Gothic architectural style and was built from local granite.



U.S.M.A. Special Collections.

Figure 22. Construction of the first library was completed in 1841.

In addition to the building expansion was a roadway program. A road from the Post proper to the cemetery was constructed around 1840, and a stone wall with a handsome iron gateway was constructed at the cemetery. In the spring of 1844, Delafield ordered the construction of a road to the Plain, passing between the chapel and the academic and exercise hall (Colton 1844).

Despite many physical changes at the Academy, there was little change in cadet life. Recreational time and activities continued to be limited. Competitive athletic activities were limited to informal games of baseball and football on the Plain. During the summer months, the river was a popular place for swimming, boating, and fishing, as were the hills around Fort Putnam for hiking and hunting. During the winter, cadets could skate on the frozen ponds, marshes, and the river. Occasionally, they would build snow forts near Execution Hollow and put their classroom tactics to practical use for mock battles. The exercise room on the ground floor of the academic building included a small gymnasium and fencing facilities. Delafield introduced riding instruction into the curriculum in 1839. Outdoor drills were conducted on the Plain north of the library, while in bad weather riding was moved indoors to the ground floor of the academic building.

Previously cadets were restricted to the academic area and the Plain. Written permission was needed for a hike to Crow's Nest, Fort Putnam, or anywhere in the hills. Delafield extended the authorized area to include Chain Battery Walk, a path extending along the northern and eastern riverfronts to Kosciuszko's Garden. The walk would become very popular with the cadets, who would rename it Flirtation Walk (Pappas 1993) (Figure 23).

U.S.M.A. Special Collections.

Figure 23. Chain Battery Walk also known as Flirtation Walk.

Delafield's Ideas Briefly Persist

Delafield was reassigned in 1845, and Henry Brewerton became Superintendent. The beginning of Brewerton's term coincided with the outbreak of war with Mexico. Many Academy graduates were recognized for distinguished service in the War. Perhaps because of this, the 1840s and 1850s found Congress more favorable to the Academy than at any time previously, enabling appropriations to support continued improvements at West Point (Crackel 1991).

The public popularity of West Point also contributed to the ease of gaining appropriations. By the 1840s, West Point had become a major tourist attraction (Figure 24). The building of the Hudson River Railroad on the east side of the river enabled easy travel between New York and the Academy. Tourists could take the train to Cold Springs and cross over to West Point by ferry; some visitors would spend the summers at West Point. The hotel, with its majestic views, was immensely popular.

U.S.M.A. Special Collections.

Figure 24. In the 1840s, West Point was a major tourist attraction.

Liberal appropriations allowed Brewerton to make many changes, including the surface grading of the Plain, the building of the South Wharf and its access road, and the enlargement of the Post water supply. He also pursued a significant construction program following Delafield's overall plan. He succeeded in securing funds for replacement cadet barracks, which were constructed between 1848 and 1851 and were based on the original design and siting suggested by Delafield. The old South and North Barracks were demolished in 1849 and 1851, respectively. Sometime after this demolition, the present Thayer road was extended northward across the Plain toward the hotel.

Another building, the Mess Hall, was erected in 1852. Delafield had left no plans for this structure; it was sited south of the academic building and mimics, but did not entirely match, the Tudor-Gothic style. The demolition of the old mess hall in 1853 formed a building line at the south end of the Plain that would not be disturbed until the 1960s expansion.

Pre- and Post-Civil War Sporadic Growth

Robert E. Lee succeeded Brewerton in 1853. He continued the building expansion program and introduced training in cavalry tactics into the curriculum. Initially training occurred in the ground floor of the academic building; this proved inadequate and dangerous. Authorization was obtained for the construction of stables and a riding hall, completed in 1854 and 1855, respectively. They were located at the site of the present Thayer Hall, and were the first buildings to be built on the southeastern edge of the Plain. The advantages of the site included its proximity to the cadet barracks and instruction area, as well as the environmental benefits of locating the horses downwind of the major buildings (Lange 1984). The riding hall was the largest structure of its kind in the country (Figure 25). Lee was also involved in the construction of quarters for officer and enlisted families (Pappas 1993).

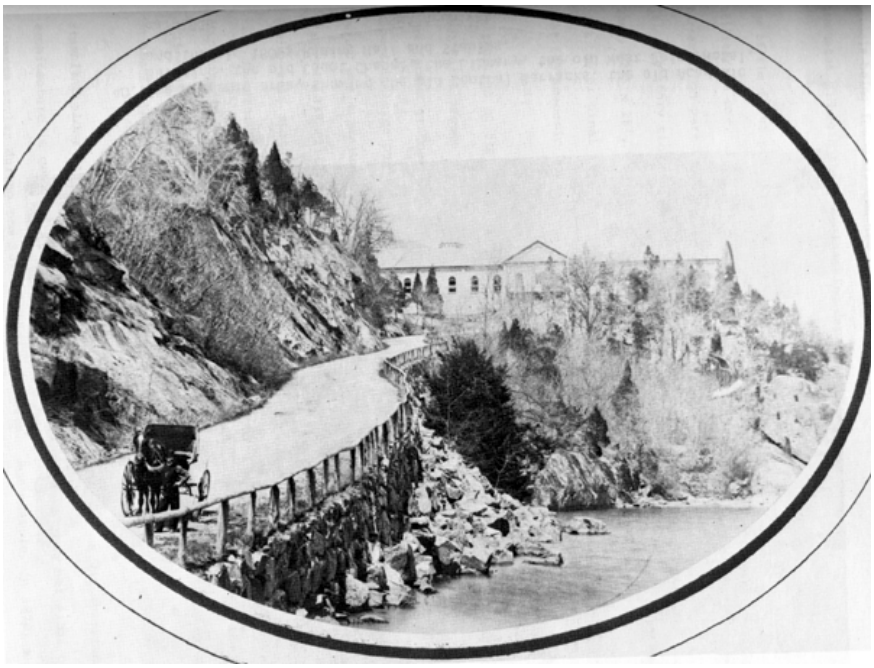


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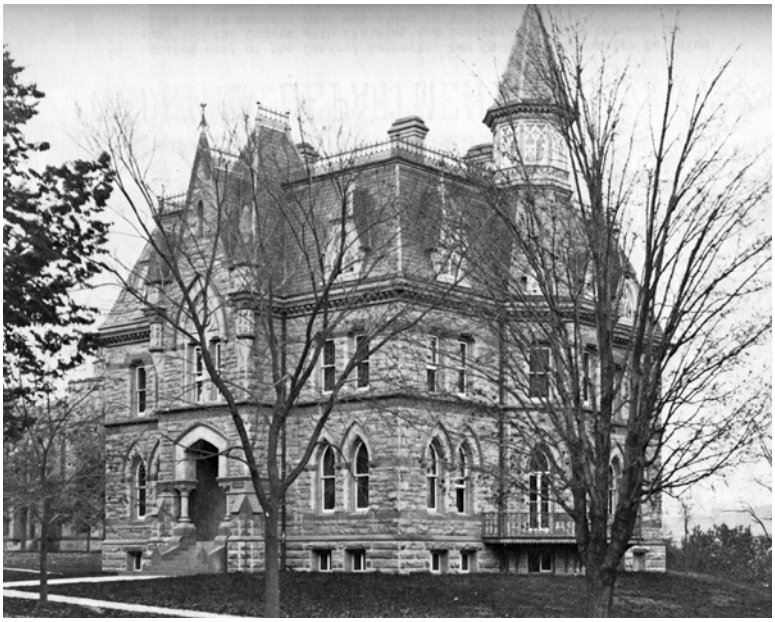
Figure 25. The riding hall was completed in 1855.

Lee's tenure marked a break in the 19th century expansion until well after the Civil War. Richard Delafield returned to serve a second term in 1856, but was unable to expand his earlier building program and planning. However, he may

have effected his plans for the restoration of Fort Clinton. Traveler Benson Lossing, recording his journey through the Hudson River Valley in the early 1860s, mentioned "the earthworks of Fort Clinton have recently been restored, in their original form and general proportions, exactly upon their ancient site" (Lossing 1866).

Following Delafield's departure in 1861 a series of superintendents served short terms and seldom effected changes to the Academy. Building activity for the next 20 years was limited to the construction of an administration building in 1871 across from the cadet mess (Figure 26). Though it was built with locally quarried gray stone, its French Renaissance chateau style did not harmonize with the earlier Tudor-Gothic buildings; this building would be removed and replaced during the centennial expansion. The water supply was enlarged again in 1879 with the construction of Delafield Reservoir. The original pond was enlarged, and additional water was supplied to it through a 6-inch pipe from Round Pond (Department of Engineering 1931).



U.S.M.A. Archives.

Figure 26. French Renaissance style administration building constructed in 1871.

The West Shore Railroad Company laid out a railroad on the west side of the river in 1881, tunneling under the Plain to continue northward. The company was required to bear the costs of all disruptions to the Academy, which would include the building of a new observatory. The trains passing below the Plain disrupted the accuracy of the sensitive observation equipment then located in the library towers. The new building was constructed in 1883, apparently on the former site of Fort Webb, east of the area that would later become Lusk Reservoir.

Superintendent Wesley Merritt renewed the building expansion program in 1882. The buildings constructed over the next 20 years would be designed in a variety of styles, disrupting Delafield's vision for a coherent architecture. This building phase is now referred to as the period of architectural experimentation (Lange 1984). A new hospital, gymnasium, and academic building were constructed between 1884 and 1895. The hospital was placed south of the cadet mess and reflected no identifiable architectural style. The gymnasium, sited west of the cadet barracks along the southern edge of the Plain, resembled a medieval Norman castle. In an attempt to unite the clashing architecture, Richard Morris Hunt designed the new academic building combining elements of Classical, French Renaissance, and Tudor-Gothic architecture styles already existing in the cadet area. Along with the building additions would be a Post expansion; West Point purchased the Kinsley Estate, which extended south to Highland Falls. The cadet vegetable garden was moved from the cemetery to the newly purchased area soon thereafter.

Organized Sports

The 1890s brought organized sports to the Academy, the Plain serving as the site of many of these activities. Baseball had been played since the 1820s, but had been limited to informal games between teams from different classes. Modern football was introduced in 1890; only two cadets had any experience with the game, and practice was restricted to rainy Saturdays when drill was cancelled (Pappas 1991). Several games were played with visiting teams from Philadelphia, New York, and Governor's Island within the first year (Figure 27). In November 1890 midshipmen from the Naval Academy traveled to West Point for the first Army-Navy game.

U.S.M.A. Special Collections.

Figure 27. Modern football was introduced at West Point in 1890.

Sports became recognized as an important part of cadet training and, in addition to baseball and football, others were quickly introduced. 1894 brought golf to West Point; a course was laid out across the Plain into Fort Clinton and below Trophy Point (Crane and Kieley 1947). Polo was also introduced and a field was laid out down on the river flats. Tennis courts were laid out in the depression of Execution Hollow.

Results of Experimentation

The West Point landscape continued to change. Due to the increase in the size of the corps of cadets, the parapets of Fort Clinton were razed and ditches filled so that the summer camp could be enlarged. The trees from the north side of the original camp were removed and transplanted to another site (USMA Headquarters 1900). The water supply again became inadequate and Lusk Reservoir was constructed in 1895 to provide additional storage capacity (Figure 28). The reservoir was fed from Round Pond and several other ponds in the vicinity of Crow's Nest. Soon after the completion of the reservoir, it became evident that an even greater supply would soon be needed. At the turn of the century, Popolopen Creek was identified as the future source of additional water.

U.S.M.A. Special Collections.

Figure 28. Lusk Reservoir was constructed in 1895 for additional water storage.

In the last decade of the 19th century the firm of McKim, Mead, and White designed the West Point Army Mess and Cullum Memorial Hall on the eastern edge of the Plain (Figure 29). Their classical architecture added one more style to the academic area. The same firm in 1894 designed Battle Monument for the western edge of the Plain (Figure 30). The turn of the century brought the realization that the recent experimentation had resulted in a hodgepodge of architec-

tural styles and that a uniform appearance was needed. This led to a major building program in the beginning of the 20th century that is considered the most important in the history of West Point.

USACERL, 1997.

Figure 29. Cullum Memorial Hall was built in the classical style.

USACERL, 1997.

Figure 30. The Battle Monument built in 1894.

Significant Landscape Areas

Several landscape areas identifiable today have their beginnings during the Delafield period:

- Academic Area
- Flirtation Walk (formerly Chain Battery Walk)
- Delafield Reservoir

- Lusk Reservoir
- Thayer/Wilson Area Housing

The Centennial Expansion (1900 – 1920s)

Plan for Growth and the 1903 Architectural Competition

Throughout the 19th century West Point maintained a small, park-like atmosphere with its arrangement of monuments, parade grounds, the hotel, officers' quarters and barracks around the open Plain. Its first century of existence had been characterized by sporadic, isolated expansion to meet short-term maintenance and growth needs. But in 1899 the board of visitors began to promote a large-scale expansion plan to facilitate a significant increase in the number of cadets (Crackel 1991).

The board recognized that expansion would entail not only an increase in the number of cadets, but also increased faculty, additional buildings, and improved infrastructure. An initial plan was developed by Charles Larned, Professor of Drawing. Larned recommended enlargements to the chapel, cadet hospital, gymnasium, and mess hall, new officers' mess and officers' quarters, replacement of the current hotel, and facilities improvements for heating, electricity, and sewers, at a cost of $2,200,000 (Crackel 1991). In 1900 Congress responded to the board's request by increasing the number of cadets to 481 but made no provision for physical expansion.

The board planned to respond by reducing their appropriations request to cover only the mess hall and additional barracks. But Albert L. Mills, Superintendent from 1898 to 1906, urged them to not compromise their plans as it would be "destructive to the convenience and to the dignity and beauty of the institution as an architectural whole" (Crackel 1991). Two years of reassessments, estimations, and pleas to Congress finally resulted in a $5,500,000 appropriation and approval to "place the Military Academy, with all its natural advantages and imperfections, in the hands of an architect of recognized ability."

In October of 1902 Mills issued invitations to ten prominent architecture firms to participate in a design competition for the improvements at West Point. The competition called for development of an integrated plan of structures, roads, utilities, and landscaping (USMA 1903). Structures included: a cadet laundry, store, additional barracks, an academic building, replacement chapel, riding hall, Post headquarters, exchange, commissary, museum, an administration building for the Corps of Cadets; a hospital addition for contagious diseases, a post-office,

a telegraph and telephone exchange building, housing for both bachelor and married officers, a main guardhouse, cavalry barracks, stables, artillery barracks, stables, and gun shed. Facilities included fire-engine houses, heating and lighting plant, and a new hotel to accommodate 200 guests. The invitation outlined the following criteria for judging the successful design:

- Consideration for future improvements given expectations of continued growth.
- Clustering of buildings used by cadets to improve efficiency and supervision.
- Maintenance of the Plain as open space for infantry instruction.
- Integration of new buildings with any existing structures to be retained.
- Capable of execution for no more than $5,000,000.

While the competition requirements did not dictate a design style, they did state that the new buildings should harmonize with the existing buildings, and that the overall plan should respect the historic associations and natural beauties of the site. This direction led some firms to use the prevailing Renaissance style, similar to the design of Cullum Hall, while others chose to use a Gothic style reminiscent of the Delafield era library and barracks.

Competition Winners

There was some surprise when Boston-based Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson's entry was selected over those of the more experienced and better-known firms. There may have been bias toward a Gothic style, but Mills and three prominent architects anonymously judged the entries. They were unanimous in their selection of Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson's Gothic scheme, finding that it not only met all the requirements but it carefully integrated the new, the old, and the landscape.

In developing their competition submission, Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson chose to collaborate with the landscape architecture firm of Olmsted Brothers from Brookline, Massachusetts. Partners Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr. (1870-1957) and John Charles Olmsted (1852-1920) worked with the architects in developing the general plan (Olmsted Brothers Correspondence, Oct. 30, 1902). They reviewed the proposed master plan, and provided suggestions for organization, building siting, road placement, and landscaping.

The Olmsted Brothers firm grew out of the practice of Frederick Law Olmsted (1822-1903), a world-renowned landscape architect who is credited with founding the profession in America (Newton 1971). Olmsted was involved in many important projects that influenced nationwide trends, including Central Park, the Yosemite reservation, suburban Riverside, and the master plan for the World's Columbian Exhibition in Chicago in 1893. Interestingly, Olmsted was contacted in

1890 by then Superintendent John Wilson, who was seeking the services of a landscape gardener (Olmsted Brothers Correspondence, July 1890). Correspondence from Wilson indicates that Olmsted probably submitted an estimate for preparing a general design, but no work was undertaken.

Olmsted's elder son, John Charles, joined the firm in 1875 and became a partner in 1884. Frederick Law Olmsted Jr. joined the firm in 1894. On Olmsted's retirement in 1898, John Charles and Frederick Jr. formed a new partnership and renamed the firm Olmsted Brothers. The younger Olmsteds promoted their profession by working to found and direct the American Society of Landscape Architects (1899) and to establish professional standards and educational programs. Their firm remained at the forefront of the field of landscape architecture, undertaking over 3,500 commissions of diverse nationwide work including residential, urban parks, university, and city planning projects, and were major contributors in the establishment of state and national park systems (Tishler 1989).

Implementation of the Expansion Plan

With the conclusion of the competition, Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson and Olmsted Brothers were independently contracted by West Point to proceed with the expansion. Progress was rapid. The Superintendent's Reports of the time indicate that the plans for the riding hall, cavalry barracks and stables, artillery barracks and stables, and gun shed were completed and approved in 1904 (USMA 1904). The plans for the cadet barracks, Post headquarters, quartermaster and commissary storehouse and shops, guard and fire engine house, academic building, five triple sets of lieutenants quarters and two double sets of captains quarters were completed and approved by 1905 (USMA 1905). Many buildings would be constructed within 5 years (Table 1).

For almost 10 years the Olmsteds worked with Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson on the careful placement of buildings to minimize grading, prevent destruction of valuable mature vegetation, and take advantage of picturesque views. They would set forth locations of buildings, roads, paths, and other structural features, drainage ways, and overall landscape treatments. Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr. served as the primary contact and worked collaboratively with the architects and West Point officials and engineers to arrive at optimal solutions. On numerous instances in correspondence with West Point, Olmsted Jr. made recommendations to protect mature trees or distinctive vegetation from disturbance by changing building placement and construction methods. For example, he suggested the new cadet barracks be shifted 8 feet to the west to save a row of mature elm trees (Olmsted Brothers Correspondence June 26, 1905).

Table 1. Buildings constructed during the Centennial Expansion.

Building Description	Construction Completion
Captain & Lieutenants' Quarters (bldg. #'s 21,25, 32, 34, 42, 45, 48)	1905
Regulator House (#638)	1907
Quarters (#'s 116, 118, 120, 122)	1908
Cavalry Barracks (#624)	1908
Artillery Barracks (#620)	1908
Cavalry Stables (#626)	1908
Artillery Stables (#622)	1908
Gun Shed (#618)	1908
Post Exchange (#628)	1908
Field Artillery Gun Shed (#618)	1908
Power House (#604)	1909
Headquarters Building (#600)	1909
North Barracks	1909
Bachelor Officers' Quarters (#149)	1909 (1910)
Gymnasium (#727)	1910
Chaplain's Quarters (#60)	1910
Cadet Chapel (#722)	1910
Thayer Hall (Riding Hall) (#601)	1911 (1909)
East Academic Building	1913 (1914)
Officers' Quarters	1929
Cavalry and Artillery Field	Date unknown

The Olmsteds' were not contracted to develop detailed landscape plans for any of the buildings. However, they did draw up a planting plan for the captains' and lieutenants' quarters at their own expense due to the prominent placement of the residences at the junction of Thayer and Williams Roads (Olmsted Brothers Correspondence March 21, 1907). This plan is the only detailed record of the type of plantings introduced at West Point. The planting plan was designed as "a picturesque, informal arrangement of plant life in connection with the buildings and their surroundings" (Olmsted Brothers Correspondence March 1907).

The Olmsteds' General Plan for the Reservation

The Olmsteds' second major responsibility was in the preparation of a general plan. In 1905 they submitted a preliminary version. While the ideas were generally approved, the details, particularly with regard to grading, would undergo numerous changes. Implementation of the plan would occur incrementally and long before the total plan would be finalized. Members of the Olmsted Brothers work force performed a lot of ground work, mostly the thinning of trees that opened up vistas throughout West Point (Olmsted Brothers Correspondence March-Aug., 1908). The final plan was submitted and accepted 1911.

The plan for the Post area was mainly a compilation of the detailed grading plans for new buildings. An accompanying written document encouraged a number of changes regarding vegetation, including:

- Use of lighter textured, narrower growing trees around buildings to allow good views of the architecture and good outlooks from the buildings.
- Planting of trees along roads and walks in an irregular manner, respecting the space available and preventing the blocking of views.
- Increasing the number of evergreen trees for winter effect, particularly on hillsides.
- Thinning excessive vegetation to create glimpses and outlooks over the Hudson River.
- Enriching the woods around Flirtation Walk with woodland flowering herbs, shrubs, and small trees.

The Olmsteds particularly recommended the use of elm trees around the Plain, selecting the tree because it was "well adapted to the soil and climate and most effective in its shape and general character" (Omsted Brothers 1911). Unfortunately, Dutch Elm Disease was soon introduced into the United States. This disease became widespread and devastated many campuses and tree-lined streets throughout the country. Over time, the Academy would lose many English and American Elms around the Plain, and in Academic and housing areas.

The plan for the reservation had two main focuses: (1) the treatment of the large areas of forest vegetation and (2) the development of a system of drives (Olmsted Brothers 1911). Olmsted Brothers felt strongly that the general landscape plan should coordinate with the forest management plan developed in 1905 by the Department of Agriculture's Forest Service. The Forest Service's plan called for thinning of dead and diseased trees for fire protection, cutting of mature trees for use and sale, and creation of a nursery for growing seedlings for reforestation. The Olmsted plan advocated different practices for use around roads and other important scenic features of the reservation. They defined two types of woodlands: "Forest," to be managed with typical commercial forestry methods, and "Park Wood," to be managed for scenic values. These two woodland types were not separated, but were intended to merge into one another based on features and topography. The plan also recommended "breaking up the solid continuous forest with open spaces of differing sizes and shapes," and "increasing the amount of evergreen forest growth…because of its value in the winter landscape" as ways of improving the forest's scenic value.

The proposed system of drives improved circulation between the northern and southern Post areas. But its main purpose was to "open up those sections of the reservation which possess scenery of marked character and also to gain … strik-

ing views out over the country" (Olmsted Brothers 1911). The plan provided a detailed description of these drives, justifying their placement with concerns for grade, and identifying the important physical or vegetative features that gave each route a special character (Figure 31).

The final drafts of the general plan and report for landscape improvements at West Point were submitted on March 6, 1911. The forestry section in the Superintendent's report intermittently states from 1913 to 1919 that the Olmsted plan was being followed, but no specifics were given.

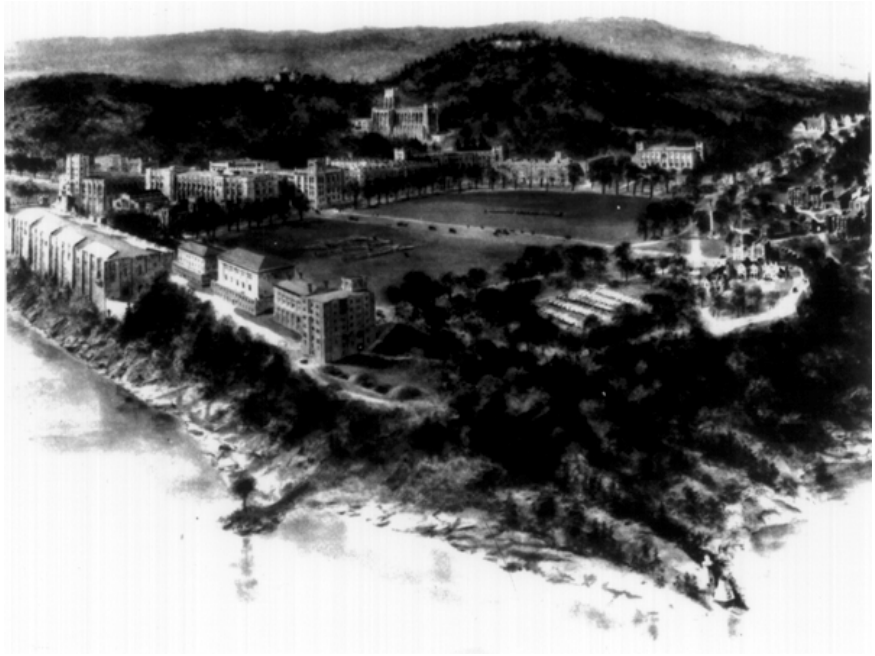
Frederic Law Olmsted Historic Site, Brookline, Mass.

Figure 31. Roads were designed to provide "striking views" as well as improved circulation.

Impact of the Centennial Expansion

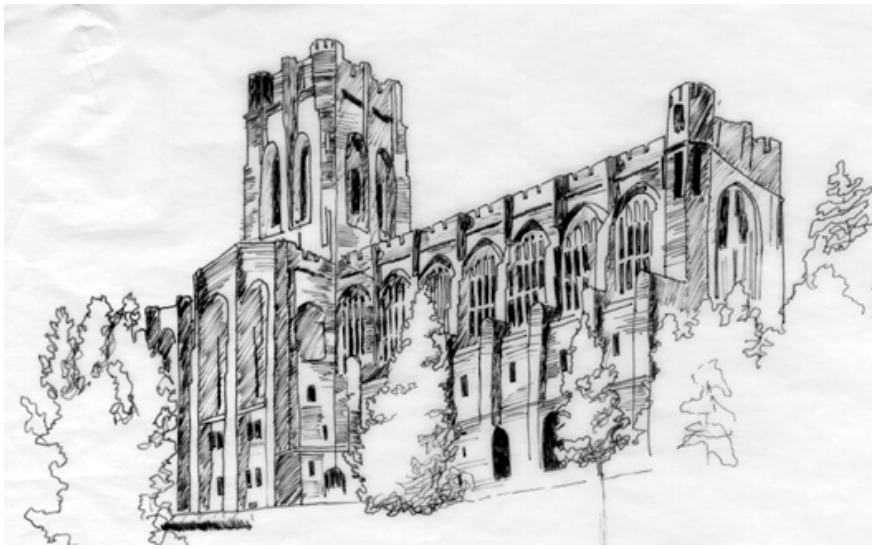
Olmsted Brothers and Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson were successful in addressing the needs of West Point and responding sensitively to the natural environment. The architecture was harmoniously placed into the landscape, as exemplified by the Cadet Chapel as it looms over the Plain on its hillside setting, and the headquarters building that appears to rise out of the existing rock (Figures 32 and 33). Buildings were carefully sited, saving as many trees as possible, and reducing areas that needed to be blasted. Most buildings were constructed out of locally quarried stone. The roads were laid out in response to the natural topography, following contours around hills to eliminate excessively steep grades, and with particular attention paid to views as seen from the roads. The expansion plan was largely faithful to the tradition of siting buildings where the Plain naturally met the forested mountain edge.

There are many historic plans, drawings, and correspondence documenting the recommendations, but little documentation confirming what was finally implemented. Unfortunately the 1920s was a decade of limited construction and map documentation of the Academy property. Two plans of West Point, from 1922 and 1926, are small and show no detail. To determine what was installed of the Olmsted Brothers' plan, topographic maps from 1903 and 1937/8 were compared with the Olmsteds' 1911 plan.



U.S.M.A. Special Collection.

Figure 32. The architecture of West Point was designed to harmonize with the landscape.



USACERL, 1997.

Figure 33. The Cadet Chapel sits on a hillside overlooking the Plain.

The primary result of the centennial expansion was that the Academy acquired a unified image with the implementation of Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson's gothic architecture and the Academy's first professional landscape management plan. But there were secondary effects as well. New buildings placed along the river bluff on the southern edge of the Plain obscured the view down the Hudson from the Plain. And older buildings would be removed to make way for new buildings. For example, the siting of Bartlett Hall required the demolition of the old cadet chapel. In this instance, there were so many objections that instead the chapel was dismantled and reconstructed within the cemetery in 1910.

Significant Landscape Areas

Several landscape areas identifiable today have their beginnings during the Centennial period:

- Cavalry and Artillery Field
- Designation of Forest and Park Woods within the Reservation
- Scenic Roadways
- Thayer/Wilson Housing Area expansion

20th Century Expansion (1930 – 1960s)

Early 20th Century Incremental Change

Following the completion of the centennial plan, the Academy's steady growth in enrollment was met with an incremental development approach. Many attempts would be made to undertake systematic, planned expansions, but improvements were approved only as isolated projects.

The new Hotel Thayer was built in 1925; the old hotel would remain vacant for several years before being demolished in 1932 (Figure 34). A new railway station was constructed along Williams Road near the south waterfront in 1926. The South Apartments, completed in 1929, was the last building designed by the modified firm of Cram & Ferguson (Lange 1984). This architecture firm that had played such an important role in defining the image of the Academy would be passed over for future projects because of a contractual dispute. The design for Washington Hall, a new cadet mess sited between the two barracks areas, was done by William Gehron in 1929 (Crackel 1991). In 1931 Grant Hall, a barracks and visitor's reception lounge designed by Gehron & Ross, was built on the site of the 1850s mess hall (Lange 1984).

A 1936 increase in the size of the cadet corps to over 1900 created an immediate need for facilities, though still not as significant as during the centennial expansion. In 1938 Scott Barracks was built behind the North Barracks. The new barracks and an addition to the east academic building were designed by Paul Cret in a Gothic style complimentary to the existing buildings. Also constructed were some facility buildings, a new south gate, and an addition to the Catholic Chapel (Lange 1984).

U.S.M.A. Archives.

Figure 34. The new Hotel Thayer was built in 1925.

The debate over relocating the Superintendent's Quarters would continue throughout this period. The issue was often temporarily resolved with improvements to the existing quarters, such as additions in the 1870s, 1890s, 1900s, and 1920s (Grashof 1984). In 1936 Superintendent and Mrs. William D. Connor, with funds contributed by General Robert E. Wood, pursued the first formal plans for the garden (Crackel 1991). The area had long been used for outdoor receptions, with flower beds, a green house, and a vegetable garden. The Connors hired Ellen Biddle Shipman, a well-known professional landscape architect, to develop a plan. Shipman's design for a formal, intricate planting enclosed by a brick wall was implemented by the forestry department at West Point. The garden became an important site for Academy gatherings; in 1988 it would be enlarged to accommodate more guests (Superintendent's Garden Brochure, no date) (Figure 35).

The 1930s was also a period of significant increase in faculty quarters. Fourteen sets of brick duplexes, designed by the Quartermaster, were constructed just east of Lusk Reservoir in 1932 (Lange 1984). At the north end of the Post more than

50 units were built in three groups of slightly different design and configurations. The most notable of these groupings is the officers' family housing known as Lee Gate area. These brick duplexes are organized into clusters in a park-like setting typical of 1930s suburban developments (Figures 36, 37 and 38).

U.S.M.A. Archives.

Figure 35. Formal gardens at the Superintendent's house designed by Ellen Biddle Shipman.

USACERL, 1996.

Figure 36. Lee Gate area houses built in the 1930s.

U.S.M.A. Special Collections.

Figure 37. Aerial view of the Lee Gate area housing.

USACERL, 1997.

Figure 38. Lee Gate area officer's family housing.

New buildings were constructed in the south Post drill area as the emphasis on cavalry training diminished. The original configuration developed with the centennial plan was a semi-circle of six Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson buildings: barracks, stables, a gun shed, and branch exchange. These buildings bounded the west edge of an open field. A light-gun shop, storehouse, and firehouse were added between 1939 and 1945 at the northern edge of the field (Lange 1984). The area was used for cadet training in cavalry and artillery tactics from 1907

until 1946, when cavalry regiments were deactivated and the area began being used for recreational activities. It was officially named Buffalo Soldiers Field in 1973 in honor of the 9th and 10th Cavalry Regiments who assisted with training (Figure 39).

U.S.M.A. Special Collections.

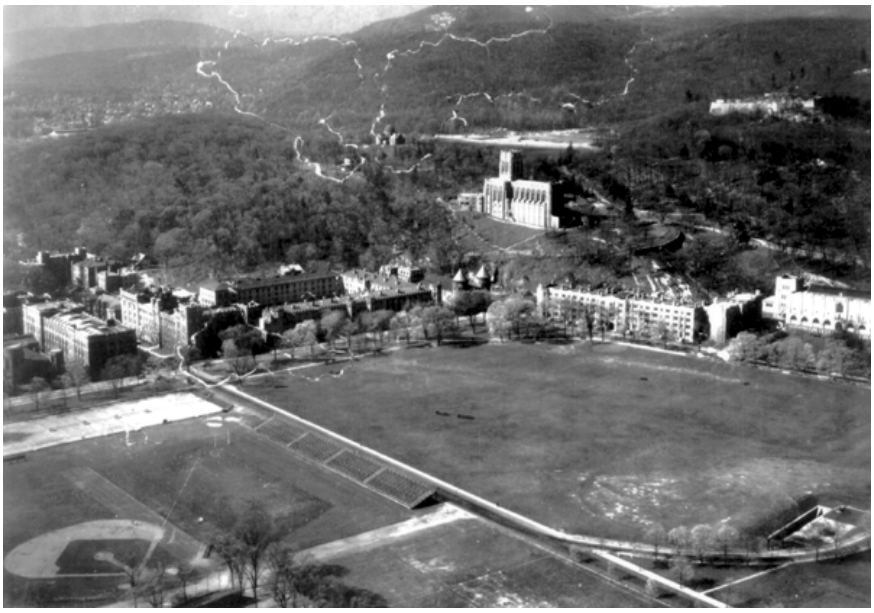
Figure 39. Buffalo Soldiers Field.

In 1943 when the authorized number of cadets was raised to 2400, Academy officials felt it was time for a comprehensive evaluation (Crackel 1991). An architectural competition was held to design barracks, an academic building, an auditorium, a memorial hall, nurses quarters, and a cadet mess hall (Lange 1984). Construction never proceeded, probably due to lack of funding as a result of World War II.

Athletic Field Development

Throughout this period, the constant increase in athletic activities would put a premium on open space. The Plain would slowly be altered and subdivided for sports fields, courts, and supporting facilities. New tennis courts and playing fields, along with the existing baseball field, would overtake almost half of the historic parade and drill area (Figure 40). Bleachers were installed at several places along the Plain's northern edge, and alongside Thayer Road.

In 1924 a football stadium was built directly west of Lusk Reservoir. It was named Michie Stadium after 1892 USMA graduate Dennis Mahan Michie, the coach, captain, and a player in the first football game against Navy in 1890 (Osborne 1971).



U.S.M.A. Special Collections.

Figure 40. Increased athletic activities transformed drill and practice fields on the Plain.

In 1937, the Army Athletic Association began building fields over the old polo flats. When all available space for fields was used up, the Athletic Association decided to level what was then Target Hill and create an infill for athletic fields north of the Plain. Excavation began in July 1944. By August 1945, when the project was completed, a million yards of earth had been moved and used for fill at the North Athletic Field (USMA Association of Graduates 1946). No records documenting a similar infill below the south edge of the Plain were found. A review of old photos shows that some time between 1933 and 1950 the river below the riding hall, mess hall, Cullum Memorial Hall, and the BOQ was infilled; by 1964 this area was dedicated to tennis courts.

1960s Expansion

Comprehensive studies for expansion were finally pursued during the 1950s as West Point continued to grow. In 1957 the architecture-engineering firm of Eggers & Higgins completed a series of expansion schemes. Many were considered unsuitable because they proposed off-site expansion or the demolition of historic buildings such as the Superintendent's Quarters, Professors' Row, Cullum Hall, and the Officers' Mess (USMA 1963). In 1959 one scheme was approved for further consideration; it retained many of the historic structures but placed new cadet facilities at the north end of the Plain, raising questions about how distance between cadet quarters might impact "cadet homogeneity and esprit."

In the late 1950s, plans were approved for the development of a new library. With space at a premium the decision was made to put it on the site of the old

library. The 120-year old building, constructed under Delafield and symbolizing the Gothic tradition, was torn down in 1960 (Lange 1984). The new library, designed by Gehron & Seltzer in the Gothic style, was completed in 1964.

In July, 1960 Major General William C. Westmoreland became the Superintendent of the Military Academy. Westmoreland was already interested in the expansion planning before he came to West Point. His goal was to provide even greater growth, and increase the Academy from approximately 2400 to 4400 cadets (Crackel 1991). He recognized that this would require considerable change, and early on he organized a full-time expansion planning group chaired by Colonel Charles R. Broshous, head of the Department of Earth, Space, and Graphic Sciences.

Westmoreland was directed by the Department of the Army to "make recommendations concerning 'an incremental expansion of existing facilities or provision of new facilities in the proximity of the existing ones'" (USMA 1963). He gave careful consideration to the schemes previously developed, but quickly dismissed them. In the Plan for Expansion Westmoreland briefly and succinctly summarized his reasoning on the need to develop a new approach:

> West Point has assumed greatness and beauty with age. It is not surprising that the unique interest and importance attached to West Point has in the past appreciably complicated the preparation of plans for modernization and expansion of the Academy's physical facilities. Age and tradition have competed with progress, at times to the detriment of the latter.

The Plan also was clear in defining the Superintendent's guidance on concepts of the expansion:

- Minimize time and distance factors related to cadet movements, and preserve the homogeneity of the Corps of Cadets.
- Preserve existing facilities as much as possible, but buildings which are antiquated, obsolete, and inefficient will be rehabilitated or removed in support of progress.
- Optimize premium real estate.
- Limit congestion in the Cadet Area by constructing only facilities directly related to cadet requirements.
- Expand the road system and parking facilities to provide for the increasing numbers of tourists.

The main point for development was to modernize and expand the cadet barracks and mess facilities in their existing locations, with minimal encroachment on the Plain (USMA 1963). Other plans included renovation and additions to the

cadet gymnasium, a new academic building, new facilities for cadet receptions and assemblies, and changes to circulation around the Plain.

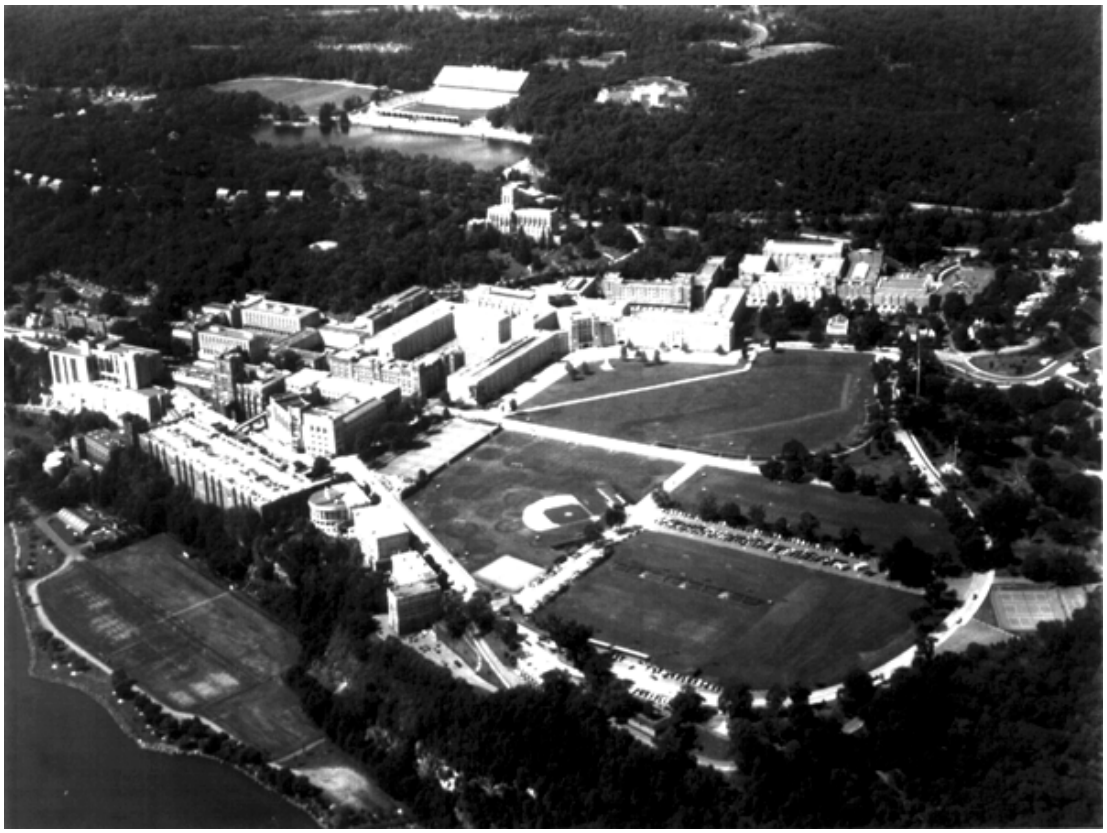
Westmoreland and Broshous had strong support for their efforts; President John F. Kennedy even lobbied for the passage of the plan (Crackel 1991). Westmoreland, however, left West Point in 1963 before the project was authorized. Major General James B. Lampert became the next Superintendent took over the project's development.

In 1964 Congress approved a cadet corps expansion of almost 100 percent (Lange 1984). The New York based architecture firm of O'Connor and Kilham was hired to design Washington Hall and additional barracks and to oversee the initial planning of the entire expansion operation (Crackel 1991). Construction focused on the Washington Hall complex from 1965 to 1969 (Lange 1984). The complex consisted of a significant enlargement to the mess hall and wings of new barracks attached to the existing barracks. This revision affected the historic integrity of the Academic area by replacing historic structures and encroaching over 100 feet onto the Plain's parade area.

USACERL, 1997.

Figure 41. The Washington Hall complex was constructed in the 1960s.

Circulation around the Plain was affected as well. Photos show that between 1965 and 1990 the portion of Thayer Road that crossed the Plain was eliminated. Vehicles traveling north on Thayer Road did not have access to the Plain (Figure 42). The smooth, flowing line of Cullum Road around the Plain's perimeter remained intact, but the inner circulation network became disconnected. Numerous walkways filtered around the various athletic spaces.



U.S.M.A. Special Collections.

Figure 42. Aerial view of the Plain showing Thayer Road and the playing fields.

During Lampert's appointment, while excavating for Eisenhower Barracks in 1965, workers discovered the foundations of the old Academy building built in 1815 and destroyed by fire in 1838. Lampert noted how interesting it was "'that the new building will represent a return to the general line on the Plain'" (Crackel 1991).

Significant Landscape Areas

Several landscape areas identifiable today have their beginnings during the 20th century expansion period:

- Lee Housing Area
- Lusk Housing Area
- Superintendent's Garden
- South Fill
- Buffalo Soldiers Field (formerly Cavalry and Artillery Field)
- Target Hill Athletic Field
- North Athletic Fields.

3 Historic Landscape Evaluation

The Plain

Location. The Plain is a 70-acre plateau situated more than 150 feet above the west bank of the Hudson River. Its north and east boundaries are defined by the steep drop down to the river, while its south and west boundaries are defined by steep rise of the Hudson Highlands mountain range.

Period of Significance. 1778 through 1910s and 1960s.

Past Land Uses. Fortifications, military training, parades, athletics, leisure grounds, summer camp, special events, and commemorations.

Present Land Uses. Military training, parades, athletics, leisure grounds, commemorations, parking, formal viewing stands.

Significance. Criteria A - Revolutionary War, establishment of U.S. Military Academy.

Criteria B - George Washington, Thaddeus Kosciuszko, Sylvanus Thayer, Richard Delafield, Charles Larned, Albert Mills, William Westmoreland.

Criteria C – A unique military cultural landscape.

Historic resources are typically thought of as buildings or archeological sites. In the case of West Point, however, it is the landscape that far surpasses the buildings as a significant historic property. Of outstanding significance are the Plain, the views, the mountains, and the river. These aspects embody the West Point landscape – one of the most significant military landscapes in the country. If one or all of these aspects disappear, the integrity of West Point would be lost.

The Plain has been the heart of West Point since the Revolution. The level ground provided an ideal landscape for military training as well as for constructing fortifications, buildings, and roads. The Plain is a designed landscape, though not in the typical sense as no one designer or design style influenced the layout. Rather, the Plain's design resulted from a long history of decision-

making by those responsible for the birth and establishment of West Point as one of the world's premiere military academies.

The Plain reflects the cultural traditions of the Military Academy through continuous land use patterns, placement of buildings, views, and organization of space. Since its earliest period, military structures hugged the Plain's southern edge to preserve as much open land as possible. Early decisions to reserve open, flat land for military training were for purely functional reasons as open, flat land has always been scarce in the West Point vicinity. The curve of Washington Road was intentionally laid out along the perimeter of Execution Hollow around 1870. Though the hollow was later filled in, the curving roadway defined the northern edge of the Parade Ground until the 1980s when Thayer Road was blocked. Athletic fields appeared on the Plain's north and east sides in the 19th century and are still present today.

Though the buildings have changed, the open landscape remains largely intact and the Plain's integrity is high. But there are two serious threats that must be considered: the disappearance of the Parade Ground curve and the appearance of contemporary physical elements including tall chain link fences, bleachers, automobiles, and poorly placed parking lots.

Contributing Features. Flat topography, historic river views, historic architecture, Fort Clinton site, old hotel laundry building, Trophy Point, Battle Monument, curved pathways north of Cullum Road, Apron and diagonal walk, rows of trees on Apron, monuments.

Non-contributing Features. Parking areas, cars, chain link fences and railings, earth fill and parking on top of Fort Clinton, inconsistent sidewalk paving, Clinton Field athletic lights and bleachers blocking view to Plain and Fort Putnam, undefined parade ground edge, inconsistency in trees on Apron.

Landscape Development During Periods of Significance

During the Revolution, the flat topography was one of the determining factors for selecting West Point as a fortification site. Besides the strategic location of West Point, this nearly level land provided a suitable area for siting buildings and conducting military training. When the first enlisted men arrived to garrison West Point in the winter of 1778 there were no houses in the vicinity, and the Plain was covered with waist-high snow (The 1802d Special Regiment 1948). Some early accounts also reveal the existence of elm trees (Berard 1886).

Initially the Plain was covered with a growth of yellow pines 10 to 15 feet high and rough stone boulders. The trees were cleared, and the boulders used to construct fortifications (The 1802d Special Regiment 1948). Two forts were constructed on the Plain: Fort Sherburne, in the area now known as Trophy Point, and Fort Clinton, on the Plain's eastern point. Some barracks were built within the parapets of Fort Clinton, but Long Barracks was constructed at the Plain's northern edge, commanding a dramatic view of the Hudson River (Pappas 1993). West of Long Barracks was a cluster of buildings: the post office, contractor's store, tailor's shop, and officers' quarters. Other officers' quarters and the military storekeeper's quarters were located against the steep slopes of the hills to the south. On the Plain was a large depression known as Execution Hollow, apparently used for executing traitors during the war. At the edge of the hollow stood the "old Provost," a Revolutionary War prison (Crackel 1991).

The Post headquarters, built around 1780, was situated on the western edge of the Plain near an office that stood on the edge of a small hollow. At the close of the Revolution this hollow contained a mound that had been formed to celebrate the birth of Dauphin of France. To the south of this relic was the headquarters that was once the residence of General Knox. The front of this residence was used as a model yard and contained a miniature fortress made of wood. In his memoirs, Cadet Joseph Swift wrote that he and another cadet planted 12 elm trees around this yard. At the base of Fort Putnam Hill were the quarters of Lieutenant Colonel Stephen Rochefontaine's, a foreign field grade officer with training in engineering and artillery; a paved footpath led from here across the Plain to Long Barracks (Swift 1890).

No additional structures were constructed on the Plain until after the Revolutionary War. Below the Plain and to the northwest were the military stores, along with the armory and the armorer's residence. These structures stood until some time in the 1830s or 1840s. About 60 feet below the eastern edge of the Plain, on a small rocky terrace, was Kosciuszko's Garden.

Between the War and the establishment of the Academy in 1802, the only construction for the Post were a shop and a laboratory at the south end of the Plain, and a hospital on the terrace below and west of the Plain. The fortifications fell into disrepair, especially Fort Clinton (Crackel 1991). After 1790, a small engineering school was established at West Point and gunnery experiments began on the Plain. The old Provost served as an instruction building until it was destroyed by fire in 1796 (Pappas 1993).

From Gee's Point, the eastern most point of West Point (jutting out to the river), a road ran along the southern boundary of the Plain, along the bank of the Hud-

son to Buttermilk Falls and to Fort Montgomery. This road passed through the farm of Esquire North whose house and tavern, built in 1796, stood just outside the Post at the south edge of the Plain.

There was limited construction in the first years following the establishment of the Academy. The old headquarters building served as an academy building until 1815, then as housing for the Superintendent until new quarters were built. It was destroyed sometime after 1820. Long Barracks was refurbished and used as cadet barracks until new barracks were constructed. In 1815, the cadet mess, a new Academy building, and South Barracks began to define the southern edge of the Plain. North Barracks, built in 1817, was placed perpendicular to South Barracks. In the same year, a Quartermaster's office was built east of North Barracks and several other officers' quarters were erected to the southeast of the present Superintendent's quarters (Crackel 1991).

In 1817, Colonel Sylvanus Thayer assumed the responsibilities of Superintendent of the Military Academy. The conflicts that arose during the Academy's first 15 years left Thayer with three major problems: a lack of educational order, lack of discipline, and the poor physical condition of the Academy (Pappas 1993). Throughout his 16-year tenure as Superintendent, Thayer actively worked to make West Point not only a well-functioning and well-respected military school but also a social and cultural center. Thayer's building program was a key in establishing the Plain as the central focus of the Academy.

Thayer realized that additional land was required to train the cadets in infantry and artillery tactics. With the Post boundaries rigidly defined by mountains and the river, the only suitable area was the Plain. However, parts of the Plain were not usable due to the presence of hollows, boulders, and stones. The many hollows in and around the Plain often filled with water. In the winter months these would freeze and were used by the cadets for skating. Two of the hollows, including a shallow hollow near the South Barracks (the principal skating area) and a large pond west of the present Superintendent's garden, held water all year long (Pappas 1993).

To improve the Plain, small hollows were filled and boulders cleared away. Many of the boulders were too large to be moved and were demolished on site. The duplex houses (now known as Professors' Row) built in the 1820s at the northwest edge of the Plain were constructed with the rubble of the many large boulders removed from the Plain and with stone excavated on site (Pappas 1993).

One large boulder near the present library was spared at the request of cadets and graduates to preserve an early tradition. The night before leaving the Acad-

emy, the graduating class would form a procession and march to this rock with their drawing boards, tables, and other items on their shoulders. They piled all these articles and their private property on the rock and set them on fire. The cadets then danced and sang around the fire until everything had burned (Pappas 1993).

Until 1820, the summer camp had been located close to the Superintendent's quarters. Following the removal of the many rocks and boulders in the Fort Clinton area, the campsite was moved to the northeast corner of the Plain. Hedges were planted around the campsite to close off the area from public view and interference. The old location of the summer camp became the parade ground, while guard mount and drilling continued to be held near the barracks (Pappas 1993).

There were several gardens on the Plain. Behind the mess hall and on the site of the old cadet barracks was a small cadet garden, a supplement to the larger gardens northwest of the Plain on the German Flats (Berard 1886). The Thompson house* located near the service area, was a low cottage covered with honeysuckle, and surrounded by flower beds, roses, and many other varieties of shrubs.

Large trees were common on the Plain. One account reveals that a locust tree on the Plain, within 50 feet of the old camp site, was struck down by lightning in 1819. This tree was apparently used for picketing soldiers, a punishment once permitted in the regular army (Latrobe 1887). In 1833, a local man by the name of Cronk planted an elm tree in a small triangular patch near the Superintendent's quarters in honor of Sylvanus Thayer (Pappas 1993).

The elm trees planted by Swift became landmarks on the Plain. New construction continued around them; for a while they shaded the entrance to the quarters of the Professor of Engineering, and the front door of the cadet mess hall. Before 1824, cadets sometimes had their July 4th dinners under these trees.

In 1828, after years of requests, Thayer finally gained approval to establish a hotel. He had long pursued the idea, believing that encouraging and accommodating visitors to the Academy would be key in gaining public and congressional

* The Thompsons moved to the house in 1838. It is one of the few structures that survived the Revolutionary War. From 1808 to 1878 the Thompsons provided meals for a small number of privileged cadets (Crackle 1991).

support. Thayer chose the former site of the Long Barracks, destroyed by fire in 1826, as the ideal location for the West Point Hotel. The hotel would be close to the docks for the convenience of the visitors, and far enough away from the Academic area to not be a distraction for the cadets. The hotel, completed in 1829, commanded a breath-taking view of both the Hudson River and the Academic area. Many distinguished guests were entertained at this hotel (Pappas 1993).

During 1828 to 1833 permanent roads were constructed on the Plain. The road in front of the old Academy and officers' quarters was extended due east past the cadet mess, the Academy building, and South Barracks. At the east edge of the Plain, the road terminated and joined a second road. This road traveled north to Fort Clinton, and around the northern edge of the Plain to the hotel. To the south, the road extended to Gridley's tavern, passed the hospital, and traveled south off the Post (Church 1879).

By the end of Thayer's term in 1833, most of the Plain had been leveled, with the exception of Execution Hollow (Pappas 1993). Most of the boulders were used in building projects, but some were pulverized for use on roads or as land fill. Ruins of the Long Barracks and the old Provost were removed and the debris dumped in the camp hollow. An icehouse was nestled in Execution Hollow, low enough to avoid most of the sunlight. Grass had been planted in the parade area, but the remainder of the Plain was rough ground, suitable only for artillery drill. There were still some springs and pumps near the barracks, but water was piped to the quarters and barracks from Delafield Pond.

In 1836, under the direction of Superintendent DeRussy, the Cadet Chapel was constructed. It lay a little south east of the barracks, facing north. The new Academic and Exercise Hall was ready for use in September of 1838 and this too lay south of the road that ran along the Cadet Mess, Academy, and South Barracks. The practice of siting all buildings for cadet activities along the southern edge of the Plain established a pattern that has been followed to this day (Pappas 1993).

Major Richard Delafield, DeRussy's successor as Superintendent in 1838, put careful consideration into physical development of the Military Academy. Perhaps his most important contribution was his choice of Tudor Gothic architecture as the style appropriate for a military institution. He also established a pattern that influenced future construction at West Point when he decided to use locally quarried granite for the walls of the library (Pappas 1993). His first building project, the Library, stood at the intersection of the two main roads at the southeastern edge of the Plain. He also built the Ordnance Compound (constructed in

1840 at the site of the old Post Office), tailor and shoemaker shops, and quarters northwest of the Plain.

As early as 1839, Delafield proposed to erect new barracks and a mess hall on the bluff above the Hudson River, at the present site of Cullum Hall. Professor Mahan convinced him that this was not a good location because it would be difficult for the cadets to march to class during the winter months. He then selected a site adjacent to, and west of, the Academic building. Though built after his superintendency, the barracks were constructed based on his plans (Pappas 1993). He had also advocated remodeling Fort Clinton for use as an ordnance laboratory but this was never implemented.

Captain Henry Brewerton succeeded Delafield in 1845. In addition to completing Delafield's plans for the barracks, Brewerton oversaw the grading of the Plain, and the construction of the south wharf and its access road (Crackel 1991). The old North and South Barracks were demolished in 1849 and 1851 respectively. From then on, all new buildings were constructed to the south of the east-west road, thus preserving the largest open area of the Plain. This clear separation of the Academic Area and the Plain was unchanged for the next 100 years. Some time after the demolition of North Barracks, Thayer Road was constructed; it created a direct route between the cadet area and the hotel.

During Robert E. Lee's term as Superintendent (1852-1855), the entire Plain west of the artillery and cavalry drill area near Fort Clinton was sodded. The Mortar Battery, built by the "sappers and miners," stood near Execution Hollow and was used for the instruction of cadets (Bailey 1891). Lee also directed the construction of the first riding hall (1854) and stables (1855) along the eastern edge of the Plain, set into the bluff above the Hudson.

Benson J. Lossing traveled the Hudson River in the 1860s and visited West Point. One aspect he found particularly remarkable were the views, especially from the Hotel. Lossing (1866) described them as:

> [V]ery pleasing in almost every direction. The one northward, similar to that from the Siege Battery, is the finest. Westward takes in the Laboratory, Lieutenant-Colonel Wood's Monument, a part of the shaded walk along the northern margin of the plain, and Mount Independence, crowned with the ruins of Fort Putnam. Southward the view comprehends the entire Parade, and glimpses, through the trees, of the Academy, the Chapel, the Mess Hall, and other buildings.

He also described the restoration of the earthworks at Fort Clinton, "exactly upon their ancient site...with the beautiful trees growing within their green banks, a very pleasant object from every point of view." It is not known exactly when this restoration occurred, but it is possible that Delafield accomplished this during his second term as Superintendent, from 1856 to 1861.

A review of historic maps and photos shows an alteration to the roadways traversing the Plain around 1870. The road at the northern edge of the Plain divided at the western edge of Execution Hollow; the new fork curved southward around the perimeter of the Hollow until it joined with Thayer Road near the center of the Plain. This appears to have been implemented to improve circulation between the south entrance and the Post facilities northwest of the Plain.

The Civil War era saw a temporary stall in physical growth at West Point. However, growth and change resumed towards the end of the century. In 1881, the primary mode of transportation shifted from the river to the railway when the West Shore Railroad came through West Point by tunneling under the Plain. The rumble of trains necessitated the unplanned relocation of the Observatory to the Lusk Reservoir area. Other buildings were demolished to provide room for new buildings. These additions lacked the concepts of planning and architectural consistency from Delafield's expansion efforts; as a result the era is referred to as the "period of architectural experimentation." The old Academic Building was demolished in 1891, to make room for a new, larger building in the same location. The cadet barracks were enlarged with a south wing in 1882. A new gymnasium was constructed in 1891 on the west edge of the Plain, and a new hospital on the south. Execution Hollow provided a convenient space for tennis courts during this time. In 1894, Battle Monument was erected on the west edge of the Plain in the area now called Trophy Point. The monument commemorating soldiers of the Civil War was designed by well-known architects McKim, Mead, and White.

The turn of the century marked the beginning of a period of major change at the Academy. In 1902, Superintendent Albert Mills initiated an architectural competition. The winning design, submitted by Cram, Goodhue, and Ferguson, made a return to the Tudor Gothic style. Many new buildings were constructed within the Academic Area, often replacing existing structures. Several professors' quarters, south of the Superintendent's quarters, were demolished to make room for the North Barracks in 1909. The Old Chapel was moved from the Plain to the cemetery in 1910, and the east Academic building was erected in its place. Extensive development of the eastern edge of the Plain also occurred. A new Riding Hall (1911) was sited at the southernmost edge of the Plain. The West

Point Army Mess was built in 1903, just south of Cullum Hall (1890s) and the Bachelor Officers' Quarters just north in 1910.

The Olmsted Brothers served as landscape architects on the project. They proposed the use of American and English elms and sugar maples on the Plain and along drives to create a more formal setting and to provide shade (Olmsted Brothers 1911). They also proposed thinning of trees along the edge of the Plain to open up views to the Hudson River, and introducing smaller flowering trees to improve the scenic value of Flirtation Walk.

The implementation of the centennial plan substantially changed the character of West Point. The larger, more imposing buildings provided a strong image of the military, and the arrangement of buildings provided a sense of cohesion. The "New West Point" was praised as an important architectural achievement.

In the 1960s the Army planned a substantial expansion at the Academy, doubling the size of the cadet corps. This called for a comprehensive evaluation of facilities. Superintendent William Westmoreland and planning chairman Colonel Charles Broshous intended to develop a plan that provided a "single integrated facility in the immediate vicinity of the existing structures on the plain" (USMA 1963). The most difficult task was to double the capacity of the dining hall, cadet activity rooms, and barracks within the existing Academic Area. The approach chosen expanded the existing barracks and dining hall northward, moving these structures some 100 feet onto the open area of the Plain.

This was a significant change since the southern boundary had been observed for over 100 years. But in another way the "encroachment" may be considered a return to the original arrangement. The excavation for the construction of the new barracks in 1965 revealed the foundations of the old Academy building built in 1815. Major General James B. Lampert, who oversaw the implementation of the 1960s expansion, noted that "'the new building will represent a return to the general line on the plain'" established with the first permanent building constructed on the Plain (Crackel 1991).

Use of the remaining area of the Plain was also modified. The baseball, football, soccer, and lacrosse fields, the tennis courts, and the parade grounds were reorganized (O' Connor et al. 1966). A diagonal road joining Thayer and Washington Roads was proposed to provide a short cut across the Plain for maintenance access to the spectator stands (O' Connor et al. 1966). It was placed so as to retain the maximum parade formation area and encroach as little as possible on the play field area (O' Connor et al. 1966). The plan recommended that Trophy Point be "rearranged and re-landscaped in conjunction with Amphitheater and road

developments" laid out in the plan. Trophy Point included the area from the old Ordnance Compound to Fort Clinton. A decision was made to treat this as a "historic area" with an integrated, park-like design. Some of the landscape recommendations included screening of remaining utility buildings, cutting back of vegetation to open views to the Hudson, introducing small flowering trees, and siting of trophies and monuments.

Landscape Development During Periods of Non-Significance

There is a 50-year non-significant period between the centennial expansion and the 1960s expansion. Physical growth at the Academy was limited, though the cadet corps continued to expand. During the 1930s the only noteworthy change to the Plain was the demolition of the West Point Hotel in 1932, six years after its replacement, the Hotel Thayer, was constructed to the south.

The most significant changes following the 1960s expansion relate to circulation. The section of Thayer Road crossing the Plain was removed in the 1980s to eliminate vehicular traffic across the Plain. The diagonal road constructed in the 1960s expansion was removed. The road between Clinton Field and Daly Field was closed to through traffic to provide additional parking. Part of Doubleday Road was also closed. At some point during the early 1900s Execution Hollow was filled and leveled.

Current Landscape Description

The Plain continues to be used for military tactics, training, and athletic activities, though the layouts of fields have been modified. The area closest to the Washington Hall complex serves as a parade field for cadet formations and drills. A walkway currently delineating the parade field area is open to the public. Metal bleachers arranged in a U-shape were added for spectator seating. Additional bleachers were added alongside other sports fields, along with chain link fencing and field lights.

At Trophy Point, some of the vegetation has been cleared to open up views of the Hudson; there are two mature English elms in this area that may date back to the turn of the century or earlier. The Amphitheater lies in between Battle Monument and the old Ordnance Compound.

An alley of shade trees standing in front of Washington Hall is comprised of sugar and Norway maples, sycamores, lindens, sweetgums, red oak, thornless common honeylocust, and ginkgos.

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Flirtation Walk

Location. Flirtation Walk is a shady, rocky woodland path approximately three-quarters of a mile long, traversing the cliff rising from the Hudson River as it bends around West Point. North access to the walk is just north of Battle Monument. The path descends to the river bank, travels eastward to Gee's Point, rounds the Point and travels south. Today the south access is from the parking area behind Lincoln Hall (the former Bachelor Officers' Quarters).

Period of Significance. 1778 through 1911.

Past Land Uses. Originally 'Chain Battery Walk,' a path to access batteries along the river. Later renamed 'Flirtation Walk,' a favorite place for cadets to walk, especially with female companions.

Present Land Uses. Scenic walking and jogging path used by cadets and their visitors.

Significance

Criteria A – Revolutionary War.

Criteria C – A unique military cultural landscape.

Flirtation Walk (Chain Battery Walk) is associated with the fortification of West Point during the Revolutionary War. The engineer primarily responsible for the erection of the fortifications was Polish General Thaddeus Kosciuszko. During the Revolutionary War, water batteries were laid out along Chain Battery Walk. On a large rocky cliff along the walk is where the great chain was stretched across the Hudson over to Constitution Island during the American Revolution. It was part of a system of fortifications that was designed to defend West Point and the Hudson River from British attack. Since the establishment of the Academy, Flirtation Walk was associated with the military culture at West Point. It has been a favorite spot of cadets for entertaining their lady guests, thus the path was nicknamed "Flirtation Walk" (Figure 43).

U.S.M.A. Special Collections.

Figure 43. The path along the cliff is nicknamed "Flirtation Walk."

Contributing Features. Paths and batteries, rock engravings, views — especially at batteries and redoubts, Kissing Rock, woodland vegetation.

Non-contributing features. Warning light at Gee's Point, class gifts and commemorative areas, overgrown vegetation at batteries and redoubts, asphalt paths, graffiti.

Landscape Development During Periods of Significance

The base of the cliffs descending from the Plain was the site of four battery fortifications during the Revolutionary War. Built in 1778, these batteries were the main line of defense for the river (Crackel 1991). The northernmost battery, Chain Battery, was located above a small cove west of Gee's Point; this was the anchoring point for the chain stretching across the river to Constitution Island (Board of Officers 1908). The second battery, Lanthorne, was located above Gee's Point. Two other batteries were located on the cliff on the east side of the Plain. These appear not to have been specifically named, or were referred to merely as water batteries, with the tag "north" or "south" to distinguish between them (Board of Officers 1908, Crackel 1991). The arrangement of the batteries was designed to provide continuous fire on any ship attempting to breach the chain (Crackel 1991). What little vegetation grew along the rocky cliff was cleared to improve surveillance of the river from the batteries.

The batteries were accessible from a path traversing the cliff named Chain Battery Walk. The initial purpose of the walk was purely functional. In fact, early maps from the Revolutionary era make no indication of a connecting path, but

show only the batteries themselves. Though the path would have been used frequently, to allow soldiers to access the batteries and deliver supplies, it is likely that it was little more than a compacted earthen trail.

After the Revolution, the lack of references to either the batteries or the walk indicates that the path probably fell into disuse and became overgrown. For example, in his memoirs Joseph Gardner Swift, one of the first graduates of the Academy, makes no mention of the path, though he apparently explored the cliffs somewhat since he found Kosciuszko's Garden. Other journals and early accounts also do not mention the path. The cliff-side probably appeared inaccessible and uninteresting to visitors and Post residents. And since this part of West Point was off limits to cadets, it is likely the walk, and the batteries, were forgotten.

It was difficult to determine the original entrance and route of the paths. The paths don't begin to appear on maps until well after the establishment of the Academy. An 1815 map shows what was probably the south entrance from the Plain, a path which began half way between Fort Clinton and what was then the south boundary of the Post. This path did not connect to the south battery, and terminated at Gee's Point. The north end of the path probably started from Fort Sherburne, a fortification west of Fort Clinton and Long Barracks, and traversed the cliff to Chain Battery. Paths on the north cliff first appear on an 1830 map. This map shows a path that descended almost due north from the old fortification site, joined with a connecting path from the docks to the west, and terminated at the water's edge.

It seems that Superintendent Richard Delafield deserves the credit for "rediscovering" and promoting Chain Battery Walk. Some time during his first superintendency, between 1833 and 1838, he extended the cadet authorized area to include the walk (Pappas 1993). He must also have undertaken some work on the path, because maps after this time show a well-defined path connecting around Gee's Point.

A review of historical maps shows that the path probably evolved over several decades. An 1844 map of West Point is the first map found that indicates the locations of both the batteries and a connecting path. On this map, the north path was actually two trails. One began from the north docks area and followed the coastline. The second descended in an easterly direction from the Plain near Execution Hollow (this is probably the original north entrance). These two paths joined just east of Chain Battery where a single path then continued around Gee's Point. At the north water battery, the path divided again into two trails. One trail ascended to the Plain at what was probably the original entrance. The

second continued on past the south water battery and Kosciuszko's Garden and ascended south of the library.

Delafield returned to the Academy for a second superintendency from 1856 to 1861. Several other changes occurred along the walk in the late 1850s, indicating again Delafield's role in preserving West Point history. Battery Knox was constructed along the path "by the cadets" (Lossing 1866). Though it appears to not have affected the route of the walk, it was apparently constructed over the site of the south water battery so that no remnant remained (Board of Officers 1908). Delafield is also credited with directing inscriptions of the names of Revolutionary and Mexican War battles in the rocks along the path in 1857 or 1858 (Memo, Weiss, March 12, 1964). An example of this inscription is visible near the site of Chain Battery, where a Mexican War Battle is commemorated: "Resaca de la Palma May 9 1846."

By 1863, the two north trails reappear, the upper route obviously convenient from the hotel, the lower route connecting from the docks. The south trail no longer includes the short path up to the Plain before the south battery, but has extended even further to the 1855 stables and riding hall.

It is not clear when Chain Battery Walk was renamed Flirtation Walk, although it is believed to have been about the time of the Civil War (Memo, Stevenson, April 11, 1964). A short story printed in 1852 referred to the walk as "Lovers' Walk." A few years later, Benson J. Lossing referred to it by its now popular name, but provided only a brief reference to the walk as it related to Kosciuszko's Garden: "From this quiet solitary retreat, a pathway, appropriately called Flirtation Walk, leads up to the plain" (Lossing 1866). By 1880, it had become a place of romantic legend:

> Flirtation Walk enjoys unique renown. Under the umbrageous archway formed by trees, through whose branches the sun sifts in bewitching playfulness, the romantic Neophyte of Mars is wont to saunter in company with his 'Four o' clock' or, in other words, the young lady who may have captured his vagrant fancy at hops in the West Hall, or at interviews on the plain (West Point Tour 1880).

By 1877 the path and its approaches appear to have evolved to their final extents, and would remain largely unchanged for almost 100 years. A branch was added to the lower north trail to travel up the cliff side and join the upper trail just to the northwest of the hotel. Additional smaller paths were created to connect the hotel, Siege Battery, Battle Monument, the Ordnance Compound, and Flirtation Walk. At the southern end, approaches were modified as a result of

changes in building arrangements around the Plain. The first change as a result of the centennial plan was the apparent abrupt termination of the path at the northern wall of the new riding hall. The addition of the Officers' Mess and the Bachelors' Quarters terminated the approach from the Plain.

The path probably attracted strollers as much for its scenery as for its remnants of the Revolution. The path wound around coves and rocky outcrops and offered spectacular views of the Hudson. Gee's Point likely offered the most scenic views until the lighthouse was constructed.

Over the years, a section of Flirtation Walk, "Kissing Rock," became a favorite destination for cadets and their dates. At this rocky outcrop jutting out over the path, a cultural tradition evolved that if any couple passed under the rock without kissing one another, the rock would fall and crush the couple, and West Point would fall into the river (Figure 44).

U.S.M.A. Special Collections.

Figure 44. The rocky outcrop along Flirtation Walk known as "Kissing Rock."

In 1908, Superintendent Hugh L. Scott directed the Board of Officers to locate and report on the condition of historic fortifications at West Point. The Board was able to locate the sites, and a few remnants, of the batteries along Flirtation Walk. In 1909 the Board recommended that a series of plaques and inscriptions

be placed along the walk to mark the sites; they provided specific direction as to the content, location, and form the memorials should take (Board of Officers 1908). It is thought that these were actually implemented in 1910, but visual confirmation is still needed.

The Olmsted Brothers did not undertake a detailed landscape plan for Flirtation Walk. But their 1910 General Plan of the Reservation clearly showed Flirtation Walk; it followed the path already established, continuing all the way south to the new riding hall. They also incorporated some specific recommendations for vegetation along the walk in their report accompanying the General Plan:

> Flirtation Walk might be made more charming by enriching the woods on either side of it with such plants as the rhododendron, the azalea and the mountain laurel, together with the spring flowering herbs and small growing trees such as the flowering crab, the dogwood and the hawthorn (Olmsted Brothers 1911).

There is no evidence that their planting suggestions were ever implemented, but a 1935 map shows the south end of the trail terminating at the riding hall.

Landscape Development During Periods of Non-significance

In the 1930s, a searchlight and house were built on the north cliff, west of and above Chain Battery site (Jones 1998). The light and building have been removed, but remnants of the foundation are still visible from the walk. This building appears to have no particular historic significance.

USACERL, 1997.

Figure 45. Remnants of a search light and house built in the 1930s.

The south end of the path has suffered the most from 20th century changes. The iron ramp connecting Thayer Hall and the South Fill was located such that a portion of the ramp rested on top of Flirtation Walk as it continued south out of Kosciuszko's Garden. When construction was completed, Flirtation Walk terminated at Kosciuszko's Garden, and the southern extension of the path was no longer accessible or maintained. Some time later, the path would be shortened again when the portion of the walk just north of Kosciuszko's Garden collapsed, and eliminated access between the path and the garden.

The walk has become a popular site for class memorials. In 1941, an arched stone gateway was placed at the north access to the path. This was erected as a memorial by the graduating class for two of their classmates, William Kelleher and Charles Jobes (Figure 46). Another gate erected by the Class of 1963 marks the entrance to the upper loop of Flirtation Walk.

USACERL, 1997.

Figure 46. Arched stone gateway to the north entrance of Flirtation Walk.

The northwest entrance to the walk starts out near the present Eisenhower Hall and the railway tunnel. On the bank of the river, at the entrance to Flirtation Walk, is a small landscaped area. A bench was placed there in the shaded clearing among the vegetation. Another memorial is located northwest of Gee's Point on top of a massive boulder. Steps cut into the rock lead up to a bench, a contribution of the Class of 1932 (Figure 47).

USACERL, 1997.

Figure 47. Stone bench along Flirtation Walk.

Current Landscape Description

Today, Flirtation Walk is largely the same as it was in Delafield's time. Portions of the batteries, mostly partial stone walls, are still visible along the path, as are remnants of Fort Clinton's foundation. The views of the river are still possible with the removal of the excessive overgrowth of scrub trees at key vantage points.

Flirtation Walk has remained very popular with cadets; it is used frequently as a jogging trail. Access is currently limited to cadets only, making the path one of the few places at West Point where they are free from scrutiny. There are two entrances from the north edge of the Plain, while the south entrance is from the parking lot behind Lincoln Hall.

There are a few additions to the path that have a negative effect on its overall integrity. A warning light at Gee's Point is a distraction from what was once the most important vantage point on Chain Battery Walk. A retaining wall, possibly constructed to retain a parking lot on the level of the Plain, is visible from the walk. And graffiti mars the rock cliffs, detracting from the rustic and remote feelings originally evoked by the setting.

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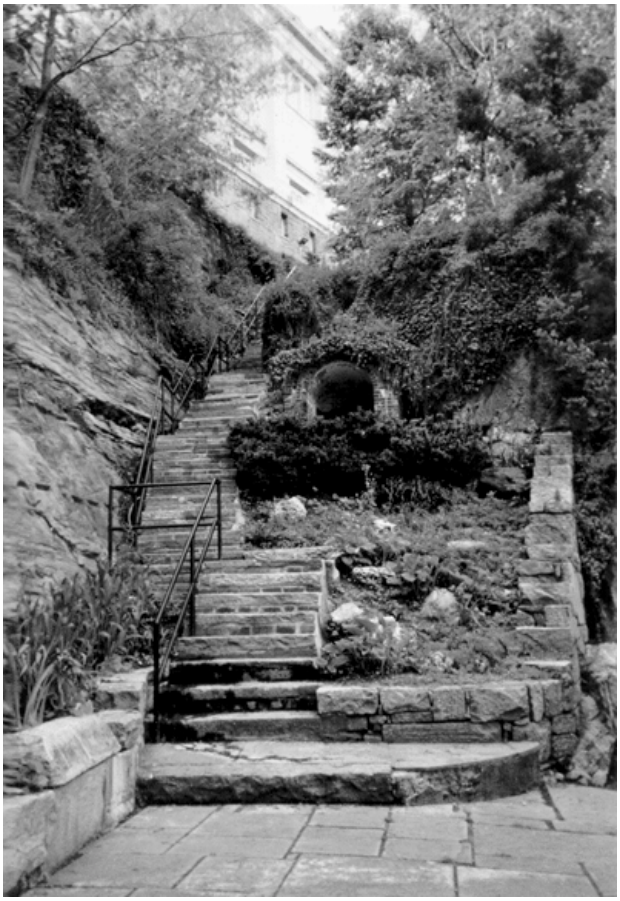
Kosciuszko's Garden

Location. Kosciuszko's Garden is situated below the Officers' Club on a small terrace in the eastern face of the cliff, approximately one-third the distance from the Plain down to the Hudson River. The main access to the garden is from a flight of stone steps behind Cullum Hall (Figure 48). Another access is incidentally provided by an iron ramp, installed in the early 1960s to provide quick access between the Plain and the South Fill. Pedestrians can step off the ramp as it passes in front of the garden. For some time the garden was the southern terminus of Flirtation Walk, but several yards of the path at the approach to the garden have deteriorated so the two areas are no longer connected.



USACERL, 1997.

Figure 48. Stone steps lead to Kosciuszko's Garden.

Period of Significance. 1778 through 1869.

Past Land Uses. Quiet, contemplative garden retreat.

Present Land Uses. Commemorative garden.

Significance

Criteria B – Thaddeus Kosciuszko.

The garden was created by Colonel Thaddeus Kosciuszko, the Polish engineer who designed and oversaw the building of most of the fortifications at West Point. It is this association with Kosciuszko, at the time when he was doing important work for the Revolution, that gives primary significance to the garden. The other periods are secondary but still represent important phases in the development or evolution of the garden.

Contributing Features. Fountain, woodland vegetation, steps, stone walls, grotto, natural terrain, views to the Hudson River.

Non-contributing Features. South Fill, 1980s plant material, iron ramp, blocking of significant views by vegetation, bluestone paving, seating.

Landscape Development During Periods of Significance

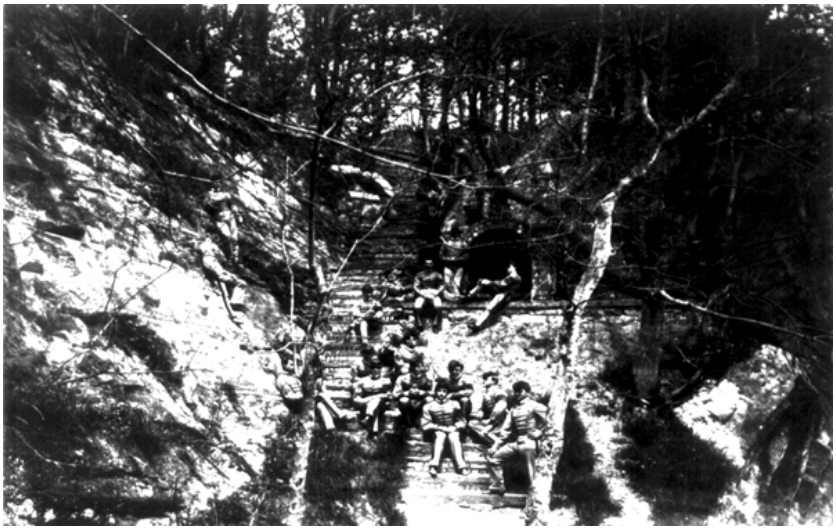
Thaddeus Kosciuszko came to West Point in March, 1778 (Crackel 1991). He was appointed primary engineer responsible for erecting fortifications at West Point to protect the Hudson River against a British attack. During his stay at West Point he built a small garden on a terrace he came upon in the side of the cliff below the level of the Plain. From the edge of the terrace the hillside sloped almost vertically down to the river.

It is believed that Kosciuszko carried soil in a basket, to cover parts of the rock base and enable flowers to grow (Haiman 1943). He planted the garden, built stone steps leading from the garden to the Plain, and constructed a fountain on a spring he discovered on the terrace. Spring water bubbled out of tulip-shaped iron fountain jets. Apparently Kosciuszko intended his garden as a place for solitude and reflection. Kosciuszko possibly went to the garden to remember Poland, his homeland.

A rare early account of the garden comes from the military journal of Dr. James Thacher, who was also stationed at West Point during the Revolution. Thacher (1823) wrote how “In spare moments the great Pole amused himself in laying out a curious garden in a deep valley, abounding more in rocks than in soil.” When Kosciuszko showed him the garden, Thacher described the gratification he felt “in viewing its curious water fountain with spouting jets and cascades.”

Kosciuszko left West Point in 1790; the garden was apparently forgotten for a decade. In his memoirs, Joseph Swift (1890) described how he found and "repaired the dilapidated garden of Kosciuszko" when he was a cadet at West Point in 1802. He and Lieutenant Macomb relaid the stone stairway to the terrace, opened the fountain, planted vines and flowers, constructed several seats and "made the spot a pleasant resort for a reading party."

Cadet contributions helped improve and maintain the garden for many years (Figure 49). The first record of this was in 1828. These cadets' originally donated money to honor Kosciuszko by erecting the marble pedestal and shaft that stands today at the northeast edge of Fort Clinton. After the monument was erected, the small amount of surplus funds was used to purchase the marble basin for the garden (Berard 1886). Following this, first classmen from 1830 to 1842 would contribute for the upkeep of the garden (Memo, O'Donnell, May 12, 1965).



U.S.M.A. Special Collections.

Figure 49. Cadet contributions helped maintain Kosciuszko's garden.

Detailed descriptions of the character and condition of the garden are limited. In 1834, Samuel L. Knapp of New York described his second visit to the garden:

> ...I sought the retreat called Kosciuszko's Garden. I had seen it in former years, when it was merely inaccessible to all but clamboring youths. It was now a different sort of place. It had been touched by the hand of taste, and afforded a pleasant nook for reading and contemplation (Archacki 1969).

He described the garden as 30 feet long and not more than 20 feet wide. It had a beautiful marble basin with a small perforation through which flowed a spring; the overflowing water ran down the rock cliff to the river.

Benson J. Lossing, a Hudson River Valley traveler and writer, described Kosciuszko's garden as presenting "an aspect of mingled romance and beauty" (Lossing 1866). In an earlier travelogue, he described his visit to the garden:

> Emerging from the ruins of Fort Clinton, the path (Flirtation Walk) traversing the margin of the cliff, passes the ruins of a battery, and descends a narrow gorge between huge rocks, to a flight of wooden steps. These terminate at the bottom on a grassy terrace a few feet wide over which hangs shelving cliff with shrubbery…it is a beautiful spot, shaded by a weeping willow and other trees, and having seats provided for those who wish to linger (Lossing 1848).

In his later travelogue, Lossing described "a deep circular indentation in the rock back of the fountain" (Lossing 1866). He recounts the legend that attributes the hole to "a cannon-ball sent from a British ship, while the Polish soldier was occupying his accustomed loitering place, reading Vauban, and regaled by the perfume of roses."

The first record of the grotto on the mid-level terrace appears in 1869, in the USMA Yearbook. The grotto does not appear in a photo of the garden from the previous year, so it is assumed the grotto was constructed sometime in 1868 or the early months of 1869 (Memo, O'Donnell, July 8, 1964). A second natural spring flowed through the grotto site before the grotto was constructed over it. There appears to be no record of why the structure was added to the garden (Figure 50).

There are several inscriptions in the garden. The phrase "Kosciuszko's Garden 1779" is inscribed in the rock wall beside the grotto. This was one of many inscriptions directed in 1909 by Superintendent Hugh L. Scott to mark the sites of historic fortifications at West Point (Board of Officers 1908).

U.S.M.A. Special Collections.

Figure 50. View of Kosciuszko's Garden.

On the rock wall above the main garden is the inscription "Saratoga." The inscription is so large that it is difficult to detect and read. West Point Librarian Egon Weiss (Memo, Weiss, March 12, 1964) attributes this inscription to Richard Delafield, in 1857 or 1858. During Delafield's second superintendency, he directed that the names of certain Revolutionary and Mexican War Battles be cut in the rocks between the West Point Lighthouse and the West Shore Railroad Station.

Lossing briefly mentioned an inscription in his first travelogue. He described "upon a smooth spot, high upon the rocks and half overgrown with moss, are slight indications of written characters" (Lossing 1848). He recounts that they are presumed to be the remnants of the name 'Kosciuszko,' inscribed by him to mark the garden. It is clear that Lossing wasn't sure of either the word or the legend. With no other inscriptions matching Lossing's description, some have assumed that Lossing's inscription and the "Saratoga" inscription are the same. This would mean that "Saratoga" was done before the Delafield inscriptions, and that perhaps Delafield was inspired by it to undertake the others.

Landscape Development During Periods of Non-significance

There is little documentation of what happened to the garden until the 1960s. It is assumed that there was probably periodic maintenance of the garden and access to it, either organized by the cadets or interested officials. In 1953, a plaque was placed next to the grotto commemorating Thaddeus Kosciuszko (Memo, Crowe, Feb. 27, 1964). It reads:

KOSCIUSZKO'S GARDEN

BUILT 1778
This Garden was constructed as a retreat by Colonel Thaddeus Kosciuszko, Polish Patriot, fortifications engineer for the Continental Army 1776-1783, during his tour of duty for the purpose of constructing fortifications at West Point.

The name "Kosciuszko" is also carved around the marble basin of the 1828 fountain. This was probably added in the 20th century to counter the misinterpretation of the grotto fountain as the one built by Kosciuszko.

In the early 1960s several construction projects were undertaken in proximity to Kosciuszko's Garden: an addition to the Officers' Club and the installation of an iron ramp descending from the Plain down to the South Fill. Major General Charles G. Stevenson, a retired army officer, and his wife developed an interest in the renovation of the garden. Stevenson studied the history and background of the garden, corresponding with the West Point historian and others in pursuing information about the garden's development. Stevenson (1964) reports that the garden became rundown as a result of these projects and that the Superintendent, Major General James P. Lampert, authorized a clean-up of the garden. The old stone steps were repaired, and the overgrown brush, vines, and shrubbery were cut away, young trees were planted, and fresh gravel was laid on the terrace and on Flirtation Walk where it entered the garden.

Stevenson felt that further improvements were desirable, but would require special funding (Stevenson 1964). He proposed a rock garden on the slope between the grotto and main garden, additional decorative plantings of flowers and shrubs, and trees on the steep banks to prevent erosion and washout from heavy rains. Stevenson worked with the Polish American Veterans of Massachusetts to raise funds for the garden improvements. The project expanded to include new stone curbing, retaining walls, and a bronze marker recognizing the contribution of the Polish American Veterans of Massachusetts. The garden, planted with 23 different perennials selected to create a continuous flowering display from spring to fall, was dedicated on July 22, 1969.

Current Landscape Description

Today, Kosciuszko's Garden contains two terraces: one at the mid-landing and the other at the base of the stone steps leading from behind Cullum Hall down to the garden. The mid-level terrace is roughly 5 by 15 feet and allows access to the stone grotto covering the natural spring. The early carving "Kosciuszko's Gar-

den 1779" is still visible next to the grotto. Along side it is another plaque rectifying the incorrect date on the earlier inscription.

The lower terrace is approximately 20 by 10 feet, and the fountain still bubbles into a marble basin. The inscription "Saratoga" is still clearly visible on the vertical rock cliff bounding the west side of the terrace. Another garden improvement was undertaken in the 1980s; an iron bench was placed next to the fountain, blue stone pavers overlaid on the terrace floor, and new plants were added (Figure 51). Small plantings consist of azaleas, rhododendrons, yews, and hostas. The trees in the garden include an eastern redbud, a large Norway spruce, and a pine tree. The golden willow that used to be on the lower terrace has not been replaced.

USACERL, 1997.

Figure 51. Improvements made to the garden in the 1980s included an iron bench.

The only planned access to the garden is from a flight of stone steps behind Cullum Hall. But for a time following the centennial expansion and before the 1960s expansion, it seems that Kosciuszko's Garden was more easily accessible. The Olmsted Brothers general plan from 1910 shows Flirtation Walk extending south through the garden and terminating at the riding hall. A 1935 map shows the same route for the path. Subsequent changes returned Kosciuszko's Garden to its former isolation. At the south end of the garden, a portion of the ramp connecting Thayer Hall and the South Fill rests on top of what was probably the extension of Flirtation Walk, thus terminating the connection to the riding hall. At the north end of the garden, the path has fallen away making Flirtation Walk no longer accessible.

The feeling associated with the garden has changed significantly since the early days, mostly as a result of the South Fill. The river used to flow at the base of the cliff on which the garden is situated, but now, because of the infill, it is some distance away. While the long views up and down the Hudson are still remarkably the same, the sheer drop from the garden to the river no longer exists, significantly altering the views below. Also, the ramp from the Plain down to South Fill passes directly in front of the garden, and severely degrades any views (Figure 52). The character of the garden historically had a more precarious quality when little existed between the garden and the river below except the sheer rocky cliff.

USACERL, 1997.

Figure 52. The ramp passes directly in front of the garden marring views.

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West Point Cemetery

Location. The West Point Cemetery is situated in the northwestern part of the Post and covers an area of 14 acres. It can be accessed from the Academic area from both Washington Road and Ruger Road, which meet at the cemetery entrance.

Period of Significance. 1816 through 1910.

Past Land Uses. Cemetery, vegetable garden.

Present Land Uses. Cemetery.

Significance

Criteria C – gravesites of people of outstanding significance.

Cemeteries associated with historical figures are not considered significant unless they contain graves of persons of transcendent importance, from age, from distinctive design features, or from association with historic events. The West Point Cemetery contains monuments and graves commemorating many heroes of American history of transcendent importance on a national level. These figures include Generals Winfield Scott, George Custer, George W. Goethals, and Robert L. Howze. The West Point Cemetery is second only to Arlington National Cemetery in the number of important figures from so many different time periods interred there. It is also one of the oldest military installation cemeteries in the United States.

Contributing Features. Monuments, views, style and variety of plantings, layout of the original section of the cemetery, gates, Chapel.

Non-contributing Features. Recent remodeling of the greenhouse, views north to the commissary, restroom facilities, and directional signs.

Landscape Development During Periods of Significance

For West Point's first 40 years, as it transitioned from a Revolutionary fortress to a military Post and finally the Academy, there was no single designated burial site. Early recollections of West Point describe graves being sited in several places. An 1816 cadet, E.D. Mansfield, wrote:

> On the mountain stood old Fort Put, and at its base lay the lonely graves of the Revolution, unknown to the present generation, but which I knew and found beneath the shade of the rocks and cedars. There the trees grew green o'er the homes of the dead who had fought with Washington and Wayne. Old Fort Putnam is the only witness of their burial (Berard 1886).

Other graves were located on the Plain, near the present site of Washington Hall (Robertson 1994). The remains of Ensign Dominick Trant, who died at the age of 18, were placed within a small enclosure near the parade ground on November 7, 1782. It is said that General George Washington was present for his funeral. Several other small enclosures were created on the Plain for the remains of an officer, General Knox's children, an instructor's infant son, and another instructor's father (Berard 1886).

In 1816, a permanent burial place was established for officers, cadets, enlisted men, and resident civilians (Lange 1984). The selected site was a flat terrace of land to the northwest of the Plain and, like the Plain, situated along the cliffs rising from the Hudson River. The area has long been considered one of the most beautiful locations at West Point. Lossing (1866) described it as "a shaded, quiet, beautiful retreat" with expansive views overlooking the Hudson River, Newburgh Bay, and even of the Plain. Shortly after the area was assigned as a cemetery, the graves scattered around the Post were reinterred at the new location. The relocated Fort Putnam graves are marked "unknown" (Information Office 1972).

The area selected for the cemetery was previously called the "German Flats." The name was a reference to the site's Revolutionary War use as a camping ground by a group of Pennsylvania Dutch soldiers (Berard 1886). It is thought that there were streams and ponds on the site originally. Many of the hollows and small streams around the cemetery were filled during its early development. One pond, called "Goose Pond," was the source of ice for the Post for some years (Robertson 1994). A map from the National Archives, circa 1820, shows a sizable pond west of the German Flats and just east of Washington Road. The map indicates the pond was created by a dam in a stream running down to the Hudson River through Washington's Valley. The pond continues to appear on maps as late as 1903, but no longer existed as of 1933.

Initially the cemetery occupied only the northern-most section of the terrace. The southern end of the terrace was a large cadet garden. The entrance to the cemetery was a rough path through the garden. As the West Point community grew, the unceremonious, overgrown entrance through the cadet garden proved

inadequate. A more suitable road approach from the Post proper was built in about 1840, as well as a stone wall and iron gateway (Lange 1984).

The cemetery was neglected and by the 1860s was overgrown with weeds (Berard 1886). Colonel Pitcher, Superintendent from 1866 to 1871, took a personal interest in the cemetery (Reeder 1965). He saw to it that the grave sites were cared for, and the grounds were ornamented with shrubbery and flowers (Berard 1866). The first building on the cemetery grounds, a caretaker's cottage, was built in 1872. Fourteen years later the second structure, a greenhouse for growing plants on site to beautify the grounds, was erected (Lange 1984).

In 1890 West Point acquired the Kinsley estate to the south of the Plain. The cadet garden was moved to a site on this new property, and the cemetery was expanded west to the main road (Lange 1984). The graves from a small burial site on the Kinsley estate were moved to the West Point cemetery (Robertson 1994). In 1897, a stone wall was rebuilt, and the gates from the south entrance to the Academy were relocated to the cemetery (Lange 1984).

The original section of the cemetery had a park-like layout typical of late 1800s cemetery design. The newer section was laid out in a much more formal, axial style, with two concentric ring roads and bisecting crossroads. A review of historic maps shows that this layout was defined some time between 1900 and 1902. The design of this area is attributed to General Egbert C. Viele, who was reported to be supervising the landscaping at West Point during this period (Lange 1984). Viele was trained as an engineer, and was engineer-in-charge in the construction of Central Park in the 1860s. He is buried at the West Point cemetery, his grave marked with an Egyptian-Revival crypt he designed himself.

The old Cadet Chapel became the third building in the cemetery when it was moved there in 1910. The old Chapel, situated on the Plain, was considered obsolete and slated for demolition upon completion of the new Cadet Chapel. The Academy alumni, however, insisted that the 1836 building be saved and a plan to relocate it was developed. Lacking architectural plans, the chapel was photographed in detail, then deconstructed and labeled stone by stone. It was then reconstructed at the new southern end of the cemetery in 1911 (Lange 1984).

In 1903 the winning centennial competition entry of Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson and Olmsted Brothers suggested a number of changes in and around the cemetery. An important recommendation of their plan was the redirection of Washington Road southwest of its existing route. This allowed for the enlargement of the cemetery around a ravine to the northwest, and provided room to buffer the cemetery perimeter with planting along the main traffic route. They also redes-

igned the newer section and the expansion area in a style similar to the original cemetery grounds, and set the entrance back from the main road. By the time their general plan was finalized in 1910, the cemetery layout integrated the newer section's formal design with the informal areas. In correspondence the Olmsteds indicated there was no immediate need for cemetery expansion, but they felt the roadway alignment was critical to ensuring convenient expansion in the future (Olmsted 1909). Unfortunately, though the roadway realignment and cemetery expansion were approved for the 1910 plan, this was never implemented.

Landscape Development During Periods of Non-significance

The 20th century changes to the cemetery have been minor and minimally documented. The groundskeeper's cottage received a second story some time after 1905, and the 1886 greenhouse structure was replaced in 1919. There were no other building additions or revisions.

The current cemetery entryway, at the intersection of Washington and Ruger Roads, probably evolved over time as the new section of the cemetery developed and Ruger Road was created. A 1912 map shows the Chapel in place and the same Washington Road turn-off traveling along the cemetery's northeastern edge directly to the old section of the cemetery. By 1935, Ruger Road was completed, joining with Washington Road at the cemetery and causing the intersection to be expanded. Some time between 1912 and 1935 the cemetery entrance shifted slightly to the north, and the former main road was realigned to become a side road off the main entrance.

There seems to be some question about the exact origin of the current cemetery gates. There are currently two sets of iron gates at the cemetery: one at the main entrance, and the second at a location further west on Washington Road. This location looks like a former secondary entrance to the cemetery; maps from 1935, 1944, and 1954 indicate a roadway connection there. The two sets of gates are very similar in styling. The gates at the western location have only two iron posts with round ornaments on top. The main gates have four iron posts with urn ornaments on top. Matching plaques mounted on the stone wall next to each gate read:

Old West Point Gates

> This gate, and the cemetery gate further along Washington Road, were the main gates to West Point during the last half of the Nineteenth Century. These intricately detailed cast iron gates and posts are rare survivors of early exterior decorative ironwork at West Point.

An 1880 photo of the south gate of the Academy shows iron gates of the same style as the current gates, supported by four posts with round ornaments on top. Lange (1984) states that these gates were moved to the southern end of the cemetery in 1897. This would place them at the main entrance before the decision to move the chapel had been made, and probably before any decisions about the design and location of the main entrance had been made. Also, at some time the post ornaments would have been changed from balls to urns. Lange (1984) makes no mention of the second gate.

A map from 1877 and an 1895 photo indicate that the original 1840s cemetery gates were located near the caretaker's cottage. In the 1895 photo, the original gates are crowned by an arch and the gate posts are covered in ivy. Because of the vegetation it is impossible to determine what ornamentation was on the posts, but the gates are visible and seem to have the same pattern as the current gates. An 1899 map indicates the gates were still standing then, but they were later removed at an unknown date. Lange (1984) makes no mention of what happened to these gates.

It seems likely that the 1840s gates from the original cemetery are actually the gates currently marking the main entrance to the cemetery. It also seems likely that the old south Post gates are actually the gates currently at the old secondary entrance on Washington Road. These more closely match the style of the south Post gates, and the placement seems more logical given the timeline of events in the development of the cemetery. Further investigation may be needed to confirm this, and may require an update to the informational plaque.

Immediately outside the south gate a small landscaped seating area was constructed as a spot for contemplation. It was dedicated by the Class of 1957 and consists of a sheltered area with a bench and a drinking fountain. A short cul-de-sac driveway leads to the Chapel.

Current Landscape Description

Most of the prominent memorials are situated on the outer periphery of the cemetery except those of General Winfield Scott, Colonel Sylvanus Thayer, and

Major General George Custer, whose memorials are beneath the large weeping European Beech tree. The Molly Corbin and Dade's Monuments were transferred to the cemetery during the 20th century, and are located west of the old Cadet Chapel near Washington Road.

The main threat to the historic character of the cemetery is the loss of its scenic views. When compared with Lossing's (1866) mid-19th century etchings, the vegetation on the northeastern edge is very dense and limits views to the Hudson River. To the southeast, because of vegetation and a retaining wall, the Plain is no longer visible.

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Superintendent's Garden

Location. The Superintendent's Garden is located on the property adjoining the Superintendent's Quarters. The Quarters and garden are on Jefferson Road, facing east on to the northwest corner of the Plain. The garden is bordered on the south by MacArthur Barracks, and on the west by Arvin Gymnasium.

Period of Significance. 1817 through 1833, 1870s, and 1936.

Past Land Uses. Recreation, garden.

Present Land Uses. Garden and reception area.

Significance

Criteria C – designed by Ellen Biddle Shipman; military tradition.

During the 1930s, the Superintendent's garden was designed by Ellen Biddle Shipman, pioneer woman landscape architect. Though subsequently enlarged and altered, the garden still reflects Shipman's design intent and is a good representation of her style. Today there are few examples of Shipman's work still in existence; by protecting Shipman's design of the Superintendent's Garden, West Point, has an opportunity to be a steward of an important era of landscape architecture history. The garden is also significant because of its long association as the site of cadet graduation receptions, an evolved military tradition.

Contributing Features. Proximity to the Plain and Superintendent's quarters, sundial, original west wall, site of the copper beech tree, Shipman terrace organization, lower terrace design, and planting details, extant elements of Shipman design: retaining walls, paving, fountains.

Non-contributing Features. Sentry house, wood pergola, 1988 garden enlargement, removal of Shipman's south and east walls, changes to Shipman's paths, paving, and plant selections.

Landscape Development During Periods of Significance

The history of the Superintendent's Garden begins before the construction of the Superintendent's Quarters. The site was originally the location of the first academy building, a two-story frame structure built some time before 1780 (Crackel 1991). Historic maps show that behind this building and at the foot of the hill

climbing to Fort Putnam was a small pond. Cadets and residents used this pond for skating in winter.

Under the direction of Superintendent Sylvanus Thayer (1817-1833), the frame building was torn down in 1820 to make way for three new sets of quarters. Unlike the earlier structures, the quarters were built in a distinct line on the western edge of the Plain. Two of these quarters are still in existence today: the Commandant's quarters and the Superintendent's quarters (Lange 1984).

Thayer hosted many distinguished guests during his superintendency, and quarters suitable for entertaining were important. It is believed that Thayer himself selected the site for the Superintendent's Quarters (Superintendent's Garden, no date). The proximity to the Plain and the orientation of house and garden toward the parade area were likely important attributes of the site. Thayer began development of the garden area with the acquisition of a sundial from London in 1831; the sundial still resides in the garden (Superintendent's Garden, no date).

From the 1820s until the early 1900s the garden area extended west to the base of the hill; it is likely that much of the area was used for growing vegetables. Generally, information about changes in the size, use, and ornamentation of the garden is limited to what is recorded on maps. For example, it is not known precisely when the pond was filled. It must have happened some time after the Civil War, as the pond appears on maps as late as 1863, but is not identified in maps from 1874 and beyond (Pappas 1993).

One of the most noted historic elements of the garden was a large copper beech tree. Because of its size and impressive habit, it dominated the garden, gaining in sentimental value because of the number of cadets who celebrated graduation under its branches (Pappas 1990). It is a popular legend that the tree was planted by Jonathan Williams, first Superintendent of the Academy, in 1802. Much research has been conducted to discover the truth about when it was planted. Pappas (1993) provides a very logical and convincing argument about its true date of introduction to the garden being some time in the early 1870s.

Details about the garden plantings are equally scarce. An 1863 map shows three trees aligned with the front of the Superintendent's quarters and long, narrow rectangular lots for all the quarters along that street. An 1877 map shows a larger, irregular lot divided by paths into smaller, irregularly shaped plots.

Robert E. Lee's daughter, Agnes Lee, lived at West Point during her father's 1852 to 1855 superintendency. In her diary she noted, "We have a fine garden with a pond in it and several meadows. There is quite a nice greenhouse with a splen-

did lemon tree in it" (Superintendent's Garden, no date). This greenhouse may have been built at Lee's request, as it does not appear on an 1854 map but does appear consistently on later maps (1863, 1877, and 1903).

At some point the Superintendent's garden evolved into an area for receptions. A 1902 photo shows a reception in the garden during the Centennial celebration (Crackel 1990) (Figure 53). The reception area was next to the house, and was primarily an open lawn with a temporary tent for serving refreshments.

After the Centennial, the garden was reduced in size as pressure for building space grew. The south end of the garden was defined with the removal of the neighboring quarters and the construction of the North Barracks in 1909. The western edge of the garden was defined with the construction of the gymnasium in 1910. Though changes would continue (North Barracks would be demolished in the 1960s to make way for MacArthur Barracks and the gymnasium would be expanded several times) from 1910 the garden was surrounded on two sides by imposing structures.

U.S.M.A. Archives.

Figure 53. Reception in the Superintendent's garden photographed in 1902.

In 1936, Superintendent William D. Connor contacted Ellen Biddle Shipman about the possibility of obtaining her services to develop a plan for the garden (Memo, May 11, 1936). Shipman had visited West Point some time before, and remembered it as "one of the most heavenly places in the world" (Memo, May 13, 1936). She immediately agreed to the commission and visited a few days later. Though the detailed planting plans would not be finalized until August, West Point began construction work in June, following Shipman's recommendations on overall structure and organization (Memo, June 14, 1936).

Ellen Biddle Shipman is a noted woman pioneer in the field of landscape architecture. She began her career at a time when landscape designers were in great demand with wealthy clients who wanted beautiful gardens (Tankard 1996). Garden design was one of the few professional options available for women, and Shipman had many connections with the art and gardening communities. Though she did not begin her professional career until she was in her 40's, she completed more than 600 commissions before retiring.

Shipman had minimal formal training, having spent only 1 year at Radcliffe in the 1890s. Her horticultural skills were largely developed through reading and working on her own garden for almost 15 years (Tankard 1996). Her design sensibility grew first from the examples provided by the artists and designer neighbors in her Cornish, NH community, and then through her association with Charles Platt, a well-known architect whom Shipman would apprentice for and collaborate with for 20 years. It was during this time that Shipman defined her design style: simple, axial plans that were almost always rectangular; well-defined relationships between house, garden, and surroundings; and lush, informal plantings that provided most of the garden interest. Shipman's work ranged from public sites to large estates and small residential gardens. The smaller sites like West Point's Superintendent's Garden, with limited budgets and preexisting conditions, were her usual commissions.

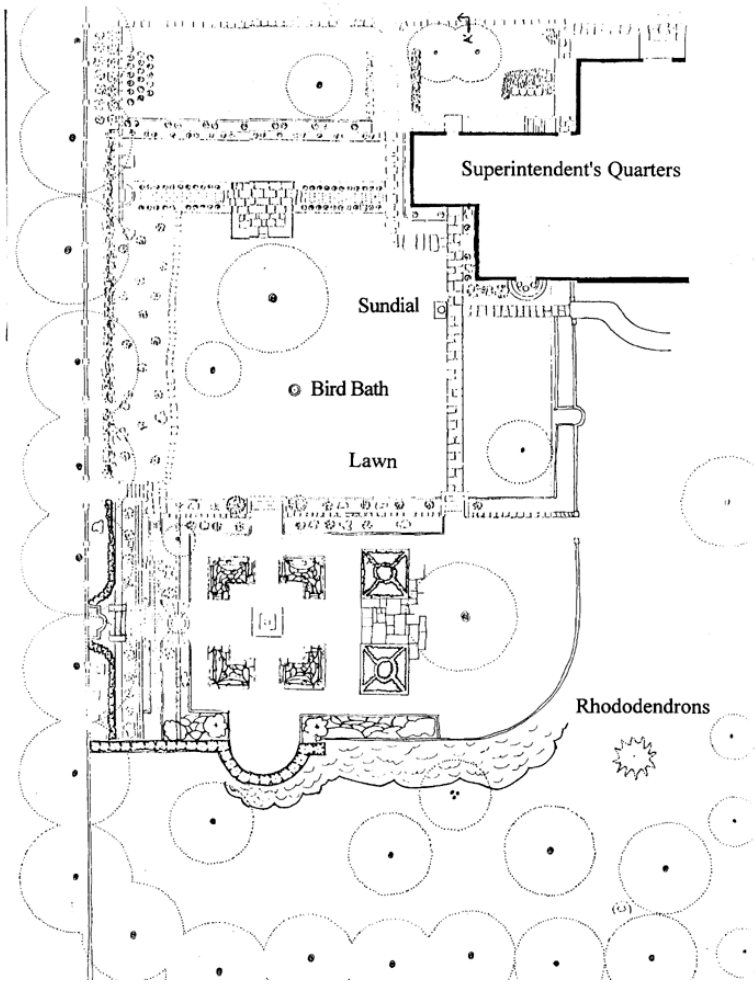
Shipman prepared a base plan after her visit to West Point on May 17, 1936. This plan provides an important record of the garden before her influence. The site was already enclosed with brick, wire, and wood fencing. A greenhouse, possibly the same one mentioned by Agnes Lee, formed part of the east boundary and a partially enclosed shelter, located near the north boundary, looked south down the length of the site. Significant plantings included the beech tree, a rhododendron hedge circling under the beech tree and along the outside of the south border, an arbor vitae hedge lining the south and west borders, a large ginkgo tree, a cherry tree, and pleached fruit trees. Garden ornaments included Thayer's sundial, a birdbath, iron flower stands, and several stone and wrought iron benches. A flagstone patio had been laid under the beech tree. Flagstone paths crossed the site, some linear and edged with narrow planting beds, and others informal. Larger planting beds were placed along the house and greenhouse walls, two irregularly shaped beds lay in the center of the site, and eight rectangular beds formed a geometric pattern around a rectangular pool at the south end of the site.

A preliminary plan (undated) obtained from the Cornell Archives illustrates Shipman's first ideas for the garden (Figure 54). Shipman worked within the boundaries of the existing garden and created a signature simple plan with axial

relationships by reorganizing selected features and adding abundant plantings. She eliminated the greenhouse, specified a uniform fence style around the site, took advantage of an elevation change to divide the garden into an upper and lower terrace, shifted the shelter to create a north-south axis, and created three distinct garden rooms.

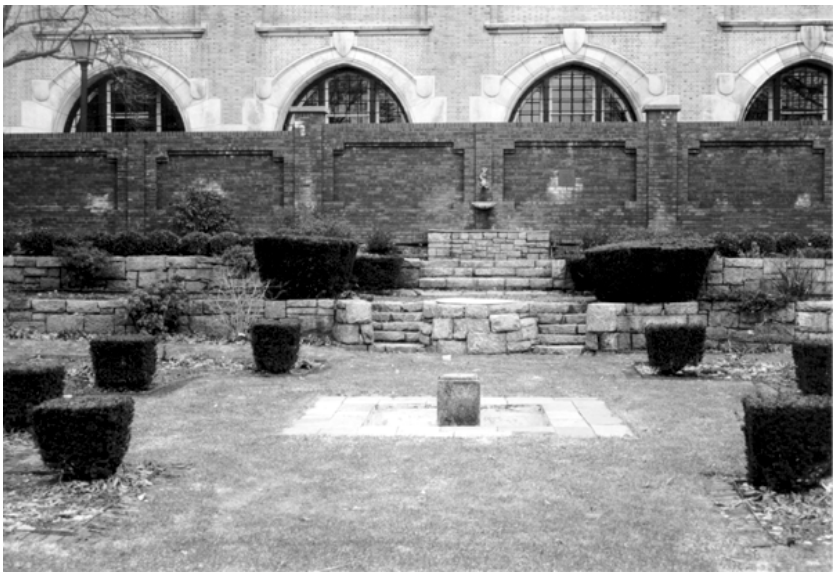
Two of the rooms, an enclosed garden in the lower terrace, and the open lawn on the upper terrace, would be expanded for the final plan (Figures 55 and 56). The third room was situated as the entrance from the east into the garden and as a connection from the house to the other two garden rooms. It was designed as an intricate parterre with Thayer's sundial as the centerpiece.

The parterre garden would be completely eliminated from further plans and replaced with open lawn. No correspondence or notations indicate the reason. But it is likely that the Connors felt the narrow paths and large plantings would not accommodate the growing number of guests, and the necessary tents and service tables, for receptions.



U.S.M.A. Superintendent Garden Brochure.

Figure 54. Shipman's preliminary garden plan.



USACERL, 1997.

Figure 55. Enclosed garden in the lower terrace.

USACERL, 1997.

Figure 56. Upper garden terrace and lawn.

Additional correspondence and the final plans show the garden design continued to evolve with Shipman and the Connors as collaborators. This approach was typical of Shipman's smaller commissions. Site planning was often minimized because of the size and existing conditions of the gardens, and her personal philosophy was to minimize the need for major changes (Tankard 1996). She was also very sensitive to the interests of her clients, and felt that her gardens were most successful when they best reflected the clients' concerns and preferences.

Copies of Shipman's final 1936 plans exist in the Directorate of Housing and Public Works. The construction plan clearly shows Shipman's emphasis on precise axial relationships and architectural form. And the separate planting plans

indicating placement of bulbs, annuals, perennials, and shrubs and trees, reveal the more ephemeral design elements. Plant selection and arrangement are considered to be the most important aspects of Shipman's designs, the components that make her gardens special (Tankard 1996).

Superintendent Connor continued to correspond with Shipman on details such as the purchase of statues for the fountains and selection of specific plant varieties (Memo, July 6, 1937; Memo, Jan. 6, 1938). It is unclear how long after his departure in 1938 that the garden was strictly maintained according to Shipman's plans.

Landscape Development During Periods of Non-significance

There is no record of changes to the garden between 1938 and 1987. Some time after 1942, when the Fort Clinton summer encampments were halted, one of the encampment sentry boxes was moved into the garden. Photographs of receptions circa 1950s show glimpses of some of Shipman's planting areas filled with hostas rather than her more intricate plant palette. It is possible that as the beech tree continued to grow it cast so much shade on the south beds that plant substitutions became a necessity.

Because of the increasing size of the Academy it was decided in 1987 to enlarge the garden to accommodate larger receptions (Superintendent's Garden, no date). The wood and brick fences on the east border were removed so the garden could be extended to encompass all the open area to the south and half the area to the east. A new fence was constructed to enclose the garden. For the west, south, and southeast portions, the fence copied the style of the original brick fence. For the east portion, the fence style was modified; the piers and base were similarly constructed of brick, but ornamental wrought iron fencing was used in between.

Based on a review of the construction plans, the changes in 1987 resulted in the Shipman layout being largely preserved. The expansion area simply surrounds the garden on two sides. The biggest structural changes were the removal of the wall and the reconfiguration of some of Shipman's planting areas, on the lower terrace near the beech tree and along the west wall.

Current Landscape Description

In 1989 the beech tree fell in a windstorm. The loss of this tree caused a complete change in character for the garden. It had long stood as a landscape icon,

and Shipman had carefully integrated it as a focal point and key element in her formal plan.

Some additional revisions occurred since 1938 to create the present landscape. The flagstone paving at the site of the beech tree was removed. A pergola was built at the location of the Shipman wall on the upper terrace. The arbor vitae hedge framing the lower garden and softening the west wall was removed. Many of Shipman's plant selections were replaced, often with donated plants from the parents clubs.

The most significant element of the Shipman garden was the lower terrace. The important elements that identified it as a signature Ellen Biddle Shipman garden were its three-dimensional quality as an outdoor room and its lush plantings. Shipman believed that a garden needed to convey a sense of private space; she provided this privacy with a combination of grade changes, walls and plantings. Her planting plans combined an array of plants carefully chosen for colors and texture and placed them to create layers and contrast. These characteristics of privacy and planting form seem to have been removed from the lower terrace garden, even though Shipman's basic structure can still be seen on the ground plane.

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The goal of this research was to develop a statement of the historic context for the U.S. Military Academy at West Point, New York based on historical associations and periods of development and to provide detailed investigations and evaluations of surviving historic landscape areas. By integrating literature reviews, archival reviews, and site visits, the inventory identifies the most important historical landscape areas and landscape characteristics within the installation. It can be used to help guide the Academy's preservation efforts and to provide guidance for the development of a historic landscape management plan.

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